The Capacity of Sport to Integrate Newcomers into Canadian Communities

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ABSTRACT

The Capacity of Sport to Integrate Immigrants into Canadian Communities

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As Canada is poised to increase the number of newcomers arriving annually, attention is being directed toward how sport can be leveraged to facilitate the creation of new opportunities for newcomers to become engaged with their communities. Utilizing a phenomenological approach, this paper explores the implications of youth participation in organized sport on the acculturation experience of new Canadian families through semi-structured interviews and observations of organized youth sport programming. The findings suggest the accessibility of sport in Canada is an attraction for youth participation though the effects of sports participation is limited to the individual participating, as well as the barriers affecting the full participation of newcomers into Canadian communities. Considering the realities of the newcomer experience, sport programming meant to engage new Canadian families can couple with other programming that affects the acculturation experience of newcomers.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“A long time ago in a galaxy far, far away….” — Star Wars

Indeed, it was this galaxy, but this adventure began what has felt to be a long time ago. And though I am no Jedi, the growth that has occurred over the past two years boggles the mind and is in no small part thanks to the many generous and supportive people that I have crossed paths with. As these things go, there are too many people to thank and this document needs to be submitted…

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Dad. We have been through a lot together and through it all you have always believed in me. Always available, always supportive, always compassionate, always accommodating, and
always loving. You have been my rock, the one that as the rug is pulled out from my feet, the first person I know I can fall back on. And you are always there to catch me.
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1 Introduction

The integral place that immigrants have in the Canadian identity has contributed to the country’s multicultural nature. The Canadian population’s fertility rates are declining and expected to fall below the point at which the current population will be unable to refill job vacancies and sustain economic growth (The Conference Board of Canada, 2017). Canada will, therefore, have to accept more newcomers than it currently is in order to increase population growth and meet its fiscal obligations. Amongst other issues, such as improving labour market outcomes for newcomers, Canada needs to develop and further strengthen existing frameworks that work to integrate newcomers into Canadian communities. This project explored whether sports programming could act as a mechanism that facilitates this integration of newcomers into Canadian communities.

An important initial distinction to be made upfront is the differences between an “immigrant” and a “newcomer.” As defined by the Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), an immigrant is a person who has landed in Canada and has also been, importantly, granted the right to live in Canada permanently by the IRCC. Those persons who have recently moved to Canada within the last five years and have been granted residency, or whose application is being processed, are considered “recent immigrants,” or “newcomers.” The act of obtaining permanent residency allows for the person to access services that are meant to facilitate their acculturation into the Canadian social fabric (ex: language, services, and settlement services). Notably, “immigrant” and “newcomer” are used interchangeably, though the term “immigrant” applies to the larger population of those granted the right to reside in Canada, and “newcomer” references those who have resided in Canada for five years or less.

1 Convention Refugee status also grants persons rights to similar settlement services. However, refugee claimant does not grant access to services.
1.1 Background

As of 2019, the Canadian federal government accepts 300,000 newcomers per year—0.82% of the population. To counterbalance the Canadian workers leaving the workforce, alleviate economic and fiscal pressures, and sustain population growth, the Canadian federal government has announced that it will begin to accept increasingly more newcomers in the coming years (Morency, Malenfant, & MacIsaac, 2017; The Conference Board of Canada, 2017). Therefore, it is in the interest of the country, both socially, culturally, and economically that policies and systems are developed to facilitate the effective integration of newcomers into Canadian communities.

In the 1980s, multiculturalism became institutionalized and formally a part of Canadian law, not to mention the nation’s shared values. The discourse around multiculturalism started earlier, after World War II, with the Canadian Citizenship Act that officially differentiated Canadians from British subjects (Dewey, 2005). Then, with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms being adopted in 1982 during Pierre Trudeau’s tenure as Prime Minister, the promise of basic rights and guarantees for all Canadians was entrenched in the very constitutional fabric of the country. The benefit of the Charter is that it empowered the courts to account for multiculturalism at the highest levels of policy making and to ensure equality and fairness for all citizens. It declared that,

> Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability. (Constitution Act, 1982, sec. 15.1)

The “equality for all” mantra was further reinforced by the Canadian Multiculturalism Act that was solidified into policy in 1988. Building on the provisions of the Charter, the Act states that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and that there is the need for increased multicultural representation and participation in policy making (Dewing, 2009). This
proactive approach by the government ensures the preservation of the diversity of cultures and languages, but also the symbolic beginnings of reconciliation process with those who were marginalized from the Canadian mainstream. The adoption of these multicultural policies indicates that there was a demonstrable need for more in-depth intercultural understanding and communication in order to reduce the effects of Othering, a pejorative term of declassification and dehumanization of the “Other”—someone or something outside of the normative of a community rendering them as unknown and, therefore, unable to defend themselves from stereotyping and, in the extreme, racism.

Although, measures have been put in place to include newcomers in policy making, the integration of new Canadians into the country’s communities is, more often than not, traumatic. Canada needs newcomers in order to grow and develop economically, socially and culturally. However, and in tandem with the requirement for immigrants to fuel the workforce, Canada needs to provide support systems that aid integration of newcomers into the workforce. The regulatory hoops that newcomers have to pass through in order to practice in the fields they were educated in, trained for, and recruited to fill in Canada to perform places huge financial burdens on newcomers and established immigrants who may already be seriously constrained financially in the first place (Sloane-seale, 2005; The Conference Board of Canada, 2017; Xue, 2008). Foreign-born families are recruited to Canada based on their education and on the potential impact they may exert in the workforce. Yet, these same skills and qualifications work against them when they arrive on Canadian shores, excluding them from their professional fields.

In Toronto, like other metropolises, the price of living creates an unequal distribution of populations. Characterized as a population group that is susceptible and vulnerable to chronic low-income, “ethnic enclaves” are developed in areas of affordable housing. Here, isolated from dominant Canadian culture, cultural amenities and traditions are reproduced. Although these settlement patterns are in-line with Canadian values of multiculturalism, being isolated in these ethnic enclaves does not facilitate the development of mutual connections – this proposition of “two-way” integration – between the Canadian-born population and foreign-born population.
Not bridging the divide, nor developing ways to facilitate interactions between these two population groups provides space for those wishing to exploit fears of the Other.

Sport is a useful vehicle for developing communal, shared relationships, and promoting team problem-solving skills, as well as enabling individual growth. Praised by the United Nations (UN) as the “universal language,” the qualities developed, and values present in sport transcend cultural boundaries and can act to facilitate intercultural relationships (UN, 2004). However, sport as a means for development is not without its downsides. Innately promoting inequality, affected by issues of elitism, facilitating the reproduction of hegemonic masculinity values, cultures of conformity and oppression; the arguments of sport evangelists for the utility and perceived benefits of sport to develop life skills in participants, and as mechanism to create a utopic space for good is increasingly under fire by the realities of sport and culture in which it operates.

This study questions whether youth sport programming can facilitate the integration of immigrant families into Canadian communities. As Canada becomes increasingly dependent on immigrants to sustain population growth, enhance the country’s economy to meet its financial and fiscal obligations, it is important that improvements are made, steps are taken, and newcomers are given the means to be self-sufficient while also being encouraged to develop their own safety and support networks within their neighbourhoods.

1.2 Goal Statement

To explore the role of sport within the complexities of the immigrant experience during the settlement process, the sociocultural environment of sport in a large Canadian city, and the constraints to participation in sporting activities that immigrants face on the field of play and within their communities.
1.3 Objectives

1. Explore the barriers preventing immigrants from developing bonds with community members.
   1.1. What barriers do immigrant families face when enrolling their children in sport?
2. Explore the sociocultural environment of sport in Canadian urban communities.
3. Explore what the definition of sport is for newcomers to Canada.
4. Document the experiences of the families that have children enrolled in organized sport programming
   4.1. What are the reasons families register their youth in sport?
   4.2. Does the participation of immigrant youth in recreational sport facilitate the family’s participation and influence in social, economic, and political areas of Canadian life?

1.4 Research Design

This research project utilized a phenomenological approach that was focused on understanding the experiences of immigrant families who enrolled their children in organized sport and recreational programming. This approach was selected due to the perception of the subjective circumstances of integration and the variation amongst individuals. Therefore, owing to this variability, taking a positivist, or objective approach, that would have created measurable outcomes and binary answers does not seem realistic, nor beneficial for the direction of this project.

A phenomenological approach draws a researcher’s attention to the meaning of an experience (Holloway & Todres, 2003; Moustakas & Fallis, 1994). Taking this approach, the researcher probes the roots of an issue, exploring practices and behaviours to understand more than simply surface level reflections. However, in this explorative practice the researcher interprets the experiences through their lens (Burr, 1995; Galbin, 2014). Those interpretations are given themes that are informed by the researcher’s past experiences so that understanding can occur.
The design of this project included observations of sport programming in communities, as well as interviews with new Canadian parents who had enrolled their children in organized youth sport programming. The utility of conducting observations, apart from the information gathered through interviews, allowed for myself as the researcher to develop a clearer understanding of the context of the newcomer experience. In observing organized youth sport, I could see the interactions between players, the family members watching the activities, as well as greetings, conversations, and behaviours during pick-up and drop-off.

To the extent possible, interviews were performed in-person. However, adjustments were made for the majority of participants so they felt comfortable during the interview process. It was understood that participants that are comfortable are more likely to share their thoughts and ideas authentically and give thoughtful insight into their transition experiences. When in-person interviews were not possible, phone interviews were scheduled. In terms of recording, after I received consent, these interviews were recorded, and the audio files encrypted and stored on my computer’s hard drive. These were deleted once the project was completed. There were no cases where consent was not given.

1.5 Data Collection

The purpose of this study was to explore the implications of youth participation in sport on the acculturation experience of the family. The design of the project took a qualitative approach and methods that allowed for the participants to share their experiences and emotions.

Though a specific geographical area does not need to be defined for this study, the diversity of Toronto and the city’s demographics provided numerous opportunities to explore the role of sport programming within the context of Toronto’s communities. The first step of the research process was to identify key informants who could be used as intermediates to aid in the recruitment of participants, as well as identifying areas where observations of sport programming could be made. The initial starting point was in community centres and connecting with community service workers. In these centres, or “hubs,” there are newcomer settlement offices,
as well as dedicated youth programming which included youth sport and recreational activities. I contacted between two and four support workers at three hubs in the Toronto area that serviced areas with a high density of newcomers. There was little success with this method, and no participants were contacted for interviews. Instead, out of desperation I turned to my social and employment circles for help. The majority of my interviews were through these connections. This study recruited of various socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds, between the ages of 18 and 64 with a child currently enrolled in youth sport programming. Participants must have been born outside of Canada and have emigrated to Canada within the last 10 years. Although, this study includes both “newcomer” and established “immigrant” populations, the services available to the two population groups remain the same. The IRCC and the branches of services that the department provides to those foreign-born populations that require them remain the same.

Observations were documented within 12 hours of the original interaction to preserve the reliability of the recollection and the accuracy of the observation. The notes taken during the observation phase, using pen and paper, were transferred to a document on the computer as verbatim, although additional notes were also added under a separate heading that included reflections and connections that I made between separate observations.

To address the means of collecting the data, interviews were recorded with the parents, or the guardians of children, taking place during a convenient time for the participants. The recordings of the interviews were kept on the computer’s hard drive and not backed up online. Once the study was complete, the recordings of all interviews were deleted to ensure the anonymity of the participants. In referencing the participants in the study, the participants were given pseudonyms, as well as places that were observed or referenced in conversation.

1.6 Data Analysis

The analysis of the interviews and observations followed the six step guidelines to conduct a thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006). The interviews with participants were transcribed
verbatim using Microsoft Word. I then read through the transcripts to familiarize myself with the full content of the interviews. I then identified themes that became apparent from participants’ statements and used NVivo to code the identified themes, as well as insert annotations of my own reflections that related to the participants’ integration experiences. The themes were informed by the phenomenological approach and reflect my interpretation of the datum. More accountable themes, such as transition experiences; barriers; and impressions were also highlighted and coded using NVivo so that these references can be categorized, and an inventory can be developed. Through the process of observing patterns, of labelling events, and of highlighting themes, I developed a research case that could call upon the references and experiences of immigrants’ integration into Canadian communities, and what the implications of youth sport participation had on the acculturation of the new Canadian family.

1.7 Significance

Due to its aging population and low fertility rates affecting the birth rates, Canada will have to begin welcoming more than the current 300,000 immigrants per year (The Conference Board of Canada, 2017). To capitalize on the human capital entering Canada through the immigration system, Canada needs to improve the labour market outcomes for these immigrants and their subsequent well-being (Sloane-seale, 2005). The significance of this study was to provide context and insight to the realities of the immigrant experience and the complexities of integration. The findings of this study will help inform future research of the role of sport within the complexities of the immigrant experience during the settlement process, the sociocultural environment of sport in a large Canadian city, and the constraints to participation in sporting activities that immigrants face on the field of play and within their communities.

1.8 Limitations and Assumptions

The approach to this study was not meant to reveal universal solutions that could be implemented in any community. The findings of this project should not be used to generalize the
effects of sport programming, as there are varying factors influenced by the demographics of the participant affecting their experiences integrating to Canada.

The findings of this study came from discussions and interviews with immigrants in various communities across Toronto. A clear limitation of this study is the different sociocultural barriers present in immigrant populations. The social and cultural variance of newcomers cannot be isolated to a specific demographic, nor is the acculturation process the same for all new Canadian families.

The largest limitation, and which is inherent in qualitative research, is my interpretation of the data once it is collected. I utilized a reflexive approach throughout this project and continually restructured, redefined, and reoriented my approach to understand the essence of the newcomer experience, the interpretations of the data are, therefore, a representation of my experience and my understanding. For instance, the themes that were used in the thematic analysis of the data were subjective in nature and a process for me to add meaning to the information.

Lastly, the time constraints of the project and the sense of urgency for finding willing and acceptable participants for the study was also a limitation. Therefore, for future research on this subject it is important to establish connections early in the process.

2 Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

Immigration has been an important characteristic and component of Canadian society since confederation. Broken into four sections, this chapter begins with an in-depth historical summary of Canadian immigration policy. This section provides context, understanding, and a foundation for which future sections would be developed. The second section of this chapter provides an overview of the evolution of multiculturalism, from its conception as a political tool to unify the country, to now the present discussion, and post-multiculturalism debate. The third section
discusses factors that influence the settlement of immigrants, beginning first with Berry’s (1992) acculturation theory, before unpacking the barriers that affect the acculturation of newcomers. Lastly, the fourth section addresses the literature surrounding sport for development and the different perspectives on the utility of sport.

### 2.2 Canada’s Immigration System: From 1896 to the Present

A national government dealing with immigration policy is like a ship buffeted by contrary winds. Labour blows one way and employers another; French Canadians puff up a powerful blast against the prevailing English-speaking majority; various nationality associations exert their pressures; and a chill draught of prejudice against foreigners comes from some of the old stock. In these gusty waters, the government must steer a course. Sometimes it may choose to use its auxiliary motors and go against the wind. (Corbett, 1963, pp. 103–104)

The term, “Immigration Policy,” has these two definitions:

1. It is a means of controlling immigration by either regulating the number of immigrants being admitted into a country, or by indicating the preferred for immigrant classes that comprise the immigrant intake.

2. It is a regulating mechanism that establishes the settlement conditions and resources available to immigrants (Hammar, 1985).

This section of the paper concentrates primarily on the first point—involving regulating the number of immigrants—although the settlement conditions and resources contemplated in the second definition bleed into the narrative. By outlining the history of Canada’s immigration system, this section stitches together the backdrop in front of which multiculturalism, as a defining element of Canada’s identity, is foregrounded.

Immigration and immigration policy to both be effective there needs to have a delicate balance struck between the two. To have a successful immigration system, the required components are:

1) positive labour market outcomes for immigrants; 2) the integration of immigrants
economically and socially into communities; and 3) the maintenance of the public perception of immigration as a positive part of a country’s social cohesion (El-Assal & Fields, 2017). There were in the past misconceptions of Canada’s policy that are again coming to the surface. Most commonly is the fear that the country’s labour markets will be depressed by large influxes of immigrants that will displace a domestic, established Canadian workforce, as well as being the catalyst for providing fortune to business owners due to low wages offered to immigrants (Bohnert, Chagnon, & Dion, 2015; El-Assal & Fields, 2017; Friedberg & Hunt, 1995). Given that increasing numbers of newcomers arriving in the country actually expands the population consuming goods and thereby facilitates the expansion of businesses, the perception that immigrants are “negative loads” on the economic development and harmful to a country’s economy and labour markets is strictly false. What is true, however, is the country accepting immigrants must be able to keep unemployment levels low, have the capacity to absorb new immigrants into the labour market, as well as ensuring the opportunities for acculturation. Without having sufficient absorptive capacity, the would-be population consuming goods, including the immigrant community, would not have the financial resources to purchase them.

Historically, Canada’s immigration policy followed a “tap on, tap off” approach (Green & Green, 2004, 1995; Simmons, 1994; Simmons & Keohane, 1992; Wiginton, 2013). This approach involves the analysis of the country’s labour markets and employment levels, and turns the “tap” (immigration) on or off in an inverse relationship to employment levels (Green & Green, 2004; Simmons, 1994; Veugelers & Klassen, 1994). For example, in a period when Canada’s employment levels decrease, immigration levels would, conversely, increase. This “tap on, tap off” approach, amongst others, would be a cornerstone in Canada’s immigration system until the country develops a more modern “point system” (Green & Green, 1995).

Starting in 1896, large numbers of immigrants from the United States and overseas countries began arriving in Canada. For the most part, this current of migration was due to Canada’s strong eastern seaboard manufacturing sector and was a consequence of the overpopulation and overcrowding of Europe that adversely affected the number of available jobs for those who chose
to remain in their home countries. Beginning with the recession of 1873 and continuing to 1896, Clifford Sifton, Canada’s Minister of the Interior under Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier, launched an aggressive campaign to recruit Europeans to Canada and to attract settlement to the Prairies and western Canada (Green & Green, 2004; Timlin, 1960). The objectives of the immigrant recruitment campaign were twofold: first, immigration would increase the resources and tax base available to the settlement communities and, by extension, to Canada; and second, a large population settling new land would dissuade American expansionism northward onto Canadian soil (Ward, 1994).

Sifton fancied “sturdy” European farmers, primarily those from Hungary and Ukraine, as well as others of Mennonite backgrounds as preferred immigrants to central Canada. He believed these groups would be both familiar with the harsh Canadian climate as well as being proficient in agriculture (Sifton, 1922; Timlin, 1960; Guo, 2015). Made possible by the Dominion Lands Act (1872), 160 acres of free and fertile land on the Canadian prairies were promised to all willing farmers by the Canadian Federal Government. Further facilitating the settlement of the Canadian prairies, the newly constructed transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway improved access to the Prairies. Also, with the establishment of the North-West Mounted Police security was provided to remote Prairie settlements (Timlin, 1960).

The recruitment strategies that Sifton implemented and promoted were ahead of then-contemporary traditional policies. Instead of the normal approach to immigration by concentrating heavily on the country of origin of immigrants, Sifton prioritized the quality and the merits of immigrants. In an article in Maclean’s magazine, recording his remarks to the Toronto Board of Trade, Sifton said:

When I speak of quality I have in mind, I think, something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average writer or speaker upon the question of immigration. I think a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality…. I am indifferent as to
whether or not he is British born. It matters not what his nationality is. (Sifton, 1922, p. 16)

Even though most of those immigrants that Sifton was describing as desirable were coming from European countries and were predominately Caucasian, his stance on immigration focused more on the merits of immigrants: that is, to what extent they were willing to work hard in difficult conditions in order to make livings as farmers (Timlin, 1960).

Notwithstanding his declarations for merit irrespective of origin, Sifton and his immigration policy were less welcoming and more discriminative to immigrant populations arriving from Asian countries and whose interest was not in farming or settling on the Prairies, but instead was to live in city centres (Green & Green, 2004; Timlin, 1960). In an effort to dissuade Asian settlement, Sifton went so far as trying to raise the “Chinese” tax from $50 to $250/head, a policy that, ultimately, settled on a $100 tax per “Asian” head (Green & Green, 2004; Li, 1982, 2003; Timlin, 1960). Even though Sifton came off as being “progressive” during the period he was the Minister of the Interior, his discrimination of immigrants based on ethnicity and race was not out of step with the majority of other countries’ immigration policy that was in effect at the time.

Some of Canada’s less favourable citizenship regulations of the early 1900s included the Gentlemen’s Agreement (1908), a voluntary agreement with Japan limiting its citizens’ emigration to Canada; the Chinese Immigration Act (1923) banning most forms of Chinese emigration to Canada (Li, 1982); An Act Respecting Immigration (1910) (simply the “Act”), enhancing discretionary powers of immigration authorities to bar port of entry access to immigrants based on race, and further preventing courts and judges from reviewing or overturning cases of deportation (An Act Respecting Immigration, 1910, sec. 38 para. c). Though these regulations by modern standards are incredibly discriminatory, even racist, and often were based on prejudice and ignorance that privileged confusing ethnicities, the regulations proclaimed by the Act remained in effect well into the mid-1900s, at least until John Diefenbaker
took progressive steps to address anti-discrimination in the Immigration Regulations (1962) that effectively overhauled Canada’s immigration policy.

The Act, however, introduced the concept of permanent residency (originally known as “domicile”) giving Canadian citizenship to immigrants after they had resided and worked in Canada for three years, barring any stints in jail or in an “asylum for the insane” (An Act Respecting Immigration, 1910, sec. 2 para. d). And yet, and despite caveats to the contrary in the Act, at any point before citizenship was granted, if immigration officials considered them undesirable, immigrants could be deported without sufficient evidence and without access to an appeal hearing (Green & Green, 2004; Wayland, 1997).

In the years leading up to the First World War, a primary focus of Canada’s immigration strategy involved attracting farmers and farm hands from preferred countries (Britain, The United States, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa) (Green & Green, 2004; Timlin, 1960). Other traditionally Caucasian countries outside of the Commonwealth, such as the Scandinavian or western European countries, were treated almost equally if they could satisfy Canada’s hunger for farmers. For other occupations beyond the tilled field, it was increasingly more difficult to gain access to Canada via formal immigration channels (Green & Green, 2004; Hammar, 1985). Given that farming was seen by Canada as a means of settling areas outside of major cities, one third of immigrants between 1900 and 1914 were farmers or farmhands (Green & Green, 2004). The remaining two thirds were mostly unskilled or semi-skilled workers who would help with construction projects and major infrastructure construction, most notably the Canadian railway system (Green & Green, 2004). Along with technological advancements, such as improved irrigation techniques, Clifton’s strategy worked. The Prairie provinces experienced an astonishing 1124% population growth over 20 years (Widds, 1992). However, and not surprisingly, the First World War effectively closed the doors to immigration from central and eastern Europe. Immigration would remain depressed and stagnant from 1914 through the Great Depression (1929 to 1939).
The Great Depression struck Canada especially hard. The country’s economy during this period was reliant on the farm industry and raw material exports. So, when a particularly severe drought struck the Prairies, crippling the farm industry, and when global trade stuttered to a halt, thus limiting raw material exports, Canada’s economy had little chance of recovering quickly. During this period of global economic depression, jobs became scarce; businesses reduced their capacities and laid off workers; and, consequently, Canada’s economy ground down and its global power slowed. To cope with the Depression, the country’s politics became increasingly volatile. Politicians and political groups resorted to exceedingly larger rhetorical and severe measures to correct the downturn of fortunes in an effort to pull the economy out the downward spiral it had taken. Prime Minister R.B. Bennett effectively froze the country’s immigration to protect what employment opportunities there were with the population as it stood, which at the time stood at 11 percent (Green & Green, 2004). The passage of Order in Council PC 695 (PC 685) would stand until after the Second World War, sixteen years later (Green & Green, 2004).

Additionally, other Order in Councils, PC 695 most notably amended PC 183 and PC 1957, included new standards by which farmers were approved as immigrants. However, with the passage of PC 695 farmers were thereafter required to possess sufficient capital to purchase plots of land (Order-in-Council PC 1930-1957, 1930). Although exceptions were made for wealthy traditional immigrant source countries, PC 695 was a concerted effort to save what few jobs there were in Canada during the Depression, stating that, “from and after the 18th March, 1931, and until otherwise ordered, the landing in Canada of immigrants of all classes and occupations, is hereby prohibited…” (Order-in-Council PC 1931-695, 1931, para. 3). It is unclear, however, whether or not the restriction of immigration was beneficial to Canada during the Depression (Haubrich, 1990). It has been conjectured that if Canada had increased its immigration levels, especially those of immigrants who were willing to purchase land, both owners and farmers would have been rewarded in the longer term. Immigration would also have helped in expanding domestic markets for agricultural products, relieving some of the stresses on the manufacturing sector (Green & Green, 2004; Haubrich, 1990).
It would ultimately take economic stimulus and the social shock of the Second World War for Canada to fully recover from the economic downturn of the Depression. Europe was in need of manufacturing, and those who were previously unemployed enlisted in the military and went overseas to Europe to fight. Furthermore, the American economy rebounded, thus providing opportunities for Canada to expand its export markets to the south (Haubrich, 1990). Though the Depression scarred the minds and hearts of those who lived through it, Canada emerged with two important and new institutions: the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC now CBC) and the Bank of Canada. The CRBC helped spread positive sentiments and propaganda across Canada, while the Bank of Canada put a halt on unregulated currency and credit (Haubrich, 1990).

The end of the Second World War also marked a new beginning for the Canadian immigration system and a chance for the country to determine what it wanted to represent on the world stage. In 30 years, Canada’s modern identity based on multiculturalism would begin to establish itself in the country’s predominant ideology. Due to the enactment of PC 695—the freeze on the country’s immigration—Canada had a shortage of young, skilled workers.

Spurred by the cruelties of the Holocaust, Prime Minister William Mackenzie King gathered political support of the racial movements and proposed the Canadian Citizenship Act (1947) that expanded Canada’s immigration policy beyond its traditional source countries in western Europe. In a statement to the House of Commons in May 1947, King outlined Canada’s new immigration policy as follows:

[The] policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can be advantageously absorbed in our national economy…. Canada’s policy with respect to immigration falls, necessarily, into two parts: measures designed for immediate application, and a long-term programme … and followed by:
I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens…. The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable Oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems… (House of Commons, 1947, pp. 2644, 2645, 2646)

King’s new policy statement is freighted with a number of startling statements and biases that should be unpacked. Firstly, and as he stated, increasing the country’s population was now the foremost policy objective of the immigration system (see Green & Green, 2004; Rawlyk, 1962; Satzewich, 1989; Statistics Canada, 2016b). However, the policy did not mean that just anyone would be accepted to Canada. King made it clear that he believed Canada had the right to be selective with respect to whom should be accepted as immigrants. His statement, “I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens” bears out this sentiment (House of Commons, 1947, p. 2645). King also mentioned explicitly that those from the “Orient” were to be excluded, quite possibly because these immigrants allegedly represented a threat on Canadian society. His accusatory phrase, “Any considerable Oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems” lays bare this racist sentiment (House of Commons, 1947, p. 2646). In the same statement to the House of Commons, King also acknowledged his concerns over the vulnerability of a country possessing a small population, and how such a country with a small population would be impacted negatively in its ability to defend its national values. Immigration was, therefore, shifting to embody a domestic policy objective. Again, King: “In a world of shrinking distances and international insecurity, we cannot ignore the danger that lies in

2 At the time of King’s statement to the House of Common’s Canada’s population was 12 million (House of Commons, 1947)
a small population attempting to hold so great a heritage as ours.” (Green & Green, 2004; House of Commons, 1947, p. 2645)

What is also clear from King’s understanding of immigration, as Alan and David Green (2004) mention, is a view of it as an economic tool: that Canada’s economic growth would be best served by increasing the country’s population, that is, “A larger population will help to develop our resources. By providing a larger number of consumers, in other words, a larger domestic market, it will reduce the present dependence of Canada on the export of primary products” (House of Commons, 1947, p. 2644). And lastly, in his remarks, King references Canada’s limited absorptive capacity, that is its ability to accept and welcome immigrants and support their integration in Canadian communities (Corcoran, 2016). King mentions that the purpose of immigration should be to increase the numbers of those entering the country, but also to improve the country’s capacity to retain citizens and limit the allure to emigrate (most commonly to the United States) (House of Commons, 1947). Over the six years following King’s 1947 speech to the House of Commons, Parliament would invoke numerous new Order in Councils which had direct effects on Canada’s immigration levels.

However, King’s statement to the House of Commons was also inherently counter to what the stated goals of Canada’s immigration system. Considering the objectives of Canada’s immigration system was simultaneously to stimulate population growth and facilitate long-term economic growth, as well as include more immigrants in the labour force and increase the economic absorption of new immigrants; the confusion had profound implications on the power distributed to both the Department of Labour and to the Department Citizenship and Immigration (Green & Green, 2004).

By increasing the numbers of unskilled workers arriving from all European countries, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was fulfilling its mandate. However, and on the other side of the equation, increasing the number of citizens looking for work negatively impacted Canada’s labour markets and unemployment levels, which affected the goals of the
Department of Labour tasked with keeping unemployment levels low. Notably, this paradoxical policy was devised during a period when the government was steering the country’s economy away from resource extraction and towards modern manufacturing (Green & Green, 2004). In all senses, the conflicting message from the government to concentrate both on short-term and long-term immigration goals created an interdepartmental “tug-of-war,” and a new enactment of a new immigration policy was needed to appropriately direct resources and mitigate tensions. (Green & Green, 2004; Rawlyk, 1962)

As the Canadian economy turned its attention to manufacturing and production during the late 1950s into the 1960s, the need for skilled labour was increasing in the manufacturing sector and decreasing in the agricultural sector. The asymmetries between these two sectors pushed the Canadian government to begin implementing new regulations that limited the flow of unskilled workers in an effort to attract skilled workers (Borjas, 1991; Green & Green, 2004). However, recruiting skilled workers from traditional source countries proved very difficult. Coupled with the country’s growing diversity—one third being foreign-born, and the other half being first or second generation immigrants (Beaujot & Matthews, 2000)—these two forces helped to push the government to take steps in expanding the country’s immigration policy beyond the traditional source countries of immigration. They reduced restrictive regulations on Asian countries (Green & Green, 2004). Further, this was also a time of social revolution. The atrocities of the Second World War in Europe and Japan still weighed heavily in the minds of everyone and the awareness and sensitivity of discrimination helped facilitate the introduction of civil liberties eventually developing into the Civil Rights Movement (Corbett, 1963).

One of the more notable adjustments of government policy was in the rhetoric of the Canadian Conservative government. Its tone and content did not carry any overt discriminatory messages, such as those previously mentioned. The Minister of Immigration and Citizenship at the time, Ellen Fairclough, outlined a new “liberal” framework for the immigration system that amended and starkly contrasted King’s immigration policy. In contrast to King’s language, Fairclough stated that,
The new regulation 31, replacing section 20 of the former regulations, lays primary stress on education, training and skills as the main condition of admissibility regardless of the country of origin of the applicant…. This means that any suitably qualified person from any part of the world can be considered for immigration to Canada entirely on his own merits without regard to his race, colour, national origin or the country from which he comes…. This is a substantial advance over the former regulations in the selection of immigrants, in so far as selection on the basis of skill is concerned will be done without discrimination of any kind. (House of Commons, 1962, p. 9)

Fairclough’s policies, which were later adopted in Order in Council PC 86, illustrate a retreat from the enactment of King’s immigration policy of total reliance on European countries for Canada’s immigration. Instead, Fairclough’s new immigration policy placed value on the merits of the individuals and prioritized the qualifications of applicants over their country of origin. The enactment of PC 86, furthermore, placed more emphasis on the capacities of immigrants, giving preference to those who would be able to establish and support themselves in the interim period between jobs (Green & Green, 1995; House of Commons, 1962).

However, even in the midst of such progressive policies, the system was developing a backlog of unskilled immigrants who were applying through family sponsorship programs. The loosening of regulations on the countries of origins had the unintended consequence of allowing for previously landed immigrants in Canada to sponsor their family members residing in their home country. As more unskilled workers entered the country through family reunification programs, the government was obliged to limit the numbers of skilled workers; the workers that the country really needed were those with backgrounds in nursing, teaching, medicine, and social work (Corbett, 1963).

To cope with the problem of fairly weighing the merits of skilled and unskilled immigrants, in 1967 the “point system” was first introduced. This innovative system largely remains in effect today as the foundation of Canada’s immigration system. The point system provides an objective scale that allows for immigration officers to judge applications based on criteria outlined by the Department of Citizenship. (Borjas, 1991; Green & Green, 2004, 1995; Triadafilopoulos, 2007)
The structure of the point system works by awarding points to applicants on such criteria as education, professional experience, age, as well as an individual’s language proficiency (Green & Green, 1995; Simmons, 1994; Wanner, 2003). Further, this system increases the capacity and flexibility for provinces to recruit immigrants away from densely populated areas, thereby improving regional employment and offering the prospect of stimulating local economies.

The point system continued to work effectively through the 1970s and into the 1980s. Different administrations influenced how the point system should operate. Still the most common sway in immigration was the status of the country’s labour markets; applicants would gain or lose points depending on whether they had prearranged employment (Green & Green, 2004). The central concern of the government, and which loomed over immigration policy discussions throughout this period, was the falling fertility rates of the Canadian population. In every instance the government would remove a prerequisite for immigration, the inflow of immigrants would substantially increase. What marked the 1980s, however, was the uncoupling of immigration policy and labour markets. Whereas prior policy was a “tap on, tap off” approach that protected domestic labour markets, the government instead began envisioning immigration as a long-term economic and population increasing policy—a domestic policy.

In the history of Canada’s immigration policy, the year 1985 was a watershed period. In the previous five years, Canada’s business landscape experienced large fluctuations in economic booms and busts that thereby influenced the country’s labour markets and subsequent immigration. Under the new leadership of Brian Mulroney and his Conservative government in 1984, new attention was given to the direction of Canada’s immigration policy. The root causes that prompted changes were the mounting concerns for the increasing rates of infertility of Canadian women. It was becoming increasingly clear that the country’s current population was no longer able to refill its numbers (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007). During the years of 1985 to 1987, the requirement for immigrants to have prearranged employment was removed, which resulted in the rates of immigration increasingly substantially (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007; Green & Green, 2004). For instance, immigration levels went from
almost a decade low in 1985 with 83,402 new immigrants coming to Canada, to 99,219 in 1986, and then further surging to 152,098 new immigrants in 1987 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007). Notably, Canadian immigration levels have predominately been on an upward trend since 1985 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007).

The steps the Mulroney government implemented to increase the number of immigrants coming to Canada required the immigration system to expand what is referred to as the “class system.” Before this, the “classes” of immigration were: Family Reunification; the Business or Economic class; the Assisted Relatives, and Humanitarian or Refugee class (Green & Green, 2004). The introduction of a new subclass in the Business class—the Entrepreneur and Investor classes—represented shifting and new philosophies of the government’s position on immigration, believing that immigration could be a method of establishing trade links between countries during a time of new or emerging global markets (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012; Green & Green, 2004; Simmons, 1994). For the most part, entrepreneur class immigration, then and now, represents the majority of the total business immigration levels (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007, 2012).

Then from 1989 to 1994 Canada went through another economic recession. In the past periods of economic decline, Canada’s response would be in accordance with their “tap on, tap off” approach and decline immigration levels to protect labour markets. However, in spite of continually poor labour markets the government committed to increasingly high immigration levels, and further introduced a new five-year immigration plan that increased the inflow to 250,000 per year in 1995 (Bloom, Grenier, & Gunderson, 1995; Simmons, 1994; Veugelers & Klassen, 1994). The emphasis was still predominately on economic class applicants as the majority of accepted immigrants, limiting the number of those being accepted through family reunification classes. Most notably, though, Canada remained committed to admitting its share of refugees, which remained constant at approximately 36,000 a year (Simmons & Keohane, 1992).
The decision to take a long-term approach to immigration illustrates the formal divorce of Canada’s immigration system and labour market metrics (Galarneau & Morissette, 2008). Even during times of economic hardship, Canada remained committed to continued increases in immigration levels (Wiginton, 2013). Though it was not until 1994, and the election of new cabinet members, there remained unanimous support for immigration between Canada’s two major parties. Sergio Marchi, then the Liberal Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, in a speech to the House of Commons formally announced the government’s commitment to long-term immigration goals as follows:

Throughout our history, especially during economic downturns-and we have lived through those in the recent years, to be sure—there have been calls to slam the door shut to immigrants and immigration…. I believe decisions about immigration should be made from the perspective of a long term rather than narrow version. It is not enough to make those decisions with a view to short term gain or as a quick fix or to make decisions based on perception or mythology. (House of Commons, 1994, p. 797)

The next major shift in Canada’s immigration policy was the decentralization of power and vesting more autonomy to the provinces to determine their immigration preferences. The beginnings were first in 1991 with the signing of the Quebec-Canada Accord—an agreement that gave the Province of Quebec control over its own immigration levels, and the ability to select preferred classes depending on labour markets (Baxter, 2010; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), 2011; Wiginton, 2013). The Accord provided the framework that would later be known as the “Provincial Nominee Program” (PNP), that was adopted by all provinces and territories (PTs), except Quebec and Nunavut. (Baxter, 2010; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), 2011; El-assal, 2017; Wiginton, 2013). PNPs have become important elements to Canada’s immigration system. They are regional drivers of immigration (El-assal, 2017; Wiginton, 2013). These programs impart the responsibility of both the policy decisions pertaining to immigration and the selection process of immigrants. PNPs allow professional provinces and territories (PTs) to attract immigrants to specific labour markets that are currently underserved, or furthermore, attract immigrants away from densely populated metropolitan areas
(Leo & August, 2018; Wiginton, 2013). Notably, the PNPs work particularly well in attracting immigrants to PTs outside of Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, and recently, Alberta (El-Assal, 2017; El-Assal & Fields, 2017; Immigrant Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2017; Moazzami, 2015; Wiginton, 2013). Once accepted by the PTs, prospective immigrants are fast-tracked through the federal government’s screening process (Baxter, 2010; Leo & August, 2018; Wiginton, 2013). However, owing to the structure of PNPs, provinces have experienced varying levels success.

Unfortunately, the structure of PNPs creates points of friction between the PTs and the federal government. Since 2009, the federal government has published an annual number of immigrants that will be accepted in the form of a percentage of the total Canadian population. Each PT is allocated a certain number of immigrants who are predetermined from the previous years of immigration (El-Assal, 2017). This mechanism for distributing and allocating PTs with immigrants is, therefore, more beneficial to the PTs with well-established PNPs. Those provinces that have histories of strong immigration and means of retaining immigration continues to see successes. Yet, PTs such as the Atlantic provinces, show mixed results because they do not have well-established PTs; secondly, they are sensitive to interprovincial migration (immigrants leaving the provinces); and thirdly, they show successive years of low immigration, are especially hurt by the system of allocation (Bohnert et al., 2015; Morency, Malenfant, & MacIsaac, 2017). Prince Edward Island as the exception, the Atlantic provinces (Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick) do not have well-established PNP programs, nor do they have a sufficient capacity to retain immigrants. Consequently, these provinces are expected to continue to face significant business and labour market challenges into the future (Bohnert et

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3 In 2015, the PNP accounted for the majority of the economic immigration to the PT: Prince Edward Island (96%), Manitoba (93%), Saskatchewan (89%), Yukon (89%), New Brunswick (86%), Newfoundland and Labrador (72%) and Nova Scotia (59%).
al., 2015; El-assal, 2017; Wiginton, 2013). As a part of the Federal government’s Atlantic Growth Strategy, the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program (AIPP), a “fast-track” immigration program that allows employers to hire foreign nationals for jobs they are unable to fill locally has seen some success (Canada, 2018).

Currently, the federal government has levels of immigration set at 0.82% (0.0082 per every 1000 Canadians) of Canada’s population accounting for approximately 295,000 new immigrants arriving to Canada per year (El-Assal & Fields, 2017). Canada will have to begin offsetting its senior population (those 65 and older), which already outnumbers the Canadian youth population (those 14 and younger) (Stats Canada, 2017). The gap in growth between the two populations is expected to increase until 2031, at which point the entire baby-boomer generation will have reached 65 or older and will account for 23 to 25 percent of the Canadian population (El-Assal & Fields, 2017; Statistics Canada, 2011; Stats Canada, 2017). Coupled with an aging population and the life expectancy for Canadians gradually increasing, the fertility rates of Canadian women have remained relatively static over the past 40 years at 1.7 children per woman and below the needed replacement-level fertility rate of 2.1 children per woman (Bohnert et al., 2015; Statistics Canada, 2016b).

Outcomes for various low, medium, and high growth scenarios have been forecasted by researchers such as El-Assad (2017), though most immigration researchers agree that increases in immigration and a larger workforce will be necessary for the country’s economic future (Beaujot & Matthews, 2000; El-assal, 2017; El-Assal & Fields, 2017; IRCC, 2017c; Morency et al., 2017). However, as I outline in later sections, in order to absorb larger numbers of immigrants that these scenarios suggest and to stimulate future economic growth, elements must be established to absorb and integrate immigrants socially, culturally, and economically. Some services currently in place are accreditation programs or gap training programs, or language

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4 According to the 2016 census seniors in Canada account for 16.9% of the population and youth represent 16.6%
courses to help learn one of Canada’s primary languages so they may have a higher chance of success integrating into the Canadian fabric. Therefore, an immigration policy must take into account equally the success of the domestic population and their continued access to quality jobs, and the opportunities for immigrants and the provisions of support services that can facilitate their integration economically, but also socially and culturally.

2.3 Canada’s Multiculturalism Policy: History and Future

Although multiculturalism is defined as the “politics of recognition” (Taylor, 1994), as a policy framework, it connotes a culturally pluralistic society in which every citizen possesses the same rights and freedoms as their peers (Dewing, 2009; Kymlicka, 2012, 2015; Wong, Llyod, 2015; Guo, 2015). This section outlines the historical conception of multiculturalism in Canada and its eventual institutionalization with the nation’s adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This section then addresses the current perceptions of multiculturalism by reviewing discussions of a “post-multiculturalism” era.

2.3.1 Multiculturalism: The Formative Years

The Canadian Citizenship Act (1947) defined “Canadians” as separate from British subjects. It states that, “A person, born after the commencement of this Act, is a natural-born Canadian citizen” (Dewing, 2009; Library and Archives Canada, 1946, sec. 125; Wong, Llyod, 2015; Guo, 2015). The Act was also a catalyst in the way it represented the shift of Canada’s immigration system away from discriminatory immigration practices and toward a definition of Canada as a welcoming country to immigrants from non-traditional source countries (that is, Great Britain, the United States, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa) (Dewing, 2009; Green & Green, 2004; Wayland, 1997). However, the notion of integration as the selective adoption of aspects of society and culture was not implemented until the 1960s (Wayland, 1997). Prior to the 1960s, immigrants were expected to assimilate (Berry, 1992) to pre-existing British mainstream culture, also referred to as “Anglo-conformity,” with the added expectation that immigrants would be indistinguishable from native-born British
Canadians (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Dewey, 2005; Golob, 2015; Wayland, 1997). The defeated French population, however, saw this as an attack on their cultural identity. They feared that they too would have to submit to British rule and to assimilate to British culture that threatened their independence (Breton, 1988; Curtis, 1983; Rawlyk, 1962).

The education curriculum in Canada was used as a mechanism to facilitate the reproduction and further expansion of the British elite (Curtis, 1983; Gaffield, 1991). Education was, and to a large extent still is, seen as a process for social improvement and as an avenue for increasing social mobility. At the time, the curriculum disseminated by the Canadian government restricted the teaching of languages other than English, a policy that only amplified the friction and divide between Anglophone and Francophone populations (Breton, 1988; Curtis, 1983). French-Canadian cities, such as Montreal—a gateway city—had difficulty retaining immigrants and assimilating them into Francophone culture with the existing language regulations that privileged English, rather than French. It was becoming increasingly clear to French-Canadians that the demise of their culture was on the horizon if dramatic political measures were not taken to gain equal footing with the Anglophone culture (Charland, 1987; Wayland, 1997).

In response to Anglophone rule, the late 1960s saw the emergence of the Quebec independence political movement and its political wing the Parti Québécois (PQ). Within ten years the PQ won 71 of the 110 seats in the Assemblée Nationale (the Quebec Legislative Assembly) with 41.4% of the popular vote (Charland, 1987). The PQ advocated strongly for Quebec sovereignty with the ultimate goal of the separation of Quebec from Canada (Charland, 1987; Sklar, 1999). The PQ’s White Paper known as the Quebec-Canada: A New Deal, published in 1979, outlined a new political direction for the Francophone population that eventually, in 1995, became the framework for An Act Respecting the Future of Quebec Sovereignty. The Act stated in clear language that,

“We the people of Quebec declare it is our will to be in full possession of all the powers of a state: to levy all our taxes, to vote on all our laws, to sign all
our treaties and to exercise the highest power of all, conceiving and controlling by ourselves, our fundamental law” (Parizeau, 1995, p. 450)

This declaration was a bold, emphatic statement illustrating the negative sentiment the Quebec people held towards the Anglophone population, a sentiment that was viewed as enough of a truism to warrant the separation of themselves from Canada. Although the PQ’s popularity and the “OUI” (YES to separation) campaign ultimately could not gather enough votes for full separation, the idea of a referendum was still an alluring image that threatened the unity of Canada (Charland, 1987; Sklar, 1999).

During the rise of the PQ through the late 1960s and early 1970s, then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, saw multiculturalism as a political tool that could help his party gain Liberal votes in Quebec by drawing them away from separatist leaning parties, as well as a pathway both for negotiating a truce between pro-separatist and anti-separatist ideologies and for stifling flaring tensions between Anglophone and Francophone populations (Wayland, 1997). However, many Canadians objected to the policy of multiculturalism and its offspring, bilingualism. In his many essays, Trudeau frequently wrote his opinions that were parallel with those of The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism that advocated for developing the Canadian Confederation on the basis of equal partnership between the two founding cultures—Francophone and Anglophone—where equality amongst the cultures was a requirement of unifying the country’s so-called Two Solitudes (Forbes, 1993; Laurendeau & Dunton, 1971). In a statement to the House of Commons, Trudeau declared that,

I am sure, by all Canadians that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others…. There are two official languages, there is no official

5 A commission establish by Lester B. Pearson in response to the growing negativity of the Quebec people and investigate the extent of bilingualism in Canadian government, the role of public and private companies role in promoting better cultural relations, and accessing the opportunities available to Canadians to be bilingual (Privy Council Office, 1967).
culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly. (Laurendeau & Dunton, 1971, p. 8545)

By formally recognizing French culture as equal to British culture, Trudeau took the first step toward improving the fraught relationships between the two founding cultures⁶. As he attempted to broker deals with the Bloc Québécois, a political party which made no pretense of trying to bridge the gap between French and English-speaking Canadians, in 1981, Trudeau succeeded in entrenching the Charter of Rights and Freedoms into the Canadian Constitution (CIC, 2012; Forbes, 1993; Kymlicka, 2012; Mockiene, 2017). As a new national policy of unification, the Charter addressed the barriers faced by Canadians of different cultural backgrounds, races and ethnicities who were being deprived of equal participation in Canadian society (CIC, 2012; Forbes, 1993; Kymlicka, 2012).

### 2.3.2 Multiculturalism: The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Multiculturalism Act

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms formally recognized multiculturalism as a foundational element of the Canadian Constitution (Dewing, 2009). The Charter allowed for different ethnic groups to enjoy full Canadian citizenship rights by promoting tactful integration of newcomers, inhibition or erosion of assimilating measures, and encouragement of social integration into the Canadian national fabric (Dewing, 2009; Forbes, 1993).

In a speech to the House of Commons, Trudeau articulated the need for unity between Francophone and Anglophone populations by stating that,

> A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians (House of Commons, 1970, p. 8545).

⁶ Notably, Aboriginal populations were left out of the discussion.
To implement his national vision, Trudeau proposed two official languages though no official culture, and a future in which all cultures comprising the national mosaic were to be treated equally (Forbes & Janzen, 2004; Forbes, 1993). In a sense, this constituted a move by Canada toward a European style of governance, one that was described as more Socialist, progressive, diverse, and sophisticated than Canada’s neighbours to the south (Forbes, 1993).

In his address to the House of Commons, Trudeau proceeded to outline the beginnings of a Multiculturalism Policy that was informed by The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The recommendations of the Commission were in 1988 enacted into law as the Multiculturalism Act comprising these aspirational statements:

1. Assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada;
2. [Support to] overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society;
3. Promote creative encounters and interchange among[st] all Canadian cultural groups; and,
4. Assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada’s official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.

Since its adoption, there have been various changes and emphasis to the Multiculturalism Policy, for instance, the second and third objectives have recently received a great deal of attention (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). For instance, the funding allocated to language services available to newcomers has risen considerably within the last decade. As well, increased attention to organizing multicultural festivals to celebrate the different traditions of ethnic populations is apparent in the creation of multicultural centres around Toronto, partly facilitated by the large body of literature that is now addressing ethnic culture.

In 1988 the Multiculturalism Policy was given statutory recognition as the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. This Act only includes the oversight of the federal government departments and agencies and ensuring the values of the policy are disseminated to the provincial
level, businesses, and civil society (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). As an aside, the monitoring of
the Multiculturalism Policy is monitored by a small committee known as the Multiculturalism
Directorate, with an annual budget of $10–15M, which ensures the appropriate implementation
of policy and the execution of multicultural programming at a government level (Banting &
Kymlicka, 2010; CIC, 2012).

2.3.3 Perspectives on Multiculturalism

As noted above, since the late 1980s, Canada has continually accepted large numbers of
immigrants per year. Though Canada is not free of its problems, multiculturalism—unlike
European countries—has received less negative sentiment, though the attention Maxime Bernier,
a Conservative Canadian politician, does illuminate that Canada is not immune to these
discussions. The challenges Canada faces, however, are predominately historical conflicts
between the Aboriginal peoples and self-proclaimed founders of the country (Anglophone and
Francophone), which may be consequences of the lack of integration, trust, or sense of belonging
in Canada (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). Multiculturalism was, indeed, an innovative way of
supporting individual freedoms during a time when Canada and the developed world were
striving for more liberal policies (Kymlicka, 2015).

The success of multiculturalism is due, in part, to the manner in which it was promoted. The fact
that Canada officially acknowledges its identity as a “multicultural country” generates pride in
its citizens who stand in solidarity with immigrants (Kymlicka & Banting, 2006). Furthermore,
immigrants arriving in Canada develop a connection to the values of multiculturalism and come
to identify with the country’s national ethos of acceptance, though in recent years it is unclear
whether this sentiment has changed (Kymlicka & Banting, 2006). In contrast, other countries,
such as the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, and Austria have retreated from
multiculturalism by electing anti-immigration governments (Banting, 2010; Gozdecka, Ercan, &
Kmak, 2014; Kymlicka, 2012; Vertovec, 2010). Germany’s Chancellor, Angela Merkel, even
went so far as to announce that multiculturalism had “utterly failed” as a policy in Germany (BBC, 2010).

The issue of retreating multiculturalism in countries beyond Canada’s borders is a result of a confluence of issues. Though the lack of structure that multiculturalism presents itself is an issue, it does not necessarily lend itself to be unpacked as a single item. Rather, the three major problems of multiculturalism are encapsulated in an address by former British Prime Minister, David Cameron, outlining his position on multiculturalism. He stated:

> Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and the mainstream. We have failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values. So, when a white person holds objectionable views—racism, for example—we rightly condemn them. But when equally unacceptable views or practices have come from someone who isn’t white, we’ve been too cautious, frankly even fearful, to stand up to them. (Cameron, 2011)

The first issue that Cameron touches on is that the excess of freedoms to practice one’s own cultural norms may not be in parallel with the values of the host country. Most notably, the treatment of all participants equally and in parallel with the country’s Constitution. The second and third issues are co-dependent, and which Cameron addresses indirectly. The former is that, although multiculturalism does celebrate cultural freedoms, the celebration alone does not address the realities immigrants face when attempting to acculturate to a new country. And thirdly, the barriers immigrants face to successfully integrating into destination countries results in them “living separate lives,” either socially or physically in dense culturally vibrant pockets (Li, 2003; Walks & Bourne, 2006).

Critics of multiculturalism point to the excesses of freedoms granted to cultural groups which can impact the freedoms, and even, marginalize some of its host members (Kymlicka & Banting, 2006; Zapata-Barrero, 2017). Issues of gender equality in some cultures, the mistreatment of women and the status of men, and more substantive evidence such as honour killings—a
culturally specific type of murder occurring in some traditional minority cultures—raises the concerns about the limits of liberalism (Ercan, 2015). For instance, although it is a contentious topic, critics point to the innocuous headscarves worn by Muslim women as a putative example of stifling of freedoms (Lentin, 2014). Mentioned in Joppke (2009), “[The Islamic headscarf] is an affront to liberalism” (p. 4) and represents the constraints of self-definition and expression on Muslim women. He continues further to address the premises of liberalism as the, “toleration of the intolerant”—the unchecked excess of freedoms—and he asks when does progressivism and “toleration” go too far in the sake of equal citizenship (Joppke, 2009, p. 13).

Another argument raised by others who are critical of multiculturalism relates to the lack of attention and support for the real outcomes for immigrants in destination or host countries. As mentioned by Kymlicka (2010), multiculturalism directs its attention towards, “A feel-good celebration of ethno-cultural diversity” (p. 98). This celebration allows for the host country’s safe consumption of cultural diversity.

    Multiculturalism takes these familiar cultural markers of ethnic groups—clothing, cuisine, and music—and treats them as authentic practices to be preserved by their members and safely consumed by others (Kymlicka, 2015, p. 4).

Instead of attention directed at job opportunities, economic integration and subsidies for training programs, multiculturalism can constitute repackaging of cultures so they may be understood by the host culture, often at the expense of the original cultures.

Taking a stance of opposition to multiculturalism, Kymlicka points out that under a multicultural policy, newcomers could find it difficult to escape the shadow cast by destination countries. In doing so, these countries exert their power and influence in shaping the identities of immigrants, reinforcing inequalities and cultural restrictions (Kymlicka, 2015). However, sceptics and critics of multiculturalism also point to the lack of opportunities and outcomes that a multicultural framework provides for relieving the barriers that immigrants face in their new host’s communities.
A strikingly large proportion of immigrants face low-income living conditions during their initial settlement periods, and a significant number of them remain vulnerable in unwelcoming conditions. Kymlicka (2012) echoes this condition. He states that,

[Multiculturalism] ignores economic and political inequality… [the celebration of culture does] nothing to address the real problems facing Caribbean and South Asian communities in Britain—problems of unemployment, poor educational outcomes, residential segregation, poor English language skills, and political marginalization. (p. 4)

The lack of support for immigrant populations in host communities and the prevalence of barriers impeding successful integration are, as critics maintain, a stain on the sentiment of multiculturalism. This outcome is a consequence of the lack of attention and support appears in both physical and social forms, although the physical manifestation impacts the access to developing social connections. For instance, there is an over representation of immigrants in low-income areas throughout most major cities (Hatfield, 2004; Picot, Lu, & Canada, 2017; Schellenberg & Hou, 2005). Trevor Phillips, Chair of the United Kingdom’s Commission for Equality and Human Rights Commission, highlighted this issue in an address on the physical division within cities across the U.K.: as follows:

The fact is that we are a society which, almost without noticing it, is becoming more divided by race and religion…. And here is where I think we are: we are sleepwalking to segregation (“Britain ‘sleepwalking to segregation,’” 2005).

Though this speech has since been questioned by the academic community as being overly contentious, Phillips became the centre point of the discussion of the patterns of ethnic residential concentration (Brice, 2005). These enclaves do not foster successful integration of immigrants. Remember, integration is a “two-way” street, and, therefore, requires interethnic contact for immigrants to “selectively adopt” aspects of the host culture (Berry, 1992; Li, 2003). As Koopman (2010) mentions, the separation between population groups—host and newcomer—is due to the lack of incentives for “interethnic contacts.” Therefore, separation between the two groups is also self-inflicted. Immigrants tend to gravitate towards homogenous pockets and live amongst people of the same ethnicity, culture, or religion (Koopmans, 2010).
The critique of multiculturalism as being inclusive is based on the fact of both the lack of attention and support that flow to immigrant populations and of barriers to successful integration, have given rise to the discussion of “post-multiculturalism.” Highlighted by the retreat from multicultural policies, post-multiculturalism is an appeasement of both liberal and conservative political sentiment (Vertovec, 2010).

2.3.4 Post-Multiculturalism?

The emergence of so-called post-multiculturalism is in part due to the increasing movement of people, transmigration, as well as transnationalism. “Post-multiculturalism” is the next progression of multiculturalism, the “recognition of the reality of differences-within-differences,” and “accommodating increasingly complex and diverse differences” (Fleras, 2015, p. 320). Post-multiculturalism seemingly juxtaposes both paradoxical agendas of unity and diversity—the acceptance of diverse cultures with the purpose of developing a strong, cohesive national identity (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Fleras, 2015; Gozdecka et al., 2014; Vertovec, 2010; Zapata-Barrero, 2017).

Fleras (2015) presents post-multiculturalism as a way for “constructive engagement with the past by building on it and moving positively beyond a universalistic multiculturalism model” (2015, p. 318). She posits that the retreat of European countries from multiculturalism as a failed policy is founded fundamentally in poor political judgment. Instead, she calls for countries to build on the strengths developed by multiculturalism, such as equality and non-discrimination, and to refine their approaches to integration. This is echoed in Kymlicka’s (2010) work as he defines post-multiculturalism as, “avoid[ing] the excesses of multiculturalism without reverting to the sort of harsh assimilation that we see in many European countries” (p. 47). And lastly, Zapata-Barrero (2017) acknowledges post-multiculturalism as a policy that is informed by multiculturalism, yet sets regulations for “the recognition of differences” (p. 2).

The inclusivity of post-multiculturalism is central to its approach. Instead of framing the inclusion principles as avoiding exclusion, post-multiculturalism promotes inclusion within an
accommodating model (Fleras, 2015). This translates as everyone is, “included precisely because of their differences, thereby adjusting the system to make it fit new realities.” (Fleras, 2015, p. 322). The referencing of inclusivity in this context shifts the power dynamics, and also addresses the monocultural current state and the practices of assimilation and integration (Glasser, Awad, & Kim, 2009). To use Canada as an example, the use of categories to define differences—ethnicity, culture, or majority/minority groups—is seen as limiting and as a barrier to building cohesiveness. As Lathman (2007) says, “Individuals are increasingly understanding themselves in far more complex and intersecting ways” (p. 25). Given that multiculturalism in Canada is a celebration of a multiplicity of cultures often within singular community groupings, this acknowledgement does not accurately encapsulate all people coming to the country. Furthermore, the acceptance of all is a mono-uniformity that is not realistic in a world that is founded in relativity (Dustin, 2007).

2.3.5 Retreat, Renouncement, or Rebranded?

The retreat from multiculturalism may be more of a matter of perspective and talk, rather than of reality based on migration. Kymlicka, a fervent supporter of multiculturalism states that, “the retreat [from multiculturalism] may indeed be more a matter of talk than of actual policies” (2012, p. 14). Indeed, the Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI)—that Kymlicka developed—monitors multiculturalism and its subsequent policies in 21 Western democracies, identifying years that countries adopted, or retrenched, and gives scores out of 8, one for each multiculturalism policy (Kymlicka, 2015). Data beginning in 1980 show that the average score of North American and European countries have risen over a 30-year period (Kymlicka, 2015). The data illustrated by the MPI shows that multiculturalism policy has in fact persisted, despite the publicized divorces and retreat countries are referencing.

7 Multiculturalism Policy Index, http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/
In reference to the British and European multiculturalism policy and their retreat, Derek McGhee says that, “this retreat from open hostility to multiculturalism is, on examination, an exercise in avoiding the term multiculturalism rather than moving away from the principles of multiculturalism altogether” (McGhee, 2008, p. 85). Again Kymlicka stated: “[Politicians] have decided not use the ’m’ word—instead favouring terms like diversity, pluralism, intercultural dialogue, or community cohesion—but these changes in wording have not affected actual policies.”(Kymlicka, 2012, p. 14). Wessendorf & Vertovec (2009) echo Kymlicka’s words, “’Multiculturalism’ has mostly disappeared from political rhetoric and ‘integration’ [or civic integration] has plainly appeared, continuing support for immigrant minority cultural difference is evident in the growing use of the notions of ‘diversity’” (p. 27). Indeed, countries are enforcing a “muscular” defence of liberal democratic principles and promoting the “civic integration”—the emphasis on immigrants integrating more fully into mainstream society.

Given that multiculturalism and civic integration are convergent social forces, it is difficult to conclude that multiculturalism is “dead.” Rather, the emergence of new terminologies to replace “multiculturalism” is having no effect on the existing policies. In fact, new policies are often being layered on top of existing multicultural programs and policy (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013). The political retreat from multiculturalism may therefore be a short-term pragmatic tactic that provides cover for state leaders to present their policies as innovative approaches during a time of increasing trends of migration (Schönwälder, 2010).

2.4 Newcomer Settlement and Inclusion

Canada’s multiculturalism policy relies heavily on civic integration (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Kymlicka, 2012; Kymlicka & Banting, 2006). The integration ethos originally incorporated in the 1971 multiculturalism states that for all—the immigrants, the marginalized, the cultural

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8 Civic Integration involves immigrants gaining employment, respecting basic liberal values, knowledge of the host country’s language, history and understanding of institutions (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013).
minorities—would be given the means and resources to be able to fully participate in Canadian society (Allan, 2016; Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; CIC, 2012; Dewing, 2009; Forbes, 1993; Kymlicka, 2012). This is echoed by the IRCC’s mission statement that outlines their policy objectives that include the integration of newcomers “into the Canadian way that maximizes their contribution to the country” (IRCC, 2017b, sec. 2), as well as sustaining the mandate of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms to develop a society that provides equal opportunities to all groups.

This section outlines Berry’s (1992), “acculturation options” (acculturation, integration, separation and marginalization), as well as Bourdieu’s theoretical constructions of social and cultural capital. The latter half of this section also addresses the issues and barriers preventing immigrants from integrating socially, culturally, and economically.

### 2.4.1 Acculturation Theory

Integration is as one of the possible outcomes of acculturation, as posited by scholars using acculturation theory. “Acculturation,” as defined by Robert Redfield (1936), “[is the] phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture of either, or both, groups” (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149). Berry (1992) has heavily influenced acculturation theory, developing a model (Figure 1) that illustrates the distinctions between the four modes of acculturation.

Throughout acculturation theory, there is potential for cultural capital to be developed, as well as being denied in each of the four modes of acculturation. Firstly, the modes of acculturation are: 1) assimilation, the full uptake of a new culture and the shedding of previous cultures; 2) integration, the continued maintenance of one’s previous culture, while selectively choosing nuances of dominant cultures; 3) separation (or segregation), in which the individual is detached from larger society and their traditional culture is maintained; and 4) marginalization, where the
individual has to renounce their traditional culture, but is also excluded from participating in new, or dominant culture.

The structure of Berry’s model is constructed upon the responses to two questions that the individual must ask themselves respectively: 1) To what importance does the individual hold to maintaining their traditional cultures, and 2) the attitudes towards the development of new relationships with those of different cultures and ethnicity (Berry, 1992). Importantly, this model is not without limitations, nor is it a definitive assessment of acculturation. Berry (1992) does acknowledge that by constraining the answers to “Yes” or “No” does reduce the model’s capacity. Instead, if answers were positioned using a spectrum, the two poles representing the modes of acculturation, the answers could better represent the individual’s sense of the acculturation process (Berry, 1992).

![Berry’s acculturation model](image)

**Figure 1. Figure 2. Berry’s (1992) acculturation model.**

The process of integrating for the individual, as Berry (1992) mentions, is one of “selective adoption” (p. 74). Behaviours from both the new and traditional cultures are added or subtracted that overtime become fluid by both the individual’s public and private lives. It is therefore important to acknowledge that the process of integration is innately resistant to the complete
shedding of traditional culture, such is the process of assimilation. This “selective adoption” approach is influenced by multiple internal and external factors each causing its own stresses—known as “acculturative stress”—on the individual (Berry, 1992, p. 75).

2.4.2 The Role of Language

After the Second World War, Canada emerged in need of skilled labour. In response, Canada began accepting immigrants from non-traditional immigrant source countries. In the 1970s more immigrants were coming to Canada from the Africa, the Middle East, South East Asia and Oceania, and South America instead of European source countries. The difficulty, however, was absorbing these immigrants and utilizing their human capital effectively.

Human capital represents the capacities of the individual. For instance, individuals possessed knowledge, skills, and personal attributes—all of which influence the individual’s ability to perform work (Chiswick & Miller, 1994). The development of human capital is dependent on language skills and the ability of the individual to consume and apply information. Scholars, Chiswick and Miller (1994), acknowledging the role of language skills in the development of human capital say these skills are, “embodied in the person; they are productive in the labour market and/or in consumption; and they are created at a sacrifice of time and out-of-pocket resources” (Chiswick & Miller, 1995, p. 248).

To the scholars’ first point, the embodiment of language skills is dependent on the exposure of the individual to the language. The difference between the individual’s mother tongue and the host country’s language, known as “linguistic distance,” is positively affected by the increased exposure of the individual’s exposure to the new language. English and Mandarin are languages that are considered very distant, and therefore difficult for individuals from either language to learn, and learn quickly, the other language (Adamuti-Trache, 2012). The interim between language fluency is a vulnerable period and is one of the reasons for why immigrant populations experience chronic low-income. Language services are available to those that require language training. However, to limit those participating in these programs as well as increase the human
capital entering the country, the structure of the point system awards the most number of points to those who are proficient in one of the country’s languages.

The Canadian immigration system is structured as a “point system,” known more formally as the Comprehensive Ranking System (CRA). The IRCC allocates points to six categories deemed as valuable to Canada. Valued above all other categories, language proficiency awards applicants 28 points—the most possible number of points of any category. The proficiency of immigrants is through domestic programs like the Canadian English Language Proficiency Index Program (CELPIP), or international programs such as the International English Language System (IELTS). The proficiency scores from these programs are adapted to Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) scores, which are the currency for the language proficiency section of the CRA.

To be classified as proficient in English or French, applicants must have 24 CLB points, divided into the four categories of speaking, listening, reading, and writing; each category earning the applicant six CLB points. To equal 28 points, an additional four points are awarded if the applicant can prove that they are semi-proficient in the country’s other official language (i.e., English-French or French-English). In total, language proficiency equates to 28 of the need 67 points (41%) of the points required to qualify for admission to the Skilled Worker Program. In valuing language so highly, the IRCC recognizes the implications of language proficiency on the integration of immigrants. Lacking in proficiency, impacts the human capital entering Canada and strains the structures in place that work to facilitate the integration of immigrants once in Canada. Notably, immigrants arriving to Canada through programs, such as Family

9 Language, education, previous experience, age, pre-arranged employment, and adaptability.
10 Reciprocal programs for French languages are: Test d’évaluation de français (TEF) or Test de connaissance du français (TCF)
11 Point distribution in other categories are as follows: Education (25), Experience (15), Age (12), Arranged Employment (10), and Adaptability (10),
Reunification programs, proficiency is not valued as highly as Federal Skilled Worker programs. Therefore, those who are not proficient have opportunities to immigrate to Canada. For those who are not proficient in one of the country’s official languages, the federal government has committed to providing language services delivered through service-provider-organizations (SPOs).

The percentage of immigrants with mother tongues other than English or French is higher for recent immigrants (74%) compared to established immigrants (66%), and still much higher than the Canadian-born population (4%) (Council of Ministers of Education, 2017). To bridge the divide between mother tongues and one of the country’s languages, the IRCC dedicates a significant portion of the IRCC’s settlement budget to language services. With that said, immigrants aged 16–65 score below the Canadian-born national average in language proficiency. The effectiveness of these programs, or possibly the attraction and retention of individuals to these services, is unclear. Given the lower than Canadian-born average literacy rates amongst immigrant populations in English or French, the capacities for these groups to effectively utilize their skills, limits their ability to participate in Canadian labour markets.

As Boyd and Cao (2009) mentioned in their research, compared to permanent residents who exhibit high rates of proficiency, newcomers have lower than average proficiency levels. As the scholars note, the consequences are in line with human capital—lower rates of language proficiency is correlated with depressed wages and lower weekly earnings than Canadian-born populations. Other studies suggest that likely lower wages are the result of immigrants being turned away from employment in their fields of expertise and, therefore, are either unemployed or underemployed (Driedger & Halli, 1999).

Language is a central pillar of integration and the Canadian immigration system. To accept a diverse range of immigrants from around the world, and non-English or French-speaking

\[12\] Non-profits, Local Immigrant Partnerships (LIPs), and service provider organizations (SPOs).
countries, Canada has established a support system that delivers language training to needing newcomers. During the interim, however, those developing language skills experience periods of low income and unemployment, which affects an already vulnerable population, further reducing their manoeuvrability and capacity to respond to risk. The next section discusses this vulnerability and the realities experienced by immigrants arriving in Canada.

2.4.3 Economic Vulnerability

The initial part of this section defines and address issues of low income and poverty in Canada, setting the stage for the economic barriers, and the implications these barriers have upon immigrant populations.

2.4.3.1 Overview of Low Income and Poverty in Canada

Though low income is often not a permanent state, and instead a state that most individuals can escape from, low-income can affect the opportunities individuals have access to. Rates of low income amongst immigrant populations have been a continual concern in Canada. Studies have found that within the first 10 years of living in Canada, almost two thirds of immigrants face one year of low income (Picot, Hou, & Coulombe, 2008). Furthermore, in Canada, immigrants have been acknowledged along with four other groups as being the most vulnerable populations for experiencing long-term poverty (Hatfield, 2004).

Poverty is multifaceted and amongst others a form of social exclusion. It is not linked with any particular group, nor confined to specific facets of life such as social, cultural, or political. Poverty can be defined in two ways, the first being absolute poverty that pertains to the deprivation of basic goods, services, and means to support and sustain a physical well-being (Sarlo, 2013). Though commonly associated with developing countries, absolute poverty is still prevalent in the post-industrial world (Lammam & Macintyre, 2016; Patil & Ennis, 2013).

13 In 1995 Canada signed a declaration in Copenhagen to end absolute poverty.
Notably, Canada does not have an absolute poverty line, and instead uses other measures that indirectly estimate poverty rates. In 1992, Nipissing University Professor, Christopher Sarlo arbitrarily developed the Basic Needs Poverty Line (BNL) (Sarlo, 2013).

The BNL represents the resources a family requires, rather than what is actually spent to sustain its basic needs for “long term physical well-being” (Sarlo, 2013, p. 7). However, incomes may be spent on items that are not a requirement for well-being that BNL cannot measure. Indeed, critics of the BNL argue that the Line is too low, and those living on, or near, the Line could not survive (Sarlo, 2013).

The second definition of poverty is relative, or overall poverty, and is the relation of an individual’s income to those of others in society (Lammam & Macintyre, 2016; Patil & Ennis, 2013; Sarlo, 2013). It is expected that those living in relative poverty experience exclusion from participating in particular activities that would otherwise be accessible by those living in developed nations (Chuvakin & Barros, 2010; Mack, 2016; Patil & Ennis, 2013). However, relative poverty often faces criticism that the metrics of poverty that are produced exaggerate the numbers of those experiencing poverty (Patil & Ennis, 2013). Relative poverty will always exist since the measures of relative poverty do not focus on the basic necessities that individuals require for survival. Instead, relative poverty is a means of defining a set of the population that has a reduced capacity due to limited capital and resources (Lammam & Macintyre, 2016; Sarlo, 2013).

Poverty is linked to low income, yet defining what a “low-income” is, is difficult and dependent on an array of factors such as location, age, number of dependents. In Canada there are three measures of low income and poverty: 1) low-income cut-off (LICO), which is based on the percentage of income a household spends on necessities (food, shelter, clothing) relative to the average; 2) a threshold measurement, the market basket measure (MBM)—for the cost of goods and services that two adults and two children will need; and three, the low-income measure (LIM), which is another threshold measure that is half the Canadian median adjusted household
income (Hatfield, 2004; Lammam & Macintyre, 2016; Sarlo, 2013; Statistics, 2017). All three of these measurements have thresholds that are above the BNL, though the LICO threshold is closest, and therefore the LICO reports that many more people are “poor” instead of experiencing poverty. As Lammam and MacIntyre (2016) argue, since the LICO is the regularly used measure of poverty in Canada even though it does not take into account the difference in living costs across the country, the metric may risk overstating the extent of poverty in Canada (Lammam & Macintyre, 2016; Patil & Ennis, 2013).

In response to this issue and the discrepancy of living costs in separate areas cross Canada, the government developed the MBM, an absolute measure of the cost of goods in services in a “basket,” in 2010 (Patil & Ennis, 2013; Sarlo, 2013). Though the MBM does include a broad range of goods and services, the use of the MBM is dependent on what goods and services goes into the basket, and the rate in which the federal government updates the costs of the goods and services in the “basket” (Sarlo, 2013; Statistics, 2017). Without an agreed upon poverty line in Canada, academics and policy makers face difficulty determining an accurate number of those experiencing poverty. To use metrics like the LICO to supplement a BNL, critics argue that the metrics produced are inaccurate, and do not reflect effects of yearly inflation rates, nor consumption habits (Lammam & Macintyre, 2016; Sarlo, 2013).

2.4.3.2 Prevalence of Poverty in Newcomer Populations

Canada’s immigration system is rooted in the utilization of Human Capital, and informs the allocation of points for specific qualities possessed by immigrants (Reitz, 2005). The immigrant arriving in Canada is highly skilled, has received high standards of education, fluent in one of the two national languages (English or French), and has the financial capital to be self-sustaining during the interim between jobs (Sweetman, 2003). However, it is increasingly common in major cities across Canada that low-income areas have a high density of immigrants due to perceived job opportunities and access to cultural amenities (Shields, Kelly, Park, Prier, & Fang, 2011). A study conducted on the poverty rates amongst immigrant populations by Hatfield (2004),
concluded that immigrants were part of a group, made up of four other vulnerable populations that were labelled as the most susceptible to poverty, and chronic poverty, in Canada (also, Morissette & Zhang, 2001). A 2006 study of immigrant poverty found an alarming 45.5% of recent immigrants (2002–2006 at the time) were likely to live in poverty, a rate which is three times greater than the Canadian-born poverty rate (Shields et al., 2011). On average, immigrants earn $6,530 less a year compared to their Canadian-born counterparts (Statistics Canada, 2016a), and it is consistently documented in the literature of working in lower-paying occupations relative to their earning potential (Bauder, 2003a; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Ornstein, 2000). These statistics represent the result of barriers preventing the economic integration of immigrants.

“Human Capital” is the perceived value of education and experiences that an individual possesses (Becker, 1994). The Canadian immigration system is coupled to human capital theory, as more points are given to applicants with higher education and experience, thereby positively increasing their likelihood of acceptance (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). For the most part, immigrants upon arrival in their destination countries have equal, if not higher levels of education than Canadian citizens. However, studies have shown that for immigrants, the education and experience that immigrants possess does not correlate to higher income levels (Bauder, 2003a; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Galarneau & Morissette, 2008; Reitz, 2005), and some studies even suggest that their levels have in fact been declining for successive cohorts (Picot & Sweetman, 2012; Sweetman, 2003). Importantly, the employment rate amongst immigrants has remained on par with Canadian-born workers, though immigrant males fare better than their female counterparts (Picot & Sweetman, 2012).

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14 Lone parent families, unattached older individuals, persons with disabilities, and Aboriginal and First Nations peoples living off of reserves, make up the other four groups (Patil & Ennis, 2013).
2.4.3.3 Barriers to Economic Integration

Whether it’s by the overt discrimination of foreign credentials (see Bauder, 2003a; Girard & Bauder, 2005; Siar, 2013), or the covert underutilization of immigrant labour and their associated human capital (see Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Li, 2001, 2003; Li, 2003), immigrants regularly find the value of their education and experience recognized less in Canadian professions (see Li, 2001; Reitz, 2005). In his study of the underutilization of immigrants’ potential, Bauder (2003a) argues that immigrants, specifically those culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD), are systematically excluded from Canadian skilled labour positions (see Becker, 1994; Reitz, 2005).

Provincial governments in Canada regulate most trades and professions and provide bridge training programs for newcomers. However, the upper professional tiers of Canadian labour markets are self-regulated by their professional associations or unions such as the Medical Council of Canada, the provincial Registered Nurses Association, and provincial professional engineers, teaching boards, and the Canadian Bar Association; the provincial governments entrust the responsibility of regulating education and experience standards to the professional governing bodies (see Girard & Bauder, 2005; Zikic & Richardson, 2016). Given the power to do so by the government, self-regulated Canadian professional associations systematically favour workers educated in Canada and have the power to reproduce Canadian workplace culture (see Bauder, 2003b; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Girard & Bauder, 2005; Siar, 2013). This prejudice embodies the uncorroborated assumption that the value of Canadian education is more robust than international qualifications, and importantly, without determining the underlying capacities of the individual (Bauder, 2003). Though most pronounced in these self-regulated profession, in a study on the value foreign education and experience in Canada, Buzdugan and Halli (2009) also suggest that this prejudice is not solely limited to select upper professions, but rather is disseminated through all areas of the Canadian labour markets (see Pratt, 1999; Siar, 2013).

CALD immigrants applying for Canadian jobs are regularly screened for “Canadian experience” (Li, 2000). The idea of Canadian experience being that those applying for positions in those
professions have the capacity to work in a Canadian workplace and is an example of the institutionalization of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Meaning applicants are familiar with Canadian workplace culture and social cues, as well as possessing strong social skills with capabilities of working in group settings (Bauder, 2003a; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Girard & Bauder, 2005; Siar, 2013; Zikic & Richardson, 2016). But also to use a Bourdieusian lens, the screening of “Canadian experience” is a certificate that, “confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer” (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 50–51).

The most damning guarantee about the devaluation of foreign qualifications is before arrival immigrants are unable to prepare for their exclusion from Canadian labour markets. They are made aware that their education will need to be assessed against Canadian standards, yet there are no opportunities pre-arrival to have their credentials evaluated (Bauder, 2003a). This guarantee illustrates the compounding of factors that exemplifies the vulnerability of immigrants who are left to gamble with their financial futures. Unless immigrants pursue accreditation programs that are cumbersome, expensive, as well as requiring a firm grasp of English or French; immigrants are left to search for “survival employment” (Siar, 2013), working in positions that are outside of the professional fields, and often documented in secondary labour markets, which are characterized by short term contracts, instability, fringe benefits, and low pay (Bauder, 2003a, 2006; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009).

There is also linear correlation between low-income and participation in sport. Thereby the children of newcomers that would benefit the most from the increased exposure to arenas that facilitate their development of social and cultural capital, and furthering their integration are increasingly limited. In an analysis of the structural barriers preventing access to sport, Donnelly and Harvey (1996) concluded that, “social class appears to be the major variable to consider—both as a distinct segment, and in relation to all of the other population segments.” (p. 51).
Simultaneously, the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY) conducted a study from 1994 to 1996 on the participation rates of families of all ethnocultural backgrounds that were financially below the LICO. Children with families below the LICO were over 20% less likely to participate in sports with a coach, and of those in economically distressed families were three times more likely compared to high income families to never participate in organized activities (Coakley & Donnelly, 2002; Roberts, Jackson, & Harman, 2001). As Donnelly and Coakley (2002) note, “When straightforward measures of income and education are combined with issues such as family and organizational constraints, or combined with categories of social exclusion (gender, ethnocultural heritage, etc.) the impact on participation becomes even more significant.” Thereby, the exclusion of immigrants from fully participating economically in Canadian labour markets unfairly effects other areas where their participation would facilitate their integration process.

The devaluation of foreign credentials, and the subsequent de-skilling of an already vulnerable population not only excludes immigrants from upper segments of the Canadian labour market, it also negatively impacts destination countries (Bauder, 2003b; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Girard & Bauder, 2005; Li, 2003; Siar, 2013). By not utilizing their human capital entering their country effectively, destination countries are thereby further reducing their own capacities as a nation, and will be left with expanding welfare systems to support immigrants that are faced with a systemic exclusion from fully participating in society (Reitz, 2005).

2.5 Sport for Inclusion and Integration

The intersectionality of acculturation and sport creates opportunities for immigrants to learn about their destination country’s cultural landscape while still maintaining their own cultural heritage (Smith, Spaaij, & McDonald, 2018). Indeed, the benefits of sport participation are similar to certain sporting outcomes (Coalter, 2007a), such as positive health, leadership, civic

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engagement, increased motivation, and learning, are consistent across all cultures (Coakley & Donnelly, 2002). This section reviews the literature of sport for social inclusion, and how participation develops positive social outcomes that can help facilitate the acculturation of newcomers.

2.5.1 Defining Sport

“Sport” represents a wide range of physical activities, all of which converge at different angles, intensities, and cultural traditions. Spaaij (2011b) defines sport by these three terms:

1. The institutionalization of rules that govern play;
2. It’s competitive nature as a zero-sum game in which one side defeats the other;
3. Its innate “ludic” qualities—its “playfulness” with uncertainty of the outcome.

Though it is important to define sport in order to outline the inclusion criteria for this study and to create a definitional boundary, this project focuses its attention on sport’s innate property of competitive physical activity. It is important to acknowledge that the direction of this study to concentrate on physicality leaves out groups that do not have the resources to participate in competitive sport. As well, it’s important to acknowledge the asymmetries of what is considered sport. In the North American and European contexts, sport is understood, as Spaaij said earlier, “the institutionalization of rules that govern play.” Other cultures, however, perceive what is considered sport differently, and as some researchers suggest, “playfulness” is central to the understanding of sport.

Lastly, as outlined in previous sections, immigrants and newcomers are amongst the most vulnerable groups to experience limited resources as a detriment to participation in sport. By using this definition of sport, there is an inherent bias of what groups are not represented and which, arguably, require more attention.
2.5.2 Sport for Development

Sport has regularly been regarded as a vehicle for increasing social inclusion, instilling character values in participants, and advancing positive health outcomes for participants. Scholars of Sport for Development (SFD) and sport for inclusion have placed emphasis on the utility of sport as an attractive, low-cost investment for the “social rights of citizenship” that also addresses health and development of physical sport infrastructure, conflict resolution, empowerment, educational awareness, exclusion, and poverty (Coalter, 2007b, p. 8; Levermore, 2008). On the international stage, the United Nations touted sport as “a universal language” (2004), a catalyst for new relationships (see Harris, 1998), and a vehicle for wider social change (see Coalter, 2010; Peter Donnelly & Coakley, 2002; Spaaij, 2011b). Indeed, the role of sport throughout the integration process of newcomers has been increasingly acknowledged as an avenue to facilitate the “two-way street” model of integration enhancing the development of new connections between immigrants and their host communities, and the mixing of different ethno-cultural groups and developing bridging social capital (Spaaij, 2011a, 2011b).

The meteoric rise of attention for sport’s capacity to address social problems internationally began with the United Nations unveiling its “Sport-for-Development” policy 58/5, which invited governments to adopt sport as a tool for achieving social development goals (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Hayhurst, Kay, & Chawansky, 2015; Kidd, 2008; United Nations, 2003). With the support of the United Nations, SFD expanded its early selective focus on HIV/AIDS and youth development, to encompass a wider spectrum of issues (Hayhurst et al., 2015). To be sure, sport does parallel the values of modernity, yet one does have to take into consideration the steps taken to modernity, and attention on avoiding or minimizing the exclusion and marginalization of population groups (Giddens, 1991). By using sport as a vehicle for pro-social reform, character building, and self-discipline the realities of the outcomes of SFD can become clouded with the underlying issues that are meant to be addressed by SFD may go unchecked (Giulianotti, 2011).
Kidd (2008), a professor at the University of Toronto, acknowledges the long lineage of SFD initiatives. Though beginning with sport “missionaries” delivering sport programs to all corners of the world, SFD truly gained attention after the 1984 Lillehammer Olympic Games when a group of athletes took steps to “give something back” (Kidd, 2008, p. 372). This group, led by Johann Koss, decided to take more responsibility for the direction and use of their sports than had been the case to that point in their sporting careers and in their country’s outlook on the nature of sport as an agent of social development (Kidd, 2008). In partnership with prominent NGOs, these athletes began fundraising as “Olympic Aid” (now “Right to Play”) to assist in the delivery of aid programs to war-torn Sarajevo and Afghanistan (Kidd, 2008). Since its conception “Right to Play” and other sport for development organizations have spread across the globe addressing a vast array of issues such as gender equality and HIV/AIDS education to reintegrating child soldiers and assisting in conflict resolution.

2.5.3 Sceptics and Critics of SFD

Sceptics of SFD criticize the vague and anecdotal evidence that is used to support the claims of sport’s capacities to produce positive, pro-social outcomes (Coalter, 2015; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Rich, Misener, & Dubé, 2015). “Sport evangelists,” says Coakley (2011), “have informed and justified sport-related program and funding decisions at local and national levels, despite a general lack of research support” (p. 309). Coalter (2010) states, “Policies remain shaped primarily by unquestioned beliefs grounded in wishful thinking” (p. 307). Though other sceptics acknowledge the difficulty of measuring the collection of soft “like skills,” participants nevertheless gain more by participating in sport, they suggest, instead of SFD programs where the focus is on realistic outcome measures that are grounded in the change of material circumstances (Coalter, 2007a). Furthermore, the time spent participating in sport may even be detrimental to the participant by taking away time from other developmentally important areas, such as acquiring further education or gaining new job experience, or otherwise in engaging in new curiosity (Hayhurst et al., 2015; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2013).
Other critics of sport for development are also quick to point beyond the apparent methodological issues, to the foundational structures of sport that are by no means unpolitical, nor otherwise accurate reflections of the faces of society. Admittedly, a zero-sum game and usually oppressive in nature, sport is a heavily contested medium constructed to deliver for maximal contestation and domination (Shehu, 2015). Conflict resides at the core of sport. These critics also raised their concerns over the environment of sport that can further secure hegemonic cultural values, and to act as an agent that re-inscribes future generations (Coalter, 2015; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). Indeed, Hartmann (2011) noted that this may be the intended outcome: “It is primarily about sport’s ability to resocialize and recalibrate individual youth and young people that, in turn, serves to maintain power and hierarchy, cultural hegemony, and the institutionalization of poverty and privilege” (p. 291). Darnell (2010) even suggested that the popularity of sport is exactly based on its ability to reproduce dominant cultural values in the guise of sporting events that are read and understood by those literate in a sport’s rules and nomenclature, and by those who participate as athletes (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Spaaij, Farquharson, & Marjoribanks, 2015). In the darkest contexts, critics suggest that sport is a means of social control (i.e., Midnight Basketball), “Rather than simply being a sign of ‘individual freedom and opportunity,’ sport-based intervention programs of this kind also serve as a form of social control and regulation” (Spaaij, 2009, p. 263).

Given these unflattering impressions of sport, Darnell and Hayhurst (2010) call for SFD programs to be ever cognizant of their initial objectives; in terms of program development, they urge sports developers to “consider counter-hegemonic approach[es] to and through SDP that would engage directly with the political economy and the relations of dominance that produce the need for development in the first place” (p. 71). They suggest including participants in program development and encouraging their continued involvement in monitoring and evaluating outcomes as a possible means of “addressing the colonial residue of SDP,” and that despite how it may seem or be portrayed, “sport is not socially or politically fixed in its organization or its development mobilization, orientation or implementation.” (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011, pp. 191).
It is unclear in the literature whether or not sport facilitates integration of immigrants into their new societies. The premise of using sport as a tool for integration is based on the notion that those participating in the sport are engaging with different ethnicities and culture in positive, affirmative ways, thereby increasing their exposure to new potentials for capital development, socially and culturally (Walseth, 2008). Though the belief is that sport helps develop social capital, sport organizations need to address the barriers preventing participation of those who might benefit from social capital development (Spaaij, 2011a; Walseth, 2008). Indeed, some studies show that immigrants seek sport believing that it will advance their integration process, or will open new avenues for enjoying freedoms they did not have access to in their home countries (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Stodolska, 2000). However, immigrants are limited by interrelated barriers (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). And though policy would suggest otherwise, sport is not always the best practice for integration, nor are there equal participation opportunities for all.

2.5.4 Social Capital

This section will unpack two theorist of social capital, Pierre Bourdieu and Robert Putnam. This section provides context for the findings of this study, and the effects of social capital on the integration of new immigrants to Canada.

2.5.5 Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu was the first to popularize the theory of social capital. Defining social capital as the value, real or abstract, that social relationships can facilitate, Bourdieu’s work continues to influence sport policy and acculturation theories (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital is dependent on the investment of the individual, both economically and culturally, and therefore social capital embodies an innate barrier to access, increasing its value as not all who wish to participate may.
As relationships develop, and maintained in the practical sense by material transactions, such as types of services, or in the symbolic, those profits that are associated with being a member of a rare group (Bourdieu, 1986). In Bourdieu’s words,

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its member with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51)

Notably, the fruits grown from the benefits of being a member of a social group are not “consciously pursued” by members (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51). These fruits are rather the investments of consciously, or unconsciously, efforts to establish social relationships for their usability in the short or long term (Bourdieu, 1986).

2.5.5.1 Robert Putnam

By the mid-1990s, Robert Putnam (R. Putnam, 1996; 1995) added his own perspective to social capital defining it as, “The features of social life – networks, norms, and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively in to pursue shared objectives” (R. Putnam, 1996, p. 1). Unlike Bourdieu however, Putnam chose to not look at social capital as a way of reproducing power and conflict as an issue, but rather the exclusion of those who were unable to integrate well in society’s that had high levels of inequality (Schuller, Baron, & Field, 2000).

Putnam’s work references three subtypes of social capital: bonding, bridging, and linking. In one of his more famous works, Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital, Putnam (1995) elaborated the decline of “bonding” social capital that was in part due to the accessibility of televisions in American households. Though that term was coined by Gittell and Videl (1998), bonding social capital is the development of networks within homogenous ethnic or cultural groups.
The act of expanding one’s capital beyond homogenous groups, to instead heterogenous groups – those of different races, ethnicities, age, sex, or other defining categories – is called bridging social capital (R. D. Putnam, 1995). Finally, Puntam’s last form of social capital is known as linking – the development of connections between individuals and institutions to create opportunities for civic engagement (R. Putnam, 1996). These latter two forms of social capital – bridging and linking – are characterized by their difficulty, but also their capacities to develop new perspectives in the individual by means of their increased exposure to new ideas, differing values, and foreign concepts. These two forms are often recognized as a more valuable social capital (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Woolcock, 2001).

### 2.5.5.2 The Nuances of Social Capital

To first be accepted into these social networks, and for the profits of participating in these groups to be harvested, individuals must have the capacity to create and maintain them. To use a Bourdieusian lens, social capital originally emphasized the economic benefits that could be gained from participating in social networks. These social networks are dependent on participants of these groups being willing to share resources that they have access to. The access to these resources is thereby the facilitator of the development of relationships (Bourdieu, 1986).

Within immigration research, and indeed sport for inclusion research, social capital is heavily utilized to explain a number of phenomenological studies (Bernosky de Flores, 2010; Frisby, 2011; Salis, 2010; Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008; Spaaij, 2009, 2011a). Social capital, as well as cultural capital, helps to explain the emergence of ethnic enclaves due to the migration patterns of newcomers attracted to the social and cultural amenities of these communities (Shields et al., 2011).

Though social capital is split into two camps, the Bourdieuian lens is used to look at the power dynamics, and how immigrants are excluded from participating in economic, cultural or social areas of Canada. And Putnam’s work influenced Canada’s immigration system and
multiculturalism: that effective acculturation is dependent of bridging social capital, such as the perception of integration being a “two-way street”.

2.5.6 Cultural Capital

Using cultural capital as a tool for analyzing the integration of immigrants and understanding the barriers they come in contact with during their integration process holds great promise. Developed by Pierre Bourdieu in partnership with Passeron, cultural capital first represented the level of competence an individual had of high-class culture (1977; Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Similarly, to social capital, the pair was again concerned with the reproduction of power through education systems of similar cultures. Through their work, Bourdieu & Passeron discussed how these academic institutions were far from neutral figures, but rather a reflection of hegemonic culture (Bourdieu, 1986; Lamont & Lareau, 1988). It was their presumption that although cultural capital did not directly convert to economic capital, cultural capital still facilitated the access and increased the potential for individuals to earn economic capital that would rise in respect to their academic achievement (Bourdieu, 1986). Beyond Bourdieu cultural capital has similarly been utilized as the roots of cultural capital that support Berry’s (1992), acculturation theory, as well as important for this project, cultural capital’s translation beyond institutions and its application in sport and physical activity research (Coalter, 2007b; Spaaij, 2011a).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) use three states of cultural capital: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. The embodied state is the internal manifestations of cultural such as taste in cuisine or accents. Coined by Bourdieu, habitus, exists in this state and refers to an individual’s unconscious habits, dispositions, and internationalization of culture (Bourdieu, 1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). The objectified state includes the “cultural goods” which act to reproduce and promote the existing culture (Bourdieu, 1986). For instance, books, pictures, or technology are all cultural goods, as they can all symbolize cultural goods. Lastly, the institutionalized state refers to status held by credentials and qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986), “With the academic
qualification a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 50).

The institutionalization of cultural capital captures the struggles of immigrants who come into contact with discriminatory barriers as they search to find occupations that are equal to their foreign credentials in Canadian cities. As mentioned previously, their credentials do not represent their Canadian cultural competence, and by in part exclude their skills from Canadian labour markets. Due to this, the capacities of newcomers are limited as a result of their exclusion, or the limiting factors of cultural capital. By extension, if immigrants are unable to access arenas that facilitate social or cultural capital, the resources made available to individuals are further limited exacerbating their situation, which further excludes them from upgrading their academic qualifications through accreditation programs which are dependent on individuals investing both time and money. However, sport and physical activity research has shed light on alternative methods of developing cultural capital.

Sport and physical activity can act as a mechanism for developing cultural capital in both the form of bridging and bonding forms of cultural capital. Sport and physical activity serve as sites of civic engagement that can constitute the increased exposure of newcomers to the culture of their destination countries (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). Due to its engaging properties, and its portrayal of a common denominator, sport and physical activity can provide a site that positively affects social inclusion and the development of social networks.

However, as this project will discuss, sport and physical activity is not without its negative’s aspects. The arena of sport has been said to a microcosm of society that represents an intensified dramatization of social orders (Frey & Eitzen, 1991). It is heavily stratified by gender, ethnicity, and ability; and encourages the reproduction of power and privileged access (Coalter, 2015; W. J. Morgan, 1994; Spaaij, Magee, & Jeanes, 2014).
2.5.7 Constraints to Leisure

This section builds on previous sections that outlined the theoretical underpinnings of social, cultural, and economic capital, and relate them to a sports context taking into account experiences of exclusion that immigrants face when attempting to participate. While barriers to participating in sport are multifaceted, most can be found at institutional or interpersonal levels (Spaaij, Magee, & Jeanes, 2014). For instance, barriers may be as simple as a lack of time due to higher priority commitments, or even burdensome financial costs associated with sport participation, transportation difficulties, language proficiency, and cultural perceptions of sport participation (Spaaij, 2013; Spaaij et al., 2014). Importantly, the barriers outlined in this section are associated for the most part with first-generation immigrants’ participation in sport, as second-generation immigrants access and exposure to dominant culture, and, therefore, have better chances and opportunities for integration (Banting & Soroka, 2012).

Sport is frequently classified as an activity taking place during leisure time—time that involves the freedom of choice, relaxation, intrinsic motivation, and lack of evaluation (Shaw, 1985). The constraints to leisure time that immigrant populations experience in relation to the host country’s population differ in kind and complexity (Stodolska, 1998). For instance, in Berry’s (1992) work on acculturation, he addresses these constraints as being both dependent on the individual and subjective in nature. He states: “An individual’s acculturation strategy and the motives for migration; they [the individual attempting to acculturate to a new culture] may also vary depending upon the appraisal of the host society’s ethnic and racial attitudes, and upon the degree of prior knowledge of the language of the host society” (p. 76).

Stodolska (1998) expands on Berry (1992) work, further defining constraints as “static or dynamic.” Static constraints, the opposite of dynamic constraints, that are not multifaceted, for example “Language difficulties, being unfamiliar with the ways of life in the host country as well as experiences with discrimination can have a significant effect on the leisure experiences of newcomers” (p. 523). On the other hand, the dynamic constraints that immigrants experience are,
“…a function of factors related to the passage of time” (p. 522). In other words, dynamic constraints evolve in parallel with the individual experiencing acculturation. Gradually, as the individual adapts to the host country’s culture, ways of life, and social tendencies, the constraint initially held by those adapting transition into similar constraints experienced by the host country’s populations. (Stodolska, 1998)

The constraints highlighted in this section are some of the most prominent, but by no means is this an exhaustive list. Nor does a singular constraint reflect in its entirety of the constraint to participation. The constraints to sport participation are often as varied as are the participants and an amalgamation of a number of factors and variables that all contribute to experiences, perceptions, and participation of immigrant populations in sport programming (Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993; Taylor & Toohey, 1999).

2.5.7.1 Ethnicity

Sports sociologists have examined the plural issues of racial, ethnic stratification, discrimination, and mobility in sport. Different ethnic groups regard sport differently, possibly due to financial support, the structures of social classes, parent culture, or the perceptions of ethnic sport participation disseminated through outlets of mass media.

The constraint to sport participation that immigrant populations face varies across ethno-cultural groups. For instance, positively or negatively, black populations are stereotyped to be athletically superior and overly recruited to sport programs. A study considering the significance of Afro-Caribbean male involvement in sport in the U.K., mentions that, “the impetus for blacks to enter sport, at both the higher and lower levels, would also appear to come mainly from outside the family” (Carrington, 1986). Another study by a group of scholars in the United Kingdom compares the experiences of African and Polish migrants, and most notably found that the Polish immigrants, “enjoy the symbolic capital of whiteness,” all the while fearing their accents and language proficiency would “out” them as the “Other” (Long et al., 2017, p. 1790). On the other hand, unlike the Polish immigrants, African migrants were visibly foreign, and found it more
difficult to mix with British locals and having to do extra work of bridging connections between ethnocultural divides (Long et al., 2017; Spaaij, 2011a).

A study by Fleming (1994) investigated the manifestation of “false universalism,” mistaken assumptions, and the production of crude stereotypes amongst young males of South Asian descent and their participation in sport. He found that South Asian males had been systematically stereotyped as being physically weak to the point where the males internalized and subsequently reinforced the stereotype (Fleming, 1994; Taylor & Toohey, 1999). Fleming (1994), therefore, concluded that experiences of discrimination and racism are illustrated at both the personal and institutional levels. But also, when considering the nexus of ethnicity and sport, location-specific research is better suited to understand the relationship of ethnic participation in sport in a community (Taylor & Toohey, 1999).

2.5.7.2 Language

As the Polish immigrants experienced in the research study conducted in the previous section by Long et al. (2017), language proficiency is continually referenced as the most significant barrier to integration that immigrants face (Berry, 1992; Spaaij, 2011b; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2013; Spaaij et al., 2014; Stodolska, 1998; Taylor & Toohey, 1999). For instance, acknowledging the conclusions of other studies, Doherty and Taylor (2007) mentioned that, “Across all of the studies, English language difficulty was mentioned as the first and the most difficult aspect of settlement” (p. 32) and “newcomer youth attributed a lack of English proficiency to their fear, confusion, and feelings of isolation and marginalization” (p. 45). Although the United Nations (2004) touted sport as “a universal language” that could facilitate their development of social capital, a shared common language increases the likelihood for immigrant populations to participate and therefore experience positive effects of sport participation (Spaaij, 2011b; Spaaij et al., 2014; Walseth, 2008). Indeed, if the role of sport is to increase the capacities and skills of participants either through positive health outcomes or by developing social capital and support networks, it would be better accomplished amongst similar ethnic groups that share a common
language (Spaaij et al., 2014). However, this approach does not help bridge the divide between immigrant populations and destination countries. Rather, this approach further isolates immigrants in their respective homogenous groups. Therefore, language proficiency is a static barrier to integration that needs to be addressed at the initial phases of immigrants coming to their destination countries so that they can have access to equal opportunities as the host country’s population.

### 2.5.7.3 Financial Constraints

Sport is applauded as a means to facilitate social and cultural capital. The financial cost excludes some from enrolling and participating. As previously mentioned, poverty is multidimensional. It inhibits the capacities of those affected, and it limits access individuals have to spaces that generate these experiences (Spaaij et al., 2014). Thereby, those that have the means of access are continually rewarded (Sarlo, 2013). Owing to the difficulty newcomers have of successfully integrating economically, there is an exceedingly high prevalence of low-income and poverty during the first years of settlement for immigrant populations (Hatfield, 2004; Shields et al., 2011). As a means of coping, newcomers turn to “survival jobs”—characterized by their instability and fringe benefits—and in doing so are more likely to work multiple jobs to meet their financial obligations (Siar, 2013). In working multiple positions, the time available to devote to leisure pursuits is constrained significantly (Siar, 2013). Restricted leisure time in partnership with other barriers to participation immigrants already face reduces the representation of immigrants in ethnocultural diverse sport programming. Rather, immigrants are more likely to turn to homogenous sport leagues involving traditional immigrant sport (Tirone, Livingston, Miller, & Smith, 2010).

### 2.5.7.4 Gender and Cultural Perceptions of Sport

Cultural perceptions of sport also vary across different immigrant groups, which when compounded with social factors such as age, race, and gender negatively affects sport participation rates. For example, older generations that may hold more traditional perceptions of
sport, and the culture surrounding sport, can place a lesser value on sport participation than other non-sport obligations (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). This is especially the case if sport participation involves sacrificing time away from work, education and family all of which are perceived as higher priorities (Spaaij, 2013; Taylor & Toohey, 1999). Having these perceptions of sport participation can negatively affect the participation of any of their children. Most notably, some of the perceptions of sport may stem from the outcomes in their home countries. Whereas in their birth countries, participation outcomes are limited mainly to social outcomes, in North America and traditional Western cultures, outcomes of sport can come as scholarships that increase the accessibility of post-secondary education, or other tangible benefits.

2.5.7.4.1 Gender

The most pronounced barriers to sport participation are those which affect women to the greatest extent—especially women with CALD backgrounds (Frisby, 2011; Sawrikar & Muir, 2010; Spaaij et al., 2014). The factors affecting participation are the religious constraints and the non-recognition of sport organizations to accommodate for cultural or religious practices (Spaaij et al., 2014; Stodolska, 2000; Taylor & Toohey, 1999). Furthermore, the perception of sport being a male-dominant landscape that is strengthened by the applauded and overt displays of masculinity, acts to constrain the participation of females in sport (Bryson, 1987). However, exceedingly cultural and religious practices are restricting the participation of females. Specifically, those of CALD groups exhibit a linear decline in sport participation as the importance of religion, and engagement thereof. This decline in female participation in sport is in part due to a combination of the association of masculinity in sport, but also the lack of accommodation sport programming and facilities have for the various cultural and religious needs of CALD female participants (Frisby, 2011; Spaaij, 2011b; Taylor & Toohey, 1999).

Sport is traditionally a male domain. It is renowned for reproducing masculine qualities such as the endurance of pain, demonstrations of physical force or strength, violence and the subsequent risk of injury—though the author’s note that the acknowledgement of an injury is “succumbing
to its effect” (Young, White, & McTeer, 1994, p. 190). Almost reflexively, feminine qualities are issued as threats to male participants if they do not meet or conform to particular standards of play. Nevertheless, the increasing rates of women participating in aggressive, traditionally male sports, is challenging the claim men have had on physically demanding, violent sports (Theberge, 1991; Young & White, 1995; Young et al., 1994). Their involvement is helping to change the narratives that women lack either the physical requirements, that women are more susceptible to injury, that women’s participation in sport affects their reproductive health, or women’s psychological and stress management is inferior to that of a men’s (Hargreaves, 2002; Young & White, 1995). Not only is their participation helping to change stereotypes, it is also addressing the larger narratives of women being oppressed by men due to the perceived “superior” physical abilities innately held by men (Young & White, 1995).

2.5.8 Conclusion of Sport for Development

Sport programs are not unitary, nor should they be inflexible to change. For sport programs to be effective, a priority needs to be placed on the understanding the experiences of their participants, as well as reflecting on those who are unable to participate. Furthermore, the precedent of sport in developing social capital needs to be taken in context with the exclusionary tendencies of sport, which favours those that already carry social, economic, and cultural capital.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The approach I took for this project was informed by a social constructionist paradigm, a methodology rooted in phenomenology, and the—at one point, unknowingly—utilizing reflexivity and reflection to adapt my approaches to the methods utilized. Chapter 3 is divided into two main sections: methodology and methods. The methodology section explores my epistemological approach to conducting research, as well as exploring phenomenology and its entanglement with reflexivity, and reflective methods. The methods section is divided into two
parts. Part 1 describes the methods that were used in this study. Part 2 explores my experiences utilizing these methods, discussions of my insecurities as the researcher during the research process, and the evolution of these methods to gain better insight into the lives and experiences of people I was interacting with living in metropolises.

3.2 Epistemology

I utilized a stream of philosophy known as social constructivism. Social constructivism is a stream of philosophy developed by Peter Berger and Thomas Lukmann in 1966, and further shaped by the Frankfurt School and other Marxist thinkers (Ellis & Given, 2017). Social constructivism is a part of constructivism and the broader phenomenological family, all of which approach knowledge and reality by understanding the nature of phenomena (Creswell, 2007).

Constructionism is informed by the beliefs that one’s notion of reality is informed by the cumulative experiences of the individual. Given this process, a constructivist’s framework challenges those perspectives that believe knowledge is objective. Constructivism sees reality through a Kantian lens: “Noumenal—this is, it [reality, truth] lies beyond the reach of our most ambitious theories, whether personal or scientific, forever denying us as human beings the security of justifying our beliefs, faiths, and ideologies by simple recourse to ‘objective circumstances’ outside ourselves” (Neimeyer, 1995, p. 3). Those who subscribe to constructionism believe that the idea of knowledge, and reality, is intertwined with the individual. This entanglement of the individual and knowledge is consequently vulnerable to the influences of the individual constructing reality. Their construction of reality is affected as the individual is “being”—interacting, engaging, and interpreting the world. Social constructivists, a subset—or, child—of the broader constructivist stream, acknowledges the imperfections of individuals and their influences on each other (Burr, 1995; Creswell, 2007).

Creswell (2007) describes social constructivism as the individual’s search for understanding in which individuals, “Develop subjective meanings of their experiences—meanings direct toward certain objects or things.” (p. 20). And Gergen (1985), “Social constructionist inquiry is
principally concerned with explicating the processes by which people come to describe, explain, or otherwise account for the world (including themselves) in which they live” (p. 266). As a paradigm, social constructivism believes that knowledge and reality are the joint construction of the individual’s understandings of their world. Notably, within their worlds, the individual’s reality is continually being influenced by their social relationships with others, all of which carry their own assumptions of their own realities. The construction of one’s reality is therefore transactional as individuals share, inform, and influence others of their sense of the world (see Burr, 1995; Ellis & Given, 2017; Willig, 2001). In other words, although the search for Truth is a hopeless pursuit, those subscribing to a social constructivist paradigm see the knowledge and understanding as the culmination of all their experiences (or “stories”) that represent to themselves what is right or wrong, good or bad, and true or false (Galbin, 2014).

By their nature, these realities constructed in a social constructivist paradigm are not absolute. Instead, the individual’s perceptions of reality morphs with the exposure to new experiences that in effect alter to the individual’s previous representation of reality and truth. Therefore, what is fundamental to a constructivist framework is knowing that there can be no universal proclamation of Truth, as even the individual does not have a static sense of Truth.

3.3 Methodology

I utilized a phenomenological methodology. Modern phenomenology, developed in 1931 by Husserl, was an attempt to address the inadequacies of objective and scientific approaches (Weis, 2012). Phenomenology is the study of human experience, and to turn inwards for meaning rather than the effect in the world (Sokolowski, 1999, p. 2). In studying the experiences, and the essence of these experiences, “evidence” in phenomenology does not need to be bound or subscribed to common sense or scientific explanations.

Within phenomenology there have been four tendencies of approaching the research: realist, the “rawest” form of phenomenology—the ontology; transcendental phenomenology, from the contributions of Husserl is the awareness to act on the world; existentialist phenomenology
informed by the works of Jean-Paul Sartre and Merleau-Ponty; and hermeneutic, influenced by both Gadamer, Ricoeur, but predominately by the works of Heidegger (Allen-Collinson, 2009).

The key tenet of hermeneutic phenomenology is the emphasis on the interpretive. In contrast to Husserl’s work that foregrounded describing the essence without interpretation, Heidegger argues that in description there is already interpretation. Heidegger’s student Hans-Georg Gadamer, continued to develop hermeneutic phenomenology, exploring the intersectionality of language and human conversation, and the influence of one’s history in experience and knowing. Likening interpretation to a translator, Gadamer says, “Language is the universal medium in which understanding occurs. Understanding occurs in interpreting” (Gadamer, 1998, p. 390). In this interpretation, one is bound by their presuppositions and historical experiences that guide their interpretations.

To that end, a hermeneutic conversation is the establishment of a common language, though importantly, language is not purely the words. Rather, meaning and understanding are inextricably linked (Gadamer, 1998). That is to say, meaning involves “inner speaking” (Gadamer, 1998, p. 153). In a conversation the individual’s language is both the vehicle—the medium—that carries understanding, but also the cargo. At the most literal level, a conversation between partners is, as Gadamer suggests, the search for common language and as a “tool for the purpose of reaching understanding but, rather, coincides with the very act of understanding and reaching agreement” (Gadamer, 1998, p. 389). To understand the conversation, but also to understand the text and essence within, those participating in the conversation must interpret the cargo within the vehicle. If translation of dialogue, but also of experience, is not successful then understanding of the particular essence remains out of reach and foreign. The acknowledgement of interpretation in hermeneutic phenomenology is symbolic, as in itself interpretation is to influence the essence of the thing.

As previously mentioned, interpretation is applying—in the words of Gadamer—common language to co-construct reality. In placing interpretation central to a hermeneutic
phenomenological approach, the researcher is required to include reflexive and reflective conceptual frameworks within the research process. In the construction of realities, the findings that the researcher generates—and subsequently disseminate—are the interpretations of the participant’s realities. Therefore, the researcher needs to look inwards and understand their own positionality, taking into account their own history, and consequently, their influence on the construction of the essence of experiences.

Reflexivity as Linda Finlay (2002) defines it is the, “immediate, continuing, dynamic, and subjective self-awareness,” and Finlay in Gubrium (2012) defined reflexivity as, “being thoughtfully and critically self-aware of personal/relational dynamics in the research and how these affect the research” (p. 318). Further, reflexive interpretation is as Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017) say, an “open play” of interpretation across the research process (p. 248). The researcher interprets the experiences of their participants and apply their own frameworks in order to understand the other’s experiences. The framework applied by the researcher is influenced by their own experiences, as well as the use of benchmarks gathered by theorists. Importantly, reflexivity is different than reflection. Whereas, reflection is a process where the researcher reviews and analyzes their strategy after the event has taken place, reflexivity, on the other hand, is during the research event, as the research reassess their epistemological commitments (Finlay, 2002; Finlay & Gough, 2008). Reflexivity, as well as reflection, are important to consider the influence the researcher has on the data. The interpretation and constructions of the realities of the participant’s experiences are reliant and dependent on the researcher. It would therefore be remise to not acknowledge the centrality of the researcher within context of the research process.

With this in mind, I elected to include aspects of this study’s story. Throughout the research process, the approach was continually evolving, and not acknowledging the “messiness”, fluidity, and adaptive nature of this study—or, for that matter, qualitative research—that threatens to be misleading. The fluidity of my approach and the utilization of reflexivity and reflective frameworks are therefore included aspects of emergent design.
Emergent design allows for the continual evolution and adaptation of the data collection and analysis process (Morgan, 2008). Importantly, as Morgan (2008) mentioned, for emergent design to be applied to a research study there must be a foundation where the topic of the project is situated. From here, in conjunction with reflexive and reflective processes, directions and steps of the research project can be taken to illuminate the findings and conclusions of the project. For instance, during the data collection, as well as the thematic analysis of the data collected for this study, and indeed the approach, shifted; themes which were once perceived as central to the inquiry were, in the end, at the peripheries of the discussion.

Phenomenology is the study of experiences. Importantly, phenomenology is not the study of a phenomenon, as in an outcome in nature. Rather, phenomenology is the study of the people’s experiences interacting with nature. Relating heavily with Gadamer’s influences on phenomenology, and indeed hermeneutic phenomenology, this study placed interpretation central to the research process. The centrality of interpretation, however, requires the researcher to be aware of their own biases and effects upon the researcher both in digesting the data that is collected, but also in conveying the data through language. Given the reliance on the researcher, including reflexive and reflexive practices within the research process to acknowledge this influence is important. In conducting research in this manner, however, requires the research to recognize and include reflections of the effects of emergent design on the research process. In accommodating for this emergent design, I elected to include reflection pieces in my section “Methods: Fieldwork” to justify the direction I elected to pursue.

3.4 Methods: Conceptual

For this research project, there was an emphasis on documenting the narratives of immigrants settling in Canada that was perceived to be interested in developing social and cultural connections beyond their own cultural communities. I unpacked the implications of youth sport enrollment and the integrative process of the family. As well, I wanted to document the immigrant experience and to deeply understand their dreams when immigrating to Canada.
3.4.1 Semi-Structure Interviews

Interview has become the most widespread and heavily used research practice to produce research (Given, 2008). Interviews may range in style, taking more or less structured approaches to the interview depending on the agenda of the researcher (Given, 2008). More structured approaches involve more question and response formats, whereas less structured interviews invite the participant to explain, and even explore, their own experiences (Given, 2008). Most qualitative research approaches that use interviews land in the middle of the continuum, with structured or unstructured representing the poles. This middle area, aptly known as “semi-structured” incorporates aspects of both sides of the continuum.

In regard to this study, semi-structured interviews were used to allow for a comprehensive understanding of the immigrant experience in terms of their transition and adaptation to Canadian life. This approach was taken so as to facilitate a conversational style of interview so that the participant may expand on their experiences (Patton, 2002). As well, this approach gave the researcher space to ask for further clarification on topics of interest, or for the participant to add deeper context to their own experiences. By utilizing a semi-structured approach to interviews, there is a sense of spontaneity in the interview and the addition of a deeper contextual element that may otherwise not be present in a structured interview (Patton, 2002).

3.4.2 Observational Research

Observational research is both one of the oldest research methods, yet also one of the most fundamental (McKechnie, 2006). In using a qualitative observational research method, the researcher is attempting to interpret and understand the life of knowing or unknowing research participants (McKechnie, 2006). As the researcher observes subjects, they are assuming that the behaviour of the research participants is purposeful, that they are the “insiders” and therefore their actions are a reflection of deeper meaning, beliefs, or values which influence their expressed behaviours (Baker, 2006; McKechnie, 2006). The strength of observational research lies in its flexibility and emergent research design. By nature, observational research is
exploratory and constructivist in its approach. As a research method, observational research uses conceptual frameworks to make sense of observations and phenomena. As noted by McKechnie (2006), observational research is “holistic in its approach,” meaning that researcher’s comment on the environment as much as the individuals populating it (p. 3).

However, observational research is limited what can be seen. Phenomena like cognitive processes or decision-making cannot be observed. Rather, inferring these is left to the interpretation of the researcher, and their capacity to connect the outcomes of participants’ behaviours to their impetus (McKechnie, 2006). Given that the interpretive process carries with it the biases of the researcher referencing observations with what they know, it is important for the researcher to utilize an ongoing reflection process, or reflexivity to account for their influence on the data being collected (Watt, 2007). McKechnie (2006) outlines a few general practices and strategies to help limit observer biases of researchers utilizing observational research: reflective journals kept by the researcher that address the researcher’s own biases; prolonged immersion in the field which increases the exposure of the researcher to new phenomenon; providing deep descriptions of what was observed—more is better; and, debriefing with a peer.

3.4.3 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a method used to uncover and to report patterns in data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Holloway & Todres, 2003; Kitchenham, 2010). Sometimes perceived as a “tool” instead of a research method, thematic analysis is not constrained by any frameworks. Rather, as a method it is adaptable to numerous theoretical frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, due to its flexible nature, as a method it is difficult to attach clear guidelines to thematic analysis for prospective researchers to follow. Instead, in using thematic analysis the responsibility of identifying patterns within the data is left to the researcher to interpret and add meaning to the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Kitchenham, 2010).

However, Braun and Clarke (2006) outlined six phases of analysis that could be used when utilizing a thematic analysis approach to data analysis. The six phases begins with the researcher
familiarizing themselves with the data, which can include transcribing and the re-reading the
data, and adding their initial thoughts as annotations (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Riessman, 1993).
As Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) mention, it is important for the researcher to recognize that there
is more to transcription than listening and typing. Instead Lapadat and Lindsay say it is a,
“Process for examination of its [the recording or event] trustworthiness as an interpretive act” (p.
81). Once transcription is completed, the second step is for the researcher to begin generating
their own initial codes to the data in order to organize and identify specific passages, or
otherwise interesting parts of the data. From here, the researcher begins to assemble the initial
codes into themes that are symbolic and representative of the initial codes. The fourth step of
thematic analysis is the reviewing of codes to ensure the codes, “work in relation to the coded
extracts” (p. 87). After the revisions are made to codes, the researcher can begin to generate
thematic maps within the texts. Once the researcher is confident that the “parent” codes properly
reflect the data, there is a process of ongoing refinement and specifics for each theme. Here
subcategories can be developed to further specify themes within themes. The final step is to
select examples and extracts from the data and to relate it back to the research question.

3.5 Methods: Fieldwork

This section portrays my reflexive approach to this research study. Here, I unpack what I did.
Beginning first with my ethics approval, the recruitment of participants, the approach I took to
the interviews, the profile of the participants, the contexts of my observational research, and my
involvement with various community groups, and lastly, the major themes of my thematic
analysis.

3.5.1 Approach to Fieldwork and Emergent Approach

It was continually present in my mind of the dynamics at play during my interviews, and the
perception, as well as the role I held as a researcher. Possibly due to the participants I was
interviewing, especially those of CALD backgrounds, I felt the legitimacy of my research study
was continually under threat. For one, my lived experience of migration and settlement stood in
contrast to those I was interviewing. But I also feared that at some level I was reproducing hierarchical power relations: white versus racialized or Western culture vs. diverse cultures. As well, I was also fearful of portraying myself as a researcher conducting this project for my own gain to further my academic career.

I was continually plagued with imposter syndrome. Not being an immigrant myself, from a family with relative privilege, growing up in Western culture and taking the associated amenities for granted, I felt as though I was a traditional white ignorant researcher that entered a participant’s life strictly for advancing my own academic career and leaving behind nothing of substance that could benefit the participant. Indeed, in some cases, I had nothing that could relate to some of the stories my participants told me, and when I asked for clarification on cultural specificity, I was exposing my whiteness and privilege.

The outcome of these insecurities, and unknowing to me at the time, applying a reflexive framework and lens to my approach helped redefine my approach to data collection. Initially believing that sport would play a central role in the project, after speaking with the first two participants of this study and receiving very little context that could help inform my writing, I, out of curiosity and necessity, decided to pivot and change my approach to begin discussing more of the experiences the participants had when coming to Canada.

3.5.2 Ethics

I received full ethics approval from the University of Guelph’s ethics board November 2018 and began data collection in December 2018. The risk associated with the study was the sensitivity of migration experiences and the confidentiality of the research participants. I included in my information and email templates to counselling services that were available to those who may experience emotional stress after having to reflect on their immigration experience. I also included in the email and information templates: the objectives of the project, consent information, and ensuring participants of confidentiality.
3.5.3 Recruitment

The recruitment criteria for this study were the parents, or guardians, that had children currently involved in organized sport programming. Those eligible needed to have moved to Canada within the last ten years.

The recruitment of participants for interviews was less structured than originally outlined. Believing that I could recruit participants by approaching parents of children in sport spaces and pitching my project, it soon became clear that within the time limit of this project that this approach would be difficult, to the point of being ineffective. My response was to turn to my social network and reach out to various work colleagues, friends, neighbours, coaches, TDSB teachers, and acquaintance from my athletic circles. In fact, this approach worked reasonably well. Those in the previously mentioned networks were able to introduce me to immigrants or refer me to those that would know immigrants that may fall under my research criteria. As well, this approach allowed for these individuals to vouch for my credibility and to establish a platform of understanding.

It is my perception that this approach helped ease the suspicions of some of the participants. Also, being more at ease, participants were seemingly more willing to share some of their intimate experiences of coming to Canada, and increasingly so when the interviews were performed in person, rather than a disembodied voice on the other end of a phone line.

What is also notable is the difficulty of recruitment. Partly because of the structure of the research question—does a child’s participation in sport facilitate the integration of the family, and the way of engaging parents. However, as the “Discussion” section addresses, immigrant parents, but also Canadian-born parents, were not overly engaged with their child’s sport. To that point, it was therefore difficult to then recruit parents in setting where youth sport was taking place as they were not there for lengthy periods of time.
What needs to be also acknowledged is immigrant populations are notoriously difficult to engage. Indeed, part of my employment involves developing programming for the TDSB directly targeting new Canadian parents to engage them with the schools in their neighbourhoods. Other Canadian scholars, such as a group conducting research in Halifax (Tirone et al., 2010), as well as another conducting research on an event targeting new immigrants in Ottawa (Rich et al., 2015) had similar issues in recruiting participants.

3.5.4 Profile of Participants

Those that consented for interviews for this study had emigrated to Canada within the past 10 years and had a child that was currently enrolled in organized youth sport programming. They had all arrived from different source countries — such as Japan, Columbia, the Netherlands, Mauritius, to name a few — with different and converging ethnic backgrounds.

The participants of this study had varying levels of English ranging from fluent to some who were taking evening ESL classes, or still others who were preparing to enroll. However, the depth of the conversations, and the expression of experience were not affected by language proficiency. For the most part, the participants felt they had a story to tell, and were willing to divulge their experiences to a complete stranger.

Table 3.1: Participants categorized by pseudonym, gender, country of origin, education, and lastly, past and present employment experience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Experience or Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyan*</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>Mechanical Engineer</td>
<td>Textile Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro*</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bangalore, India</td>
<td>Christian Church Minister</td>
<td>Capital One, Church Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elara*</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Tokyo, Japan</td>
<td>Art History</td>
<td>Business — currently unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Current Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily*</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Born in Norway, emigrated from Holland</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Executive—currently unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reo*</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>State of Palestine, Emigrated from Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown—currently unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meg*</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Republic of Columbia</td>
<td>Financial Planner, Accountant, and University Professor</td>
<td>“Bookkeeper” and Service worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jada*</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>Tennis Coach</td>
<td>Tennis Coach—currently not working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aliyah*</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>India (Northern India near the Pakistan border)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown—not unemployed. Volunteered with her local school to improve English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jess*</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Graduate School—degree unknown</td>
<td>Social Worker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.5.5 Approach to Interviews

My approach for each interview was to begin with a life history approach. Taking this approach set the stage and attitude of the interview from the beginning—this interview is meant to be a “long-form” discussion and exploratory in nature. I decided to take this approach after the first two interviews felt too structured, and the responses from the participants to lack depth and emotion. Once I began to learn and adjust my approach to the interviews, the length of time of the interviews increased substantially. In order to make the conversations more manageable, I again tuned my approach to asking pointed questions of their experience, rather than background and contextualization of stories. Though important initially, this information began to be repetitive once I felt I was reaching saturation.
In reassessing my approach, I decided to begin each interview with an outline of my project and the decision and reasoning for this project. In doing this, the participants gained some background of who I was, as well as the purpose of the project. I would then ask them an open-ended question and for them to recount their personal background and their experiences moving to Canada. In beginning with an open-ended question, it felt as if I set the stage for the conversation to be a longform discussion. During my discussion with participants, I would ask follow-up questions to clarify anything I did not understand or for the participant to expand on experiences or ideas that I was interested in knowing more of. The objectives that I wanted to accomplish it utilizing semi-structured interviews: 1) an understanding of the attraction that Canada held for the particular participant; 2) their perceptions of Canada, how they may have changed before migration and now in the present; 3) the barriers faced socially, culturally, or economically; and 4) what sense of sport they held, and to what degree did sport participation help facilitate their integration in Canada.

3.5.5.1 In-Person vs. Phone Interviews

As I reflected on previous interviews and subsequently refined my approach to interviews, I found the differences between in-person interviews and phone interviews to be different poles of a theoretical spectrum. During the initial phone interviews, I felt constrained. Unable to give small non-verbal cues, such as a nod of the head and for fear that small verbal cues would break up the flow of conversation, I resorted to silence, letting the participant speak until they needed another direction for their story to go. I sensed this did add a sense of unstructured and lack of preparation. However, this approach did allow for me to listen deeply to the participant, and for me to digest all of what they were saying. I was continually writing throughout phone interviews. More as a way of calming anxiety, but also, I felt it helped imprint what they were saying in my memory. Furthermore, these notes would also allow me to revert to points where clarification was needed when a lull in conversation presented itself.
In-person interviews brought a whole new light to the experiences immigrants had when transitioning to Canada. Instead of being constrained to one medium of information such as it was conducting interviews over the phone, in person I could see the participant’s emotions, their faces, their eyes, and their thoughtfulness as they told their stories, their use of gestures and the energy these gestures held. As well, I found that their descriptions of their stories to be fuller and with more detail, as they could see that I was fully engaged in their story—something that a phone interview could not replicate.

3.5.6 Observations

The approach I took during my observations was to reach full saturation of the environments surrounding youth sport programs. I was an unobtrusive observer. As Spradley (1980) calls it: a “passive” observer does not participate nor do they interact with the “insiders.” Instead, the researcher observes the participants’ behaviours, assuming they reflect subsurface beliefs, morals, perceptions.

Prior to these observations, my only experience of youth sport was either partaking in these programs or otherwise as an instructor. I had no experience, nor perspective, of what parents were doing during the time I was participating in the activities. My objectives for these observations were to add context to what the environment of youth sport programming was for parents or guardians of the children participating. As I expand upon in further detail later, I found after the first number of sessions I had reached saturation. After this point, the way I framed these observational sessions was to look critically for the “remarkable in the mundane” (Silverman, 2013, p. 13).

In terms of process, once I had taken my initial notes of my observations, I expanded and reflected upon them further through journal entries. These entries consisted of aspects that struck me as particularly unique, interesting, or notable, as well as my own interpretation or thoughts of the observations. During my analysis phase I coded these observations for key themes using NVivo software. The information gained from these observations provided rich and unique
perspectives of an “outsider” looking into separate cultures. Notably, until I either participate in these environments as a facilitator or volunteer of a program, or otherwise as simply a bystander; the subtleties—and even the complexities, of other cultures and social interactions was unbeknownst to myself. These findings are further discussed in my “Findings” section.

3.5.6.1 The Illumine Project: The Bahá’í Junior Youth Program

I became involved with a local Bahá’í group near to where I lived in Toronto. I had heard of the Cabbagetown Youth Centre and decided to go late one night after shopping at a local grocery store. Here I met a Community Animator working with the Bahá’í group on two intersecting branches: The Illumine Project and the Toronto Bahá’í Junior Youth Program.

Facilitated by local artists and community members and in collaboration with the local youth, the Illumine Project develops short films that highlight themes of inclusion, community, and teenage transition. The goal of the Illumine Project is to develop the capacities of the youth in the community, be thought provoking of issues youth face in Toronto communities, provide leadership training, as well as acting as a promotion for the Bahá’í community. These short films were presented in select TDSB schools that were in neighbourhoods with a high prevalence of CALD newcomers. Accompanying the films was a facilitated group discussion focused on reflecting upon the themes present in the films.

The Junior Youth Program (JYP), the second branch of the Bahá’í group, is a program operating in the North St. Jamestown census tract—an area with a high density of newcomers as well as high rates of low income. With the help of young adult Bahá’í role models in the area, the JYP introduced juniors and youth in the North St. Jamestown area to the Bahá’í faith. Every Sunday, the “Facilitators” (the young adult role models) would pick up children from their apartments in the North St. Jamestown towers and travel with them on public transit to the Toronto Bahá’í Centre (located at the intersection of Huron St. and Bloor St.). Here, the children were exposed to the Bahá’í faith via workbooks disseminated by the Bahá’í International Teaching Centres. These books included sections of scripture, but also fictional stories of children of similar age to
the JYP children, facing and overcoming adversity. Like the short films of the Illumine Project, a series of questions were provided to allow for group discussion, as well as encouraging children to share their own examples from their lives.

With an extensive background in junior and youth programs, and being comfortable around children, I was unceremoniously swept up with the Illumine Project and JYP as a volunteer. I saw this as an opportunity for recruiting new participants for this study, as well as providing context and insight to the lives of immigrant families living in Toronto and ensured that all “Facilitators” and leaders knew of my background and motives. Spradley (1980) would label my participation in the Illumine Project and JYP as “active participation.” I was involved in the “insiders” activities, yet I did not fully commit to their values and goals (Baker, 2006). I did facilitate numerous discussions in both the Illumine Project and JYP, and since I do not have any background in the Bahá’í faith, I would instead connect the relevant themes or scenarios to experiences that I had in my life and how I reacted to them. After each session with the Illumine Project and JYP I would reflect on my time in private. I elected to not take notes throughout the sessions, as I felt it would detract from the experiences and further emphasize that I had ulterior motives and lose the trust of the children and facilitators.

3.5.6.2 T2*

Established in five schools that service neighbourhoods with high populations of newcomers, T2* provides equipment, skating lessons, and access to ice rinks at no cost to youth. T2* is currently partnered with arms of larger corporations such as Maple Leaf Sport and Entertainment, Canadian Tire Jumpstart, and StubHub that are intended to fill the corporation’s corporate social responsibility (CSR).

I became involved with T2* through the connections I had with schools in the TDSB as a part of my work outside of academics. Specifically, a gym teacher supervising his high school’s participation in T2* programming introduced me to the executive director and founder, Joe*.
began attending T2* programming in early December, helping to equip and dress the high school students as they arrived to the ice rinks, ensuring they were prepared to skate.

My intentions for participating with T2* were twofold. The first was to develop connections with T2* participants, and possibly engage the parents of children involved in the program. The second was to observe the role of sport in the immigrant experience. The second proved more fruitful than the first. As I address in my “Discussion,” hockey is an established pillar in Canadian culture. In my observations during T2*, I was able informally ask the participants of this programming why they were involved, and what they were learning from the programming. Although these findings cannot be addressed in the thesis, speaking with newcomer populations that were participating in hockey gave me insight to the lives and reasons for participating in sport.

4 Findings

4.1 Introduction

The results of this study show that many families are attracted to Canada for security and opportunity. Families arriving in Canada with the hope of consuming these benefits, often must first experience stresses of integration, struggles of living in metropolises such as Toronto, issues of transitioning foreign experience to Canadian experience, overcoming language barriers, adapting to cultural differences, and developing new friendships while missing loved ones in the cities, states, and countries they just left.

Navigating through their narratives, I began associating and connecting various commonalities amongst the stories that I address in this chapter in which I aim to unpack these three themes:

1. The perceptions immigrants have upon arriving in Canada and the integrating eventually as Canadian citizens
2. The complexities of their integration processes beginning with the importance of learning English or French quickly, then transitioning to the contrasting experiences of economic integration that are affected by privilege and affluence.

3. The implications of sport participation and the process of integration.

Importantly, the names of the participants and all identifying information have been protected. To demark areas that have been altered, I have added asterisks to the pseudonyms instead of participants’ names, as well as protecting the names of schools (S#*), sport clubs (T#*), and country clubs (C#*).

Throughout the thematic analysis process—specifically, Braun and Clarke’s (2006) phase three and four—I was continually reflecting on how the participant conveyed their stories which included vocal inflection points, strained speech, tones of exasperation and frustration, or points of euphoria and glee. These reflections upon the conversations that had occurred provided a context for themes to emerge, then be refined to fit the correct definition of what was meant.

As I began to interpret the initial codes generated, I began to critically analyze and apply this “reverse” perspective to the transcripts. For instance, someone with a wealthy background could have access to a particular club, which could lead to the person’s increased exposure to people of similar class, education, or hobbies—a pathway, facilitated by money—to developing a social network and, therefore, more likely to acculturate or integrate successfully. However, for those that do not have the means of accessing this theoretical club, they have a “barrier” by not having the wealth. Using this reverse perspective, I began to recognize those who were missing in the interviews (the someone or something that a participant with wealth may take for granted, may not even be an option for others) and adding annotations of my thoughts to the particular section of the interview. These annotations proved to be invaluable during the writing of my discussion.
4.2 Thematic Analysis Findings

The approach I used for analyzing the interviews was informed by Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six-step approach. Upon finishing the interviews, I would write down my reflections on how I thought the interview went, where I thought I could improve my questioning for future sessions, and what my initial thoughts were, or what stood out from the interview. I transcribed the bulk of the interviews I had at the time. Once I was returned to Toronto after the holidays, I met with the three other participants and transcribed these interviews immediately. Although the goal for this study was to have ten participants, the recruitment process proved to be especially difficult. As well, I felt by the seventh interview that I had reached saturation with the narratives that I had heard.

In line with Braun and Clarke’s (2006) work on thematic analysis, as I was transcribing the interviews, I was also familiarizing myself with data that I had collected. Given the interpretive process, I also included annotations within the transcripts of my thoughts as I was listening to the recorded audio file. These annotations proved invaluable when I would return to the scripts to begin generating my initial codes, and later in the process the themes that emerged which informed my findings.

Importantly, in utilizing a phenomenological approach, this study approached the data in an inductive manner. The objective of this study was to explore the experiences of newcomers coming to Canada. Given this objective, the findings of this study are not meant to establish universal truths of the immigrant or newcomer experience.

4.2.1 NVivo Codebook

Using NVivo to conduct my thematic analysis, I developed six “parents” nodes that had varying numbers and levels of “child” nodes. I recognized these levels and child nodes as subcategories to the higher-level theme. Below is a list of the nodes with their respective definitions:
1. **Barrier:** Divided into five child nodes this code references the immigrant’s perceived barriers that are preventing them from integrating successfully into Canadian society.

   1.1. **Cultural:** This code includes my interpretations of the barriers participants of this study had when attempting in developing cultural connections within their community.

   1.2. **Economic:** This code includes the experiences I interpreted as a barriers the participants of this study experienced when attempting to integrate economically.

   1.3. **Language:** This code includes the experiences I interpreted as a barrier that was created from poor language proficiency.

   1.4. **Physical:** This code includes the experiences I interpreted as physical barriers the participants of this study experienced when living and settling in Canada.

   1.5. **Social:** This code includes the experiences I interpreted as barriers affecting the social integration, and barriers to developing social networks that the participants of this study perceived.

2. **Transition Experience:** Divided into three nodes this code references examples of the participant’s experiences transitioning from their country of origin to Canada. Predominately, this code includes the initial settlement experience.

   2.1. **Discrimination:** This code references my interpretation of experiences in which the participant of this study experienced discrimination.

   2.2. **Experience:** This code references the quotes, and stories, the participants of this study had when first coming to Canada and their experiences settling.

   2.3. **Toronto:** This code references my interpretations of the experiences the participants of this study had settling and experiencing Toronto, opposed to other experiences of settlement.

3. **Integration:** Divided into the three core integration themes that this study highlighted.

   3.1. **Cultural:** This code references the experience participants had in integrating culturally.

   3.2. **Economic:** This code references the experiences participants had when integrating economically.
3.3. Social: This code references the experiences participants had integrated socially and developing social networks.

4. Perceptions of Canada: Divided into four child nodes (“Cultural,” “Economical,” “Multiculturalism,” “Social”), this code reference the perception of immigrants of life in Canada.

4.1. Cultural: What I interpreted as the participant’s perception of the cultural makeup of Canadian society, including what constituted Canadian culture and examples, or stories the participants had experienced Canadian culture.

4.2. Economic: What I interpreted as the participant’s perception of economic inclusivity in Canada. Mainly, this code included the economic barriers and subsequent perceived frustrations of the participants.

4.3. Multiculturalism: Early during the coding process, I realized that although multiculturalism is an aspect of Canadian culture, it was a separate talking point during the discussions with participants. I, therefore, made a separate parent node and included all discussions I interpreted as representations, or direct quotes, of multiculturalism in the experiences of the participants.

4.4. Social: This code includes what I interpreted as the participant’s opinions for developing social relationships in Canada.

5. Social Bonds: A singular parent node referencing my interpretation of participants’ experiences of developing social networks and connections.

6. Sport: A parent node that encapsulated every sport experience that the participants shared during our discussions. There were six “top level” child nodes with further “child” subdivisions.

6.1. Accessibility: Divided into accessibility in the country of origin and accessibility in destination country, this node included the experiences of immigrants comparing sport in Canada to sport in their country of origin.

6.2. Exclusion: Referencing the experiences of participants that either they explicitly said they were excluded from sport participation, or that I interpreted as exclusion.
6.3. Experience: Divided into the “Positive” or “Negative” perceived experiences of the participants of the study, or their families, during their involvement in sport.

6.4. Facilitated Integration: This code included references to what was interpreted as a “Positive Effect” or “Negative Effect” of sport upon integration.

6.5. Outcomes: This code included references to what the participants of this study perceived to be the outcomes of sport participation. Internal or external outcomes were not separated.

6.6. Perceptions: This code included my interpretations of the participants’ attitudes towards sport, and sport in Canada.

### 4.3 Transition Experience

The participants in this study all had different reasons for emigrating from their home countries to Canada. For some it was seeking freedoms Canada could provide. For others it was securing for their children better futures than those futures, the children, would have had in their country of origin. And, for others it was gaining employment opportunities. Though this section is full of narratives that express challenges, stresses, and isolation, the underlying theme of the many narratives is bettering their and their family’s lives, as well as an embracing a sense of adventure.

#### 4.3.1 Reasons for Migration

Multiculturalism is one of the main attractors for immigrants to choose to move to Canada. Most of those with whom I spoke, and who did not come from free and open societies continually mentioned the acceptance in Canada of civil liberties, political freedoms, and cultural pluralism. It seems fitting to start my first interview with a Palestinian lady, Reo*, who had lived in, and migrated from, Saudi Arabia. In prefacing her experiences of coming to Canada, Reo* first gave an account of her life in Saudi Arabia. Although she spoke in broken English, the tone in her voice reflected the despair she felt as she recounted her days in Saudi Arabia:
Why did we decide to move to Canada? Because in Saudi Arabia there is no chance to live as a Palestinian people. We cannot educate, we cannot work, we cannot do many things you know. We can’t sleep in freedom as we want to.

Saudi Arabia is known for its repression of the press, of severely limiting journalistic freedoms, and punishing activists and critics. Indeed, there are no political parties, nor freedoms, in Saudi Arabia—those voicing their opinions against the Crown are tried as criminals in a legal system that is based on Sharia law. As a woman, Reo* would have faced discrimination, though whether Reo* felt and perceived discrimination is unclear from the perspective of an outsider. Granted it has been widely publicized that the new Crown Prince, Mohammed bin Salman, has lifted some gender-discrimination laws, though Saudi Arabian society remains the most oppressive of female rights. For instance, women need a male chaperone whenever they leave their residence, their interaction with other men outside of their family circles is limited, and they do not have the autonomy to dress in anything but a traditional abaya. Reflecting on her experiences in Saudi Arabian and drawing comparison with her homeland and Canada, Reo said:

I like the Canada. The education, how my kids can live life actually because only when we live in Saudi Arabia, all the time we [are] doing only [pause], we sit in the home. Don’t go anywhere. Just [leave] to visit only my family. We cannot go anywhere. We cannot educate very well like this, and they don’t let our children play outside like this.

When I met Reo* she was wearing a headscarf, as well as a long winter jacket, pants and boots. It was also suggested by a mutual connection that I would not extend my hand for a handshake due to religious reasons. What is also interesting is that Reo*’s daughter was playing hockey with her high school team, which had helped fundraise her equipment, given her skating lessons, and a spot on their team. The daughter would also have been old enough to experience the discrimination against women that also forbids them from participating in sport. As will be discussed later, hockey for the participants of T2* was a means of participating, consuming and learning of Canadian culture.

Though for different reasons, yet with the hope of a similar outcome to Reo*, Elara* a middle-aged woman from Tokyo and mother of two children decided to come to Canada to first further
distance herself from an abusive partner, and also to have her children “fail.” Elara* cited in
interviews examples of how character “developed through failure” affected her life and coloured
her experiences of failure within sport, as well as how she sees her son reacting to failure within
his life (both inside and outside of sport). She concludes that in Japan, “The system is different.”
Specifically, in Japan children learn from the school’s curriculum, and in the hours outside of
classroom learning preparatory schools drilled students on skills needed for the entrance exams
required for admission to Japanese Universities. “They go to the other prepare school for the
exam … they don’t go to the, you know, parties. Everybody has something else after school.”
Electing to focus on her career as an ice skater, and by her own admission no smarter than her
peers, Elara* had to find any spare time to study:

I was focused. So, while I was at travelling at *sic* the TTC [equivalent in
Japan] like public transportation, I was studying. Constantly studying. When I
was taking a shower, I wrote something in a plastic and you know the sharpies,
and I put them in and I just remember, “Blah, blah, blah.” Because you know,
the study was different at the time. We have to memorize everything at my
age.

After completing her education in San Diego, California, she found herself in Europe where she
did not sense the people subscribed to her attitudes, nor shared her sense of citizenship. In
Canada she did not believe her children, who were both enrolled in music and sports, were
working hard enough:

There is a failing system from the kindergarten in Europe, but they don’t say
they fail. They do, “the redo” because they choose to be *sic* redo *sic*
because the kids have *sic* own time to you know, they take a time to grow.
And then if it’s not enough, to go to the another *sic* steps *sic*, they stay
there previous year to fill in that where they missed.

And she believes that without developing a callus for hard work, and overcoming adversity, the
alternative is to slip into depression and illness.

That’s why people get depressed so quickly, and then and again they are
protected so they can take off with paying a hundred percent salary. Then some
people take advantage from the system. So, after three month *sic*, suddenly
they get a depressed and then… that’s not the way should be you have to be more stronger [sic], and you have to sometimes you have to keep you [sic] know, but you push yourself harder than and the others to go through with it. And then you have to have the strengths, or you have to think how I can do this

Kyan*, an immigrant from Mauritius, an island near the coast of the Madagascar with a population of 1.2 million, also moved to Canada due to increase access to opportunity and social mobility. Further, it seemed as if a Kyan* emigrated to Canada during a Mauritius diaspora, electing to stay in Toronto due to the well-established Mauritius immigrant population. Kyan* notes:

Yes, the reason for us to move here was…The thing about the kids was the island of Mauritius is very small… It’s a very small island, we have 1.2 million population. And it was a craze at the time. I had many friends which [sic] did the same thing, right? They moved. So, we applied and here we are.

During our discussion it became clear to me that Kyan* took a major risk in coming to Canada. He and his wife did not have prearranged employment in Canada but had faith that the country had the necessary opportunities. In a message to other immigrants, Kyan* advises: “I would say that Canada has many opportunities. Don’t be afraid to take the opportunities.” Indeed, Kyan* was right to be hopeful. He and his wife had little trouble finding jobs upon arriving in Canada, with only a two-month interim period of unemployment. This allowed his family to organize their medical information, driver’s license, and to settle in their new home environment.

Still others, such as Emily*, a mother of three from the Netherlands, and her husband, made the decision to come to Canada for “something different” because, as she noted, “We did it for a purpose because we really wanted to have the experience [of living in Canada].” However, throughout my conversation with Emily*, the dominating issue that she and her family were struggling with, was facilitating their children’s integration into their new community. Indeed, as she states, this was diverting her energies away from finding a job in Canada:

You know the real draining part is I have not been able to get a job again yet. It’s still something that will happen. But it’s, you know, this is longer I’m away from the market the more challenging [it] would be to get you know
something that fits my level, you know, that’s so that’s going to be a challenge. But it is, you know—and financially, you know, it’s going from two good incomes to one good income is also, you know something that I had to adjust to [sic] in a very expensive Toronto.

Due to the difficulty Emily’s* children were experiencing in developing social networks and peer groups, she felt as if she had to be there to support them instead of working.

In some cases, the difficulties relating to integration were short-term, especially for younger children. Yet, in other cases, for instance with children in high school, their process of integration was markedly more difficult. In some cases, the children elected to emigrate from Canada and return to their country of origin for post-secondary education. As the previous examples suggest, the reasons for moving to Canada were associated with providing opportunities for an immigrant’s children to have more and better opportunities and freedoms. Yet, despite these benefits the process of immigration is disruptive, requiring the children to integrate into or assimilate Canadian cultural norms. Importantly, this integrative process can span generations until families are fully acculturated into Canadian society.

For those coming to Canada, whether to access basic human rights, or develop a work ethic, or take advantage of opportunities for social mobility, both Reo*, Elara*, Kyan*, and Emily* all saw from afar that Canada represented a means to a better life. Immigrants coming to Canada take a risk that may not have immediate benefits, yet the participants of this study all acknowledge that their life in Canada will be (and maybe already) better than the one they left behind.

4.3.2 Settlement Experiences

The physical characteristics of transition the participants of this study experienced while adapting to the complexities of their adopted country, a new city (specifically Toronto)—a metropolis—were expressed in two themes. The first larger theme was adapting to the harsh Canadian winters, the shock of snow, the dreary winter days, and the cold. The other theme was the inefficiency of travelling within Toronto; specifically, the wasted time spent waiting for
Toronto Transit Commission buses, and the seemingly insufferable traffic congestion. However, both these themes were understood as the embodiment of the physical structures affecting the experience.

Pedro* emigrated from Bangalore. He highlighted both of these themes as notable elements of his immigrant process—public transportation and its constraints on his leisure time, and the challenge of adapting to seasonal change in Canada. Yet, in relating these themes, Pedro* also found the positive aspects in them; both acted as reminders that he had successfully “made it” to Canada. He relates:

I think one, of course, was the travel [*sic*]. There was a lot of car [*sic*] in the winter season. For an immigrant this is kind of challenging. Because, of course, depending on what part of the country that you belong to, in India it is warmer, and coming here is very much colder, and travelling at night. So, it was pretty difficult to take the buses back home during minus 15 at time, freezing rain. So, coming back late nights and getting back again next morning was challenging. I mean I dreaded those days, but I prayed a lot about those days. I had to work, I had to take care of my family, I had to make sure that there was a job always at hand and there was money coming in.

Elara*, a divorced middle-aged woman from Tokyo, also commented on the weather as a factor which both increased the difficulty of adapting to Canada but was impossible to avoid. The challenges of adapting to the weather also came during a time when she was feeling especially vulnerable, having arrived in a new country without a social network and having to care for two children. When I asked her about her experiences in coming to Canada, she prefaced her remarks by recounting her children’s experiences, saying that, “For kids was very, very easy,” and when I asked about herself, “Was very, very hard [*sic*]. Because it was a long winter. No friends [*sic*].”

The second factor impacting the move to Canada was the traffic, and the constraints it imposed on leisure time in other areas of life due to the inefficiency and long duration of travel. Though some parents elected to have their children take public transit, Emily* and Jada* both said that, due to the difficulty their children were having in integrating to Canada, it was their responsibility to help them in their efforts to integrate physically as well as emotional support.
This took the form of being there for their children, assisting them in meeting and overcoming challenges, transporting them to school and sports. As Emily* commented,

But again because of the distances, of course, you know, you choose the best school years for your kids, you choose the best academy for your kid, and of course, they’re not next to next door to each other, and especially not where we are living. So that is a lot of driving, and for me, because Toronto is what it is. But that’s more probably less with kind of integration from one place to the other, is more fact: big city, congested city, if you want to do the things you want to do. Yeah. Getting from A to B. And then C and then back home is really, really challenging.

Jada*, a mother of two and a former child tennis protégé, emigrated from Holland. She reflected on the effects on her children’s development of independence due to the inefficiency of travel in Toronto. In contrast to Toronto, she noted, in Holland children have the opportunity to bicycle safely everywhere, whereas in Toronto for children to travel from school to their extracurricular activities they need someone to drive them to the different corners of the city. She points out:

I could bike, walk. So even if I didn’t want it, it was there. That’s Holland for you. It’s like everyone bikes to their… whatever. Which, they do say, there are some stats that the Dutch kids are the happiest kids in the world because they have so much independence. They could just bike it everywhere, right. They just do it. They just go by themselves. They don’t need their parents to take them. It’s their own decision. Whereas here it’s all parent drive… So, he’s like depending on someone for driving.

In transporting their children to and from school, or themselves to work, this section unpacks the adaptation of immigrants—specifically, parents—to the new constraints on time that their new community (Toronto) imposes on them. Though, as some of these participants mention, they see the benefits of these constraints as outweighing all other options. I continually reflect on Pedro’s* comment that, although it was snowing, and his time with family was constrained by his travel to work, the negatives were a positive: he had “made it” to Canada.
4.3.3 **Torontoians**

Though not always mentioned as “multiculturalism,” the tone and perspective of the participants in this study suggest that the acceptance of Canadians, and the inclusive nature of Canadian society, were a highly attractive incentive for new immigrants when considering migrating. For instance, Emily*, although having lived in six different countries, and having emigrated from Holland, echoed the stereotype of Canadians as polite and accepting of diversity:

> Canadian culture, and this is something that my husband and I were really appreciating. It in some very interesting. My kids after a year and a half (at least the two younger ones who’ve been here the year and a half) are observing that, one to come back to Holland, that the Canadians are very polite, soft-mannered, considerate of others, interested. So, it’s you know, interested in the other. And I know some Dutch say that’s so superficial. But I don’t, we don’t see that. We don’t see that. Which makes it just comfortable. You know, you don’t feel stressed when in a conversation, you don’t feel stressed, you know to have to put on a show, or have to always say your point of view or fight for a shared voice, the Dutch aren’t very good at that.

Coupled with Canadians “soft mannerism,” the opportunities that Canadians create so that they can contribute back to others in the community, or otherwise to those in need, is a deeply ingrained societal value in Canada, more than she’s ever seen elsewhere. To illustrate:

> I mean I participated already in I don’t know how much charity stuff. In Holland, it would be very difficult to find these types of activities. So, if they’re not so easily accessible because others have set them up or others invite you to and ask you to help would you like to then, then it’s, you know, the barrier would be too high. Like I said, in Holland… I’ve done one or two things there. But it just because I know, I don’t actively seek it, but if it’s kind of bumped on me, then I would do it. But here it’s just like everywhere and I think it’s wonderful. Our kids have done some stuff and it’s just wonderful—just go do stuff.

> It does seem that people Canadians do step up to help each other. So, I would say in a big city sometimes you think all the people it’s kind of easy to go into the little hole and you can hide very easy too in a big city. So… [pause] but I’m finding quite the contrary in Toronto people.
Given that Canada is often portrayed internationally as a welcoming country to those of different ethnic backgrounds, racial groups, and world religions, the reality of Canada is one that does not sufficiently CALD immigrants. Notably, those immigrants arriving from the traditional Global South, developing countries or non-Westernized countries, frequently experience overt or covert racism by Canadians who are unwilling to be involved in their integration.

Participants who were visible minorities or had CALD backgrounds described their experiences with Canadians as “toleration.” They say that Canadians are passively polite, and in contrast to Emily’s* comments of Canadians, unwilling to “step up” and be overly involved with the settlement and integration of newcomers to Canada. The experiences of the CALD immigrants in this study can range from overt discrimination by Canadians, to more subtle and covert racist attitudes. The reason for this discrimination, says many of the CALD participants of this study, is the lack of “two-way” integration, meaning that, immigrants to Canada are willing to engage with Canadians; yet Canadians are unwilling to reciprocate and embrace them as fellow citizens. In their unwillingness to engage with CALD populations, the opportunities available to these groups are constrained and thereby produce poor integration outcomes to the point of marginalization.

Meg*, once a university professor in Columbia, but now having to work as a maid by day and take accounting courses by night, said that she felt discriminated and marginalized by Canadians due to her CALD background and language difficulties. Each has affected her Canadian integration leaving her wondering, “How do you get these people [Canadians] to live—to adapt—to the different cultures?” She goes onto discuss her concerns for the lack of attention Canadians pay to newcomers and established immigrant populations acculturation outcomes, and by extension, the lack of attention for Canadians adapting and being invested in immigrant populations. For instance, “Canadians are nice, and they speak in a good way. It is true they are nice with you, but don’t want to be part of a friendship with you,” said Meg*. In her nine years of living in Canada, Meg* has only two Canadian friends, the rest are from her English as a Second Language (ESL) class, or from Columbian groups in Toronto. This suggests that on the
surface Canadians welcome newcomers to Canada, but they show little effort in adapting to immigrants, embracing them as fully participating members of society. Rather, her perception is that Canadians seemingly prefer—expect—newcomers to assimilate to Canadian culture. Those that do not become isolated.

My conversation with Pedro*, a church minister from Bangalore, further solidified this portrayal of Canadians as passively tolerant. In a conversation Pedro* had with a friend before coming to Canada, his friend warned Pedro* of Canadians’ passive concern. Notably, this behaviour pattern has seemingly spread internationally, since this conversation had taken place in Bangalore:

He [the friend] said you know you might meet a Canadian friend and that, you know what they say, “How are you? Good to see you,” and then you make small talk, and then at some point you say, “We need to hang out again. Okay we need to meet again. Let’s hang out for a coffee and we meet up and chat once again.” And you’ll never hear again from that man…. Basically, this is small talk, or a courtesy talk, and you might not meet if you don’t make any attempts that’s the last time, you’ll ever see your friend again, or most likely, it might take a lot of time before you need them again.

Importantly, the perception that Canadians do not expend the effort to learn about other cultures, thereby sends a message to people of different cultures that neither are they equal, nor wanted. The consequence for the immigrant is they develop an instilled sense that Canada is not their welcoming home. The lack of “two-way” integration is concerning. Without Canadians adapting to immigrants, the social and cultural divide between the two populations will increase further. This divide will result in a lack of social cohesiveness—two populations living side by side yet being isolated. A negative consequence of this is often the growth of transnational identities amongst immigrant populations, as well as the expansion of nationalism and anti-globalization rhetoric.

In the search for a way to counteract non-cohesive, diverse communities, I asked Pedro* what Canada could do to mitigate the barriers of social and cultural integration. He outlined a solution that would increase the awareness of Canadians for others, and reinforce cultural pluralism, multicultural sentiment, and respect for others. Beginning in the Canadian schools, Pedro’s*
solution was to strengthen curricula that incorporate a worldview emphasizing foreign affairs and international relations. Without introducing this worldview, Canadians will continue to be merely passively involved in the integration of immigrants since they will not have the basis of understanding of the cultural dynamics at play, nor a global purview to support the foundations for understanding. In an example of his own schooling, Pedro* went on to provide this example:

Look at India for a minute—okay, India and Canada. We, in Indian schools, we learn more about Western culture then we Canadians even learn about a worldview or Asian culture. We know your Presidents, we know your Prime Ministers, we know different cities, we know your capitals. If I ask an average in Canadian what’s the capital of India, they didn’t even know. Okay. We know your major cities. While I was in India even before, you know, I began immigrating—in school you learn that Toronto is not the capital of Canada, though it is always in the forefront—“Toronto, Toronto, Toronto, Toronto.” Okay, but we already knew [that].

To give you an example we knew that, you know, Ottawa is the capital. The small little place there is actually the capital. But if I ask them Canadian here, “Okay, what is the capital of India?” they won’t even know. Because all they are learning is just American culture, but they don’t have a worldview of what’s happening all around the world. That mostly we [are] here, [it] is all about this ‘side of town,’ but we [Canadians] don’t hear what’s happening on the other side.

So, what I’m saying is that we have to have a better idea of, if we’re going to have people integrate with us and eventually, they become Canadians we have to learn about them as well it’s not one way. I think it’s here; you know because you’re coming here, you have to learn the culture—I understand…. It’s a given. Obviously, the laws are different. If you’re making an attempt to come to Canada, you got to find a public school, don’t complain about it, this is how Canada can be. But at the same time are we [Canadians] making attempts to learn another people’s culture? Or is this one way because for us to help them be successful you have to enter their world too.

The apparent difficulty of developing social relationships with others in Canadian communities could possibly be giving rise to a greater sense of transnationalism and stress the threads of multiculturalism as immigrants are further isolated from Canadian society (Wong, 1997; Wong & Tézli, 2013). As my ‘Discussion’ addresses, integration is dependent on these three aspects of
integration: social, cultural, and economical. Without the necessary attention given to these three forms of integration, those coming to Canada will likely have less than satisfactory integration experiences. Furthermore, the divide between Canadians and immigrant populations will only increase, as both see the consequences of poor integration through their own lenses. Therefore, it is important to explore areas that can allow for both populations to engage with each other, such as through sport and physical activity, so that they may experience the other and appreciate them as fully participating and active members of the community and nation.

4.4 The Complexities of Integration

Successful integration of immigrants into Canadian society is dependent on the social, cultural, and economic factors that positively affect immigrants. Indeed, every newcomers’ transition to Canada is different. The outcomes of transitioning are best described as a spectrum whose two poles are assimilation and marginalization (and eventual segregation) (Berry, 1992). Notably, as Berry mentions, integration is the selective adaptation of aspects of a host country. Thereby, integration is innately resistant to different cultures. Furthermore, the transitional status of an immigrant is not static, nor is it binary; it may also improve or degrade over time. What is central to the integration and transition of immigrants to new countries is the understanding that integration is a “lifelong journey,” that, importantly, it is not isolated to one generation (Richmond & Shields, 2005, p. 515).

In this section I explore the commonalities and differences that the participants of this study experienced. Beginning with language proficiency, I explain the isolating effects language proficiency had on some of the participants with poor English or French. Then, I analyze the issues relating to economic integration, with subsections addressing the value of Canadian experience, the use of accreditation programs, and lastly, the role privilege plays in the process of integrating into Canadian society.
4.4.1 Language Proficiency

Though the majority could speak English at a conversational level, seven out of ten participants expressed the difficulties that they, or the members of their family, faced when integrating to Canada—difficulties whose roots grew from the relative proficiency they had with the English language. Those who experienced difficulties vented their frustration in not being able to express themselves fully in English, or in their anxieties that their children would have difficulty learning one of the country’s official languages when they first arrived. Notably, it was perceived that parents with no prior knowledge of English or French struggled the most with linguistic adaptation. Comparatively, their children learned English or French relatively quickly because of their exposure to language in school and their extracurricular activities. Rather, parents had to “search” for language services, or for educational spaces that could help them learn the country’s language.

Aliyah*, a mother of three from Northern India near the Pakistan border, addressed the crux of the issue of language proficiency, and lamented her inability to express her thoughts and emotions fully and fluently. During our conversation, Aliyah* described her experience understanding English well, but being unable to express herself to the desired effect:

I could like understand very well, but to express myself I used to struggle. That [English] was not my first language. So, the language barrier was definitely [difficult] and I have for few years. Even if I could speak, I was hesitant and I was just very conscious that I will make [sic] mistake, you know, and it will take some time to express myself. Still I was never satisfied what I wanted to say, and [what] I could say in English.

In an effort to improve her English, Aliyah* turned to her local school, volunteering as a lunch supervisor and, consequently, experiencing reasonable success in gaining language proficiency over a few years. Yet, still when setting up our interview, Aliyah* was conscious of her perceived lack of proficiency, asking for me to be patient with her. Aliyah* is an example of learning the country’s language through exposure, rather than through a language course at an educational facility.
In many cases, participants of this study mentioned that they enrolled themselves in English as a Second Language (ESL) courses, which were subsidized by the federal government. These courses first assessed their level of language proficiency, then suggested what ESL courses they should enroll in. Here, those participating in ESL courses would have to complete and pass a curriculum before they can move to the next level. Upon completion, the ESL services would provide a certificate for language proficiency that employers could reference during the hiring process.

Meg* attended ESL courses when she first arrived and learned enough English to be able to have a conversation. Yet, many times during our conversation she asked me for clarity on my questioning, or to slow the speed of my talking so she could better understand what I was asking. Her lack of English proficiency affected her ability to find employment in her field of expertise. Ultimately, she was able to find a job as a bookkeeper in an accounting firm. Due to her inability to express herself fully, and also to understand her employer’s instructions, Meg* found she was the butt of workplace jokes and was perceived as incompetent.

My experience with Canada is like that. If you don’t speak English very well—you are stupid…. I did in accounting because I didn’t speak English very well. [But] my boss laughed at me and make joke [sic] of me and everything about me, and because I lacked [English], because of the way that I explain my ideas, because I did not speak English very well.

Meg’s* experiences reflect a form of discrimination many immigrants experience as a matter of course. Due to the inability, or limited capacity to express their thoughts, opinions, or beliefs, immigrants are painted as incompetent, and their abilities second rate. There is little empathy in white Canadian population for the struggles of learning another language as an adult, which further isolates them, but also stigmatizes them and degrades their self-confidence. Again, there is perceived lack of “two-way” integration.

Elara* also found it difficult to learn English when she first arrived in Canada. She relied on a few friends to help her complete the necessary documents, and slowly over the years of being in Canada began developing her level of proficiency. She attended ESL classes, and by her
accounts, “Finished ELS [sic] very quickly.” During my discussion with Elara*, I came to appreciate that she gained a lot of English through her interactions with her children. As they made breakfast around their parents, they spoke with their mother in English, yet clarified words for her in Japanese.

This micro-story illustrates a common occurrence about gaining language proficiency and the ease with which children learn English in Canada without any prior knowledge. Their continual exposure to the new language by attending school or participating in extracurricular activities such as sport, allows children of immigrant parents to immerse themselves in English (or French) and learn the language far faster and apparently more seamlessly than their parents. At first Emily* was worried of the difficulty her children may have when coming to Canada and learning a new language. Though she was right to be worried, her son surprised her with the relative ease with which he learned English. Though notably, for a period of time her son was very wary of his Dutch accent.

I would say literally the first three, four, five months and it was the youngest. His English was less than the others, and he was the one struggling the most, but they [Emily’s* other children] learned the language that so quickly.

Then, in reference to the exposure of her children to English and the effects immersion had on the development of their English skills, Emily* said:

Everything is in English, but it’s, you know, different going to school, you know, a hundred percent English and everything, write everything English, and all that. It’s for them. It’s gone quite quick in their evolution in the language, you know, within a year and a half. You know, they’re doing more than well in… in school. But the first month, you know, I would hear from them [that] kids are always making me fun of my accent, and some of the words I use, and the way I talk, and you know, things like that.

Naturally, Emily* was not alone in her concern for the adaptability of her children. Jada* was also anxious about how her son would learn English. Though they had lived in England for a number of years before moving to Canada, Jada’s* son’s “English was almost non-existent.” To ensure his success, Jada* tirelessly met with schools across Toronto, finally landing on a private
school that she felt would ensure his success in learning English. Jada’s* efforts reflect a larger theme of the importance language has through all spheres of an individual’s life. Without a comprehensive grasp on the host country’s language, a newcomer will be isolated from their cultural and peer groups. The opportunities newcomers have for social and cultural experiences are constrained, and their capacities to integrate into the country’s labour markets, risk being severely affected.

Meg’s* experience was interpreted as representing the vulnerability of those who possess low levels of English proficiency. Though her children attended school, as well as the local soccer team, Meg* was unable to become fluent in English, eventually losing her position as a bookkeeper and having to turn to the secondary labour market for work as a housemaid. Her lack of English proficiency also affected her ability to attend night classes and understand the material being taught that could allow her to work in her field of expertise and receive a license as a financial planner, which also affected her family’s income. Ultimately, the services that deliver language training to newcomers are not accommodating, nor flexible enough to meet the demands of newcomers. Given that language is so central to the integration of newcomers, services that accommodate the realities that immigrant face when coming to Canada is needed more than ever to ease the social and economic integration of newcomers.

Having moved to Canada in August 2018, Reo’s* level of English was surprisingly strong—an example of the federal government’s efforts to connect immigrants quickly with language services. Yet, as Reo* and I spoke about her experiences in Canada, she mentioned that she attends ESL classes where they do “Reading, writing, speaking, six hours a day.” This time commitment of these ESL classes struck me as very long, indeed. In enrolling in these courses, participants are willingly restricting the little time they have available to devote to other activities, such as part-time work that is crucial to their family’s well-being. To complete ESL courses and to be verified as proficient in English or French, for many with no prior background in English this is a multi-year commitment that they are unable to fulfill due to lack of resources, available time, and, not inconsequentially, financial resources.
To close our discussion, I asked Jess* what she wished was available to her when she first moved to Canada. After, some thought, she (to my surprise) commented on the lack of information that was available from settlement services and the inaccessibility of this information:

I’m not even sure I don’t know. I don’t know how these settlement agencies work. And I would not have accessed one. I don’t know. Maybe some just general support maybe family doctors could be a very good point, you know to ask for help people access if there were a better system around there. That would be a good point to, you know direct people to what the right resources—community health.

Though Jess* did not need help finding services due to her own support network, she was aware of the experiences and issues that were affecting other newcomers—issues of which were expressed by the other participants of this study. To address the problem of accessing information, Jess* suggested that settlement services should begin engaging and disseminating resources to newcomers in areas in which they commonly engage, for instance, doctor and medical offices. Notably, as it is discussed later, sport is perceived to not be a significant point of engagement for newcomers.

The structure of the Canadian immigration bureaucracy favours those who already are proficient in English or French. By prioritizing those having a background in one of the country’s official languages, Canada selects those that can integrate more quickly. For those lacking language proficiency, the Canadian federal government provides free language services to newcomers because the immigration settlement system recognizes the fact that without a strong background in the country’s languages the capacities and fortunes of newcomers are significantly constrained and their futures less certain. The findings of this study suggest that language proficiency programs need to improve their reach and promotion, as well as introducing modalities that accommodate the lives and realities that immigrants face. This is discussed more in-depth later in this paper.
4.4.2 Economic Integration

This section explores the different aspects of economic integration. Beginning first with the perceived barriers to assimilation and social integration that the participants of this study experienced, this section unpacks the disproportionate experiences of integration that were perceived to be affected by so-called privilege and wealth.

4.4.2.1 The Vulnerability of Newcomers and the Need for “Canadian Experience”

“What is your Canadian experience?” is, more often than not, the first question asked of an immigrant during a job interview. The “question” is referred to as one of the largest barriers that immigrants face when they are attempting to integrate. The purpose of the question is to determine the suitability of a newcomer to function productively in a Canadian workplace. This question, as benign as it seems, illustrates an embedded prejudice of foreign experience in Canadian labour markets. Immigrants entering the workforce in Canada for the first time are placed in a difficult position because they cannot obtain employment without Canadian experiences, nor can they gain Canadian experience without a job. A classic catch-22 situation. In response, newcomers and established immigrants turn to unpaid work such as volunteer work, internships, or to “survival jobs”—those jobs outside of the individual’s field of expertise.

The Ontario government has passed legislation in 2013 to prevent Ontario employers from requesting “Canadian experience” unless it is a legitimate requirement for the job. The policy to remove “Canadian experience” was an attempt by the Ontario government to curb the exclusion of foreign experience from Canadian labour markets, as well as reducing the number of over-qualified immigrants in low-skill jobs—an ineffective use of human capital. Pedro* and Kyan* both mentioned that in interviews they had participated in, they had been asked for Canadian experience. However, both Pedro* and Kyan* moved to Canada nine and ten years ago respectively, and therefore, would not have experienced the change in policy. That said, professions with a regulatory body or a licensing requirement still require Canadian (and sometime Ontario) work experiences in order to receive professional accreditation and a license.
Kyan* was the first to explain to me what “Canadian experience” referenced. As with other immigrants, so Kyan* acknowledged that economic integration was the biggest “challenge” he faced when coming to Canada, despite his foreign employment experience. He had arrived in Canada in 2009 and, therefore, would have experienced the discrimination of Canadian employers. He commented:

> Everybody looks for your Canadian experience. I mean when you first come you have no experience… I mean when you apply for a job the option of “Did you work?” So yes, I did work. “Do you have any Canadian experience?” No, that’s my first job. So that was the challenge. People tend to go with Canadian people. Next, [with] people who are already working in a Canadian company.

Later, as I ignorantly pressed him on why he felt Canadian experience was so important, Kyan* said almost exasperatedly,

> People [employers] are afraid to hire some people with other kinds of experience because of the culture. It may be that people are not aware of all the cultures we have, how the people here in Canada operate. I mean, what all the fuss is maybe some people. If you can speak in a different tone, for you [the newcomer] maybe it’s normal, but for here maybe it’s not normal. It’s kind of offensive.

Central to this discrimination of immigrants relating to employment is the hierarchy that is associated with immigrants’ accents. Language is the basis of any workplace; accents are a continual reminder to all of an individual’s country or ethnic origin. Notably, as Kyan* says, the individual with the accent is not aware of it effects, nor that it is a basis for discrimination. However, Canadian and Western societies have developed hierarchies of accents. Those with European or Western accents are more desirable than those with accents from CALD backgrounds and are more likely to integrate into the Canadian workforce than CALD applicants. Yet, accents as employment qualifiers are false indicators of talent and ability. They do not reflect the suitability, potential productivity, nor the capacities of the employees. Accents, instead, are used to label immigrants as “Other” who have to endure the real or perceived consequences of discriminatory biases that are triggered by accents that go against some real or perceived norm in a workplace. In contrast, participants from Westernized countries such as
Holland, such as Emily* and Jada*, did not experience the same discrimination as the CALD participants of this study. Notably, both mothers opted to not search for employment, seeing their role as caregivers to their children as being more important than employment in the initial stages of the integration process. Both spoke English with English accents; Emily* even mentioned that she would have “no problem” finding work in Canada, given her background.

Pedro* had a similar experience to Kyan’s* when searching for employment in Canada. Until hired by Capital One, Kyan’s* previous interviewers asked him for his experience of working in Canada. Having been raised with a Westernized background and working for employers requiring him to attend “international conferences, to pool side conferences, and spoke in different cities of the world, [and having] met world leaders,” Pedro* said that the issues around employers asking for Canadian experience were “overrated.” He did not understand why Canada thought a workplace was so different in Canada than elsewhere in the world, “They [Canadians] put it on a pedestal.”

Given that Canada has a high population of immigrants, Pedro* thought that international experience would be a valued asset, not a liability when applying for employment. He felt his international experience gave him an edge over domestic candidates for a position—not only could he relate to foreign cultures and societies, but he was also well versed in Canadian culture.

I think honestly that’s a joke…. Because they make it look like Canada is this country that is so different than everybody in the world. But that [Canadian experience] shouldn’t stop us from getting jobs in ways that we are qualified. I think it’s overrated when they first say, “Canadian experience.” In fact, this one [interview]…this one guy asked me about Canadian experience. And I said listen, “I don’t have Canadian experience. I have international experience.”

In effect, the question of Canadian experience posed during employment interviews serves as subtle prejudicial gatekeeper allowing only so-called qualified applicants to proceed along in the process that could lead to employment or disqualifying otherwise competent applicants merely on the basis of an accent or some other disingenuous reason. Although immigrants like Kyan* and Pedro* may have credible experience gained from their international work, the prospects of
their employment often appears skewed because the system is partially rigged against them acquiring Canadian experience. However, this poses a daunting impediment that is difficult to overcome—experience requires employment; employment supplies experience. The result of this chicken-and-egg situation is frequently frustrating because otherwise qualified talent is excluded from Canadian labour markets. In asking for Canadian experience, immigrants with international experience are being systematically discriminated against, while Canadian experience and credentials are overvalued. In such a biased environment, Canadian workplaces are either deliberately or not reproducing White Canadian privilege paradigms by preventing non-White populations from attaining higher social classes and culture.

Meg* was also discriminated against for her international experience. Given that her grasp of English was poor, Meg* had a very different transition than Pedro* and Kyan* who were both fluent in English. That said, her experience in Columbia as a financial planner counted for little in Canada to the extent that she was required to complete accreditation programs that I discuss below. However, Meg’s* experiences underline the vulnerability immigrants face upon entering Canada and seeking to integrate into society. Without being able to successfully assume a position in the labour force, either due to insufficient English proficiency or inability to transition her international experience, Meg* became isolated from Canadian society. She had to turn to “survival work” that valued her time less than if she were a financial planner, which constrained her time to attend ESL classes or accreditation programs.

Accreditation programs are provided by Canadian universities and colleges in order to ensure that immigrants coming to Canada with foreign credentials become knowledgeable of the standards of practices in a Canadian context. These accreditation programs, however, present significant, even exclusionary, barriers to newcomers. Jess*, who holds a graduate degree, had to take undergraduate courses at a local university before her diploma and experience were accepted by Canadian employers. She states:

Of course, of course, because with my initial degree, when I tried to get credentials to test that they asked me to go back to school for very basic
things—just to you know, just to be eligible. So, I ended up—even while having an undergraduate degree—I ended up doing two years of undergrad here. So, you know, you take steps back, and then if you’re lucky I, like you, need to retrain basically, which is acceptable to some way. But in others it’s kind of redundant because those professional—whatever you may call them—“walls,” they also served to exclude, right? .......... Whether it’s unions, whether it’s professional associations, whether—whatever you may call them—by asking for so much local [education or experience] it’s a way of exclusion, and a way of kind of underutilizing the workforce.

Enrolling in accreditation programs, and even those provided through universities, requires a significant amount of financial capital, in addition to study time to complete them. For immigrants such as Meg* who do not have the financial resources to complete accreditation procedures, nor have the luxury of extensive savings to sustain themselves through long spells of unemployment, accreditation programs present substantial barriers to integration because they inadvertently can limit opportunities for independence. Further, for immigrants such as Jess*, who are considered highly educated, and who have directly related experience in their fields of expertise, accreditation programs are almost insurmountable obstacles facing otherwise qualified candidates seeking to enter Canadian labour markets. Another example is Pedro*, who is also well qualified with experience in his profession in Bangalore. Upon arriving in Canada, he had to work as a “settlement guy or officer”—a position for which he had no relevant experience, nor was it the occupation he expected to have once in Canada.

In contrast, for others such as Jada*, the transfer of her Dutch experience to a Canadian work environment was not difficult. Indeed, her integration into the workforce was constrained solely by her self-selected role as the primary caregiver for her children not by any external labour market or language-based impediment, while her husband worked as an executive in a major Canadian corporation. Her reasoning for not transferring over her educational qualifications and her workplace experience was based on a consideration that by working she would reduce her time with her children, and, therefore, her children’s lives would suffer. She states:
I would still have to get my Dutch degree translated into English, which is not a big deal. I could probably get something from the Dutch Tennis Association too. So, I’d have to send that in motion.

Notably, Jada* does not have the same constraints on her as Meg*. Though she does not have the same outlets as she did in Holland, her way of life was not affected, nor is her life dependent on completing a Canadian accreditation. One other example is Emily*, another participant from Holland who worked as an executive, who was not required to complete any external gap training for her profession. Rather, Emily’s* employability was only contingent on her ability to conform to Canadian workplace culture.

On the other hand, Meg’s* capacity was, and remains to be, incredibly limited by having to undertake licensing training. In effect, having to accredit international experience affects those who are most vulnerable by having immigrants such as Meg* pay or take out loans to complete their licensing requirements, while also constraining their abilities to practice in Canada and forcing immigrants to rely on (and perhaps deplete) their financial savings during the interim period defined by the licensing process.

Pedro* did recognize the importance of accreditation programs for immigrants. Having to go through extra training for his first job in Canada as a settlement officer for Capital One, Pedro* saw the importance of the continual upgrading of credentials to ensure all individuals were aware of new policies, and ensure consumers were safe. Using privacy laws as an example Pedro* pointed out that,

They are very strict. They are very stringent. You cannot make a mistake. It’s important that we don’t share other information and stuff like that. So, I think I had to learn that the hard way—not the hard way, but I had to learn. Of course, in India the privacy laws are there, but not very enforced as we see it here. So basically here, you, in fact, do different courses, even as you work you have to go through a few courses—they may be a one-hour course, a two-hour course, but they give you those little tests that make sure you are up to date. There is always a constant upgrading. So that good it keeps you informed of the times and keeps you relevant, so I think in that way it was not a shock it was a good thing for us, for me as well.
Regardless of the time constraints accreditation procedures impose on immigrants, they do fulfill a fundamental need to ensure that all those employed in Canada have the same level of training and can perform their services safely and effectively. However important to maintaining service and safety standards, accreditation programs need to be less invasive in both time and resources. Having barriers preventing immigrants from integrating economically into the Canadian workforce increases real and perceived vulnerabilities immigrants experience and feel, both of which impact on (often negatively) their capacities to be self-reliant.

Canadian experience can often be used as a means of applying, intended or not, a form of systematic discrimination that makes it difficult for immigrants to gain meaningful, gainful employment in their fields of experience and expertise in Canada. It is unclear whether the Province of Ontario’s new policy to prohibit this type of latent segregation has been effective, because this study predominately included women participants who did not find it necessary to work in Canada, or who were searching and obtaining employment before the policy was enacted.

4.4.2.2 Privilege and Its Effect on Integration

The participants of this study were from a diversity of backgrounds, from different corners of the world with their own customs and cultures. Although they had different experiences when integrating into Canadian society, I did notice the value of pre-immigration wealth on reducing many inherent risks associated with immigration. Presumably, not only did pre-immigration wealth increase the point scores of those wishing to immigrate to Canada, it enhanced their ability to remain self-sufficient between jobs. Wealth and privilege also positively affected the family’s success and length of time of integration.

By “privilege” I do not mean strictly the economic resources available to the families at the time of and prior to immigration. Privilege, in this study, as well as being reflected in the literature, means the connection of one’s financial resources to the opportunities that these resources provide—the emphasis on the opportunities (Payne, 2012). The opportunity and access that
privilege provides can be social, cultural, financial and political. Importantly, wealth and privilege are innately exclusive and are most often associated with social class. Those of higher social class reproduce their culture and rub shoulders with those who have and who can exert influence and power. In the context of this study, participants who were perceived to have more wealth (and, therefore, more privilege) were also perceived to have more leisure time to freely direct their energies to more discretionary avenues, and to be engaged with and participate in a diverse array of opportunities that, together, exposed them and their families to increasing opportunities to facilitate their successful integration into their communities and society at large.

Through this study, I began to recognize the role of privilege in the family’s integration process. There is a direct correlation between an immigrant’s wealth, a more successful integration process, as well as an involvement of their children’s sport. Privilege was shown to reduce the disenchanting effects of the transitioning period, lessen anxieties associated with uncertainty, and alleviate stress. Compared to participants with little wealth, those with privilege were not as reliant on finding employment quickly. Instead, their attention was directed to integrating successfully into society and community. For instance, an affluent immigrant could afford to settle in expensive neighbourhoods that were convenient for this family. Their children could attend private schools in which more attention could be given by the teachers to the children’s successful integration into the school community. In their extracurricular activities, they could join expensive country clubs that were exclusive only to the most affluent families in Toronto. Here, they had a powerful support network that could assist them or be involved in their transition process. Privilege and wealth increased the manoeuvrability of the families too in order to ensure their successful integration options were not limited to just a few, perhaps unpalatable, choices.

Jada*, Elara*, and Emily* were from such affluent backgrounds, living in some of Toronto’s more expensive neighbourhoods. Although they had experiences in high positions previous to immigrating, each of these women did not see a necessity to work in Canada. In contrast to those without privilege, not having employment did not drastically diminish the quality of their lives,
nor did their integration processes affect them. On the contrary, by voluntarily excluding themselves from the Canadian workplace, these women joined social clubs that facilitated their integration into Canadian upper-class social circles. Where these women lost access to workplace social capital, they gained an equivalent quantity of social cachet through the privileges that gave them entrée into Toronto’s more elite and expensive country clubs with high initiation fees.

In the case of these women, the power of their privilege also facilitated their family’s integration. Elara* was also able to arrange her son’s admission into Toronto’s most elite private boys’ school by hosting a dinner party as part of the country club’s speaker series. The admission’s officer was also a member at Elara’s* country club, and was invited to this dinner party,

Of course, C3* they don’t do everybody to it [the event]. You know, to come to my house for dinner. But you know when you’re building up sudden level of the friendship. So, that’s why Cedar* got a great review from one of the C3* members.

Similarly, Jada* also helped her sons’ integration through their entrance into small Toronto private schools. Due to the school’s low admission intake numbers, her children were given more attention and a higher priority for the teachers. Here, Jada’s* son’s English improved quickly and his self-confidence increased, which was also contributed by their prowess as the top players on the small school’s sports teams. Talking about her son, Guy*, and his integration, Jada said,

The language was different. They didn’t speak although they were in England at the time, their English was almost non-existent. So, [they] went to S2*.

S2* was a very sort of small welcoming school for us time. And it was great. The boys liked it and they found their [confidence]. They know… they’re really good—S2*, is really good at finding something your child is good at and making sure they build up their self-esteem and confidence, whether that be whatever: working in smaller groups worked really well.

Since both Jada* and Elara* had the financial resources to enroll their children in private schools in the Toronto area, in which class sizes are smaller and, therefore, students presumably receive more attention from teachers, Jada* and Elara* enabled their children’s successful integration
into the upper echelons of Toronto society. Those who are not so privileged, however, do not have these same capacities to send their children to school where they can develop social networks with Toronto’s upper-class families.

My work with the Bahá’í Junior Youth program involved delivering programming to schools that serviced traditionally immigrant-dense neighbourhoods. One school located near Flemingdon Park is a middle school (Grade 6 to 8) servicing 1,200 children, representing fifty languages different language groups. One such grade has ten classes averaging thirty-five children per class. As I became more familiar with this institution, it was difficult not to juxtapose the lives of these children with those of children in Toronto’s private schools and then to calculate their contrasting accessibility to opportunity.

Those from upper-class families have many more options than those less privileged. Emily* had searched for many schools in Toronto for her children and, owing to the maneuverability of her privilege, she was fortunate to be able to enroll her children in the self-described “best school” and “best [tennis] academy.” Notably, as Emily* mentioned, these two institutions were not next to each other, thus requiring her to spend hours transporting her children to and from school, which her privilege made possible.

In detailing her integration experience, Emily* is yet one further example of an integration process eased by privilege. Upon arriving in Canada, she joined the Women’s Network in Toronto comprising “two hundred fifty to three hundred” other “educated women.” Firstly, a social club, this women’s network is conveniently organized to allow women who have successfully integrated into Canada to assist the network’s new members. She remarks:

* It’s a woman’s network club and it’s for newcomers. And, yeah, it’s like two hundred and fifty or three hundred members. Yeah, people coming from, you know, new to Toronto and a lot of them have stayed. So, it’s just you can enter once when you’re new, but you can’t enter into this club if you’ve already been [in Canada] for five years, for example. So, it’s, you know, those who have stayed [in the Women’s Network] longer, help the fresh newcomers how to integrate.
And they [the Women’s Network] have a lot of activities. It’s all educated women. So, in essence you have a lot of commonalities with people who have lived all over Canada all over the world and so it’s a commonality. And you do activities together. And there’s [sic] so many of them you will, after a while, you know, find people who fit you better and you can do things with. So, that’s very kind of where I found, you know, I would say four or five women whom I do things with. You know, in a year and a half that’s not too bad.

What is notable about my conversation with Emily* is her stressing the criteria for the club as for “educated women.” It is true that most immigrants coming to Canada are highly educated, yet a significant portion of immigrants to Canada enter via family unification programs (Picot & Sweetman, 2012; Siar, 2013). By requiring women to have a threshold of education, the Women’s Network excludes the most vulnerable women who are most likely to experience isolation and oppression (Dibie & Dibie, 2018).

Contrasting these examples with families who came to Canada with arguably little privilege, the experiences these families’ integration is arguably more constrained and stressful than the less privileged. Kyan*, for instance, uprooted his family members’ lives in Mauritius where they owned a house, car, and he had stable employment. He willingly moved to Canada without established employment, became reliant on public transportation for the year of living in Canada, and lived in a rental unit in an apartment building. Of this experience he writes that, “Gradually we are back to normal. We don’t live in a building and we have our own house. So, I mean, life is going back to the way it was back in Mauritius.” Pedro* did not want to move to Canada. He speaks that he “had many opportunities” in Bangalore and realized even before moving that the transition would be “difficult.” Meg*, Reo* and Aliyah* all moved for various and different reasons; all, however, commented that Canada provided an array of opportunities and pathways to a better life than that provided in their home countries. Yet, each commented on their difficulties of transitioning to Canada and how their particular circumstances limited their abilities to successfully and quickly integrate into their new communities.

What is notable amongst CALD immigrants is the homogenous nature of the integration process with those of similar backgrounds. My work with the Bahá’í JY group with whom I worked in
neighbourhoods comprising a high density of CALD immigrants, such as St. Jamestown North (a one-by-one-kilometre area on the northeast corner of the city centre with nineteen high-rise buildings) and Flemingdon Park and its adjacent neighbourhood of Thorncliffe Park. Delivering the Bahá’í’s Illumine Project curriculum to schools servicing the youth in these areas, I noticed that the development of social and cultural bonds were not with necessarily “traditional Canadian” cultural groups. Rather, these new Canadians were reproducing their respective cultures and traditions in their adopted neighbourhoods and integrating amongst their own specific cultural groups.

The most profound statement and one which I believe encapsulates the discrepancies and disproportionate opportunities available to those with privilege and those who do not—the “haves and have nots”—came from Jess* when I asked her whether or not sport helped to facilitate her integration process. She stated:

Oh, absolutely, because you get to know the system, right? You understand how the system works and that’s how I figured out. I probably wouldn’t even have known the difference between public and private schools until I got my kid involved in sports and figured out, “Hey, how come… What’s going on here?” And, you know, so you figure out very quickly how resources are allocated and who’s excelling and why they are excelling. And you understand the way, you know, why is one resorting to sports outside when? [Pause] Yeah, I mean, it’s like same things are available. So, you could you figure out a lot of the ways that you integrate, as well as what you need to do to, you know, to get your kid, figure out how the system works basically.

Notably, in this quote Jess* does not reference how sport develops social relationships, and for that matter, fosters the growth of social relationships. Rather, Jess* discusses how sport exposed her to the workings of the Canadian “system” and how those of privilege enrolled their children in programs outside of their schools. This could be interpreted as a discrepancy of opportunity, but also the manoeuvrability of those with wealth to have the opportunity to choose programs that are better suited to their needs.
In sum, the experiences of those emigrating with more wealth and with greater privilege have less difficult integration experiences into Canadian society than those without privilege. This section first discussed the experiences of Emily*, Jada*, and Elara*, all mothers whose concern for their children’s integration propelled them not to pursue work in Canada. Their privilege granted them access to country clubs where they could develop friendships with Toronto’s more powerful, influential citizens, and move along a positive pathway where their children could be admitted to some of Toronto’s private schools. This story of privilege easing the integration experience is contrasted with stories of hardship, of those arriving with little wealth, and who had to find settlement and employment that was not even equivalent to that which they held in their country of origin.

4.5 The Role of Sport in the Acculturation Process

The objectives of this study are first, to document the complexities of the immigrant experience as newcomers adapt to Canadian life. Second, this study explores the role of sport in the integration process of new immigrants to Canada. More specifically, I ask, what effect does having a child enrolled in sport programming have on the immigrant family? As with all of the previous findings, a seemingly simple question requires intensive exploration of the themes that intersect with immigrant integration and how sport eases the transition from one society to another in an alien country. Granted, some of these themes impact some participants more than others. Yet, even still the findings in this section reflect the opportunities and constraints that sport gives as to new immigrants.

4.5.1 Hockey in Canadian Culture

“They [Canadians] are crazy and fanatical when they play hockey.” — Meg*

My observations were conducted during the winter months of 2018–2019, and involved watching youth volleyball, badminton, or basketball practices and games in gymnasiums in places such as the Wellesley community centre, or by otherwise observing hockey practices and
games in arenas such as the Angela James arena. This section concentrates on efforts underway in Canada to attract participants of more diverse backgrounds to hockey.

Hockey is a critical component of the Canadian national identity. Scholars such as Scherer and Whitson (2009), argue that the access to the public television broadcasts of National Hockey League (NHL) games constitutes a form of cultural citizenship for Canadians, and furthermore, if this public broadcasting of hockey were to be taken away, the maintenance of Canadian culture could be negatively affected. Even former Canadian Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, once said that hockey is the national common denominator. Still others idolize hockey as one of very few mediums that has the capacity to unify Canada as a country (Szto, 2016).

To be sure, steps have been taken to ensure hockey is more accessible to Canadians and that it reflects the diversity of the Canadian population. For instance, in 2008 the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) aired the first Punjabi language version of Hockey Night in Canada (HNIC), that through lapses in funding continues to be aired every Saturday night (Sachdeva, n.d.). At a grassroots level, hockey programs are developed to engage the youth around the country and encourage them to learn and to play hockey and to function as a productive member of a cohesive team.

T2* was one such program that encouraged immigrant youth to become engaged with hockey. During this study, I was became involved with T2*. The program is, in part, funded by Maple Leaf Sport and Entertainment (MLSE), and is partnered with the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). It delivers its programming in five schools across Toronto. Notably, these schools that T2* is partnered with predominately service neighbourhoods that have a relatively high demographic of new immigrants.

Near the end of November, and during the initial stages of this study, I met with Joe*, the executive director and founder of T2*. Off the record, Joe* and I discussed the intentions of T2*—intentions that seemed very superficial. Their mandate emphasized reducing the entrance barriers that hockey possesses by providing free equipment (sticks, hockey pads, skates, etc.) to
any student of the schools that are involved in the T2* program or enroll in skill-acquisition lessons such as skating, puck handling, and shooting. By reducing barriers to participation, T2* provides opportunities for populations that are not normally represented in hockey to participate in this significant expression of the country’s culture.

The number of observations for this study was not equally distributed between gymnasiums and ice rinks. My observations were dependent on convenience and saturation levels. In all, I observed more youth ice hockey programs than programs in gymnasiums. This is partly because it became for me an interest in observing games in neighbourhoods with a high density of immigrant populations. The contrasting natures of participants in these two environments—rinks versus gymnasiums—could not have been more pronounced.

Angela James arena, located near Flemingdon Park, was one such area with a high density of first-generation immigrants, as well as recent immigrants (City of Toronto, 2018). During my trips to Angela James arena, I observed that those using the arena did not reflect the demographics of the Flemingdon Park area. Those using the arena appeared to be mainly of White European backgrounds, of high social class (judging from their physical appearances, for instance, the clothes they were wearing, the handbags the women sported, and lastly, the cars in the parking lot). These observations remained consistent during my subsequent trips to the Angela James arena to the extent that it appeared to me that these teams were being driven from neighbourhoods outside of Flemingdon Park to practise or play their games in this arena.

In contrast, I observed more visible minorities, CALD populations, and parents who spoke world languages during my observations of sport being conducted in gymnasiums. In and around St. Jamestown North I conducted the bulk of my research. The objectives of my observations were to observe immigrants participating in organized youth sport, and I felt this census tract would yield more accurate results than those drawn from the Flemington Park context. As well, to mitigate any biases from conducting research in one area of Toronto, I began observing basketball and volleyball in other neighbourhoods around Toronto such as East York, Rosedale,
Parkdale, and Flemingdon Park as well. My observations of youth organized sport in these areas reflected a better representation of Toronto’s diverse population, and even Canada’s plurality, than my observations of organized youth hockey programming that appeared skewed to a very narrow, non-representative survey group.

However, throughout the observational component of this research study I continually returned to Joe* and T2*. They represented excellent candidates for my observations, as both Joe* and T2* directly overlapped with the population complexion that I was studying. As I became a recurring figure at Joe’s sessions around Toronto, I began taking on more responsibility such as helping the youth put on their equipment or helping to tie up the endless number of skates. This gave me a chance to talk to those participating in T2*—notably off the record—about why participants were attracted to the program and their reasons for choosing sport at all. Most commonly the responses from the youth participating in T2* echoed a sentiment that since hockey was such a Canadian symbol, they felt that they should participate in it as an important chapter in their immigration and acculturation processes. Still others felt that participating in and learning hockey would help them establish new friendships with Canadians. Indeed, when I passed these comments on to Joe* he agreed that most newcomer youth who had moved to Canada recently had a perception of Canada before moving to Toronto, and that hockey was perhaps one of the significant iconic representations of Canada.

As I address in my “Discussions” chapter, the representation of hockey in Canadian culture is a case study of strange contradictions embedded in the many myths comprising Canadian culture. Although the country brands itself as proudly multicultural, the essence of Canada does not seem to be reflected by the culture of hockey. Though there may be an attempt in Canada to rebrand hockey as a national metaphor and allow for hockey to be consumed by a wider audience, Canada may very well see higher yields by diverting funds to create more opportunities for the participation in international sports that are much more diverse than the seemingly monotone nature of hockey.
4.5.2 The Attraction to Canadian Sport for Newcomers

The attraction of sport for immigrant populations fell under two categories of interpretation that I outline in this section. The first category has to do with the external outcomes of sport participation. These outcomes are predominately the attraction of scholarships to post-secondary institutions by the parents with children enrolled in sport. The second—and an echo of the literature surround youth involvement in sport—is the sense that sport participation produces positive social outcomes for participants that continue to benefit participants after they retire from sport. This section addresses the findings of these two categories and sets the stage for further discussion in the next chapter.

4.5.2.1 Outcomes of Participating in Sport

Within the North American context, participating in sport can be regarded as a way of subsidizing expensive post-secondary education. University and college athletic teams use scholarships to attract the best talent to their institutions. Though scholarships from Canadian universities are far less remunerative than universities and colleges in the United States, Canadian high school students are still eligible to receive up to $4,500 as an Athletic Financial Award (AFA) from a Canadian university (Ontario University Athletics, n.d.). The money available through sport, as well as the role of sport in facilitating the acceptance of high school athletes into university programs on the merits of their sporting achievements, are enough incentive for immigrant and Canadian families alike to put time, energy, and financial resources into their child’s involvement in competitive sport.

Kyan*, a father of a competitive junior track athlete, saw sport as a potential path to assist his son in gaining acceptance into a Canadian university. This opportunity contrasts with his experience growing up in Mauritius where he mentioned that the emphasis on sport was very low. He describes the situation in his home country:
“We were mainly focused on studies. And that was it…. Sport was like a second. First is the studies [sic], we are forced to study, and sport is like, ‘If you do sport you will not succeed in your studies.’ So that was number one.”

During our discussion, Kyan* noted the lack of attention and energy towards sport was the consequence of two factors. The first is the fact that positive outcomes of sport in Mauritius were very insignificant. Therefore, sport participation was for those who could either afford to spend time away from their studies, or for those who were competing at an elite level.

The second factor affecting sport participation in Mauritius is the lack of sport infrastructure in the country. Due to the developed nature of sport in Canada, opportunities for competition are greater, and this access to facilities, training and competitions, in part, facilitates the development of the external outcomes of sport. When travelling with his son across Canada for track and field meets, Kyan* could not but help contrasting Mauritius and Canadian sport cultures. More than Mauritius, Canada provides opportunities to high school students to compete at provincial meets like OFSAA, or at national meets. In Mauritius, Kyan* comments that,

It was just like it was just for the fun. There was no competition. You compete like that…. I don’t suppose you have maybe 10, 10 to 12 colleges in one league. So, you just compete with that. So, it was not like a major competition like here, like you have OFSAA, like you have cities [Metro OFSAA], and [Canadian] Nationals, right? So that’s it. It’s all different [in Canada].

Mauritius did not have facility, training or competitive infrastructures in place to provide opportunities that abound in Canada. Therefore, the outcomes of sport, such as scholarships and pathways to high education, could not be realized in Mauritius due to the lack of attention given to sport in that country.

Pedro*, a church minister from Bangalore, India, and a former member of one of India’s top football clubs, applauded the Canadian sports system. Reflecting on his experience in India growing up wanting to pursue a career in soccer, Pedro* acknowledges that the infrastructures that encourage Canadian youth to participate in sport are not present in India. He comments:
The government doesn’t give schools aid in terms of developing this kind of talent. It’s basically if you are in school and you know you’ll be happy with what you get, what you have.

Pedro* could not rely on his athletic talent as a pathway to post-secondary education. Instead, in countries such as his home country, the motivation to pursue sport is inner passion for the game rather than an external factor. Furthermore, and similarly to Kyan*’s story, the barriers to sport participation in India exclude those who do not have the luxury of time or the financial resources to participate in it. He illustrates:

So, to join a club outside school is very expensive. To join a good club it’s very expensive, and there’s a good chance only the rich one can afford that. Those who are, you know, not so rich, they struggle and that’s why they—right from school—from school they know that the only way to do well is in academics. You’ve got a pass. You’ve got to do well and even the cut-off for top universities, for many people, is 90%.

For those who cannot afford the cost of participating in sport, Pedro* says, see the pursuit of academics as a better investment of their time, and a less risky provider of better future opportunities. More often than not, those who are able to afford sport can also afford tuition to private universities and academic institutions, reducing the need for entrance scholarships and grants that require high marks. Rather than spending time practising and playing soccer, Pedro* felt that it was in his best interests to focus his attention on his academic future. Upon coming to Canada, however, he saw that there were tangible positive outcomes as a consequence of sport participation. Thus, Pedro* encouraged both his son and daughter to pursue athletics as a route to future opportunity.

Lastly, Elara*, a former high-performance figure skater from Tokyo, had a similar narrative to Kyan* and Pedro*. Given that Elara* had the benefit of being a high-performance athlete, she received funding to offset the costs of her training. But, unlike circumstances in Canada, her figure skating prowess did not grant her access to academic institutions in Tokyo. As previously mentioned, a student’s acceptance to a university in Tokyo is entirely dependent on a written entrance exam; high school marks do not matter. Obviously performing well in school helps with
entrance exams, so the attendance of youths in Japanese high schools remains comparatively very high. Moreover, to prepare for this critical entrance exam, students attend night classes to prepare themselves on how to successfully take the entrance exam.

Due to her regimented training schedule, Elara* did not have time to do both—skate and prepare for the test. In essence, though her training was personally rewarding and enabled her to develop herself as a person, ice skating neither constituted a smooth pathway to university acceptance, nor to a career. Rather, due to her training, Elara* was actively reducing the amount of time she could have otherwise spent studying. In Canada, however, Elara* would most likely have been accepted to a Canadian or American University and would have received a significant scholarship due to her abilities as a figure skater.

This section contrasted the outcomes of sport participation in Canada compared to other countries in the world. In Canada there is more emphasis placed on sport and athletics because there is infrastructure that is developed around sport that allows for participants to strive for elite levels of sport; it allows for athletic training while also reducing risks associated with securing entry into a post-secondary institution even as training eats into time that might otherwise have been devoted to academics. In the pursuit of athlete development, there is funding for athletes that can assist in their academic success by removing the burden of looking for part-time employment. To be sure, these Canadian-based incentives can act to further the academic futures of youth in sport training and competition. They stand out in stark contrast to the limited opportunities outside Canada and the United States, though, where opportunities to purse sport is almost solely dependent on the wealth of the participant, or their identification by a sport’s governing body that they are “an elite talent.” Those who do not have either sufficient financial resources to support training and competition, or elite talent, are compelled to focus on their academic studies in order to find future opportunities.
4.5.2.2 Youth Development

There is a significant body of literature that supports the thesis that sport is a tool for producing positive social outcomes amongst youth populations. The literature documents the range of positive health outcomes of youth participation in sport, gender empowerment, and further the role sport has on fostering positive character attributes in participants such as discipline, leadership, and teamwork. This section concentrates on the latter outcome of sport—the fostering of positive social outcomes and character attributes for participants. Specifically, this section looks at the findings illustrating how parents who believe that by enrolling their children in organized youth sport they will help them develop positive life skills. However, as the findings of this study also suggest in later sections, this assumption is founded in the parent’s own experience participating in sport.

Kyan*, a father of a high-performance junior track and field athlete, saw his son’s involvement in sport as a mechanism that facilitated his maturation process. In attending track and field practices three or four times a week at a university, Kyan’s* son became—as Kyan* said—more “disciplined” and “motivated.” In the way, Kyan*—and the other parents involved in this study were suggesting—the outcome of participating in sport, that for some consisted of regimented training, resulted in the “sporting work ethic” being applied to other spheres of their children’s lives, most notably school. Speaking about his son’s involvement in track Kyan* says,

> You see it’s more disciplined. I mean, it’s helped him, not me. It helped him, Rohan* to be more disciplined, to be more concentrated, more focused, and I think he’s taking that into his studies too. I think he has changed. I think sport has made him more mature. I see that in him. I want it in him. I will be honest he has been more disciplined for sure.

In Kyan’s* comments on sport, he continually mentions, “discipline.” Due to Kyan’s* use and other participants of this study’s use of the word “discipline” it is worth defining for clarity. In the context of these interviews during this cultural time, “discipline” is not referring to the training of obedience, or the adherence to correct behaviours for fear of punishment. Though as Kyan* reflected when he was a youth discipline did mean this definition: “Those days
[the]…culture was a very different direction. I mean the parents say you have to study you got to do what you have been told to do. That’s it.” Rather, discipline in the context of these interviews is referencing the maturation of the youth so they may become more accountable and take on more ownership of their actions and subsequent consequences. Thereby, by internalizing the teachings of sport—regardless of the external outcomes, the participant is able to adopt a new framework for success, in contrast to the previous, perhaps less positive frameworks. In the circumstances of Kyan’s* son, sport provided him a new, different attitude, or redeveloped an existing framework that he already had in place, and applied this new, sport-motivated framework to other spheres in his life.

Aliyah*, a mother of three from Northern India near the Pakistani border expanded further on the mechanisms that facilitate the growth of these frameworks. Using her own descriptors of positive life skills, such as “leadership,” “sacrifice,” and “teamwork,” Aliyah* commented on the vibrancy of sport as an environment for learning as follows:

I see that that they really, these kind of sports, they help children and they help them manage their time. Discipline teaches them the leadership skill and sense of sacrifice for the team, you know. I see all those things in Juan* [her son] especially for his team like sportsmanship. And in the friendship. This is really amazing.

And later in our discussion, she said, “with sport—like physical activity, and you know—I think even in school they can learn [these skills], but in the sport it enhances [these skills].”

Sport is multidimensional requiring the participant to be self-aware of their own limitations, yet willing to take steps to improve them. Aliyah* contrasts the two environments, referring to the sport environment as having the capacity of increasing the manoeuvrability of the individual. In that, children with limited aptitude for academics and school work do not explore other pathways to success, which importantly are reliant on external rewards such as competition prizes, peer recognition, or parental praise.
In a different use of terminology, yet similar in belief that sport facilitates personal growth, Elara* mentioned sport’s ability to appreciate failure. So much in fact, that she elected to leave Europe because of the leniency their culture had of failure. In describing her own life experience, Elara* continually referenced back to the growth that occurred after a failure, and her growing appreciation of the process rather than the outcome of it. She felt that her children should have a similar experience of failure and need to understand a wider spectrum of experience that respects lived experience as being enriched not only by successes but by failures too. She, like other immigrant families, feels that Canadian and Western society does too much to dissuade failures, and, therefore, attempts to detour and taboo the use of “failure.” She states:

They [society] to close their eyes. [(Running analogy)] They want to just remember that only work in running is the finish part—only the good part. That’s really no possible way to live but they have—he [Son] have to [sic] learn how to fail…. And then I think 99% is the good. So, you have to learn from the yeah 99%, [when] you didn’t make it. That’s my way of life.

In her own experiences, Elara* felt that sport was the only medium that truly instilled the value of accountability due to the prevalence and regularity of failure. Competition facilitates this failure, and competition is inherent to sport. Furthermore, those who are competitive share similar attitudes, which can thereby ease in the development of social networks.

Jada*, a former high-ranking tennis player from Holland, spoke of the “camaraderie” she experienced throughout her playing career. Indeed, Jada* believes that her son has a similar sense of competition as she has, believing that her son by excelling in sport and competitive atmospheres, has developed his self-confidence, which has partly facilitated the growth of his social network. He offers the following:

I think the camaraderie with others and the competing…Yeah, I think that the drive and the thrill of competing with people or just against people. And being able to handle a ball and being quite good at it. And you’re excelling in something and you know if you’re comparing yourself with others and you’re quite gifted at handling the ball.
Similarly, Pedro* referenced the competitive aspect of sport as the root of life skill development in his life:

> For me, I did want them to participate in sports like me. I felt it was good. One, it’s good for the health, it’s good to be competitive. It teaches you discipline, teaches with character, and that’s why [I] push both Neo* and Jane* to do well in sports while in school, even in high school.

Lastly, Emily*, who has a son playing tennis at an international level, mentioned that these life skills, pointed to those participating in the sport as offering similar rewards. Those who are competitive are attracted to sport for that reason. With competition comes all these other life lessons and skills, such as “discipline” and “accountability.” She continues:

> And you know, that way he gets it [his attitude to sport]. You know, go to meet boys, teenagers, you know, around his age, you know with the same passion and the same kind of mentality, and he had some[where] to go to that kept him very motivated.

The perceptions is that within sport teams, groups, or clubs there is an environment that promotes the incubation of life skills that are mutually reinforced by the participants. Emily’s* son, who already had a strong grasp of these skills in order to reach an international level of tennis, was able to develop friendships easily, especially with those with whom he shared a common motivation. This was valuable when Emily’s* family arrived in Canada and her son had to develop new social connections.

It is understood that one of the primary attractions to sport is its ability to develop life skills in participants. Though it is unclear, for some, how well these life skills transfer to other spheres that the children of the participants were involved in; nevertheless, the children’s participation did help in developing their life skills which was understood to facilitate new social connections. These narratives of skill development, however, derived from parental anecdotes that were often informed by their own experiences; parents referenced their experiences to understand what their children were experiencing.
4.5.3 Does Sport Facilitate the Integration of Newcomer Families?

The purpose of this project is to determine what effect a child’s participation in organized sport has on the integration of the immigrant family into their new home communities. Through my discussions with families, I learned of the many challenges and complexities of transitioning to a new country. When it came to the discussion of sport, I found that the positive effects of sport were dependent on an individual’s proximity to sport training and facilities. I discuss my findings in this section which is divided into two parts: I first address the experiences of the parent’s participation in sport, and second, turn to the child’s participation in sport to see how it affects the family.

4.5.3.1 Sport as a Facilitator of Integration: The Individual

The findings of this study suggest that sport can help facilitate the integration of those who are directly participating in sport. During my discussions with parents who had their children enrolled in sport programming, parents often spoke of their own experience of being involved in sport as a child. In fact, of the ten participants that I spoke with during my semi-structured interviews, five had been involved in team and competitive sport during their youth. Our conversations revolved around the parents’ stories of becoming more integrated into the community through their own participation in sport, either in the past or during their transition to Toronto.

Jada*, a former high-performance tennis player and child protégé from Holland, speaks of sport as a “common denominator,” meaning that participants in sport without any prior connection can develop relationships with others as a consequence of their shared participation in sport. In our discussion Jada* said:

And you know, the socializing part is a big part of sport in general. That’s what your project is too. It's like the social part. And I think...and that’s why I think tennis—I’m obviously a big advocate of tennis—is such an easy thing to do worldwide because you’re on your own, but if you go somewhere, and you join
the tennis club, that’s an instant…social network that you build on and it’s really based on [tennis]. Nothing else.

Through her childhood Jada* was continually moving between Holland and England with her family. With each move her friendship circle would be disrupted. Jada* was aware of the role sport played in helping her to develop social connections. She mentioned that joining a tennis club was one of the first steps she took when arriving in a new country or setting to develop a support network.

In our discussions, Elara* also acknowledged the role of sport in developing her own social networks. Being a highly competitive figure skater in her youth, Elara* regularly spent eight hours at the ice rink with her fellow skaters, bonding, as she states, through the shared passion even as they took breaks to eat:

I had a [sic] very good friends at the ice rink…. So, we had a good ice skater, famous ice skaters, you know to become. You know it was fun to be around the success [sic] people. You know, somebody who has the same passion as me. We eat the breakfast together or we eat dinner together…. Other maybe high school student [sic] just go to the movies with the friends, but I was just doing something else with the friend from the… [ice rink]

Pedro*, a former provincial level soccer player, reflected on his experience in sport and concluded that sport broke down “barriers,” both socially and culturally between people. He describes it as follows:

Okay, I think I’ve seen it bring down many barriers of—I mean across culture as well. I think sport is something that when you’re on the same team you’re not thinking about which culture you belong to. You don’t think of whether you can speak proper English or not. As long as you know the fundamentals of the sport, you’re good at your game that’s all [that] matters. And, you know, you want to be on the winning side, obviously so it does help in many ways I would say.

In discussing her son’s involvement in soccer, Jess* compared his experience to her own experience growing up in sport, and her drawn to her “own community.” Sport, for her son,
constituted a community in which he could excel, and ground his otherwise turbulent transition experience, which he describes as follows:

Sport was a very big part of it because it’s in it was an equalizer right of curricular that they do become something that they can excel, or something where they can belong if it’s a club, or it’s an extracurricular. It [sport] is less of an impact culturally, where school it can be a bit different.

The experiences of these participants suggest that sport does possess a unifying quality and provides a way to develop bonds with new people. As a means of integrating the individual into the community, sport is frequently a mechanism that facilitates their integration. This is partly due to how sport innately is challenging through its competitive nature, which seems to help bring like-minded people together in a positive, if competitive, context. This interpretation is explored later in the “Discussion” section.

4.5.3.2 Sport as a Facilitator of Integration: The Family

A key question informing this study is: How does youth sport participation influence the integration of new families to Canada? Indeed, this question presented itself to me during my time volunteering with Immigrant Service Guelph-Wellington. While there, I participated in and facilitated conversation circles that were meant to develop language proficiency of the participants, as well a forum inviting questions about adapting to Canadian life. The speaking circles took place weekly; over the course of several weeks/months participants gradually began sharing more details about their lives with me and with the other participants of the circle. Notably, many described having difficulties developing new friendships with people in their communities, difficulties which they put down to cultural or social differences between them and their community.

Growing up in a middle-class, white family in suburban Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, then Toronto, Ontario, I had difficulty relating to the concept of cultural differences. However, as our family moved around, I recall my parents built a significant number of their social networks around my involvement in soccer—it would have been difficult not to have formed these micro-
communities around child-based sports because I was playing or practising soccer often up to six days a week. Given my background in sport and seeing my parents develop friendships this way, the question came to me about whether this would be a suitable pathway for newcomers to Canada to develop friendships, and also to integrate easily into the Canadian fabric.

This study’s findings suggest that though sport may facilitate the integration of those participating in sport, the effects are limited individual experiences. The family, for the most part, did not see any benefit to their integration process when their child was enrolled in sport programming. Participants of this study were perceived to have experienced constraints to the time they had available to attend their child’s sport programming. Factors negatively impacting the time that was available to the participants were physical (traffic and congestion) and economic (working multiple jobs or long hours).

The physical constraints of living in a metropolis such as Toronto and the time that is required to drive or take transit, were perceived to reduce significantly the time that was available to the parents of this study. Through my observations, a noticeable number of participants had little interaction with their child’s sport teams. It was interpreted that the opportunities parents had for interacting with their child’s sport team were limited by the length of time spent taking public transportation. A number of participants mentioned they would drop their children off at the door to their practice or game, only to return and pick them up again. And other’s simply allowed their children to take public transportation to practices or competitions.

However, this lack of engagement was perceived to go both ways. Participants of my study also mentioned that Canadian-born parents did not stay to watch their children, a factor that limited the ability of new Canadians to engage with Canadian-born parents and potentially integrate even more easily into their communities. Klara* was one such parent that thought she could develop social relationships by attending her son’s tennis games and matches. Yet, realizing within a couple of months that other parents were preoccupied by other priorities, and that her
social network remained static, Klara* gave up attending and looked for alternate pathways for integration. She describes the situation as follows:

I find it—last year—in the beginning you know [I] try to stick around a bit at the C1*. Yeah, that’s where he [son] trains, but you know, the people there in the coming and going, you know. Like, I’m sitting in the canteen, I’m just sitting in the lobby reading but people just focus on their own thing. They come there to train and then they leave, or they come in there with the group, and then the go eat with the group and then leave. So, I didn’t find that that was…you know. Unless you’re going to be a member there and then train there, and really integrate, then it might be different. But I chose not to do that.

Klara* had made the effort to increase her exposure to a micro-community at the arena in order to become more socially and culturally integrated. She was attending her son’s practices and was prepared to meet fellow parents. However, parents of the children participating did not seem aware of Klara*, nor even interested in watching their children participate in sport. After my discussion with Klara*, I began to look at what was affecting the “retention” of parents in sport facilities. Though the likely answer revolved around the priorities of parents that were higher than their child’s involvement, I began shifting my attention to the environment that was available for spectating.

Given that each arena or gymnasium is constructed differently, there is no universal layout for spectating, nor a common arranging chairs, couches, or benches that populated viewing areas. Indeed, those options available to parents varied significantly, and were seemingly a reflection of the location of the institution, and the social class of those that would be using the area.

For instance, the Leaside Memorial Gardens has an array of options, from cushioned chairs and benches, to stools that also allow parents to work while spectating. On the other side of the spectrum, facilities like the Angela James Arena and the Wellesley Community Centre as compared to Leaside Memorial Gardens had minimal seating of any kind. Located in Flemingdon Park, the Angela James arena has a bench that under the main viewing window, yet this bench was flush with the window. If parents were to sit on this bench, which could accommodate comfortably only five or six parents, their backs would face the ice rink. The
Wellesley Community Centre is another example of inadequate seating, which affected the engagement of parents with their child’s sport team. The Wellesley Community Centre, which services the St. Jamestown North census area, has no seating for spectators. In fact, those who wanted to stay had to ask facility staff for plastic chairs.

During my interviews, I asked the participants if their child’s involvement had helped them integrate. Most, like Kyan*, said that their child’s involvement in sport did not help them integrate socially, culturally, or economically. He comments:

I would say no. Not really… I don’t know the people very well. If I see them, I will recognize them for sure. First of all, some of the players with whom he was playing with a team with a group because when he was playing soccer, I was going every day. It was not that close by and in one area and when the transportation is not like a stone throw. You get the bus every 10 minutes. So, I had to take him for every time.

Even given his commitment to taking his son to soccer practice when he was younger, Kyan* resoundingly said that sport did not help him develop social or cultural relationships with Canadians. However, there are two parts in Kyan’s* quote. Beginning with the second, Kyan* mentions his commitment to travelling with his son—possibly due to his age—on public transit. As Kyan* noted, the public transit “is not a stone’s throw” away, and also comes once every 10 minutes. In Kyan* mentioning this trip to practice, he presumably acknowledges his dedication to his son’s involvement, yet also the difficulty of the journey. Then, when watching his son play, Kyan* notes that he does not interact with other parents. Indeed, he recognizes his son’s teammates better than the other parents watching alongside him.

A very extroverted character, as well as a former high-performance tennis athlete, a recognized tennis coach, and seemingly very involved in and around the global tennis community, Jada* in contrast, acknowledges that being involved in her son’s sport helped facilitate her, and her family’s integration as follows:

I’ve met a great diversity whether they’re actually “friends,” that would be like a big word, I think. Because they do once you get to a certain level you see
the same people over and over at those tournaments, and some parents I have become more friends with, and text with them. And we do. So, we do, have established a relationship…

Notably, Jada* was very involved in her son’s tennis training. She helped in transporting him to his practices and to matches around the city, as well as in providing experienced insight into his gameplay beyond that provided by his coach. Jada* did acknowledge that in her being a continual presence at his tennis matches, fellow parents began to recognize and speak with her about tennis. Yet, as she mentions, although she and other parents have a mobile phone group where they message, chat, and talk frequently, to call them “friends” is to overstate the relationship. It is a “big word.”

As mentioned previously, it was perceived that Jess’s* integration experience benefited from her son’s involvement in soccer and track and field. In contrast to the experiences of the other participants, Jess* commented on how being involved helped her to develop friendships, but also helped her learn the “system,” a process she describes as follows:

Oh, absolutely because you get to know the system, right? To understand how the system works and that’s how I figured out. I probably wouldn’t even have known the difference between public and private schools until I got my kid involved in sports and figured out, “Hey, how come… what’s going on here?” And you know, so you figure out very quickly how resources are allocated and who’s excelling and why are they excelling, and you understand the way, you know, why is one resulting to sports outside when? Yeah, I mean it’s like same things are available. So, you could you figure out a lot of the ways that you integrate, as well as what you need to do to, you know, get your kid—figure out how the system works basically.

Being from Pakistan, Jess* was unaware of the differences between public and private schooling, and further, the differences in opportunities available to those exiting from either setting. It was interpreted that sport helped Jess* determine the differences between the two, and to make accommodations in her life, as well as in her son’s.

It was interpreted that Meg* was another case where her son’s involvement in sport did help her develop a social group and advanced her understanding of Canadian culture. However, this is
overshadowed by how much it was perceived to have facilitated her integration into Canadian society. For instance, her son was on a soccer team comprising of mainly Columbians. The parents who would come with their children to games all had Columbian backgrounds. In her experience, she was not interacting with Canadian-born populations; rather she was simply further developing bonds with those of similar backgrounds and culture. In Meg’s* participation in her son’s soccer league, she developed little attachment and exposure to Canadians. In fact, the interactions that Meg* was perceived to have had with Canadians were they were shouting at her and her fellow Columbian peers to quiet their boisterous cheering, which she defended as an aspect that is critical to Columbia soccer culture.

Considering the other participants of this study, they turned to other avenues that facilitated their integration, the role sport played in the process was minimal. Though it was perceived to have helped some, such as those previously mentioned, participation was dependent on their resources, as well as their capacities to relate to Canadians. Others who saw no potential, or that their efforts were futile turned to other avenues of integration such as volunteering for organizations. This is the case for Aliyah* and Emily* who both joined country clubs if they have the financial resources like Elara*, Emily*, and Jada*, or the integrative effects of having employment in Canada such as the case with Pedro*, Kyan*.

4.6 Conclusion

This section outlined what I interpreted as prominent themes during my discussions with newcomers to Canada. Beginning with the participant’s initial transition and adaptation to Canada, I explored their external experiences in regard to different climates, transportation difficulties, and interacting with Canadians. Next, I explored the complexities of their integration experience. First, their difficulty learning a new language and what effect this difficulty has on their lives. Then, the perceived difficulties the participants have in successfully finding work in Canada that is equal to their experience and education. The last section discusses the role of sport in the participant’s integration process, and the reasons for participating in sport programming.
These themes are discussed further below, in more depth, and are connected to the literature in the field.

5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The Canadian government accepts 300,000 immigrants per year—0.82% of the Canadian population. Considering Canada’s aging population and its low fertility rates, the country’s economic success will be affected and limited by the increasing ratio of high immigration versus low fertility. This trend will strain social services (El-Assal & Fields, 2017). The ramifications of Canada increasing the number of immigrants to facilitate economic growth will have profound effects on the institutional structures that contribute to their successful integration of immigrants into the fabric of Canadian society. As the number of new immigrants arriving in Canada continues to rise, approaches that increasing numbers of support structures to enable successful integration of immigrants socially, culturally and economically will be required to ensure the human quality of human capital entering Canada is not underutilized and not given opportunities to succeed in Canada.

The initial aim of this study was to illuminate the implications of sport involvement in successful newcomer integration and to probe the positive role of sport in the integration process of new Canadian families. My research was supported by data collection quantifying transitions and by anecdotal stories describing the integration experiences of selected immigrants arriving in Canada. I interviewed a diverse range of participants living in the City of Toronto about their life histories, about their perceptions of Canada, and further about the complexities and intersectionality of their integration experiences, then lastly, about what role sport played in their integration of individuals and then the families.

Given this evolving approach, this study produced a high level overview of some of the experiences of immigrating to Canada. Central to my approach is utilizing a hermeneutic
phenomenological methodology. The purpose of the discussions is to both acknowledge the experiences of immigrants coming to Canada, and to connect them to themes within the literature. In so doing, I recognize my position and influence upon the discussion, and I recommend areas in which more research is required to further understand the themes that I have presented in as unbiased ways as possible.

That said, the stories that the participants shared with me were impactful. I was continually humbled when recognizing my good fortune, as when witnessing the willingness the participants had to share with me (a complete stranger) their most intimate experiences of immigrating.

5.2 Transitioning to Canada

Multiculturalism and the institutionalization of cultural plurality constitute core components of Canada’s image of diversity and acceptance. The participants of this study all expressed their enthusiasm for transitioning to Canada. They recognized the new opportunities that would become available to them upon settling in Canada, opportunities that might otherwise have been beyond their abilities and fortunes to achieve in their countries of origin. But also, coupled with the idea of a “new life,” the participants seemingly had a youthful sense, a zest, a romantic embrace of adventure. This chapter begins by discussing the reasons participants of this study elected to emigrate from their countries of origin to Canada, and the experiences they had, or still continue to have, when adapting to their new environment and home.

Possibly as a matter of engaging in small talk, and to an extent, being humorous, when asked of their experiences coming to Canada, participants began their remarks with observations on their external adaptation to the new environment. Specifically, the shock they felt from the bitter cold of Canadian winters. The lack of sunshine, the cold, and the “dreary days” (as some participants likened their experiences of the winter) all played significantly in their realization that they were, indeed, in Canada. As Rademeyer, Wagner, and Cassimjee (2009) argue, unlike other external stressors, such as traffic, transit, and commutes, climate and weather are unavoidable realities that must be faced by immigrants, and therefore, their effects, however uncomfortable, cannot be
avoided. The vastness of our weather permeated the initial experiences of this country. Although for some participants, these “dreary days” were taken as negative elements, as stressors on their adaptation, or as unavoidable nuisances, Pedro* offered an optimistic perspective of the weather. Although he acknowledged that Canada is cold, is dreary, and that he missed the warmth of Bangalore, the cold climate acted as a continual reminder of his changed—for-the-better fortunes. The weather reframed an otherwise negative outlook to a new, positive one that embraced the knowledge that he and his family now had much improved opportunities and subsequently better futures that were unthinkable when living in Bangalore. Following their comments on the Canadian climate, at some point in my discussions with participants the topic of discussion would transition to their interpersonal experiences of meeting Canadians—their interactions, the subtleties they noticed, and the ways Canadians act towards newcomers.

Recognized globally as peacekeepers, non-confrontational, polite and as always saying “sorry,” the experience of newcomers to Canada when interacting with Canadians, and my understanding and interpretation of these experiences, was underpinned by a recognition of Canadians’ passiveness, noncommittal natures, and lackadaisical attitudes towards immigrants. This is reflected in a 2016 EKOS Politics survey that polled Canadians about what they thought were the most important issues facing Canadians. Added as an afterthought, and noticeably not in the public’s interests, immigration received 3% of the vote (Ekos, 2016b). Indeed, Canadians do not seem to be aware of the number of immigrants arriving to Canada annually. A separate EKOS poll asked Canadians in 2016 how they felt towards the number of immigrants being accepted to Canada per year. Of those polled, 52% felt that the number was “about right” and 23% said, “too many.” Though, when told of the actual immigration numbers, the 23% who originally said “too many,” rose to 32% (Ekos, 2016a).

Considering the findings of this study, Canadians do not want to be involved in the integration of newcomers to Canada. In some cases, participants even acknowledged both covert and overt forms of discrimination they have experienced. But given the difficulties that immigrants face in successfully integrating economically (and therefore are prone to experiencing chronic poverty
and living in affordable housing), the exchanges between the two demographic groups are reduced with each being isolated to their own homogenous groups.

Participants of this study who experienced the most pronounced issues when attempting to integrate into the Canadian social fabric and who faced challenges developing connections with Canadians were from culturally and diverse (CALD) backgrounds. Put another way, immigrants who looked different (were non-white) than Canadians, and whose cultural practices are in a minority in Western society, had more difficulty developing connections with Canadians. The conclusions of other researchers also suggest that CALD minorities are less likely to integrate as well as their white counterparts (see Banting & Soroka, 2012; Reitz, 2012). However, more quantitative research needs to be conducted on this topic since most of the Canadian research on this topic references the Ethnic Diversity Study (EDS), a “postcensal” survey using 2001 census data.

In sum, new Canadians arriving in Canada frequently and immediately stressed the differences in climate and how that impacted their moods and perceptions of their predicaments. Next, participants of this study discussed their experience with Canadians, and how for those of CALD backgrounds the experiences were contradictory to Canada’s representation globally. Considering the rise of anti-immigration sentiment from political leaders in Canada (and abroad), efforts to increase the exposure of both demographic groups, or increase awareness of immigration and the benefits of immigration to Canadians, are required in order to maintain the public support for the current and increasing number of immigrants to Canada who will be needed simply to maintain population and economic growth.

5.3 The Complexities of Integration

Internationally, Canada is recognized as having the most extensive immigration (receiving) and immigrant (settlement) policy (Shields, Drolet, & Valenzuela, 2016). Considering integration is a core component of settlement policy in Canada, a clear definition and a set of tangible outcomes are difficult to find. Although government policies are shaped and operationalized within each
country, integration is regularly associated with “desirable outcomes,” or otherwise referred to as the potential “contributions” of newcomers to the country (see IRCC, 2019). These expectations of integration emphasize the centrality of the final stages of the settlement process, highlight the return on investment, and calculate the impact immigrants will have on the host society in its social, economic, cultural, and political spheres (Li, 2003, p. 316). Given these measurable outcomes of integration, the sense of integration is one that is rigidly defined and is required to conform to specific outcome standards.

On the other hand, Berry’s (1992) work on acculturation and adaptation notes that integration can be understood as a “conflictual process” in which integration can never be fully achieved. Known as “selective adoption,” Berry describes the steps in which immigrants determine, and importantly, resist aspects of a culture that they do not want to consume for a variety of reasons—social, cultural, religious, and others. Through its multicultural model and society, Canada has taken steps to reflect this “selective adoption” process model by emphasizing cultural plurality within society and celebrating the reproduction and maintenance of cultures as elements of a diverse, multicultural yet cohesive society (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). By taking this approach to facilitating immigrant integration, and by not focusing on the outcomes of it, attention is instead placed on the different spheres that affect the integration process so that policy makers can better understand the intersectionality and complexities of integration.

The conceptualization of integration I use for this study is a variation of a model (Figure 1) similar to an ecological model, portraying the different “spheres of integration.”
Figure 2: Illustration of the proposed key tenants of integration.

The design of the model represents the dependence of the three spheres (social, economic, and cultural) on a shared language. Importantly, integration is not dependent, nor is it limited to, one of Canada’s official languages. Rather, integration emphasizes the need of any shared or common language which can facilitate the three embodied spheres. However, and as a counterpoint to the argument, the integration of immigrants into the Canadian social fabric requires the successful integration of the immigrant into these three embodied spheres, which in turn requires the proficiency of the participant in one of the country’s official languages.

The connection of these three spheres is purposefully symbolic. Efforts to facilitate integration cannot be limited to one sphere without the other two spheres being impacted in some manner. Interventions and innovations to facilitate integration of immigrants into communities, therefore, need to acknowledge a multidimensional approach. Importantly, the sphere of language is one example that impacts the vestibules. Though this section does not explicitly address the
implications of sport to facilitate the integration of immigrants, sport was initially seen as affecting the vestibules in a manner similar to that of language. That said, this section also discusses both the importance of language proficiency and the contrasting experiences of participants when attempting to integrate economically.

5.3.1 Language Proficiency

Considering the multidimensional impacts of language and the ability it gives a person to express themselves, integration of immigrants is dependent upon and made all the easier by learning one of the country’s languages. Language proficiency, however, remains one of the two main significant challenges faced by immigrants when arriving in a foreign country (Allan, 2016; Boyd & Cao, 2009; Galarneau & Morissette, 2008). With this in mind, language training is a near-universal element of a country’s immigrant policy. Indeed, a study conducted by a group of scholars analyzing the integration of immigrants, illustrates that in nine of thirteen countries there is an explicit acknowledgement that language training is a central component of their national immigrant policy (Shields et al., 2016). Through the ability to speak a country’s official languages, the capacities and opportunities of immigrants newly arrived in a host country are increased dramatically advancing their abilities to obtain information about healthcare, school, employment, legal rights amongst many other fundamental aspects of living in their new home communities (Boyd & Cao, 2009). By recognizing the intersectionality of language with the different spheres of integration, the IRCC has allocated 31% (34% including the funding for

16 The other difficulty faced by new immigrants is successful economic integration. This will be discussed later in the study.
17 “Immigration policy” refers the numbers of immigrants arriving in the country. “Immigrant policy” refers to the settlement and integration of immigrants.
18 These countries are Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, the United States of America, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, England and Australia.
language assessment) of its budget for settlement programs and for language training services (IRCC, 2019).

Following human capital theory, by investing in language training for newcomers and established immigrants the IRCC has calculated that the capacities of newcomers, and that their eventual contributions to Canadian society will be greater (Boyd & Cao, 2009). Those entering Canadian labour markets with a suitable level of language proficiency will have better opportunities for higher-skilled positions. The productivity of migrant workers will also increase, thus affecting wages and economic growth (Boyd & Cao, 2009). Conversely, the lack of familiarity with a host country’s language is directly linked to unemployment or underemployment in secondary labour markets (Siar, 2013).

It was understood, for instance, that Meg* (described earlier in the study) became isolated because of her inability to speak English or French, which limited her access to spheres that were outside of her cultural enclaves (Boyd & Cao, 2009; Siar, 2013). On the other hand, those who could speak English well, such as Emily* and Jada*, and even CALD subjects as Jess*, integrated well because of language abilities. They mentioned that once they found social circles that had shared interests and values, they were able to develop roots within their communities. Once developed, these participants were able to advance their acculturation processes and positively affect their potential for economic integration and employment prospects. Given the discrepancies of language proficiency in the participants of this study, a review and assessment of the Canadian immigration system/policy will prove valuable to assess the link between language and employability.

The Canadian immigration system, as previously mentioned in the literature review, is structured as a “point system,” known more formally as the Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS). Immigrant, Refugee, Citizenship, Canada (IRCC) allocates points to six categories deemed as
Valuable to Canada\textsuperscript{19}. Valued above all other categories, language proficiency awards applicants 28 points—the highest possible point ranking of any category. The proficiency of immigrants is calculated through domestic programs like the Canadian English Language Proficiency Index Program (CELPIP), or international programs such as the International English Language System (IELTS)\textsuperscript{20}. Proficiency scores from these programs are adapted to Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) scores, which are the currency for the language proficiency section of the CRA.

To be classified as proficient in English or French, applicants must have 24 CLB points, ranged across the four categories of speaking, listening, reading, and writing; each category can earn the applicant 6 CLB points. To arrive at 28 points, an additional 4 points are awarded if the applicant can prove that they are semi-proficient in the country’s other official languages (i.e., English-French or French-English).

In total, language proficiency totals 28 of the needed 67 points (41\%) of the total required to qualify for admission to the Skilled Worker Program\textsuperscript{21}. By valuing language so highly, the IRCC recognizes the implications of language proficiency on the integration of immigrants. A lack of language proficiency impacts the human capital entering Canada and strains the welfare structures to facilitate their integration once in Canada. For immigrants accepted into Canada through programs such as Family Reunification, who are not proficient in one of the country’s official languages, the federal government has committed to providing language services delivered through service-provider-organizations (SPOs)\textsuperscript{22}.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Language, education, previous experience, age, pre-arranged employment, and adaptability.
\item Reciprocal programs for French languages are: Test d’évaluation de français (TEF) or Test de connaissance du français (TCF).
\item Point distribution in other categories are as follows: Education (25), Experience (15), Age (12), Arranged Employment (10), and Adaptability (10),
\item Non-profits, Local Immigrant Partnerships (LIPs) etc.
\end{enumerate}
The budget that IRCC published in 2016, allocating the department’s funding for the next five years indicates that $763,102,621 (31%) of its total $2.4 billion budget will be directed to language training services. A recent evaluation conducted by the IRCC of their language services suggests that the efficiencies of delivery are increasing, and relative to previous costs per immigrant served, the costs of language services are decreasing. Meaning, that although the funding for language services remains relatively high compared to years prior to 2015, more immigrants are receiving language training.

According to Statistics Canada’s 2016 census, of the immigrants arriving in Canada 59.6% have knowledge (though what “knowledge” references is not clear) of English and at least one other language (Statistics Canada, 2017). This percentage decreases substantially for those coming to Canada through family and refugee classifications, though it is also dependent on characteristics such as education. Further reports analyzing the literacy rates of immigrant populations find that both recent immigrants (residing in Canada for five years or less) and established immigrants (residing in Canada for ten or more years) have literacy rates below the national average (Council of Ministers of Education, 2017). The IRCC acknowledges that a significant proportion of newcomers and established immigrants residing in Canada who cannot speak English or French, detracts from the value of human capital in Canada (IRCC, 2017a). With this knowledge as the backdrop for determining funding they need for the future, the IRCC evaluated the effectiveness of their programs. The IRCC does not directly deliver programming. Rather its programs, such as Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC), are delivered by service-provider-organizations (SPOs). Since 2016, SPOs have been receiving $63 million from the

23 Another 3% for language assessment totalling 34% and equal to $826,618,421.
24 Prior to 2016, during the upheaval and disruption in the Middle East and Canada accepting Syrian refugees, there was a noticeable jump in language services, though the trend since 2015 is returning to homeostasis (IRCC, 2017a).
25 3.6% of immigrants declared they have knowledge of French and one other language.
IRCC to cover administrative costs. This constitutes the third-highest resource allocation in the IRCC budget (IRCC, 2017a).

The results of the IRCC’s internal evaluation and subsequent departmental plan for 2018–2019 show those who “improved their official language skills” were, albeit slightly, below the targeted 60% or more—59.9% in 2017 and 51.2% in 2016. Regardless of the .1% needed to fulfill this target, to look at a target of 60% and the realities of those 40% who cannot speak one of the country’s languages, nor see any improvement from training, is disconcerting. Furthermore, when taken with the realities that those from South Asia, immigrants from this corner of the world represent a demographic group with the highest levels of education entering Canada, yet the lowest proficiency scores (Council of Ministers of Education, 2017). In recognizing this ongoing issue of language proficiency, its impacts on the effective use of human capital, and the steps that are needed to be taken to reach the target of 60%, the IRCC evaluated gaps in their services and where improvements are needed that resonates with interpreted difficulties that the participants of this study experienced.

After evaluating the effectiveness of their LINC programs, IRCC determined that three barriers prevented higher participation rates amongst immigrants from engaging, and re-engaging, with their local SPOs. Discussed below, these barriers are effective promotion of the services available; then once engaged, the inflexibility of the LINC programs from adapting to emerging issues; and lastly, the time investment required of newcomers to develop their language proficiency. To develop an innovative approach to overcoming these barriers, the IRCC has dedicated approximately $6.4 million26 for funding research and for pilot projects that will address the issues of language services delivery, as well as for developing alternative models for language training (IRCC, 2019).

26 Mentioned in the IRCC’s Departmental Plan, experimentation will receive approximately 20% of the $32.4 million in service delivery initiative [(SDI)] funding for 2018-2019
The first barrier affecting increased participation of newcomers who could benefit from language services was effective outreach and promotion of LINC programs. Indeed, when I spoke with Reo* about the opportunities in her neighbourhood for language services she was both unaware of the services, but also surprised that they were offered at little to no charge. This is a reflection of Adamuti-Trache’s (2012) work on the effects of language. Specifically, how those who have lower proficiency rates, also report, and perceive, less opportunity to learning at access services. To improve the effective outreach of LINC programs, Jess* offered as a suggestion that more emphasis needs to be placed in areas where immigrants live, work and interact. Though this is a topic for later studies, Jess* recommended that doctors and medical offices, or religious spaces, are points of contact for engaging with new immigrants. Policies that promote pluralist integration of immigrants, such as Canada’s integration policy, are effective in delivering support and services through ethnic enclaves (Schmidt, 2007). In doing this, facilities in these cultural communities are not only trusted by a community’s members, but also recognized as places facilitating “two-way” integration where, for instance, language is delivered both in native language, as well as the community’s dominant language(s). Migrant-led organizations are believed to have higher potentials for reaching the most vulnerable immigrant groups, such as those working outside of the traditional labour markets (i.e., in survival jobs), or those unfamiliar with the services available to them outside of their community.

The second barrier in the way of increasing the participation on newcomers with LINC SPOs is the program’s inflexibility and lack of accommodation for the realities of immigrants’ experience when integrating into Canada. Granted, language is a vital component for easing the integration process. However, other priorities such as child rearing or plural employment are likely also constraints that negatively impact the time available to newcomers when they might otherwise be engaged with LINC programs in their area. Developing innovative approaches for delivering language training that accommodates the realities and complexities of the integration process will need to be recognized and designed as priorities for future LINC curriculum creation. Solutions such as increasing the accessibility of courses, for instance, and as providing mixed modalities of delivery that includes in-class learning and home study could help to improve
learning, retention, and success of LINC participants. There are also alternative options that LINC has produced, such as “LINC Home Study” that provides learning modules that participants can complete on their own time. The success of LINC Home Study is not clear. According to its website traffic, there are approximately 10,800 “unique” visitors monthly. More research on the success of programs such as LINC Home Study is required to further increase the accessibility of these programs to newcomers. Most likely the first steps that need to be taken to increase participation in this program is to further promote the program beyond traditional methods. Notably, participants of this study who were perceived to be perfect candidates for these programs were unaware of them.

The third barrier to participating and completing language services, and specifically the LINC program, is the time requirement. In short, time spent by those learning the country’s languages might otherwise be spent working, though it is assumed, as well as mentioned in previous sections, that the more proficient workers are of the country’s languages the higher their productivity and, consequently, the higher their wages. To complete one CLB level in one category (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) averaged to be 524.5 hours, or thirteen 40-hour work weeks (IRCC, 2017a). The time commitment for one CLB level constrains the time that is available to other priorities risking increased tangible and perceived vulnerability of immigrants. Although her speaking proficiency was well developed by the time we met, like

27 Results from two website sources:
other participants, Aliyah* expressed her difficulty in learning English between juggling her other commitments. Meg*, who was not fluent in English, was also unable to develop her language skills and was, consequently, unable to retain a position that reflected her education and experience. Thus, she had to resort to survival jobs, only constraining her ability further to attend LINC programming. To increase the retention of non-proficient Canadians in LINC programming, and in light of the time commitment that is required to complete the coursework, the IRCC is considering offering stipends to offset lost wages for those attending its courses (IRCC, 2010). Whether this is a plausible step that the IRCC will take to overcome this barrier is becoming less likely with each passing year.

Considering these barriers and the number of immigrants that are affected by them, other factors such as socio-demographic characteristics such as country of citizenship, age, length of time in Canada, education and experience all impact the success of language development. Though education and experience receive a high number of points by the CRA, discrepancies remain such as “linguistic distance.” For instance, population groups such as South Asians who represent 24% of those qualifying as highly skilled immigrants, yet also represent a disproportionate amount of those with no knowledge or very poor proficiency in the country’s languages (Adamuti-Trache, 2012). Moreover, considering that seven of the top ten countries with the highest number of immigrants coming to Canada speak languages that are considered “hard languages,” or “very hard languages” by the Foreign Service Institute, populations taking LINC programming will require even more time, resources, and support to develop the appropriate language training and to ensure that their high skills in other areas are utilized properly (Foreign Service Institute, n.d.; Statistics Canada, 2016a). This is exemplified in the experiences of participants in this study such as Elara* from Tokyo, who although having received her education in the United States through ESL courses during her undergraduate years, and who had been in Canada almost ten years by the time we spoke, Elara still said she was struggling with English, mentioning she still felt less than fluent. However, in her case, Elara* had acquired wealth, which enhanced her adaptability and manoeuvrability during her integration process.
To recruit more immigrants from countries whose predominant languages are either English or French would certainly decrease the amount of funding required for services to support immigrant integration, such as that required by language services. By taking this inherently discriminatory approach, however, the benefits and returns on investment that these population groups would accrue would alter the capacities of Canada and Canadians in a fundamental manner. Yet it is unclear to what extent (positive or negative) these changes would affect the country.

The federal immigration policy has placed language training at the centre of the integration process for newcomers. By investing in language services, the capacity of Canada as a country is increased, allowing for the broadening of immigration policy and subsequent acceptance of a wider range and greater diversity of immigrants arriving to Canada, thus further developing the country’s cultural plurality and multicultural complexion. The IRCC has, admittedly, acknowledged that the language training they are attempting to deliver is not successfully reaching all those coming to Canada who might need this training. Contrary to the Canadian multiculturalism, more research needs to be conducted on the productivity of different immigrant populations coming to Canada. If, indeed, the focus of Canada’s immigration policy is to address the issue of population declines by recruiting human capital who will benefit the country’s growth and prosperity, support systems facilitating integration is one method to achieve this goal. However, and as these chapters have highlighted, the process of addressing integration is frequently reactionary requiring intensive investments of time by all parties involved.

5.3.2 Economic Integration

Studies of Canada’s population growth suggest that by 2033 newcomers (not birth rate) will account for 100% of the country’s population growth. Underemployment and unemployment of immigrants in Canada’s labour markets are well documented in the literature surrounding the integration of immigrants. Indeed, the participants of this study were understood to have similar experiences and credentials as those described in the literature.
Considering that Canadian immigrants increasingly have higher levels of education and experience, which in other circumstances would positively affect their earnings and income levels, they nevertheless constitute a population that experiences chronic levels of low-income (see Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Ferrer & Riddell, 2008; Li, 2001; Xue, 2008). Human capital theory that underlies and supports the CRS (the “point system”), rewards language proficiency, education, and previous employment highly. Researchers, such as Bauder (2003a) and others (see Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Fuller, 2015; Fuller & Martin, 2012) instead argue this decrease in quality implies not that Canada’s absorptive capacity is diminishing, but rather that the implications are that Canadian professional organizations are excluding immigrants from Canadian labour markets. Increasing the number of immigrants annually to cope with an aging population remains the most effective strategy to combat declining populations and to maintain the country’s absorptive capacity. In other words, growth and development of the national economy depends upon providing employment opportunities and stable settlement to newcomers.

Canada’s absorptive capacities continue to remain high, in part due to the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) that devolves responsibility of Canada’s immigrant policy to the provinces (Wiginton, 2013). Though the PNP attracts newcomers to urban, peri-urban and rural areas, the high prevalence of ethnic enclaves in city centres, each with their respective cultural amenities for the discrete demographic groups living there, is an attractor for immigrants to settle in high-density areas regardless of the higher costs of living compared to rural areas.

This study and others have illuminated immigrants’ experiences of integrating successfully into jobs that reflect their education and experience. Studies also suggest that there is systematic discrimination of immigrants from the Canadian labour markets by Canadian professional organizations (see Bauder, 2003a). This discrimination of international experience from Canadian labour markets is estimated to equal annually $15,952 to $20,058 a year in loss earnings for newcomers living in Canada. In total, the lost wages aggregates as an amount that ranges between $10.1 billion and $12.7 billion. Given that newcomers and established
immigrants most often comprise a low-income population—especially those from East and South Asia, who are four times as likely to experience low-income compared to European immigrants—the necessity for successful settlement and economic integration in metropolises is even greater to avoid both the underutilization of human capital as well as to mitigate stresses on welfare roles. In response, Canada has taken policy steps to address the amount of lost earnings by placing more emphasis on credential assessments for immigration programs, on increasing settlement spending, on passing equal fairness legislation to improve access to regulated professions in Canada, and on addressing the prevalence of employers requiring Canadian experience.

“Canadian experience” is the systematic exclusion of immigrants from Canadian labour markets because they lack direct, work-related training in Canadian labour markets. The insistence of employers on requiring Canadian experience is a subtle form of privileging non-recognition of foreign credentials and the devaluing labour entering the markets from beyond the national borders (Bauder, 2003a). Culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) immigrants participating in this study were perceived to have experienced similar discrimination when arriving in Canada and subsequently looking for positions in their fields of expertise. Some participants were confused, other frustrated by the backward, discriminatory nature of the system that seemed rigged against their achieving a successful foothold in the country and then contributing to its prosperity. For instance, being recruited to Canada for their talents then having barriers placed in front of them, preventing these participants from working their fields due to their international qualifications seemed needless, perhaps even punitive. Comparatively, though Emily* (originally born in Norway and who emigrated from the Netherlands) said that if she decided to find a

28 Immigrants from Northwestern Europe, the Philippines, Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, Nauru, and Papua New Guinea), and the United States of America have the lowest rates of low-income after having settled in Canada for 11 to 15 years (Picot et al., 2017).
position in Canada, she would have a more positive experience relative to her peers. Indeed, she did feel as if she was obligated to find a position in Canada due to her wealth and privilege. Notably, these contrasting experiences of ethnicities are reflected in the literature surrounding economic integration of immigrants arriving in Canada, but underpinning the literature was a recognition of the discrimination immigrants faced simply by virtue of the fact that they were newcomers and were perhaps branded as “the Other” or “outsiders.”

Considering the multicultural discourse in Canada, and indeed the approach Canada has taken to immigration policy—one that endorses cultural diversity—newcomers of CALD backgrounds comprise the most predominant demographic group that experiences poor economic integration. Put another way, immigrants with CALD backgrounds tend to suffer chronic poverty and at higher rates than do immigrants from Westernized countries. This asymmetrical experience is apparent in this study illustrated as the divide between the two demographic categories of, 1) those with CALD backgrounds; and, 2) participants from Westernized countries. This asymmetry was further highlighted by the disparities in wealth of these two groups held.

The literature addressing economic integration also emphasizes the need to reduce negative experiences, mitigate risks associated with settlement and employment difficulties, and reverse trends of downward social mobility that immigrants arriving to Canada experience. Also, the literature challenges the system to address the role that privilege plays in the integration process.

While the samples that were studied in this project were not intended to reflect the Canadian population, however, the inherent differences and varying difficulties in experiences of integration that I understood were greatly eased by a family’s privilege.

Arranged along a continuum, participants of this study were perceived to have backgrounds of either relative poverty (and less privilege) or extreme wealth (and more privilege). Similar to other spheres that are affected by wealth and privilege, the integration experiences were correlated to the wealth possessed by the individual. By being further along on the continuum of wealth and privilege correlated into a relatively easier integration experience.
For instance, participants with higher privilege had more access to forms of social and cultural capital as well. Within these spheres, participants of this study developed roots of social and cultural capital that facilitated and made easier their own integration, as well as that of other members of their family. By having access to these spheres, these immigrants were treated differently. In short, they had the means and capacity to join country clubs, which reproduced homogenous higher-class cultures. The groups and social strata to which these immigrants had access, gave them enhanced and beneficial opportunities for facilitating their creation of economic capital.

Through a Bourdieusian lens, economic capital can be viewed as being dependent on investment in other spheres of knowledge that become transactional in relationship to each other. For instance, when developing a social network, one must have resources that others see as having potential value to them; otherwise, they would not mutually partake in the transaction (the relationship). Granted, immigrants without wealth do still have the capacities that can be transactional in developing relationships facilitating the growth of economic capital, but those of higher wealth have easier access to exclusive circles. In being granted access to these circles, those with the means also have the opportunity to develop relationships with peers that also have higher power. Thus, the resulting outcomes, or impacts, of these transactional interactions are higher, and so too are the further opportunities to increase advantages that membership permits.

For example, by having the wealth to join a country club and the luxury of time to develop friendships at the country club, Elara*, could be introduced to an admission officer of a prominent private school in Toronto, who was also a member of the same club. In developing this relationship, the investment of both her wealth and time spent at the country club was returned to her in the opportunities that Elara* had access to in joining the country club. The transaction was as follows: Her son’s enrollment in a prestigious private school was facilitated and eased, thus allowing a context in which her son could then develop friendships with the children of Toronto’s most elite families, and thereby accelerate his integration into society.
To be sure, those of privilege have more immediate opportunities when entering the country. Due to their wealth, they have the capacity to manoeuvre and adapt to their environment. In contrast, the options available to those with little or no privilege and wealth are adversely constrained and their integration outlets much reduced in number. By constraining opportunities, those with little privilege develop connections with homogenous groups, rather than with new heterogenous groups whose characteristics lie outside of the immigrants’ cultural circles. Social clubs, ranging from simple service-related gatherings, sports teams, to expensive country clubs serving the privileged, almost always help to bridge the divide between cultural circles, between newly arrived immigrants and those who have moved along in the process of naturalization. Furthermore, in developing heterogeneous connections, both groups are exposed and can experience the Other in a relatively safe, mediated setting which invariably works to overcome harmful stereotypes and stigmatization that disproportionately affect CALD populations.

The largest barrier that the CALD participants of this study experience is the lack of Canadian experience. In order to gain Canadian experience in their field, the participants of this study had to attend accreditation programs in order simply to validate their experience before they could even begin working in Canada. Those who had valid working experience were then subjected to and frequently fell victim to discriminatory hiring practices resulting in difficulties finding positions that suited their qualifications and credentials. For a population that has been shown to experience chronic low-income, increasing the time to find and settle in a position with the expected earnings increases the vulnerability of these populations, as well as underutilizing the abilities of the workers.

The extent of the ongoing and systematic discrimination of CALD immigrants is unclear. In 2013, the government of Ontario passed legislation addressing the discrimination of foreign labour and took steps to remove systemic barriers preventing immigrants from obtaining employment in the Province (OHRC, 2013). Several participants of this study who expressed their difficulty obtaining employment in Ontario arrived before this policy was enacted. More
research is required to determine the effects Ontario’s new policy has on eliminating discriminative practices outlined in this study and previous studies.

Regardless of the discrimination that the participants of this study experienced when interviewing for employment in Canada, barriers to economic integration are still present in the requirement for accreditation of foreign educational credentials. More research of these programs, their successes and failures, and the strain they place on new Canadian families will help to streamline the integration process and reduce the strain on federal government resources.

5.4 The Role of Sport in the Integration Process

Does sport help newly arrived immigrants settle in their new communities, cities, and adopted country? The impetus for undertaking this study was prompted by a desire to understand the role sport had to facilitate the positive integration of immigrants into Canadian society. In this section I explore three major themes: 1) the place of hockey in Canadian culture, 2) the perceived attraction of immigrants in Canada to sport, and 3) the role sport plays in the immigrant integration process.

5.4.1 Hockey in Canadian Culture

Canada is arguably most well-known for its enthusiasm for hockey and it’s for multicultural character. In volunteering with a hockey program during the data collection process of this study that targeted immigrant populations, it is understood that the participants of this program joined to learn more, and participate in, Canadian culture. Considering that hockey continues to be dominated almost entirely by white players, Norman’s (2016) comment, “If hockey represents or embodies Canadian culture where does that leave people at the margins or outside of the sport’s social boundaries?” rings true. In other words, it accurately addresses a fallacy in Canadian culture (p. 314). If it is said to reflect a national spirit, a national soul, a national passion, then the spirit, soul and passion are all qualities of white experience. To correct this false paradigm, to bring hockey to new populations, and to facilitate the broader consumption of hockey, the federal
government and Canadian private corporations are focusing on inclusivity—expanding the definition of hockey participants to embrace a singular race and gender in the national sport—in other words, beyond white and male. However, this outreach raises the question that is discussed below: as Canada evolves as a multicultural, diverse nation is hockey something that a pluralistic society wants to be representing them?

Hockey is a classist sport, and thereby is exclusive to those who can pay for, amongst other things, team fees, equipment, ice time, travel costs, league fees, etc. In order to participate in recreational hockey in Toronto, the costs can range upwards of $3,700, according to some sources (Mirtle, 2013). Considering this price tag, only a select group of Canadians has the capacity to participate in the so-called national game, while the majority does not play the game furthering an image that does not represent Canadian culture. The findings of this study reflect this skewed image.

Youth hockey programming around the GTA comprises predominately upper-class families exhibiting upper-class culture. Furthermore, the arenas where the practices and games take place do not reflect the demographics of the immediate neighbourhoods in which the arenas are situated. For instance, as previously mentioned in findings, Angela James Arena is located adjacent to low-income towers in a community with a high density of immigrants. Presumably, the arena is meant to provide services to the local community. Contradictory to this, through my observations I observed that those participating in the hockey program at these arenas were from areas outside of the adjacent communities. Teams entered the neighbourhoods only to play hockey, then left the neighbourhoods for their own familiar areas with little interaction with those in the community. Interestingly (and contrary to the data), with the help of HNIC commentator, Don Cherry, hockey still portrays itself as a working-class sport, valorizing hard work and meritocratic and traditional values. My observations point to the opposite, that is the high costs of participation lone, not counting the soft costs of travel time, etc., prohibit broad participation by newcomer and established immigrant populations in league-based hockey. Don Cherry epitomizes and propounds a fantasy myth about the roots of Canadian hockey.
That said, there are programs sponsored by corporations who are seeking to fulfill their corporate social responsibility (CSR). They target those who do not have either resources or access to hockey in an effort to bring hockey to those who—again referencing Norman (2016)—are on the “margins or outside of the sport’s social boundaries.” Scotiabank and Canadian Tire’s JumpStart and First Shift programs, Hyundai Hockey Helpers program, Tim Hortons Timbit Minor Sports Program, The Royal Bank of Canada Learn to Skate program, The Toronto Maple Leafs’ “Learn to Play” program, and for this project, T2*—sponsored by 21 different organizations are all programs fulfilling this social mandate. This outreach to populations to facilitate their engagement with hockey is noble and will likely provide participants unique opportunities to play a sport that they may otherwise be unable to play. Yet, the crux of the issue remains, and has yet been answered resoundingly by the merging Canada: Does Canada want hockey to be a symbol of a multicultural country. Is another international sport becoming more representative of a national competitive spirit and of international aspirations to dominate play?

Granted the majority who play hockey does not exhibit, nor reproduce, some of hockey culture’s most abhorrent qualities. Nonetheless, these qualities exist and at some level are being produced and disseminated in order to reproduce hockey culture. With no background, nor experience, and as an outsider of hockey culture, the evidence of the systemic problems in hockey is the programs that have been created in response to events that have taken place within hockey and hockey culture. Programs such as the “You Can Play Project,” an organization to address homosexuality in sport in light of Brendan Burke’s death; campaigns to illuminate the accounts of hazing, violence, drug addiction in the sport highlighted by former Calgary Flames captain Theoren Fleury’s autobiography; as well as campaigns to address racism within and around hockey—the most notable being actions taken against Wayne Simmonds, a black Canadian ice

29 These 21 organizations are according to T2’s* website. It should be noted, 6 of these organizations are schools (university and high schools) in the city of Toronto that agree to participate in the program or provide volunteers to help coach the T2* program.
hockey player that was playing for the Philadelphia Flyers at the time of the event; illuminate and address the darker aspects of hockey culture.

Considering these events and campaigns, it is strange that hockey continues to maintain its elevated stature within Canadian society, especially when only a select group of Canadians have the capacities, resources and opportunities to participate in it. Attention and resources are shifting away from hockey and toward programming that is less expensive, is less “privileged,” has fewer barriers to entry, and can garner more participation than hockey could. Funding is increasing for programs that have a more international attraction, such as tennis, cricket, soccer, and track and field in which more participants—newcomers or otherwise—have the abilities to participate and learn of new Canadian culture as opposed to one that is strictly rooted in hockey (and built increasingly on privilege). Indeed, some of the participants of this study were understood to comment on the international, and multicultural, atmosphere of tennis—the sport many of their children participated in.

Regardless of hockey being Canada’s so-called national sport and representing Canadian culture, families continue to participate in sports that are relevant and popular in their home country. In participating in these sports in Canada—sports that are traditionally not considered to be prominent in Canada—the surrounding atmosphere of the sport, and those participating in it are increasingly and more fairly representing the ethnic, racial and cultural diversity of Canada. Arguably, watching and participating in sports that have such a wide range of demographic populations participating in them is a more accurate representation and messaging of what Canada symbolizes than hockey.

5.4.2 Internal and External Perceived Outcomes of Sport

Regular physical activity and sport can play an important role in emotional and educational development of participants. Participants of this study agreed with this statement, although it is unclear whether this was the initial attraction of sport it is understood that these qualities were recognized as reflection of sport participation. Sport was also seen by some new Canadian
families as providing pathways facilitating their child’s attendance at post-secondary school institutions through scholarships, via developing connections with coaches at these institutions, or as adding depth to their university applications.

To preface this discussion, participants who had children enrolled in sport were also—for the majority—one time participants in sport during their youth. All who did participate in sport commented on the qualities of character that they gained through sport, and how likely their child was developing these same skills.

That said, during my discussions with participants, “discipline” was routinely mentioned as a quality their son or daughter gained most from participating in sport programming. Discipline to me is a difficult term to parse out due to its association with control and even with oppression. I interpret it within the context of the discussions as a characteristic that is developed to direct their energies to outlets that were productive in furthering their futures in a positive manner. Importantly, in this study the narratives of their child’s development of life skills, such as discipline, were narratives of an anecdotal nature of the beliefs that the participants held of the impact sport had created not only in themselves, but in their children. These findings, however, are a reflection of the critiques sport for development evangelists experience and the platform of sceptics questioning the utility of sport.

Amongst others positive aspects, sport has the potential to contribute to the positive development of youth, such as the characteristics highlighted in the “Finding” section of this paper, as well as the development of social networks and increased community engagement. These beliefs are precisely what sceptics critique about sport when developing policies and programs. Described by Giulianotti (2004) as “sport evangelists,” these policy markers develop

30 The three categories that those promoting sport participation address are: 1) personal character development 2) reforming at-risk populations and 3) facilitating social capital development and civic engagement (see Coalter, 2015).
programs and policies that promote sport participation and tout the possible outcomes of sport. Considering the platform sport has been given as a problem-solver, the underlying negative issues that sport also reproduces can taint the discussion and emphasize the futility of sport. Other mediums, such as the arts, could be possible pathways to developing the same outcomes that sport is suggested to produce but potentially without the negative outcomes.

The process by which the participants of this study arrived at sport as a way to ease their social integration processes does not fit with the intention of developing the qualities sport evangelists promote, nor is it to promote their integration. Rather, these two qualities—to applaud a sport evangelist’s argument—were understood as being unintended consequences of participation. The attraction to sport that the findings of this study suggest is primarily the increased accessibility of sport (price, proximity, and barriers to enroll) in Canada compared to their country of origin, as well as the external outcomes that are possible when participating in sport due to the positive systemic structures that facilitate high-performance sport in Canada. Participants mentioned that on the basis of developing a quality of self-discipline, sport also increases the chances that their child will be accepted, or will enroll, in a prominent Canadian university. This incentive then leads to approaching sport as a way of squeezing out high performance athletes and disregarding the process of development.

Having access to sport equipment and facilities was perceived to facilitate the participation in sport, or physical activity, and was interpreted as a major attractor for newcomers to participate in sport. Notably, this attraction to sport was not for the development of life skills. Rather, the participation in sport was due to the accessibility of sport programs and the surrounding infrastructures that facilitate sport participation such as facilities that are equipped with athletic equipment or spaces for activities like gymnasiums. For some participants, having the opportunity to access spaces, such as the spaces and programs offered at community centres was perceived as a novelty.
More research needs to be conducted in this area, however, as the findings are primarily reflections the participants had of their own experiences. Their observations are cast as measures of performance relative to their children’s experiences, assuming that the children will have similar experiences to their parents. For instance, Jada* would regularly describe stories of her own development through sport; as her story came to a close, she would add her observations to her son’s experience, interpreting them in light of hers and connecting them to her previous experiences during her career in sport. These frameworks were echoed by Pedro*, Jessica*, and, to a limited extent, Elara*, who went one degree further and used her husband’s experience in sport another qualifier for her son’s experiences.

As I interpreted the data gathered through the interviews and applied it to the knowledge that I held, I was perplexed by the lack of acknowledgement of the time frames of developing these life skills. Considering that sport evangelists believe that sport can develop many positive changes in participants, an effective use of resources would be to develop these skills that sport provides, then disengage once these skills are developed and to direct one’s resources, with the addition of these underpinning skills, at areas to other productive areas. This is the opposite of the external rewards attraction of sport (scholarships and high tiers of sport competition) where presumably more resources, such as time, physical and mental energies, as well as economic resources, are drawn away from the attention to school and coursework. Indeed, researchers suggest that the development of life skills is an outcome of the time youth spends participating in sports each week. No doubt, sport affects their youth development, yet this is mitigated by the inclusion of other activities in addition to sport (Holt, 2008). The outcomes of sport participation, therefore, cannot be attributed entirely to sport. If the development of these skills is, therefore, an act of constraining the resources of the participants, which from this constraint life skills are developed, then the energies of policy makers would be better suited to facilitating access to other avenues that are more inclusive to a wider demographic than what sport alone enables.

In sum, as the findings of this study are interpreted, the attraction to sport participation does not seem to be initially in the development of life skills of the participants. Rather, it is a process that
is a combination of accessibility of sport in Canada, and the continued participation fuelled by aspirations of achieving higher echelons of competitive achievement. More research needs to be performed to parse out the intricacies of this interpretation, as some participants of this study had children participating in high-end competitive sport.

5.4.3 Does Sport Facilitate the Integration of Newcomers?

It is recognized within the literature that sport and recreation do have the potential to affect social inclusion. Yet as the previous section outlined, it is often assumed that the benefits of sport participation are effects of participation (Coakley & Donnelly, 2002). Indeed, the findings of this study were interpreted as such: though sport did facilitate the development of social and cultural bonds for new Canadians, the integration process of the families was not directly affected. Since integration is not dependent on sport participation, the participation in sport for families coming to Canada was not seen as a necessity; rather, it was embraced as a positive outlet for the energies of adolescents who are members of immigrant families.

Notably, the perceived role of sport during the integration process for individuals who had an established background in sport is very high. Considering that five of the ten participants of this study had participated in sport during their youth and were perceived to believe that sport had assisted in their development of life skills, their maturity, and their understanding of their limitations, the findings suggest that those participating in do perceived positive benefits to participation.

For instance, it was understood that Jada* was both the most vocal advocate for the perceived benefits of sport participation, as well as the most established in the “world of sport,” being a former tennis protégé and, prior to moving to Canada, a high-level coach, explained how sport was a pathway into a group of like-minded individuals. Other participants echoed similar sentiments and went further in describing how sport is a “unifier.” Others—possibly not intending to do so—defined sport in the same way Stephen Harper did—as a “common denominator.”
These benefits that sport provides for developing social networks and for exposing newcomers to Canadian culture is, however, interpreted as seemingly specific to the individual. The participants of this study did not believe that their child’s involvement in sport had affected the family’s integration in either a positive or a negative manner. This was understood to be an effect of the constraints of time available for newcomers to Canada, which limited their abilities to be fully engaged in their child’s sport programming. These constraints were dependent on a number of factors such as the economic stability of the participant, and secondly, the consequences of living in a metropolis and facing the barriers of participants to leisure time and the ability to engage with others.

Considering that immigrants are a population group that is susceptible to chronic low-income—one half of all immigrants who are below the low-income cut-off are there for at least five consecutive years—the leisure time that is available to immigrant populations is constrained by other higher priorities (Picot et al., 2017). Put another way, immigrant populations may not have free time to be engaged with their child’s sport program, which could expose them to new and diverse social networks. In turn, this engagement could facilitate their integration and acculturation process, affecting their acculturation stress, or expose them to community spaces that provide resources such as language training or conversation circles that they were unaware of. Further research could illuminate the effects of newcomers engaging with these community spaces. However, constraints to leisure time will still exist, and will continue to affect the process of engagement. More research is, therefore, also needed to examine ways of effectively engaging and retaining newcomer participation levels in community programs.

The second constraint that participants of this study mentioned, that was also intertwined with the economic capacities of newcomers, is the physical constraints of living in Toronto. It was understood that the participants had similar complaints of the inefficiencies of travel, transit, and traffic in the city as local Torontonians. These inefficiencies, in part, were understood to either limit or constrain the time newcomers to Canada had available to engage with their child’s sport program. Only participants who were not working and who were financially stable on a single
income—another importance of successful economic integration, had the capacity to transport, attend, and be involved with their children’s sport program. Those less privileged and less fortunate were limited to select point of exposure and therefore limiting the exposure these participants had with the possibilities of new relationships.

In sum, both economic and physical constraints affected the capacities of new Canadians to participate, and be engaged with, their children’s sport program. This is due to the hierarchy of priorities that new Canadians have, which is higher than attending sport programming for their children. Prioritizing other activities over their children’s sport programming is itself a clue to the perception’s parents have for the outcomes of attending their child’s sport program.

5.5 Conclusion

The thread that has traced its way through this discussion is the limited time that immigrants have available when they are moving along the acculturation process. The heavy constraint of time limits the capacities of newcomers to become adept, proficient, and fluent in the host country’s language, which cascades into other aspects of their lives, affecting their abilities to integrate socially, culturally, and economically. But also, time constraints are perceived to put enormous strains on the capacities of immigrants to take lengthy, expensive, and inflexible accreditation programs in order to fulfill Canadian licensing standards that are understood to better facilitate their integration, financial manoeuvrability and stability.

The intersectionality of integration with the priorities that influence the allocation of resources of new Canadians to different spheres that are aside of their child’s involvement in sport are understood to limit exposure of new Canadians to experiences that could influence their integration. For those participating, sport programming is a positive influence on the integration and development of the participant. The findings of this study are interpreted as follows: sport is one of potentially many outlets that may facilitate the development of life skills in new immigrants.
The development of these life skills, however, is not the incentive that initially attracts participants of sport and sporting activities. In fact, the accessibility of sport in Canada as compared to the country of origin for participants of this study seems to be the main attraction. The retention of participants in sport is understood as the continued development and pursuit of higher tier competitive sport. The incentive for those participating in sport to continue and compete at higher tiers of competitive sport is understood as a combination of the respect earned amongst peer groups, talent and training, and the appreciation that sport spurs the further development of confidence as participants gain better skills, enhanced abilities to identify with tangible value for youth, and lastly to be potentially the recipient of financial incentives for participating in sport, such as scholarships and access to higher education.

This research study is forever in the shadows of those critical of the sport as an actor for good. Those critical of the sport evangelist’s perspective point to the negativity, harm, and oppression that sport has been shown to reproduce in a society which places a primary focus on competition as a singular quality of social interaction. While sport activity does seem to influence the integration into the community of those actively participating in it, the countervailing constraints sport places on newcomers and established immigrant populations limits the degree of positive influence that sport can have on the individual participant and on the communities, they wish to integrate into.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Limitations

In utilizing a phenomenological approach, this study relied entirely on the experiences of the participants. Although these narratives were interpreted and connected to higher order themes that were present in the literature, the findings, least the conclusions, can only speak to the experiences of immigrants arriving in Canada. Meaning, the purpose of this study is not to inform academics or policy makers of pathways to address immigration policy. But rather, this
study is to acknowledge the realities of the lives immigrants arriving in Canada undertake. However, the major limitations that affected this study are firstly, the demographic distribution of participants, as well as the evolving approach of this study.

The demographic distribution of the participants of this study affected the scope of this study. Not specifying what population this study would research, the backgrounds of participants ranged considerably. Although core themes did emerge, the scope of this project was broad which affected the congruencies of these themes between participants. For instance, in terms of economic stability, this project included the very wealthy, as well as those less fortunate. It was therefore difficult to discuss experiences as themes if, in fact, these themes are only relatable to specific subsets of the participants of this study.

On the other hand, for a majority of participants for this study were female. Considering the tradition role mothers play in the household, their perspectives of their experiences were perceived to involve kin work and the role of caretaker for the family while their partner was working. Of the two husbands and men who participated in the conversation, their perspectives predominately involved their experiences of finding work in Canada and ensuring their family’s financial obligations were met.

Lastly, the role sport played in the research topic shifted throughout the study, changing the approach of this research. As I began speaking with the participants of this study the importance of sport—and indeed the participant’s involvement was perceived to be very peripheral to their integration experience. As previously mentioned, this is in part due to other priorities that were affecting their involvement in sport. Instead of pursuing sport and limiting my scope of research to the factors that sport influences, I instead elected to turn my attention to the experiences of the participants either on the peripheries of sport that affect their participation, which was notably one of the study’s objectives. In shifting my attention away from strictly the outcomes of sport, I found the experiences and discussion I was having with the participants to be more impactful and
more stimulating from a research perspective. I therefore elected to continue to address the stories of the participants and place these experiences central in my discussion.

In sum, the limitations that this study experienced were the broad demographics of the participants that limited the ability to dive deeply into one specific issue that affected specific immigrant populations. However, still two major themes emerged that affected integration: language proficiency and economic stability. The second limitation that this study experienced was the emerging role sport played in the research process. To that point, I believe the secondary role sport plays represents a larger discussion of the utility of sport and to the extent sport plays in sport-for-development research.

6.2 Summary and Final Reflections

Canada is accepting 300,000 immigrants per year to facilitate the country’s population growth and alleviate financial pressures that will increase as Canada’s population continues to age. In taking a phenomenological approach, this study explored the experiences of immigrants arriving in Canada and what role sport played in their integration process. Utilizing an emergent design, the focus of this study shifted to centralize the immigrant experience, placing sport as a secondary discussion.

The structure of this project included a proposal in which I outlined the preliminary structure and direction of this study. The second chapter—a review of the literature that was relevant to this study, included an in-depth report of Canadian’s immigration policy since confederation. The purpose of this section was to establish context for Pierre Trudeau’s development of multiculturalism. Although multiculturalism, for the most part, has been a success for Canada, the section on multiculturalism takes a past, present, and future approach to the discussion of multiculturalism.

31 The recent comments of Maxime Bernier and the rise of the People’s Party of Canada is testing Canada’s multicultural identity.
multiculturalism. Once a historical foundation is set, the review of literature turns to the literature that addresses the settlement of newcomers.

Beginning with Berry’s (1992) acculturation theory, this section also includes the body of literature that studies the factors that affect the integration of newcomers such as language proficiency and the barriers present during the economic integration of newcomers. Next, a review of the literature surrounding sport-for-development including the intended and unintended consequences of participation, as well as the barriers that prevent or dissuade participation.

The literature is followed by a chapter unpacking the methodological approach to this research. This chapter is divided into two parts—the first is the conceptual approach to the research study. The second section contains my reflections of the methods during my fieldwork. This study utilized a hermeneutic phenomenological approach where language, the conveying of information, and thereby the interpretation of knowledge is central to the research process. In recognizing that I hold the power of interpretation and translation, I elected to include reflexive practices throughout the research process. The initial impetus was shifting my approach to interviews to bridge the connection of the immigrant experience and the role sport played in this experience.

Following the methodology chapter, I outline the findings of this research study. Beginning with the participant’s experiences of transition, I included portions of text with context to the environment and participant background in which it was said. Notably, the perceived role the climate had in affecting the experiences of participants during the initial adaptation phase, in which it acted as a continual reminder that they had made it to Canada. Also, in this section, the perception of Canadians and the differences of experiences of those with CALD backgrounds and white backgrounds.

The complexities of integration were a particularly stimulating section to write. Although the intersectionality of various factors, some of which were unique to the individual, proved to make this section challenging in funnelling thoughts to paper in a logical way. The complexities of
immigration are divided into two sections. First, the role of language in participants’ integration experience, as well as the issues of enrolling and participating in language services that could help facilitate their language skills, were documented and outlined. Second, the economic integration of participants included the participant’s experiences of vulnerability, as well as the asymmetries of those arriving to Canada with privilege and wealth and outlining the differences between these two groups.

Finally, the findings that address the question that was once central to the research process: the role sport plays in facilitating the integration, were included in sections that addressed the attraction of the participants to sport and the degree to which sport facilitated the integration.

The fifth chapter was a discussion of the findings and connecting the findings within the literature. The structure of this chapter followed the order of the findings section, unpacking the themes present in that chapter. Notable sections were the complexities of integration and how through a sociological framework, macro level issues affect the experiences of immigrants. For instance, the effectiveness of language services that are provided by the federal government and how these services are promoted and delivered. This section is followed by the implications of sport in the integration experience of immigrants. Beginning with how hockey is interpreted to reproduce Canadian values, yet also a sport that produces oppression, let alone remaining exclusive to particular populations. Next, the internal and external rewards of sport participation, and how the accessibility of sport in Canada attracts participants to participate in sport, but also the structure, and institutionalization of sport facilitates the continual participation in sport.

The “Conclusion” chapter includes a discussion on the limitations present in this study, notably, the range of demographics that participated in this study and how that influenced the specificity of the study. And finally, this section, acknowledging and concluding the chapters, sections, and subsections that this study addressed.

The future direction of exploring the implications of sport on the acculturation experience should consider including the voices of the newcomers within the research process could give more
powerful and impactful insight into the experiences of newcomers throughout their acculturation process. Otherwise, working with organizations conducting outreach to these population groups could provide a specific population group as well as further access to these communities.
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Appendices

**Appendix A. Research Ethics Board Approval**
APPENDIX B. PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT POSTER

The members of the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board have examined the protocol which describes the participation of the human participants in the above-named research project and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University’s ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd Edition.

The REB requires that researchers:
- Adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and approved by the REB.
- Receive approval from the REB for any modifications before they can be implemented.
- Report any change in the source of funding.
- Report unexpected events or incidental findings to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Principal Investigator, the safety of the participants, and the continuation of the protocol.
- Are responsible for ascertaining and complying with all applicable legal and regulatory requirements with respect to consent and the protection of privacy of participants in the jurisdiction of the research project.

The Principal Investigator must:
- Ensure that the ethical guidelines and approvals of facilities or institutions involved in the research are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.
- Submit an Annual Renewal to the REB upon completion of the project. If the research is a multi-year project, a status report must be submitted annually prior to the expiry date. Failure to submit an annual status report will lead to your study being suspended and potentially terminated.

The approval for this protocol terminates on the EXPIRY DATE, or the term of your appointment or employment at the University of Guelph whichever comes first.

Signature:  
Date: November 12, 2018

Stephen P. Lewis  
Chair, Research Ethics Board-General

The Ability of Sport to Integrate Immigrants into Canadian Communities

Appendix B. Participant Recruitment Poster
PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR RESEARCH IN SPORT IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

We are conducting a study of whether sport facilitates the integration of immigrants into communities. We are looking for volunteers that have 1) immigrated to Canada and 2) have at least one child participating in recreational organized sport programming.

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to discuss your experience of moving to Canada, what barriers you may have experienced, your perspectives of sport and the role it plays in developing social and cultural bonds.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and no compensation will be provided. The interview will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes of your time. By participating in this study, you will be helping us further our understanding of sport as a tool for community develop. This research may also inform future policy creation and understanding of current policy.

To learn more about this study or to participate, please contact:

Graduate Student Researcher:
Sacha Smart
asmart01@uoguelph.ca

This study has been reviewed by the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board (REB#18-10-014).

This study is supervised by: Dr. Allan Lauzon (University of Guelph) and Dr. Kyle Rich (University of Brock)

Appendix C. Email Template
ONTARIO AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE
School of Environmental Design and Rural Development

Capacity Development and Extension • Landscape Architecture • Rural Planning and Development

Dear

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Dr. Allan Lauzon, Professor and Graduate Coordinator of Capacity Development and Extension, University of Guelph, Canada and Student Investigator, Sacha Smart, Master’s Student in Capacity Development and Extension, University of Guelph, Canada

Title: The Capacity of Sport to Integrate Immigrants into Canadian Communities (REB#18-10-014)

Purpose of the Study

To explore the role of sport within the complexities of the immigrant experience during the settlement process, the sociocultural environment of sport in a large Canadian city, and the constraints to participation in sporting activities that immigrants face on the field of play and within their communities.

Procedures and Time Commitment

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

- Participate in one audio recorded interview – 20 – 30 minutes
- Verify notes after the interview – 10 minutes
- Confirm that the information in the transcript of the interview sent after the interview has been conducted – 20 minutes

The study should take no longer than 40 minutes to complete and an additional 20 minutes at a later time to confirm the information in the interview transcript. Please note that the interview should be completed in one sitting. This means, you would not be able to start the study at one time and come back at a later time.

Participation & Confidentiality

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may also choose to skip any questions. You may withdraw at any time for any reason without any penalty. Please note,
however, that once this project has been successfully defended on May 1, 2019, your responses will not be able to be withdrawn from the study.

*Every effort will be made to make sure that all data collected is held securely. We will never share your personal information or contact information with anyone else.* All collected data will be stored on an encrypted password protected personal mobile computer.

**Potential Risks**

You may choose to skip any questions you would prefer not to answer or stop participating in the study at any time.

Some people may find some of the questions about the experience of immigration uncomfortable or triggering. If you experience any discomfort during the study, you are encouraged to contact your family doctor, or a mental health professional in your area.

The researchers do not have the necessary skills to manage triggering experiences, nor the consequences of them. Participants who at any point do not feel comfortable are encouraged to stop the interview and seek counselling services. Researchers will provide participants with the contact information for Ontario Mental Health Helpline, a crisis resource that provides support and information of services available in the community.

*If, at any point during the study, you feel upset, you are encouraged to contact a local crisis line, call emergency services, or go to your local Emergency Department.*

**Potential Benefits**

There will be no direct benefit to the participants who take part in this study. This research however, will help inform the researcher’s understanding of how sport can be used to integrate immigrants into communities. Furthering this understanding of integration will increase the academic understanding of integration of immigrants into communities. There are no direct benefits for participants taking part in this study.

**Compensation for Participation**

There will be no compensation for participating in this study

**Ethics & Contact Information**

If you have questions regarding your rights and welfare as a research participant in this study (REB#18-10-014), please contact: Director, Research Ethics; University of Guelph; reb@uoguelph.ca; (519) 824-4120 (ext. 56606)
Thank you for considering participating in this study. Please contact Dr. Allan Lauzon, the Principal Investigator, or Sacha Smart, the Student Researcher for further inquiries or details.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dr. Allan Lauzon, Principal Investigator</th>
<th>Sacha Smart, Student Researcher</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professor and Graduate Coordinator</td>
<td>Capacity Development and Extension</td>
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<td>University of Guelph</td>
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<td>519-824-4120 ext. 53379</td>
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Appendix D. Information Letter

INFORMATION LETTER

Title: The Ability of Sport to Integrate Immigrants into Canadian Communities (REB#18-10-014)

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Dr. Allan Lauzon, Professor and Graduate Coordinator of Capacity Development and Extension, University of Guelph, Canada and Student Investigator, Sacha Smart, Master’s Student in Capacity Development and Extension, University of Guelph, Canada

Purpose of the Study

This project will investigate whether organized youth sport programming could act as a mechanism for the integration of immigrant families into Canadian communities. The results of this project will help in better informing welcoming committees and further research for the best practices of integrating immigrants efficiently and effectively.

Procedures and Time Commitment

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

- Participate in one audio recorded interview – 30 - 45 minutes
- Verify notes after the interview – 10 minutes
- Confirm that the information in the transcript of the interview sent after the interview has been conducted – 20 minutes

The study should take no longer than 55 minutes to complete and an additional 20 minutes at a later time to confirm the information in the interview transcript. Please note that the interview should be completed in one sitting. This means, you would not be able to start the study at one time and come back to finish the questions at a later time.

Participation & Confidentiality

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may also choose to skip any questions. You may withdraw at any time for any reason without any penalty. Please note, however, that once this project has been successfully defended on May 1, 2019, your responses will not be able to be withdrawn from the study.

Every effort will be made to make sure that all data collected is held securely. We will never share your personal information or contact information with anyone else. All collected data will be stored on an encrypted password protected personal mobile computer.

Potential Risks
You may choose to skip any questions you would prefer not to answer or stop participating in the study at any time.

Some people may find some of the questions about the experience of immigration uncomfortable or triggering. If you experience any discomfort during the study, you are encouraged to contact your family doctor, or a mental health professional in your area.

The researchers do not have the necessary skills to manage triggering experiences, nor the consequences of them. Participants who at any point do not feel comfortable are encouraged to stop the interview and seek counselling services. Researchers will provide participants with the contact information for Ontario Mental Health Helpline, a crisis resource that provides support and information of services available in the community.

If, at any point during the study, you feel upset, you are encouraged to contact a local crisis line, call emergency services, or go to your local Emergency Department.

Potential Benefits
There will be no direct benefit to the participants who take part in this study. This research, however, will help inform the researcher’s understanding of how sport can be used to integrate immigrants into communities. Furthering this understanding of integration will increase the academic understanding of integration of immigrants into communities. There are no direct benefits for participants taking part in this study.

Compensation for Participation
There will be no compensation for participating in this study

Ethics & Contact Information
If you have questions regarding your rights and welfare as a research participant in this study (REB#18-10-014), please contact: Sandy Auld, Director, Research Ethics; University of Guelph; reb@uoguelph.ca; (519) 824-4120 (ext. 56606)
Please note that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed while data are in transit over the internet.
You do not waive any legal rights by agreeing to take part in this study.
This project has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Board for compliance with federal guidelines for research involving human participants.

Please save and print a copy of this information letter to keep for your records.

Thank you for your participation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dr. Allan Lauzon, Principal Investigator</th>
<th>Sacha Smart, Student Researcher</th>
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<td>519-824-4120 ext. 53379</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E. Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

TITLE OF STUDY: The Capacity of Sport to Integrate Newcomers into Canadian Communities (REB#18-10-014)

DATE OF STUDY: September 2018 – August 2019

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:
Dr. Allan Lauzon, Professor and Graduate Coordinator of Capacity Development and Extension, School of Environmental Design and Rural Development, University of Guelph, ailauzon@uoguelph.ca, 519-824-4120 ext. 53379

STUDENT INVESTIGATORS:
Sacha Smart, Master’s Student in Capacity Development and Extension, School of Environmental Design and Rural Development, University of Guelph, asmart01@uoguelph.ca

Any questions about the research study may be directed to Al Lauzon, PhD at ailauzon@uoguelph.ca, 519-824-4120 ext. 53379 or the Student Investigator, Sacha Smart at asmart01@uoguelph.ca, (416) 666-5923

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY
This project will investigate whether organized youth sport programming could act as a mechanism for the integration of immigrant families into Canadian communities. The results of this project will help in better informing welcoming committees and further research for the best practices of integrating immigrants efficiently and effectively.

PROCEDURES
If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

- Participate in one audio recorded interview – 30 - 45 minutes
- Verify notes after the interview – 10 minutes
- Confirm that the information in the transcript of the interview sent after the interview has been conducted – 20 minutes

CONFIDENTIALITY
Interviews will be audio recorded using a encrypted password protected mobile computer. Any electronic data will be stored in password protected files on the researchers’ personal computer. Data collected during this study will be retained until May 1, 2020. After that date data will be destroyed.
• Findings will be disseminated via thesis dissertation
• Data will be aggregated
• Verbatim and abbreviated quotes will be used only once we have received permission
• Researchers will anonymize the information to the best of their abilities
• Researchers will remove any information that will identify participants, with the lowest risk of being identified
• Any additional researchers participating in this project will be obligated to agree to and sign a confidentiality agreement.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Through participation, participants will be benefitting society by helping inform the researcher’s understanding of how sport can be used to integrate immigrants into communities. Furthering this understanding will increase the academic understanding of integration of immigrants into communities. There are no direct benefits for participants taking part in this study.

Inclusion Criteria

• Between the ages, and including, 18 and 64
• Parents or guardians of youth participating in recreational organized sport programming
• Immigrated to Canada within the past 10 years

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There will be no compensation for participating in this study.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may exercise the option of removing your data from the study. Any data not withdrawn from the research by May 1, 2020 will be included in the study. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don’t want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise that warrant doing so.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You do not waive any legal rights by agreeing to take part in this study. This project has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Board for compliance with federal guidelines for research involving human participants. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant in this study (REB#10-18-014), please contact: Sandy Auld, Director Research Ethics; University of Guelph; rebi@uoguelph.ca; 519-824-4120 ext. 56606.
CONSENT

- I have been given and have read the Letter of information to participate in this study that outlines the researcher’s purposes for conducting this study.
- I understand that the purpose of this research project is to explore whether enrolling immigrant youth in recreational organized sport programming can facilitate the integration immigrant families politically, socially, and economically into their new communities.
- I understand that the purpose of this interview is to explore my perspective on my community, and how recreational organized youth sport programming facilitates my integration into the community.
- I understand that the study in which I have agreed to participate will involve an interview, where I will be asked to respond to a series of questions, that will be recorded digitally by the researcher conducting the interview.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time prior to final completion and submission of the research study.
- I understand that, if I choose to withdraw from the study prior to the final completion of the interview, all of the information I have provided will be left out of the data analysis and will be destroyed.
- I understand that my right to withdraw from this research project and ask for my information to be destroyed.
- I understand that I may ask questions of the researchers at any point during the research process.
- I understand that there will be no payment for participation.
- I understand that only the Principal Investigator (Dr. Allan Lauzon) and the Student Investigator (Sacha Smart) will have access to the data.
- I understand that the results of this study may be disseminated in academic and professional journal articles, conference presentations, a thesis and a summary report.

I have read the information provided for the study "The Ability of Sport to Integrate Immigrants into Canadian Communities" as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, I have been given this form, and I agree to participate in this study.

Participant’s Signature: ____________________________
Participant’s Email (only for project results): ____________________________
Date: ____________________________

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board.
If you have questions regarding your rights and welfare as a research participant in this study (REB#18-10-014), please contact: Director, Research Ethics; University of Guelph; reb@uoguelph.ca; (519) 824-4120 (ext. 56606)