ABSTRACT

Over the past quarter century, the dynamics of Canada’s immigration have been changing. Recent waves of immigration have seen not only more immigrants but also immigrants coming from non-traditional source countries. Canada’s need for immigrants for economic and demographic purposes has driven this trend. Yet as Canada’s appetite for immigrants has grown, the government’s commitment to settlement services has decreased. Although this decrease is part of a larger public service restructuring, it has created a service deficit.

This thesis assesses this issue using the theoretical framework of the governance structure. In short, the governance structure is the three sectors that underpin Canadian society, the public, private, and civil society sectors. In this context, prior research has indicated that there is more reliance on the civil society (or voluntary) sector to address this service deficit. It is the purpose of this thesis to explore these issues with a case study of Durham Region, Ontario. Over the past two decades, Durham has experienced considerable population growth, propelled mainly by immigration. Simultaneously, its municipalities have been hard hit by downloading. The intersection of these forces makes Durham an ideal research area. The following question was addressed: how does the governance structure in the Durham Region operate in terms of immigrant integration services and where could improvements be made? To answer this question, semi-structured interviews with representatives from both the public and civil society sector were conducted. Overall, findings from a qualitative analysis of the interview data demonstrate a region, which as a whole, for many reasons has yet to come full circle on the issue of immigration, but which sits at a turning point where significant potential exists for change. Considering these circumstances, an integrated model of urban governance and a regional forum for immigration issues are two recommendations Durham should pursue.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASACC: Ajax South Asian Cultural Center
CAO: Chief Administrative Officer
CDCD: Community Development Council of Durham
CIC: Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CMA: Central Metropolitan Area
COIA: Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement
DCE: Durham Continuing Education
ELD: English Literacy Development
ESL: English as a Second Language
HAO: Hispanic Alliance of Ontario
ISAP: Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program
LINC: Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada
MCOD: Multicultural Council of Oshawa-Durham
MP: Member of Parliament
MPP: Member of Provincial Parliament
NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations
PCCCA: Pickering Canadian Caribbean Cultural Association
SWIS: Settlement Workers in Schools
UOIT: University of Ontario Institute of Technology
WMRCC: Woman’s Multicultural Resource and Counseling Centre
WTO: World Trade Organization
CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION:

Prologue

The purpose of my research is to explain, describe, and critique the governance structure in Durham Region as it relates to immigrant integration services. The question guiding the research is how does the governance structure in the Durham Region operate in terms of immigrant integration services and where could improvements be made?

From this research question, I wish to achieve the following objectives:

1. To describe the general context of immigration and immigration integration services in Durham Region.

2. To examine the immigration policy framework in Durham Region as it relates to the federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government, and the downloading of responsibilities since the 1990’s. Through this examination, the goal is to develop the perspective of local government on this issue.

3. To assess critically the changing role of the voluntary sector and immigrant organizations within the local governance structure of immigration integration services in Durham Region.

4. To identify problems on behalf of both municipalities and immigrant organizations with the local governance structure and propose solutions based on these findings for Durham Region.

Structure of the Thesis

In terms of organization, this thesis will take a macro to micro approach. To do this, I will begin in this Chapter by highlighting the macro issues related to the research such as the changing dynamics of immigration, public service restructuring, and the
governance structure. Once this context is established, I will then situate these issues and my research within the geographical literature (Chapter Two). In the geographical literature, my research falls under the three sub-disciplines of urban geography, urban governance, and the geography of voluntarism. After this, in Chapter Three, I will move to a profile of my field area, the Durham Region (See Figure 1). In this same chapter, I will also explain the importance of a case study, my methodology, and the rationale for my interviews. From here, I will present the findings of my research, in a mainly descriptive manner (Chapter Four). In Chapter Five, I will then proceed to analyze these findings by identifying problems and proposing solutions to Durham’s governance structure, comparing my results with the literature, and offering key recommendations. To conclude, I will provide a brief summary, evaluate my objectives, reflect on my research experience, discuss my limitations, identify areas for future research, and emphasize the importance of my research (Chapter Six). Before I begin, it is useful, to give a timeline on my research. I first gained approval for this project in May 2008. I received ethics approval for my primary research in early September and began interviews in mid-October. My interviews ran from this date until the end of January 2009. At the beginning of this period, Canada entered a recession, which only intensified as I conducted my research. As one reads the results and conclusions of this thesis, it is important to be mindful of these circumstances as they relate to understanding government and community responses to immigration issues.
Changing Dynamics of Immigration

For Canada, immigration is nothing new. Canada has been accepting immigrants for centuries; nothing has changed in this regard. Over the past 30 years, Canada’s tradition of accepting immigrants has persisted: however, during this period, the dynamics of immigration have changed.

The first area where these dynamics have changed is in the number of immigrants entering Canada. In the post-war immigration boom, Canada reached a peak of 280,000 in 1957 (Mercer 1995). After reaching this peak, beginning in the mid-1970’s, in light of an oil crisis and a sagging economy, immigration levels began to decline. This decline
lasted for almost a decade, and by 1984, annual immigration levels for the country decline to 83,000 immigrants, the lowest levels in the post-war period. Beginning in 1985, as economic conditions improved, the quota of immigrants to Canada increased substantially. This increase peaked in 1993, as 280,000 immigrants entered Canada, matching the level of the post-World War II boom. Since then, levels of immigration have remained between 225,000 and 275,000. In fact, between 1981 and 2001, the cumulative inflow has amounted to just over three and a half million immigrants (Beach et al. 2003). What’s more, within ten years, immigration could possibly account for all population growth within Canada (Green 2003). Because of this, immigration has become the central dynamic in both population and labour market growth in Canada.

Not only is Canada accepting more immigrants, these immigrants are coming from a greater variety of places. Traditionally, Canada is predominately a country with an Anglo-Saxon character. Immigration has supported this character for much of its history. However, beginning in the 1970’s, this began to change as Canada changed its immigration policy to include a wider variety of non-traditional source countries in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. By the 1990’s, in a drastic turn of the tides, immigrants from these countries constituted 80 percent of new immigrants (Bourne and Rose 2007). Naturally, this has had a major impact on the composition of Canadian society. Furthermore, it presents many challenges to Canadian society as immigrants are coming from places that are different from traditional Canadian societal norms and rituals. This reality has the potential for problems on several different levels.

Historically, as immigrants came to Canada, the bulk of them have chosen to settle in the core of major cities, notably, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. However,
in recent years, this trend has changed as new immigrants are continually choosing to settle in the suburbs over the core neighbourhoods as their place of residence (Reinhart 2008). This trend is a dramatic reversal of the settlement patterns of decades past. It is significant on many levels because as Lo and Wang (1997) demonstrate in their study of Chinese groups living in inner cities and the suburbs, there are meaningful differences between immigrants living in each of these different places.

Besides changes within the internal dynamics of immigration, externally, Canada, more than at any other time in its history, is reliant on immigration for its demographic and economic needs. Demographically, two forces plague the country, declining birth rates and an aging population. Demographers believe the pace of natural increase is expected to slow considerably (Beaujot and Kerr 2007). Moreover, fertility levels are now well beyond the traditional demographic ‘replacement’ rate (Bourne and Rose 2007). Therefore, if Canada’s population is going to grow in any significant way, it is going to happen through immigration. This reality is already taking hold, since 1994, immigration has comprised a larger percentage of total population growth in Canada than has natural increase (Beaujot and Kerr 2007). In addition, also on the demographic side, Canada has a rapidly aging population. Population aging typically takes the form of an increase in the number of elderly, and a decline in the number of children and young people. In terms of Canada’s population pyramid what this means is because of the baby boomers, there will be a disproportionate number of people at the top of the pyramid and a considerably lower number of people below it. Essentially, public policymakers are hoping immigration will fill this gap in the population pyramid. Naturally, the current shape of the Canadian population pyramid has considerable economic implications. As
more of Canada’s population ages, more people will retire, thus creating a rising share of non-working to working population (Green 2007). Ultimately, this amounts to a fiscal burden for not only the working population but also the country. Again, Canada hopes to alleviate this problem through immigration by increasing the number of immigrants emitted to Canada. This strategy has created a dependence on immigration for labour market growth. For example, in 2001, immigration was responsible for 70% of labour market growth (Bourne and Simmons 2003). Besides labour market growth, Canada is also looking to immigration to supplement its need for additional skills and human capital in an increasingly competitive global economy. To remain as competitive as possible, Canadian immigration policy implicitly states as a strategy to recruit and retain skilled immigrants in hopes of expanding Canada’s knowledge economy (Green 2007). Clearly, Canada has both an interest and a need to maintain its immigration levels both for demographic and economic purposes.

**Immigrant Integration Service Restructuring**

Probably the most imperative change in the dynamics of immigration is the decline in funding for settlement services. Recently, the number, range, and breadth of newcomer services have been influenced by federal and provincial cutbacks to newcomer services (Sadiq 2004). Over the past 10 to 15 years, both the provincial and federal government have reduced their involvement in the delivery and support of settlement services. Yet, as the role of each of these governments has declined, the federal government has increased the number of immigrants entering Canada. Hence, there are more immigrants entering Canada with fewer services available. Considering the importance of institutional support as demonstrated by Jeffrey Reitz’s (1998) study
concluding that the institutional support immigrants receive in the initial years of settlement is crucial to their relative economic success. Therefore, the lack of services is a cause for concern and is probably single-handedly the most important change in the dynamics of immigration.

The Governance Structure

Realistically, the discrepancy between services and number of immigrants hinders the government’s ability to create ideal or at the very least, decent conditions for immigrants. In light of these circumstances and considering the importance of settlement services, numerous solutions have been put forth to solve this problem. However, as governments decrease in size, the one increasingly taking shape is an increased reliance on non-governmental organizations, as they attempt to fill the service gap created by the government.

Earlier, I discussed the importance of services. Essentially, services are a product of the governance structure. What is the governance structure? The governance structure is the foundation of Canadian society represented by three sectors, the public sector, the private sector, and civil society. The governance structure is the context in which I want to address the issue of the service gap or discrepancy as it relates to immigrant integration. The responsibility of providing the proper tools to integrate immigrants falls on the governance structure. Obviously, the main tool this structure is providing to do this is services. However, because of the recent decline of the role of government in the settlement service sector, the question becomes, which part of the governance structure is going to fill the service gap? It is this question that the research reported in the remainder of this thesis seeks to shed some light.
CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW:

Within the geographical literature, this thesis falls into three areas, urban geography, urban governance (including public service restructuring), and the geography of voluntarism. First, it ties into urban geography because the basis of my thesis takes place in Durham Region, a rapidly urbanizing suburb east of Toronto. Since Durham is a suburb and urban geography is such a vast sub-discipline, within urban geography it relates more specifically to literature on the decentralization of the city including the changing dynamics of the suburbs as their traditional population character changes. In essence, for my research, the urban context is the setting; therefore, urban geography is helpful in explaining the implications of the urban environment. Second, urban governance connects to my project, because the urban governance structure is essentially the philosophical foundation of my thesis. What I am evaluating is how the urban governance structure is changing, what pressures it is experiencing, and the challenges it is facing. As a result, urban governance as a concept and the various studies about it are crucial to my work. In addition, I will examine the literature on (urban) public service restructuring as it relates to immigration services and the changing welfare state. Third, the last area of the literature that links with my thesis is the geography of voluntarism. Part of my project is to determine the role of immigrant organizations within the integration process as well as the support they provide. Furthermore, with government funding fewer and fewer services, the voluntary sector has been taking more of a role in filling the service gap. As this has become more and more of a reality, the need to look at what has been happening in other places in terms of immigrant organizations and the decline in funding for government services is something which serves my project well.
Urban Geography

In simple terms, urban geography is the study of towns and cities. It concentrates upon the location and spatial arrangement of towns and cities. It seeks to add a spatial dimension to the understanding of urban places and problems; in fact, this spatial dimension is what distinguishes urban geography’s study of the city compared to other disciplines. Furthermore, it attempts to identify and understand the various social, economic, environmental processes, which determine the location, spatial arrangement, and evolution of urban places (Clark 1982). Alternatively, it studies urbanization as a process. It views the study of urbanization as it unfolds through the production of the physical and social landscape and the production of distinctive ways of thinking and acting among people who live in towns and cities (Harvey 1989). It views the city as an evolving thing, whose practices are constantly being recreated and redefined.

Two relatively recent trends apply to my research. The first is the inclusion of cultural aspects in urban geography. This ‘cultural turn’ began in human geography and ultimately affected urban geography. Prior to the influence of cultural geography, urban geographers viewed the urban landscape as one-dimensional emphasizing the development of the physical form at the expense of lived social relations of spatial practices. As part of this cultural shift, a number of urban geographers have begun including social theory within their analysis of the city. This has led to urban landscapes being treated as an object to be described, classified, and interpreted as a reflection of the impact of cultural groups (Leitner 1992).

The second relevant trend in urban geography is the focus on the decentralization of the city. One of the prominent schools of thought in urban geography is the Chicago
School founded by Burgess (Gregory et al. 2000). The Chicago School studied urban form, one, through the framework of a modern industrial city, and, two, based on what was happening from the urban core outwards. In this present period, this focus of study is no longer sufficient, as the urban form in many places has become much more complex. In order to address this reality, a new form of urban study has emerged, the LA School (Blake et al. 2003). The LA School attempted to bring research in line with contemporary economic restructuring processes, which in their eyes are forming and re-forming our cities (Blake et al. 2003). As opposed to the Chicago School, which sees urban development organized around the center, those associated with the LA School believe this process to be extinct. Instead, it is the urban peripheries, which now organize what remains of the center. Furthermore, global corporate dominated connectivity is balancing if not eliminating the individual agency, which previously defined the urban process (Dear 2005).

The combination of these two trends in urban geography lies precisely at the heart of my research. On the one hand, Durham Region is a suburb, on the eastern edge of the Greater Toronto Area that is developing rapidly and much differently from its core, the City of Toronto. At the same time, as it develops it is becoming more and more independent of the core. In the process, it is redefining its relationship with the core. Just as the LA School points out, it is economic and political restructuring which is driving this process (Blake et al. 2003). Because of this changing relationship, immigrants in suburbs face different circumstances, have different challenges, and integrate differently in a suburban setting. This is where the importance of the cultural turn comes in for urban geography. Because of their change in approach, urban geographers are now considering
different social theories in their analysis of cities and accounting for how different groups adapt to and utilize the urban landscape.

Evidence of this exists in many of the recent articles within the urban geography literature on immigration and suburbanization. By integrating these two concepts, many scholars are now trying to identify this relationship between immigrants and suburbs in many different ways and determine the meaning of it. For instance, Newbold and Deluca (2007) examined this relationship in the context of the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) and discovered that lower living costs in the suburbs are driving international migrants to the suburbs. Each of these authors also expects this trend of immigrants settling beyond the Toronto core for mobility reasons and calls for more research on immigrants in smaller scale urban centers. Teixeira (2007) echoes this call for more research, as he points there are different forces pulling immigrants to the suburbs and these forces need to be examined in more detail. Furthermore, according to Teixeira (2007), Canada’s suburbs represent ideal ‘social laboratories’ within which to explore the complex interrelationship of suburbanization and residential integration. Traditional theories of immigrant settlement were built on the assumption that suburbanization was an outcome of both cultural assimilation and economic mobility. However, emerging patterns of suburbanized immigrant settlement in Canada suggest a more complex picture (Hiebert 2000). Overall, immigration has become an increasingly suburban phenomenon and in order for academics to gauge an increased understanding, more research must be done (Gertler 2001).
Urban Governance

Immigration and suburbs is merely the context of my research, what lies at the core is the governance structure. The governance structure is the three sectors that comprise Canadian society, the public sector, private sector, and civil society. The term ‘governance’ is defined as the involvement of a wide range of institutions and actors in the production of policy outcomes, including non-governmental organizations, private companies, pressure groups, social movements, as well as the state institutions traditionally regarded as part of the government (Gregory et al. 2000). In this case, governance is a broader category than ‘government’, with government only being one part of the entire structure. For the purposes of this thesis, the reason why this structure is in its current form has a new importance because of the recent decline in the prominence of the state and the rise of the importance of non-state organizations in the overall process of governance.

Figure 2: The Governance Structure (Adapted from Skinner and Rosenberg 2006)

Since my research is based in an urban setting, my focus will lie with urban governance. Over the past quarter century, there has been a rekindled interest in urban governance both among human geographers and political scientists. First, what has driven this interest is more people are living in cities than ever before, thus, raising the
question of the best way to govern in an urban setting. Second, within the last 25 years, a major corporate restructuring known as neo-liberalism has taken place (Pinch 1997). Ultimately, neo-liberalism has led to a state restructuring, in which the state has not only shrunk but it has devolved many of its responsibilities to other parts of the governance structure. This process has become classified as glocalization, in which the state has extended its influence upwards to supra-national organizations, outwards to the market, and downwards to local government (Courchene 1995). Hence, urban or local governments have received much more power and responsibility than they have traditionally held.

According to David Harvey (1989), this has resulted in a shift of the purpose of urban governments from one of a purely managerial type to one of an entrepreneurial nature. Neo-liberalism has played a part in the fostering of competition between local governments; however, a consequence of the downloading of responsibilities was a lack of financial resources with the new level of responsibilities (Bradford 2004). This outcome has fostered competition because among urban governments, there is a major push to maximize revenues. At the same time, because of a shortage of finances, urban governments have been forced to adopt new strategies to deal with their new circumstances while still attempting to govern well enough to serve the needs of their given community. For urban governance scholars, this has meant a governance perspective on urban politics, which looks beyond the institutions of the local state and searches for processes and mechanisms through which significant and resource-full actors coordinate their actions and resources in the pursuit of collectively defined objectives (Pierre 2005).
What has emerged from both the new reality of urban governments and the new perspective scholars have taken is the idea of the city as a collective corporation within which democratic decision-making operates on a more even level within the governance structure (Harvey 1989). From this new approach, there is a strong emphasis on partnership and networks rather than top-down government (Jessop 2002). Partnerships should involve not only actors from the private economic sector but also non-governmental organizations (NGOs), religious groups, community-action groups, or networks among individuals. Within this context, local government plays a role that focuses on steering partnerships and moderating their mutual relations in the interests of the maximum welfare of all people (DiGaetano and Strom 2003). Based on the findings of the World Report on the Urban Future 21, overall, good urban governance is seen as an integrated effort on the part of local government, civil society, and the private sector (Jessop 2002). Many other scholars have begun to develop similar models based on this recognition of the change in governance. For example, DiGaetano and Strom (2003) have created what they call an integrated model of urban governance. This model conceives of urban governance as occurring within a nested set of environmental complexes in which institutions provide the integument.

Public Service Restructuring

Overall, the transformation of urban governance is reflective of a bigger trend at work, the restructuring of public services. Although not a lot was elaborated on urban governance as it relates to public services in the past section, essentially one of the major forces affecting urban governance is the change happening as to what level of government is going to be responsible for each type of public service. At the same time,
just as the nature of urban governance is changing due to corporate and state restructuring, which level of government delivers public services is changing for the same reasons (Pinch 1989). With the decline and restructuring of the welfare state, governments have been forced to determine who to best meet service needs, and in many cases, this has resulted in relying on either the private sector or civil society to assist in providing vital public services. In other cases, this has meant devolution of service provision to local governments, as they are deemed able to best meet the needs of their clients because of their proximity to their clients (Pinch 1997).

In Canada, the provision over which level of government is to look after which public services is an ongoing battle. Beginning in 1984, with the election of the Progressive Conservative government under the leadership of Brian Mulroney, Canada entered the neo-liberal era. Canada’s signing of free trade agreements with the USA in both 1988 and 1993 coupled with its entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995 have solidified this reality. Consequently, since the election of Mulroney, the wrangling of governments as to who should be responsible for which public services has dominated political discourse in Canada. While Mulroney started the trend of neo-liberalism, Jean Chrétien’s Liberal government, and several provincial governments like that of Mike Harris of Ontario, accelerated it as it undertook a march of deficit reduction with little regard for the consequences of this action. The outcome of this was a considerable downloading of responsibilities to the provinces and from the provinces to its municipalities. Change was rapid and profound and this decentering has rekindled a long-running debate about the nature and role of local government (Frisken and Wallace 1997). Why has this rekindled debate? Because among all levels of government,
municipalities were arguably the hardest hit of the bunch. Municipalities were expected to deliver more services yet were given no fiscal autonomy or resources to deal with these additional responsibilities. Consequently, this put municipalities in a bind in which many municipalities are still struggling to fix. As a result, of changing governmental and economic circumstances, thanks mainly to corporate restructuring, state restructuring, and the current plight of municipalities, many scholars have advocated for alternate approaches to this problem versus the status quo. Before I get into these suggestions, it is important to mention that while all these changes have been happening, there has been a de facto recognition of the of the importance of the city in people’s lives (Sewell 2004). This recognition has been made, primarily, on the premise that just over 80% of Canadians live in cities, and that many of nation’s problems exist within the city (Bradford 2004). In lieu of this, scholars such as Bradford (2004) have developed new frameworks and approaches to incorporate municipalities formally into Canadian federalism. Of these approaches, Bradford (2004) emphasizes two, the local autonomy approach and a national collaboration approach. The local autonomy approach simply states municipalities suffer from both a policy disjuncture and a financial squeeze and in order to remedy these problems what municipalities need is to be given the appropriate, read financial resources and more policy autonomy, so they can tackle their issues independently and not be forced to rely on upper levels of government (Bradford 2004). Conversely, the national collaboration approach acknowledges, the current disadvantaged situation municipalities face, however, it believe the answer to this lies in more collaboration among different levels of government and the inclusion of municipalities on more issues, which affect them. Up to this point, neither of these approaches have been
implemented within the Canadian political system, however, each approach has gained serious consideration and both remain viable alternatives to the status quo.

**Voluntarism**

At the same time, the restructuring of public services has had other consequences. As the government has reduced its involvement in the delivery of public services not only administratively and delivery wise but also in terms of funding, it has created a major service gap. This change is linked to programmes of welfare state restructuring, currently sweeping across neo-liberalizing states (Fyfe and Milligan 2003). In order to fill this gap what seems to be happening is the voluntary sector is beginning to play a bigger role in the funding and delivery of public services. This is the result of a reduced role for government but also a significant re-negotiation of the roles and responsibilities of the government, civil society, and the marketplace (Pinch 1997). As a result, in advanced capitalist nations, voluntary sector activity has significantly increased in visibility and policy salience over the past 20 years (Fyfe and Milligan 2003). The growing political and social significance of the voluntary sector is reflected in a wide body of research that has emerged since the 1980’s. Despite this popularity, there is still little consensus about the conceptual role of voluntarism (Skinner 2008). The term “voluntary sector” often is synonymous with community sector, independent sector, non-profit sector, and social economy, all of which have different conceptual and contextual foundations (Hall and Banting 2000). Clearly, attempts to define the voluntary sector have been the subject of much debate.

For the purposes of this thesis, the voluntary sector refers to the sector of society, which encompasses formal, non-profit distributing organizations that are both self-
governing and constitutionally independent of the state (Milligan 2007). In the case of
this research as it relates to immigration, both immigrant and ethno-cultural organizations
fit this classification. Thus, throughout this research, the voluntary sector will be referred
to as voluntary, non-governmental, immigrant, or ethno-cultural organizations depending
on the circumstances. Within this framework, although some voluntary organizations
may employ paid staff and receive funding from the state, their purpose is to act for
public rather than shareholder benefit. Under the governance structure, the voluntary
sector falls under the civil society sector. Geographical work on the voluntary sector
focuses on three key themes: space, place, and political context (Fyfe and Milligan 2007).

Understanding the relationship between place and the political context has been
central to much of the geographical research on voluntarism. In terms of immigration,
this could not be more important. In the context of my research, as stated above, the most
important change in the dynamics of immigration has been the decline in funding for
settlement services for immigrants. This decline has produced considerably more
troubling and difficult circumstances for immigrants. An answer that seems to be
emerging on how to improve these circumstances is using the voluntary sector as a tool to
help combat the service gap, which has been created thanks to the absence of government
commitments (Creese 2006). For immigrants, the voluntary sector is comprised of social
agencies providing social services including settlement services and immigrant or ethno-
cultural organizations. This sector is divided up into two types of voluntary sector
organizations, service-providing agencies/organizations and non-service providing
organizations, both of which are considered NGOs (Papillon 2002).
Ontario is the recipient of half of Canada’s immigrants and at the same time boasts the largest voluntary sector in Canada. This sector is crucial to the lives of Ontarians, particularly newcomers; these agencies provide a wide range of community services including newcomer settlement services. Unfortunately, despite the sector’s importance, it is suffering from inadequate and unstable funding, therefore undermining its capacity to meet the needs of local, diverse communities (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives 2007). To make matters worse, projected population trends suggest a crisis in the making for an already under-resourced community sector (CCPA 2007). In sum, the picture for service-oriented NGOs for immigrant settlement services is far from a bright one.

Although immigrant settlement services play a crucial role in the integration process of newcomers, it is critical not to underestimate the role ethno-cultural organizations play. Even though, these organizations do not provide any formal services, their role as a community support network actually plays a vital role in the integration process (Owusu 2000). In fact, these organizations are able to provide in an informal way, many of the benefits services provide in a formal manner. As a result, the role ethno-cultural organizations can play in the integration process is invaluable. A prime example of this is the role they currently play in Toronto, as government has been slow to catch up to its diverse population’s needs (Owusu 2000).
CHAPTER THREE – FIELD AREA AND METHODS:

The purpose of this chapter is to describe how I went about fulfilling my research goal and objectives. In order to demonstrate how I did this, it will begin by highlighting the complexities of immigration as a research problem. In doing so, I will show why a case study is a useful approach to address the complexities of this project. As my case study takes place in Durham Region, my next task is to provide a descriptive profile of Durham including immigration trends within the region. From here, I will discuss the methodologies I employed, mainly interviews. Within this section, I will focus on the types of interviewing undertaken, the importance of interviews and the ethical implications of interviews. After this, I will move to my rationale as to who I interviewed in the case study and why. The next step is to describe how I analyzed the interview data. For my purposes, I collected data from my interviews via notes and audio recording. To analyze this data, I used a qualitative approach coding the data to develop common themes, which relate to my goals and objectives. Employing this approach allowed me to directly compare my primary findings with my goals and objectives, and therefore evaluate whether my goals have been achieved. Furthermore, by comparing my results with my intended goals, I will be able to draw clear conclusions to answer my overall research question of how effectively Durham is integrating immigrants. In sum, the objective of this chapter is to illustrate how I proceeded with my research.

The Importance of a Case Study

Immigration is a complex issue. It has multiple layers including setting quotas for how many immigrants enter Canada, which immigrants get in, the criteria for determining who gets in, the decision as to where immigrants will settle, and once they
have settled the question of how they will access the necessary services to participate in everyday society. These are but a few of the issues facing Canadian society as it accepts immigrants. In addition, these are just the basic issues associated with immigration, they do not account for the changing circumstances of immigration discussed above. The changing circumstances highlighted previously are occurring at a national scale. The changes in the dynamics of immigration in terms of numbers, places, settlement locations, economic and demographic importance, and declines in funding for settlement services are macro trends that are measured quantitatively. The quantitative methods used to measure these trends are extensive, meaning they are focused on generalized processes and structures (Winchester 2005). As a result, they show only one form of data and thus are only reflective of one side of the story.

In contrast, qualitative research is intensive rather than extensive. Qualitative research methods require asking how processes work in a particular case, establishing what actors do in a case, and determining what produces change both in actors and in the contexts in which they are located (Winchester 2005). Qualitative methods seek to emphasize multiple meanings and interpretations rather than seeking to impose any dominant or correct interpretation. In addition, recent writings of qualitative research focus on the specifics of individual experiences and places. In this research, I employed a form of qualitative research investigation known as a case study. What makes a case study important is it allows an author to focus on exploration and description of a certain issue within a specific study area (Stake 1995). If a researcher were to look only at the changing circumstances of immigration in a quantitative manner at a national scale, a researcher would only discover numbers or trends associated with these circumstances.
This is not a flawed approach, however, numbers and trends can only go so far when trying to explain and illustrate the changing circumstances of immigration. Yet, with a case study, a researcher has the ability to examine how macro trends are playing out in a given context. The researcher is able to attach meaning and significance to these trends and determine the impact they are having in a specific area. In turn, this permits the researcher to analyze the situation at an entirely different level and thus offer concrete solutions for that particular area. Ultimately, case studies are effective because they provide useful insights into complex processes.

A Profile of Durham Region

In the case of my research project, I will be conducting a case study of Durham Region. Durham is suburb about 50km east of downtown Toronto. It is situated within the highly developed and populated economic centre of Ontario, known as the Golden Horseshoe that stretches from Oshawa to Niagara Falls. It was created in 1973 as the Province of Ontario passed the Regional Municipality of Durham Act (Regional Municipality of Durham Act 1973) to establish Durham as one of five Regional governments in the Greater Toronto Area, the others being the City of Toronto, Halton, Peel, and York Region. The Act annexed and amalgamated twenty-one former municipalities of the counties of Ontario, Northumberland, and Durham to form eight area municipalities: Ajax, Brock, Clarington, Oshawa, Pickering, Scugog, Uxbridge, and Whitby.
The regional system of municipal government consists of two tiers. The first is the regional level, which operates at a broader scale to provide planning, servicing, and financing for the Region. The eight municipalities constitute the second tier and operate on a local scale handling services such as local planning, tax collection, and parks and recreation. For the regional level of government, funding comes from property taxes, user fees, and upper level government grants. Although these sources of funding may seem
adequate, downloading of responsibilities to municipalities without fiscal compensation over the past decade has left the regional level of government fiscally constrained.

In terms of physical geography, in the south Durham is a relatively flat lakeshore area marked by bluffs, wooded creeks, and ancient shoreline features. These features contrast with the prominent topography of the Oak Ridges Moraine, which runs parallel to the ancient shoreline only 15 miles to the north. This diverse landscape of woods, headwaters, ridges, and hollows gives way to rolling farmlands and lakes to the north. From here, the region spreads into the prime recreational lake lands of Simcoe, Scugog, and the Kawartha. Because Durham encompasses an area of approximately 2,590 square kilometers, it is characterized by a variety of landscapes and communities. Administratively, the southern part of Durham including Ajax, Oshawa, Pickering, and Whitby has experienced rapid growth of its residential, industrial, and commercial sectors in the past decade. The northern part of Durham including Brock, Clarington, Scugog, and Uxbridge is predominately rural with a thriving agricultural sector (Durham Region 2005).

**Immigration Trends within Durham Region**

Altogether, according to 2006 census data, Durham Region has a population of 561,258 (Statistics Canada 2006). This number is expected to grow to 760,000 over the next decade. By 2021, the region has a target of 970,000. Since 2001, Durham has experienced rapid growth, as its population size has increased by 11%. As a result of declining birth rates, this growth has been driven mostly by immigrants. In fact, Durham is reflective of the larger trend of immigrants settling within the suburbs. Immigration is a relatively new phenomenon for Durham, only in the past decade, have immigrants in any
significant numbers began to settle in the region. What has caused this change is the transformation of Durham from a predominantly rural region to a fairly urban region. As Durham has urbanized, its commercial and industrial sectors have expanded drastically, thus diversifying its labour market and creating more jobs. As more jobs have become available, more immigrants have migrated to the area in search of work. Moreover, as the cost of living in Toronto has increased, many immigrants have found refuge in lower property values in Durham Region. Because of Durham’s close proximity to Toronto as well as its highly developed transportation infrastructure, it offers immigrants the opportunity to work in Toronto but still hold residence in Durham.

Because of this, as shown by Figure 4, currently, immigrants constitute 20% of all residents or one fifth of Durham’s population (Statistics Canada 2006).

**Figure 4: Durham’s Immigrant Population as a Percentage of Durham’s Total Population**

![Pie chart showing the percentage of immigrants in Durham Region's total population, 2006.](image)

**Source:** Statistics Canada 2006
It is important to note, this recent influx of immigrants is not uniform across Durham. Instead, ninety-six percent of immigrants who settle in Durham choose one of the following urban centers, Ajax, Oshawa, Pickering, or Whitby (see Figure 5). Of these municipalities, Ajax and Pickering hold the highest percentage of immigrants, as immigrants comprise more than a third of each of these centers populations. Historically, the character of Durham has been predominately of an Anglo-Saxon character; therefore, because of increasing immigration, its character is undergoing a significant transformation. Furthermore, as this change is taking place mainly in the southern municipalities, it is creating a great distinction between north Durham and south Durham, something Durham has never had. The implications of this change have yet to play out in any serious capacity as Durham is just beginning to encounter this change. However, moving forward, if Durham continues to receive immigrants at its current rate, this change will become more profound and thus the implications will be much more substantial. As a result, Durham presently sits at a turning point in its development.

**Figure 5: Location of Durham’s Immigrants by Municipality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajax</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brock</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarington</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oshawa</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickering</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scugog</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxbridge</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitby</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Statistics Canada 2006
Methodology: Interviews

Within Durham, the methodology I employed to obtain primary data to analyze immigration was interviews. With many other methodologies available such as surveys, statistical analysis, or focus groups, why did I choose interviews? Put simply, interviews offer the most effective method for direct access to valuable stakeholders on a particular issue. For my research, which is highly dependent on different views from the governance structure, interviews not only provide the vehicle to get each stakeholder’s view but also to identify the links between the different aspects of the governance structure. In most cases, the opinions and experiences vary enormously between people of a different class, ethnicity, and age, interviews allow researchers to account for these differences. For the purposes of my research, an individual’s position in relation to this issue is a crucial factor in assessing their input and contribution. In addition, interviews provide insights into the differing opinions or debates on a given issue and in some cases can reveal consensus. Moreover, it allows the interviewer to discover what is relevant to the informant and it gives the informant the opportunity to provide a response beyond a simple yes or no. Ultimately, this makes one’s research more thorough and their grasp of the issue more detailed. Similarly, interviews give the interviewer a cause to reflect on their experiences and the opportunity to find out more about the research project than if they were simply observing research participants or analyzing the results of a questionnaire. Finally, and maybe most importantly, interviews provide a first hand perspective. They fill in a gap in knowledge that other methods such as observation or the use of census data are unable to bridge effectively.
Despite the advantages of interviewing as a research method, it, possibly more so, than other methodologies, carries many ethical risks. Hence, the importance of ethics when developing and implementing interviews is fundamental. The purpose of ethics is to prevent any type of harm, whether it be social or physical, from occurring from one’s research (Dowling 2005). For those who use qualitative methods, the interrelations between society, the researcher, and the research project are of critical and abiding significance. Thus, for those who use these methods, the first step researchers need to take is to think through the social context of one’s research. Next, it is vital to ensure the proper steps are taken to ensure research is conducted in an ethical manner. In other words, while doing research, one must constantly consider the ethical implications of their activities. To prevent any unethical research, the best step to take is to submit your research project and its methods to an ethics committee before beginning research. Such committees focus on the researcher’s responsibilities to research subjects and formulate guidelines about what researchers should and should not do. They also offer a useful alternative perspective on one’s research and can point problems that may have been missed in the developmental stage of one’s research.

Before I began my research, I submitted my research project and methods to Trent University’s Department of Geography’s Ethics Committee. Fortunately, what I submitted was approved with only minor modifications. When designing my project I was careful to avoid any questions or situations, which may create problematic circumstances for my research subjects. For example, I took such precautions as ensuring my research does not enable others to identify informants by not using specific names within my research. I developed questions for my interview guides that were general
enough to allow broad answers to ensure research subjects are not forced to respond in a certain manner. Most importantly, I obtained informed consent through a written form to minimize any problems of consent and in the process ensure there is formal documentation of consent on behalf of both the researcher and the research subjects (please refer to Appendix A).

Interviews are not limited to one specific format or layout, they exist in many varieties including structured, semi-structured, and unstructured. For this research, I made the decision to use semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews offer the most flexible method of interviewing as they blend an adequate amount of structure and organization with enough freedom to adapt and change questions as need be during interviews (Dunn 2005). After making this decision, I developed two semi-structured interview guides for each stakeholder I plan to interview (please refer to Appendix B & C). Because I am doing a case study at a local level, the two groups of stakeholders I plan to interview are local municipalities and social service agencies who focus on settlement services and ethno-cultural organizations. Of these stakeholders, from the governance structure, municipalities represent the public sector and social service agencies/ethno-cultural organizations represent the civil society sector. I am focusing on these two aspects of the governance structure because rarely does the private sector play a role in providing settlement services or in the integration process.
Rationale for Interviews

Between both stakeholders, municipalities and ethno-cultural organizations/social service agencies, I conducted 23 interviews. These interviews consisted of 9 municipalities, 11 ethno-cultural organizations, and 1 diversity consultant (these numbers do not add up to 23, because in some cases, I interviewed more than one person from an organization).

Fortunately, as I planned to do, I was able to interview all municipalities in Durham including the regional government. The reason for interviewing all 9 municipalities is that I focused on a case study of Durham Region, thus, I incorporated the views and experiences of the entire region. The appropriate way to do this is to interview each municipality to gain a feel for how they are dealing with the issue of immigration. Because the southern municipalities have the majority of Durham’s immigrants, it would be easy not to interview the northern municipalities. However, if one chose to do this, it would not only limit their research but it would fail to provide an accurate portrayal of Durham as a whole. Within municipalities, I did not interview elected officials; instead, I focused on municipal officials who are responsible for carrying out the day-to-day responsibilities of local government. I did not select any particular position in the bureaucratic structure; instead, I started at the top by contacting the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) and then leaving it up to the municipality’s discretion as to who would be the most appropriate person for me to interview. This purposeful sampling and recruitment approach allows for a greater deal of flexibility in the interviewing process.
On the other hand, my rationale for social service agencies and ethno-cultural organizations was much different. Two types of non-governmental organizations play a role in the integration process (Papillon 2006). The first type is ethno-cultural organizations, who promote cultural activities and community-based events. The second type is social agencies and ethno-cultural organizations whose purpose is to provide services in the context of English language training, cultural adaptation, or counseling and support. Before I get into which organizations I chose, the first factor that influenced my rationale was time constraints. Because I had only eight months to complete this thesis, I was only able to interview a select number of immigrant organizations. Second, because of these time constraints, the scope of my project was limited in depth and thus I only conducted a certain number of interviews. Based on these circumstances, I interviewed 11 immigration organizations or social agencies and 1 diversity consultant.

Originally, my goal was to interview five organizations that provide services and six organizations that do not. Luckily, I achieved this goal. The purpose of this approach was to develop a view of what type of role, both categories of NGO’s play in the process of integration. By interviewing an adequate number of NGO’s in each category, this provided a picture of the purpose each category fulfills. The reason I chose service oriented NGO’s is because the primary focus of my project is integration services. Thus, I wanted to keep the bulk of my attention and time with the NGOs who are performing this function. The group of NGO’s, I interviewed is listed in Table 1.
Table 1: Proposed versus Actual Service Organizations for Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed</th>
<th>Actual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajax South Asian Cultural Center</td>
<td>Ajax South Asian Cultural Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Development Council of Durham</td>
<td>Community Development Council of Durham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham Continuing Education</td>
<td>Durham Continuing Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham Filipino Canadian Society INC.</td>
<td>Woman’s Multicultural Resource and Counseling Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Alliance of Ontario</td>
<td>Durham District School Board</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Italicized organizations represent changes from plan to actual project.

As demonstrated by Table 1, my actual group of organizations differs from my initial choices. Although I was able to keep three of my five original choices, I had to replace the Durham Filipino Canadian Society INC. because of accessibility reasons. After interviewing the Hispanic Alliance of Ontario, I had to move it to non-service NGO’s as it did not fit the definition of a service NGO.

Previously, the logic I used in choosing these organizations was inherently geographical. I picked each NGO based on territorial location. Four centers, Ajax, Oshawa, Pickering, and Whitby receive the majority of Durham’s immigrants; hence, I ensured that at least one organization fell into each of these municipalities. Through this decision, I hoped to gain a territorial perspective on how immigration was affecting each municipality encountering this issue in Durham. Unfortunately, in conducting my interviews, I lost an organization from Oshawa, and thus my interviews only reflect this territorial perspective for Ajax, Pickering, and Whitby.

In addition, for the other category of NGO’s, as illustrated by Table 2 I had to make significant changes for my interviews choices.
Table 2: Proposed versus Actual Non-Service Organizations for Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed</th>
<th>Actual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polish Friendly Alliance of Canada</td>
<td>Hungarian Culture Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Canadian Cultural Society</td>
<td>League of Ukrainian Canadians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Progressive Muslims of Ontario</td>
<td>Multicultural Council of Oshawa/Durham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Slovak League</td>
<td>Durham Tamil Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario Federation of Sikhs</td>
<td>Hispanic Alliance of Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickering Canadian Caribbean Cultural Association</td>
<td>Pickering Canadian Caribbean Cultural Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Italicized organizations represent changes from plan to actual project.

Again, these choices were changed because of interest and accessibility issues. The Spanish Canadian Cultural Society did not have any interest in participating in an interview. As for the other four organizations, I was unable to get in contact with any of them because of incorrect phone numbers. My rationale behind my original choices was again territorial, I chose three organizations based in different municipalities across Durham. Despite the massive changes, I was able to preserve this territorial perspective as among these six organizations, three of them are in Ajax, Oshawa, and Pickering.

**Data Analysis**

Throughout my interviews, I will be collected data via note taking and digital voice recording. Once I collected all my data, I organized it by coding the data to develop common themes and categories that tie back to my objectives. Each of the following tables illustrates the coding methods I employed (Table 3 and Table 4). I have divided the interviews in two categories, municipalities and the voluntary sector. In the tables, I have listed the interviews for each category in chronological order. I then have assigned a code to each interview as it relates to their category and their place chronologically. Thus, the first interview for municipalities is G1 or the ninth interview for the voluntary sector is VS9.
When analyzing the data, I will use manifest content analysis to identify the visible and surface items of my documents (Cope 2005). I will also use latent content analysis to search the data for major themes. In order to compare my primary findings with my goals and objectives, I will develop templates, which will set the basis for my findings. These templates will be developed as categories of codes grouped according to key themes relating to my research objectives, which I will use to help measure how effectively I have met my goals and to determine how the governance structure in Durham operates in terms of immigrant integration services and where improvements could be made. All data analysis will be completed in a qualitative manner.

**Table 3: Coding for Municipal Governments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Municipal Level (Upper/Lower Tier)</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brock</td>
<td>Lower-Tier</td>
<td>October 14, 2008</td>
<td>G1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajax</td>
<td>Lower-Tier</td>
<td>October 20, 2008</td>
<td>G2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>Upper-Tier</td>
<td>November 3, 2008</td>
<td>G3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarington</td>
<td>Lower-Tier</td>
<td>November 4, 2008</td>
<td>G4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oshawa</td>
<td>Lower-Tier</td>
<td>November 18, 2008</td>
<td>G5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scugog</td>
<td>Lower-Tier</td>
<td>December 9, 2008</td>
<td>G6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxbridge</td>
<td>Lower-Tier</td>
<td>December 10, 2008</td>
<td>G7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickering</td>
<td>Lower-Tier</td>
<td>December 12, 2008</td>
<td>G8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitby</td>
<td>Lower-Tier</td>
<td>December 22, 2008</td>
<td>G9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4: Coding for the Voluntary Sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Type of Organization (Service/Non-Service)</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajax South Asian Cultural Center</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>December 19, 2008</td>
<td>VS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Alliance of Ontario</td>
<td>Non-Service</td>
<td>January 5, 2009</td>
<td>VS2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham District School Board</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>January 6, 2009</td>
<td>VS3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian Culture Club</td>
<td>Non-Service</td>
<td>January 13, 2009</td>
<td>VS4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural Council of Oshawa/Durham</td>
<td>Non-Service</td>
<td>January 18, 2009</td>
<td>VS5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural Council of Oshawa/Durham</td>
<td>Non-Service</td>
<td>January 19, 2009</td>
<td>VS6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham Continuing Education</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>January 19, 2009</td>
<td>VS7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman’s Multicultural Resource and Counseling Centre</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>January 19, 2009</td>
<td>VS8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Development Council of Durham</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>January 20, 2009</td>
<td>VS9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Development Council of Durham</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>January 20, 2009</td>
<td>VS10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham Tamil Association</td>
<td>Non-Service</td>
<td>January 31, 2009</td>
<td>VS11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickering Canadian Caribbean Cultural Association</td>
<td>Non-Service</td>
<td>February 2, 2009</td>
<td>VS12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League of Ukrainian Canadians</td>
<td>Non-Service</td>
<td>February 2, 2009</td>
<td>VS13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity Consultant</td>
<td>Non-Service</td>
<td>February 2, 2009</td>
<td>VS14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER FOUR - RESULTS:

Before I get into the critical analysis of my research, I must describe my general results: thus, the purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of my qualitative research on immigration services in Durham, Ontario. These findings come from the 23 interviews I compiled over the course of the past eight months. As I have been analyzing both the community sector and local government, I have interviewed all 9 municipalities including the regional government and 11 immigrant or ethno-cultural organizations. The chapter will cover the following, settlement services in Durham Region from a municipal and voluntary sector perspective, relations between upper levels of government and municipalities, relations between municipalities, the impact of upper level government action on municipalities, and the changing role of the voluntary sector as a result.

Settlement Services in Durham Region

In terms of the inter-governmental structure of Canada, immigration is a unique policy area. Unlike most policy areas, immigration is a concurrent power. Thus, it falls under both federal and provincial jurisdiction. Yet, while the federal and provincial governments control the logistics of immigration, municipalities deal with the community aspect of immigration. As the government closest and most accessible to the people, municipalities deal with the communal effects of immigration. However, under the constitution, and in the case of Ontario under the Ontario Municipal Act (Ontario Municipal Act 2001), municipalities have no legal obligation or mandate to address the issue of immigration and immigrant integration.

This reality is reflective of the municipalities of Durham’s collective approach to immigration integration services. Currently, no municipality, regardless of upper or lower
tier status offers immigration integration services or any services directly targeted towards immigrants. Moreover, none of the municipalities have a formal or direct policy on immigration or diversity. A lack of direct services and a formal policy is universal across the region; nevertheless, municipalities have accommodated immigrants to varying degrees. Not surprisingly, the level of accommodation has depended on how many immigrants have entered each municipality. In the northern municipalities such as Brock or Scugog, this has meant abiding by and following provincial laws and human rights codes in the delivery of services (G1 & G6). In the key informants’ view, all citizens are treated fairly and equally, differences are respected, and laws such as the Employment Equity Act (Employment Equity Act 1995) are followed. This approach is no different for other northern municipalities such as Uxbridge or Clarington, who have small to virtually no immigrant populations. For southern municipalities, the level of accommodation is much greater. In the case of Pickering and Oshawa, there have been formal adjustments to municipal services. For instance, both municipalities have created separate swimming hours for Muslim women (G8 & G5). Ajax has print products in numerous languages to engage different immigrant groups with community activities. Because of the change in the composition of the population of Ajax, culture has been added as a policy area for the parks and recreation department (G2). Again, this is reflective of a change in demographics and the municipality’s change in programming to reflect that changing demographic. Whitby has adjusted its recreation programs. For example, because of the increase in size of the Italian community, there has been an increase in the number of soccer fields (G9). Whitby also provides a municipally owned space to a group of English as a Second Language (ESL) instructors who teach newcomers English. Besides
culture and recreation, each of the southern municipalities has a Race Relations Committee although Ajax calls it a Local Diversity Council. The purpose of each of these committees is purely advisory. However, they do also plan and participate in various multi-cultural events within their given communities and local schools. In addition to a Race Relations committee, Oshawa has a Folk Arts Council. On the council, there are numerous representatives of various ethno-cultural organizations of different nationalities. Although not directly under the category of municipal services, each of the southern municipalities libraries do offer various ESL programs and have book collections in different languages geared towards different cultural groups. Overall, in response to an increasing immigrant population, these are the changes lower tier municipalities have made.

Undoubtedly, these changes are a step in the right direction. However, many of the immigrant and ethno-cultural organizations that participated in the research believe there is room for more change. When asked about why municipalities have not done more in regards to immigration services, there were a variety of answers. In some cases, such as Brock and Scruggs, there is no demand or need. Similarly, Clarington, a municipality who has grown substantially because of migration from the GTA, believed there was no need, because as an issue “it’s not even on our radar screen” (G4). Regardless of demand, the representatives from all municipalities stated they did not have the capacity to provide any type of targeted services. Others replied that there was no mandate or legal obligation and it lay outside of their jurisdiction. According to representatives from many municipalities such as Ajax, Uxbridge, and Whitby, immigration is a regional responsibility (G2, G7, & G9).
With this in mind, the regional government has made progress on the issue of immigration. For instance, similar to other municipalities, Durham offers some services such as income support in five different languages. Currently, Durham does not offer any direct services for immigrants nor does it have a formal policy on immigration or diversity. In spite of this, Durham is in the process of developing what it calls a “Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council”. This council, once developed and implemented will represent Durham’s policy towards immigration and diversity (G3).

According to representatives from Durham, the reasons for the Council are both social and economic. On the one hand, the council is being created as part of a larger strategy on behalf of the region to foster an inclusive community. On the other, there is the belief that Durham is losing skilled immigrants and that the issue of immigration must be addressed or the region’s economy will suffer (G3). Besides the region’s rationale, there have been other forces, which have pushed Durham to develop an immigration council. In December 2007, Durham’s elected regional council mandated the establishment of an immigration council. Shortly thereafter, the federal Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (CIC) began asking for proposals for the development of a local immigration strategy. Regardless of these forces, Durham claims this council has come from the recognition on behalf of the community on the importance of immigration. Conversely, many immigrant organizations contest this claim. In the eyes of the community organization participants, contrary to Durham’s position, this council has been far from a community driven process (VS1 & VS5).

The council is going to be run by the social services department of the regional government. Through this council, the goal is not to offer direct immigration services but
instead to partner and work with the community. The council is going to be run on a “not your business” (G3) philosophy of not intruding on various community organizations work. It will be intended as an umbrella organization that will respect the autonomy of community organizations. The council’s mandate lies more in coordinating and overseeing immigration services and activities in Durham. The regional government will begin to play a leadership role on immigration through this council (G3). Ultimately, the council will oversee the implementation of an immigration and diversity strategy that is being established by the region.

At this stage, the region has concluded its preliminary phases of community consultation consisting of focus groups, a literature review, soliciting input from key informants, which culminated in a conference on October 17, 2008, in which many of the key stakeholders for Durham Region debated and discussed the issue of immigration. In December 2008, a report highlighting the findings of the consultation and research was released. The funding for the council is to come from CIC. Because Durham has no funds allocated toward this council, it is still waiting on the money from CIC (G3). Not putting their own money forward has been one of the criticisms leveled at Durham for this council by several immigrant organizations (VS14 & VS6). For the first time, the council is scheduled to meet on February 28 with ad hoc committee in place. Before the council is implemented, there is expected to be 100 in depth interviews from various stakeholders in the community, from which a committee of representatives will be formed (VS10). Part of the reason for this is that the CIC has said more research and identification of issues must be done in order to acquire funding (VS10). Although this process seems slow, the neighbouring York Region, who currently has a massive welcome centre for
immigrants, took two to three years to develop and implement this centre. Regardless of its shortcomings, the beginning of the development of the *Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council* is the first step for Durham in addressing immigration in a substantive way. Finally, what makes this council different is Durham is not entering this project alone, it has partnered with the Community Development Council of Durham and the Durham Region Labour Training Board. In other words, it is embracing the changing nature of governance with respect to services at the regional and local levels.

Prior to the emergence of the local diversity council, Durham had a failed attempt at a welcome centre in 2005. According to representatives from the Multicultural Council of Oshawa/Durham (MCOD), this attempt fell apart for two reasons. One, it had trouble acquiring funding because of a lack of a diversity component and two, many of the community organizations invited to be a part of the centre shared an unwillingness to work together (VS6 & VS10). Before this attempt, on a less intensive level, the region also decided against forming a race relations committee. Their rationale for this was they did not want to duplicate any of the previous diversity or settlement work being done by lower tier municipalities, immigrant organizations, or local school boards (VS6). As a result, Durham was not an active participant on the issue of immigration. Until the recent development of the Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council, this mentality of leaving the issue of immigration to the civil society sector has been the status quo.

To this day, the region’s mentality is only beginning to change. Still, the discourse around immigration and its importance has yet to reach anywhere near the top of the list of priorities for the municipal governments including the region. All the municipalities spare Durham and its recent conference for the *Local Diversity and Immigration*
Partnership Council had never attended any meetings, conferences, or presentations on immigration. When asked if the issue of immigration had come up in a meeting of Chief Administrative Officers or Deputy Clerks, the common response among the research participants was “no”. There were a few exceptions, as representatives from both Ajax and Brock mentioned that immigration had been moving onto government’s radar screens over the past six months to a year (G1 & G2). Moreover, the informants from both Oshawa and Pickering understood the importance of immigration and communicated this clearly during their interviews (G5 & G8). Nonetheless, the overwhelming mindset on immigration on behalf of the respondents from the municipalities did not represent an embrace of the benefits and importance of immigration.

This mindset may partly explain why the brunt of settlement and integration work has been carried out by non-profit and community organizations. Historically, there has been an unwritten understanding that municipalities did not get involved in immigrant integration work (VS6). Instead, this was to be left to the voluntary sector (i.e. civil society). Currently, although this situation is changing slightly, NGO’s remain responsible for most of the settlement work for Durham Region. Of the 11 community organizations interviewed, the two most significant and well known are the Community Development Council of Durham (CDCD) and Durham Continuing Education (DCE). By definition, CDCD is the social planning council for Durham. It is the most active in terms of immigration services offering both settlement and language services. From federal funds, it offers the following programs: Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC) and Host program for newcomers. From provincial funds, it offers the Newcomer Settlement Program. Besides these
government funded programs, CDCD also helps Durham Region social services by filling in language gaps using CDCD’s multilingual councilors. CDCD represents the government’s new trend of contracting out settlement services to non-profit organizations. On the contrary, Durham Continuing Education is a division of the Durham District School Board. As opposed to settlement work, DCE’s focus lies with language instruction. DCE has language programs funded by both federal and provincial governments. Federally, DCE offers Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC), as well as LINC child minding. Provincially, it offers ESL and ESL for foreign students. Although having programs from both federal and provincial governments, funding for DCE is 70% federal and 30% provincial (VS7). In contrast to CDCD, whose jurisdiction is all of Durham, DCE only offers programs in Oshawa and Pickering. To fill the gap for the rest of Durham, CIC decided the Durham Catholic School Board would offer almost identical services to Durham Continuing Education except in Ajax and Whitby (VS3). The Durham Catholic School Board employs these services through its own branch of continuing education called Durham Catholic School Board Continuing and Alternative Education. Thus far, the programs described have been strictly for adults. For children or students, the Durham District School Boards through its elementary and secondary schools offer English as a Second Language (ESL) and English Language Development (ELD) programs. Thirty-five teachers who are placed strategically within schools across Durham provide these services. ESL and ELD are funded by the provincial government as part of the education grant given to the Durham District School Board (VS3). Beginning in Fall 2009, the Durham District School Board is going to be partnering with CIC and CDCD to provide a new service called Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS)
(VS3). The purpose of SWIS is to connect newly arrived families to services and resources in the schools and the community in order to promote settlement and foster student achievement.

Up to this point, all services discussed are funded by different levels of government. However, not every NGO providing services has the luxury of being funded fully by the government. Organizations such as the Women’s Multicultural Resource and Counseling Centre of Durham (WMRCC) depend on a number of funding sources to operate. These sources include grants from CIC, Ontario Trillium Foundation, Crime Prevention Centre, and Status for Women Canada (VS8). Additional funding comes from fundraising from dinners, festivities, and galas. The combination of these funding sources allows the organization to provide free one on one counseling, diversity and leadership training, support groups, and economic independence workshops. WMRCC also participates in celebrations and cultural festivities in relation to Black History Month and International Women’s Day. Thus, in terms of classification, the WMRCC is a hybrid organization acting as a service provider and as an organization promoting and participating in cultural activities and community-based events.

Funding comes in many forms and for some organizations such as MCOD; their organization’s work is dependent on grants from a variety of different sources. Although the MCOD’s purpose is an information council where numerous immigrant groups come to discuss different issues, the MCOD also does project-based work within Durham (VS5). Much of this project-based work is dependent on receiving grants. In the past, on a project basis, the MCOD has done diversity work with the Police and diversity work with labour training boards (VS5). It is responsible for Students Against Racism, a
program for youth run within Durham’s schools. Currently, according to a representative of MCOD, it is waiting on applications for grants from the Ontario Trillium Foundation and is completing a project with the diversity coordinator at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology or UOIT (VS6).

Although a rarity in Durham, a few organizations do offer immigrant integration services without government funding. The Spanish Canadian Cultural Society offers both ESL services and translation services from English to Spanish. Similar to WMRCC, it organizes special events and extra-curricular activities for different school boards. The other organization offering services without government funding is the Ajax South Asian Cultural Center (ASACC). The ASACC offers ESL, marital counseling for new or mixed couples, counseling for inter-generational conflict, and the service of a community clergy consultant/spiritual counselor (VS1).

Two types of NGO’s play a role in the integration process (Papillon 2002). Social service agencies and ethno-cultural organizations that provide services in the context of English language training, cultural adaptation, or counseling and support. Organizations such as the CDCD or ASACC fit this classification. However, the other type of NGO is ethno-cultural organizations who promote cultural activities and community events. Although this type of NGO does not provide any services, they do act as a social and support network for new immigrants.

For the growing Latin American community, the Hispanic Alliance of Ontario fulfills this role. The Hispanic Alliance of Ontario is a non-profit organization, who runs and sponsors social and cultural events. To maintain contact with their community, they have an annual newsletter, which highlights their activities and events (VS2). Events
include a Spanish women’s night, cultural performances, Latin dances, and a soccer seminar. The Durham Tamil Association plays a similar role for the Tamil community. It hosts an annual youth festival at J. Clarke Richardson Secondary School, provides scholarships for youth, runs an annual sports meet, and participates in many charitable causes within Durham (VS11). The Pickering Caribbean Cultural Association is another organization providing social and cultural events for the Durham community. It holds two Caribbean nights annually and was previously involved in work with the police and offering student bursaries; however, a lack of human and fiscal resources have stopped these activities for the time being (VS12). Among more established groups, such as the Hungarians or Ukrainians, cultural organizations play a different role. While still acting as a social and support network, there is not the same need for this social network for integration purposes. Instead, it is intended more as a social network for leisure and recreational purposes. Despite this, the two organizations interviewed representing these communities, the Hungarian Culture Club and the League of Ukrainian Canadians still host dinners and dances related to specific themes such as Ukrainian Independence Day or cultural events for learning Hungarian dances (VS4 & VS13). Because these organizations have been established for over half a century, their role as changed, as the community has grown older (VS4 & VS13). According to the interview respondents, at one time, these organizations did serve as valuable integration and support tools; however, because of the decline in the number of immigrants from these countries, that role is no longer needed (VS4 & VS13).
Upper Level Government Relations

Federal- Municipal Relations

Immigration is a shared responsibility or concurrent power, between the federal and provincial governments. Constitutionally and legally, there is no place in the framework for municipalities. In light of the administrative structure, it is important to determine whether this structure worked in practice (i.e. on the ground) as it was laid out in legislation (i.e. on paper). Unfortunately, based on interviews from the lower-tier municipalities (see Table 3), no consultation or communication between these municipalities and the federal government occurs on the issue of immigration. However, for the upper-tier municipality, the Durham region, this is a different story. In lieu of the Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council, there has been a considerable increase in the amount of communication between Durham and the CIC. This is a recent development and is part of the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) (G3 & VS6). In essence, CIC is recommending regional governments develop local immigration strategies and has begun to regionalize funding allocations. Although this relationship is still in its preliminary stages, it marks a fundamental shift in inter-governmental relations. According to the regional government representative, this marks the first time there has been direct consultation and communication between departments of the federal government and the region (G3). This relationship signifies a bypassing of the provincial government. In short, it is a paradigm shift in terms of the conduct of inter-governmental relations.

Consequently, the change in terms of immigration is an anomaly in overall government policy. For virtually all municipalities, there is little to no exchange of
dialogue between the municipalities and the federal government. In most cases, relations with the federal government usually amount to a role of funding on the federal government’s behalf. For example, the representative from Clarington mentioned infrastructure projects were the federal government, provincial government, and municipality all contribute a third of the funding (G4). In examples such as this, municipalities identify the need and design the guidelines for the project as well as implementing it. Nevertheless, despite the large amount of autonomy given to municipalities, with federal funding, there are always specific expectations. In a few cases, there are exceptions to the federal government acting solely as the funding source with no consultation. For example, in the Municipality of Scugog, relations occur between the federal and municipal government as it pertains to the Trent Severn Waterway (G6). Although the Trent Severn falls under federal jurisdiction, it an issue that affects the community and the municipality, therefore, there is communication between the two levels of government. The other area where communication takes place is through the local Member of Parliament (MP). Representatives from every municipality, except Durham, mentioned this as a communication channel to the federal government. Most MP’s follow local issues closely, and if asked to bring them to the attention of the federal government or at the very least, their party. Although this form of communication is far from perfect, for municipalities it is still a channel, which can be utilized effectively.

Within the current federal-municipal relations, there is a policy deficit. For Clarington, as noted by an interview participant, “there is a major disconnect between municipalities and the federal government” (G4). Because of this, according to an
Oshawa representative, municipalities are distinctly disadvantaged and in need of a communication protocol (G5). Since municipalities are cash-strapped, more coordination would be a useful tool in helping municipalities plan and target their needs more effectively. In the eyes of Oshawa’s representative, upper level governments are fragmented, and there is a huge disconnect especially in terms of provision of information and what services are being planned (G5). This poses problems for municipalities, because they are forced to react to upper level governmental relations, as there is no warning as to what is coming. In the context of immigration, this amounts to municipalities experiencing difficulty planning for and locating immigrant communities.

Due to the disconnect between federal and municipal levels of government, decisions about immigration are made in Ottawa with little communication as to how a municipality such as Oshawa would be affected. Consequently, as noted by an Oshawa representative, it has no idea when immigrants are coming and where in Oshawa or elsewhere, they are planning to settle (G5). Circumstances such as these are but one reason why every municipality in Durham would welcome more coordination with the federal government on policy issues. In the words of a representative from Ajax, “for municipalities, there is a push for more representation in inter-governmental relations” (G2).

Canada’s governmental structure is the primary impediment to more dialogue and communication between federal and municipal governments. Canada operates on a federal and provincial system, in which provinces work with the federal government, and municipalities have no major part in this two level system. Representatives from many municipalities stated how the provincial government is supposed to act as their
representative in inter-governmental relations (G1, G4, G6, & G7). In fact, the province is one of the reasons why there is little communication between federal and municipal governments; they have been reluctant to concede more freedom to the municipalities to talk with the federal government. Moreover, because of the province’s reluctance, the federal government has not wanted to sour relations with the province by going against its wishes.

**Provincial-Municipal Relations**

Because municipalities are popularly considered “creatures of the provincial government”, communication and consultation are much more common. In terms of the governmental hierarchy, municipalities only have to reach one level up rather than two, when dealing with the provincial government. This difference is crucial within inter-governmental relations. As a result, communication happens regularly between the province and the municipalities. In the case of Scugog, for instance, communication occurs at least twice a week (G6). Similar to the federal government, communication does occur through the local representative, or in the provincial case, the Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP). However, communication goes beyond this office, as there is more direct communication with the provincial government. Bureaucrats from different ministries in the provincial government work much more collaboratively with bureaucrats from different municipal departments. This is not to say that hierarchy does not exist, however, there is more lines of communication open and more opportunity for municipal input. As noted by an interview respondent, some municipalities such as Uxbridge would argue that there is better policy coordination with the provincial government (G7).
On the issue of immigration, there is a split between which municipalities the province has spoken to on this issue. According to the respondents for the northern municipalities, Scugog, Brock, Uxbridge, and Clarington, there has been no discussion of immigration (G1, G4, G6, & G7). Surprisingly, Ajax has not discussed immigration with the province either (G2). Yet, the bigger southern municipalities of Oshawa and Whitby as well as the municipality with the largest immigrant population, Pickering have talked to the province about immigration. According to representatives from Oshawa and Pickering, this exchange was extremely general and for Whitby, the conversation centered on where immigration fit in with growth forecasts (G5, G8, & G9). Clearly, the extent that immigration has been discussed between the two levels of governments is relatively minor. It must be emphasized the context mentioned here is between lower-tier municipalities and the province. The dynamic between the province and the upper-tier municipality, the regional government of Durham is much different. In this relationship, as reported by regional representatives, the region has dealt with the provincial government (G3). The circumstances under which this has occurred is through Durham’s Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council. Although not a main funding source, the province is playing a role within the council, which has yet to be determined. From the region’s point of view, there has been recognition on behalf of the province that newcomers are becoming a hot button issue and must be given the appropriate attention (G3).

Municipal Interaction

As municipalities struggle with fiscal constraints and limited policy autonomy, it is important to understand how often municipalities interact with each other and whether
they exchange ideas on how to operate most effectively. Although the explanation depends on a particular municipality, generally speaking, there are plenty of lines for communication and there is regular contact among the municipalities. For instance, according to a Durham representative (G3), as an upper tier municipality it communicates regularly with lower-tier municipalities in the region. This communication often takes the form of a sharing of best practices for specific government issues. For Durham, this also takes place outside the region. In the process of developing the current *Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council*, there was information exchange between the other regional governments on the issue of immigration. Within Durham, for lower-tier municipalities, communication is a regular occurrence between most municipalities with the exception of Oshawa. This occurs through such channels as CAO meetings, which occur quarterly or monthly meetings between clerks and treasurers. According to some respondents (G3 & G4), communication occurs when new initiatives are being introduced and in the political arena. Overall, the representative from Brock classified municipal relations within Durham as “*a cooperative environment*” (G1). In some cases, as noted by informants from the bigger municipalities (G2, G8, & G9), there is communication and collaboration with municipalities outside the region. Indeed, a representative from Ajax mentioned that it had spoken with the municipality of Ottawa and Mississauga directly on many issues (G2).

Despite the ease and benefits of communication among municipalities, immigration is not a topic that has arisen in any of these communications. The only municipality that mentioned immigration was the representative from Oshawa, who brought the issue up at a meeting of CAO’s, although discussed, no movement was ever
taken (G5). According to the Oshawa informant, if anything of substance is going to happen on immigration, someone must take the initiative and elevate the issue (G5). Regrettably, this has yet to happen.

**Impact of Upper Level Government Action**

As noted in Chapter Two, one of the reasons why municipalities face such dire fiscal constraints and have such limited fiscal capacity is because of the downloading of responsibility for government services during the 1990’s without any additional funding. Essentially, this spelt disaster for many municipalities. A quote from an interviewee from Durham Region sums up the effects of downloading best, “*it put us back 20 years in terms of services*” (G3). Because the region is most dependent on upper government revenue, it was hit the hardest. Of the lower-tier municipalities, the biggest municipalities were the most effected. In the words of a Pickering representative, “*downloading hurt us greatly*” (G8). In fact, Pickering has never recovered from this period; because of downloading, it had to reduce staff, in 1995 as downloading began, there were twelve departments, today, there are four. For Oshawa, downloading meant a considerable reduction in services and service responsibilities. For medium-size- municipalities such as Clarington, the impact of downloading was nothing “*out of the ordinary*” (G4). For smaller municipalities like Brock and Scugog, they were effected but not to a significant extent.

To deal with these circumstances, municipalities employed a number of different strategies. The most common strategy was an increase in property taxes, whereby, local taxpayers had to pick up the costs attributed to downloading. Nevertheless, this was more problematic in some municipalities versus others. For instance, as Scugog informant
explained, within the community, before downloading, there was a long-standing expectation that tax increases should not happen (G6). Unfortunately, this had to change because of the impact of downloading, much to the dismay of the community. In contrast, the regional government also had to increase taxes; however, because they have a much broader tax base, this increase was not nearly as substantial. In other cases in areas like Brock, the municipality was forced to stop certain projects such as building bridges. According to an informant, they would stop projects until they could raise enough money to pay for them (G1). Downloading forced Ajax and Oshawa to look for alternate sources of revenues. For example, Ajax entered into Lotto gaming in partnership with the private sector and the provincial government’s Ontario Lottery and Gaming Commission (G2). Similarly, Oshawa began to partner with the private sector on numerous projects (G5).

Overall, the circumstances produced by downloading have forced municipalities to take a more prescriptive approach to their operations. Municipal governments can no longer include in their budgeting, revenue sources from upper level governments, because they are no longer reliable. Furthermore, as many respondents pointed out, municipalities must be much more focused with the limited fiscal resources they have (G4 & G6). There is a new emphasis on making the most out of what limited resources municipalities have.

Changing Role of the Voluntary Sector

Municipal-Community Organizations Relationship

Working with community organizations offers municipalities a cost-effective way to look after many of the needs in their given communities, that they do not have the resources to pay for. In lieu of the circumstances produced by downloading, several municipalities have looked for increased involvement with community organizations.
Again, this approach has been utilized more so by larger municipalities. In one case, Oshawa has begun to rely more on community organizations to both compete and survive. At the same time, Pickering has not only partnered with more community organizations but has increased the level of involvement by asking that community organizations not only work with the municipal government but also contribute funding as well (G8). As mentioned by an interviewee, the extent of decentralization for Pickering is considerable and their philosophy has become that “if community organizations are strong so is the municipality” (G8). Thus, no longer is the municipality working on a hierarchical structure, instead it is working with community organizations on an equal level. On this issue, Pickering definitely stands ahead of the rest. For other municipalities like Clarington or Uxbridge, because there were not as hard hit by downloading, they have not been forced to increase their involvement significantly with community organizations. However, the decrease in government revenues coupled with the increase in the number of services they must provide has caused a strengthening of the relationship between municipalities and community organizations. As noted by more than one respondent, ultimately, there has been recognition on behalf of both the government and community organizations because of tight circumstances; the best approach for both sides is to work together (G5 & G7). At the same time, it is important to note, although in some cases, municipalities have begun to rely more on community organizations, the practice of collaborating with the community sector is nothing new. Every municipality has always worked with community organizations in one form or another.
For municipalities, working with community organizations provides numerous benefits. Regardless of location or population size, representatives from all of the municipalities agree community organizations and volunteers “play a big role” (G9). In many cases, community organizations fill gaps municipalities are unable to. In Brock, for instance, community organizations played a large role in bringing such recreational facilities as basketball courts or skateboard parks to the community (G7). For Clarington, community organizations like the Lions Club or Rotary Club help beautify the municipality by looking after walking and biking trails (G4). In doing so, they fill a service gap in a cost effective manner. In addition, in the words of another interviewee, because community organizations “are on the ground floor” (G3), they are sensitive to the needs of the community. They are in a position to assist governments in developing real solutions. They also understand the needs of particular groups and issues and are able to support the objectives of the government. In sum, as noted by a respondent, community organizations are “a necessity for municipal governments” (G6).

Despite the great appreciation of community organizations, municipalities do see some drawbacks. When working in a partnership, there can be a misunderstanding of expectations. For example, as noted by some respondents, often, community organizations see municipalities as having deep pockets and rarely in this the case (G5). Misunderstandings such as these can often lead to frustrations on both sides. In some instances, when community organizations enter into partnerships with municipalities, they must be held to a higher level of accountability for their actions. This reality is not always welcomed or followed by community organizations and can present difficulties for the municipality. Finally, ensuring and maintaining proper levels of communication is
key to a successful partnership, however, depending on the level of commitment from the community organization, this is sometimes hard to do. Consequently, this can limit the effectiveness of the partnership. In spite of these shortcomings, the representatives from all municipalities overwhelmingly believe there are more pros than cons in working with community organizations. In fact, when asked whether they were any drawbacks of working with community organizations, half the municipal informants answered “no” (G1, G4, & G6).

Immigrant organizations fit into the larger category of community organizations; hence, the changing dynamics of the municipal-community sector relationship as well as the benefits and drawbacks of working with community organizations apply to and greatly affect immigrant organizations. Nevertheless, not all municipalities work with immigrant organizations, as immigrant populations are not evenly distributed throughout Durham Region. Only Ajax, Oshawa, Pickering, and the regional government have worked with immigrant organizations. For Ajax and Oshawa, the extent of this working relationship has not gone past cultural events and input for future planning for municipalities. Pickering, as demonstrated previously, employs a decentralized approach in which it supports the growth of immigrant organizations and helps by providing a supporting role. Among the lower-tier municipalities, there is no doubt Pickering has the lead in this area, still, it is a lower-tier municipality and thus is limited in how much it can do. By and large, despite the constraints lower municipalities face in terms of capabilities and resources, there is some evidence suggesting a change in the role of the voluntary sector.
If one moves up the governmental structure to the upper-tier municipality and to the federal and provincial levels of government, the change is much more profound. For the Region of Durham, all integration services funded by the federal and provincial governments are administered and delivered by non-profit organizations or divisions of local school boards. This system is designed for upper level governments to act solely as the funding source for the operation, contracting out the service component. This approach began in the mid to late 1990’s, as the CDCD won the contract for the delivery of settlement services within the region. This trend has since continued with the WMRCC gaining funding three years ago from the CIC. This trend is particular to community organizations and the non-profit sector, as the both Durham Public and Catholic school board have been delivering government funded services well before the days of downloading.

At the regional level, Durham has also seen an increased role for immigrant organizations. This has happened mainly in the context of the Local Diversity and Immigrant Partnership Council. Before the development of Durham’s current immigration council, Durham had made another attempt a few years prior. In 2005, when this attempt was made, many immigrant organizations were invited to be participants, however, they were not given a powerful or influential role. Conversely, with the current council, Durham has changed this approach substantially, by partnering with one of leading community organizations, the CDCD. For the regional government, this is a drastic change from acting as the kingpin and making decisions single-handedly. There is now formal representation on behalf of the community in a decision-making capacity. In addition, in the development of the council, Durham has gone to great lengths to ensure
this is a community driven process. Each of these steps represents a significant change in
the role of the voluntary sector and ultimately, the region’s governing approach.
CHAPTER FIVE – DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS:

Clearly, there is evidence of change in the voluntary sector regarding its role in immigration services in Durham Region. The previous chapter approached this and other changes from a descriptive perspective, highlighting the general results of my research. It will be the focus of this chapter to analyze these results critically. The analysis will begin with a discussion of the problems with and possible solutions to, the governance structure as it currently exists in the Durham Region. Problems and solutions will be offered from both municipal governments and the voluntary sector. Once complete, the analysis will shift to comparing the findings of my research to the literature. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, my research fits within three areas of the geographical literature: urban geography, urban governance (including public service restructuring), and the geography of voluntarism. Thus, my comparison will run through each sub-discipline comparing the key findings to the literature on a conceptual and contextual basis. I am going to follow the order of my literature review beginning with urban geography followed by urban governance and ending with the geography of voluntarism. From here, based on my analysis and the literature, I will make key recommendations on improvements to Durham Region’s governance structure as it relates to immigrant integration services.

An Indicator of the Need for Change

In my semi-structured interview guide for the voluntary sector, I asked the following question, how would you rate the municipality of Durham’s handling of immigration? The interviewees were given the option of five answers: Excellent, Good, Average, Poor, and Appalling. This question was given only to immigrant organizations to answer. The reason for this is twofold. First, immigrant organizations are operating on
a grassroots level; therefore, they have a great window into the conditions on the ground. Because they work daily or at least weekly with immigrants and in different immigrant communities, they gain a first hand perspective into what systems work, which services are most effective, and which governments are attentive. In addition, asking governments to rate their own services or their approach to immigration services is counterproductive, as most governments are reluctant to offer criticism. With this in mind, of the 14 responses, more than half answered poor or appalling (Figure 6). Only two organizations saw the municipality’s work as average while four declined to answer. As a result, not one organization ranked the Region of Durham as either excellent or good. This is perhaps the most telling indicator of the immigrant service situation in Durham and the need for improvements.

Figure 6: Immigrant Organizations Rating of Durham’s Handling of Immigration

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<tr>
<th>Question:</th>
<th>In your opinion, how would you rate the municipality of Durham's handling of immigration?</th>
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<tr>
<th>Options</th>
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<td>Average</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Poor</td>
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<td>Appalling</td>
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<td>Unanswered</td>
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Issues Preventing Municipal Progress on Immigration

The preceding chapter discussed how municipalities have no legal or constitutional obligation to address the issue of immigration. Because immigration, constitutionally, is a concurrent power between the federal and provincial government and because immigration does not fall under the *Ontario Municipal Act* (Ontario Municipal Act, 2001), municipalities have no responsibility to provide immigrant-oriented services. This arrangement prevents municipal action on immigration. Municipalities are structured according to the *Ontario Municipal Act* (Ontario Municipal Act, 2001). Within this legislation, municipalities have certain responsibilities and obligations they must adhere to. Accordingly, they are given a specific set of revenue sources to fulfill these obligations. Therefore, because of legal, constitutional, and fiscal constraints, municipalities have little room to expand to tackle issues such as immigration. In some cases, municipalities have difficulty satisfying their legal obligations, never mind additional ones. For instance, the interviewee from Uxbridge stated that meeting the municipalities’ core legal responsibilities was its biggest challenge, as it struggled to prioritize based on funds and requirements (G7). As a result, addressing any issue beyond its basic responsibilities was out of the question. Jurisdiction was another issue preventing municipalities from addressing immigration. When asked why their municipality had no direct immigration services or immigration policy, respondents from Ajax, Scugog, and Whitby all replied that it was a regional issue. To these interviewees, the region’s responsibilities such as housing, social services, or transportation applied much more to immigrants than their municipality’s responsibilities (G2, G6, & G9). In fact, the respondent from Ajax went on to say that, he had not seen
any other municipality take immigration seriously, because of this (G2). Finally, all municipalities including the Durham Region viewed the important aspects of immigration such as choosing immigrants and settlement as upper level government responsibilities.

The next issue impeding municipal progress on immigration is a lack of funding. Again, because of the constitutional and legal structure of municipalities, they have limited sources of revenues. Moreover, they have virtually no flexibility to raise revenues. As a result, for the most part, municipalities have three sources of revenues, property taxes, user fees, and upper level government grants. Limited sources of revenues affected smaller municipalities’ more than larger municipalities. According to research participants from smaller municipalities like Brock or Scugog, because of their smaller growth, they do not receive as much revenue from property taxes, their main source of revenue. Conversely, for larger municipalities such as Ajax and Oshawa, this is not a problem as large growth means more property taxes. Nevertheless, as representatives from both Oshawa and Ajax stated, they were unable to capitalize on additional revenues from growth because of downloading (G2 & G5). Thus, municipalities, whether large or small face considerable fiscal constraints. Because of this, when asked if their municipality had the capacity to provide immigration services, the unanimous answer was “no” (see Figure 7).
Because of municipality’s position at the bottom of the inter-governmental structure, they have little input into decisions made at upper level government levels especially the federal level. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, there is a policy deficit between the federal government and municipalities. In the words of the representative from Pickering, the attitude of the federal government towards cities in policy-making is “oh they are cities and they may be affected by this” (G8). Clearly, attitudes such as these reflect the lack of policy-coordination between the federal government and municipalities. Consequently, this lack of policy-coordination means municipalities are unable to plan for immigration. As the federal government makes decisions around settlement locations, and because municipalities have no communication with the federal government on immigration, they are left in the dark. Thus, as highlighted earlier by the representative from Oshawa, municipalities have no idea when immigrants are coming or where they are planning on settling (G5). In light of this, municipalities are forced to react and cannot plan for these changes. At the same time, the example from Oshawa highlighted in the last chapter exemplifies the lack of
tracking of immigrants. This is a direct outcome of no policy coordination. The research participant from Oshawa was not the only interviewee to note this problem. The respondent from Whitby mentioned not only the need for better tracking but also the need for better future forecasts (G9). According to respondents from both Oshawa and Whitby, poor tracking as it relates to immigration can be attributed to a lack of policy coordination (G5 & G9).

Finally, the last obstacle to municipal progress is that immigration is not embedded in Durham’s (meaning all municipalities) municipal government culture. The only exemption to this finding is Pickering. The only reason why Pickering is exempt is that it has the largest immigration population (Figure 8). It was also the first municipality in Durham to experience immigration at a substantial level.

Figure 8: Proportion of Immigrants within Each Municipality

Aside from Pickering, not all municipalities have a grasp on immigration. For example, in each interview, respondents from each municipality were asked whether they
had attended any meetings, conferences, or gatherings in relation to immigration, collectively, the answer was no. In addition, each municipal representative was asked about immigration services in Durham. Besides the respondent from Ajax’s mention of the CDCCD (G2), responses were virtually non-existent. In the case of research participants from Oshawa and Durham, they had an idea of the importance of immigration, however, they were mostly rhetoric, and they had little knowledge of what was available in Durham (G5 & G3). At the same time, of all municipal representatives I interviewed, only two were of an immigrant background themselves (G4 & G8).

Immigrant organizations reaffirmed these findings. For instance, the representative from ASACC stated numerous times, there was no representation in municipal government for immigrants (VS1). In another case, the respondent from DCE believed the Region of Durham saw immigration “as a burden” (VS7). Moreover, the interviewee from the Hispanic Alliance of Ontario described municipal government in Durham as lacking a cultural awareness of diversity and immigration (VS2). Overall, each of these examples typifies the lack of recognition and awareness within Durham’s municipal government culture.

Solutions for Municipal Impediments to Immigration

If municipalities were to tackle immigration in a substantive manner, they need a legal or constitutional mandate. In the eyes of the informant from Clarington, “the federal government needs to set out a mandate, in order to know what the federal government is doing” (G4). According to the representative from Oshawa, this mandate needs “a proper clarification of roles and responsibilities among the various levels of government” (G5).

In the view of respondents from Clarington, Oshawa and Ajax, a legal mandate is a
necessity if municipalities are going to address immigration (G2, G4, & G5). The rationale for this is so the mandate will have legal teeth. Municipalities underwent a shock from downloading, when upper level governments downloaded services and dramatically reduced the number of government grants. Because of this, municipalities are weary of working with and depending on upper level governments. If the mandate were a legal obligation, the federal government would not be able to withdraw. As the representative from Clarington stated if municipalities were to work with the federal government, “they need a willing and reliable partner” (G4). The other reason for a legal mandate is that municipalities are creatures of the province, meaning that legal mandates flow from top down. Therefore, if a mandate is going to work, it must be forced by legal statute; otherwise municipalities will pay little attention to it, as it will lie outside their responsibilities. The respondent from Ajax, best sums up the need for a mandate, “unless it (immigration) is mandated it will remain a grey area, where it is not cut and dry as to what should be done” (G2).

Naturally, because of municipalities’ dire fiscal position, a legal mandate is of little use without the necessary funding. As the interviewee from Clarington states “we also need money and funding for anything (any mandate) that may trickle down” (G4). Theoretically, municipalities have a designated set of responsibilities and a specific set of revenue sources designed to cover these responsibilities. Hence, municipalities have difficulty extending beyond these responsibilities without corresponding funding. According to the interviewee from Ajax, this reality explains why Ajax, whose population is a third immigrants, does not focus directly on immigration services. Instead, Ajax is forced to practice a decentralized approach to immigration, in which different
municipal departments incorporate the issue of immigration into their decisions. All in all, if municipalities are to address immigration, they need additional and adequate funding.

The most effective governments are those who are able to plan effectively. Effective planning permits a government to be prepared for whatever the future may bring. This is particularly true as it relates to municipalities and immigration. When discussing planning and immigration, the representative from Oshawa stated, “If we had the ability to plan it would be a huge benefit...we could start to plan and in doing so, develop an edge” (G5) over our competition. Unfortunately, due to little communication with the federal government, municipalities cannot plan effectively for immigration. Again, in the words of the interviewee from Oshawa the “federal government should see that and bring regional and local governments to the (immigration policy) table” (G5). Oshawa is not alone in this suggestion, the representatives from Brock, Ajax, Scugog, and Pickering all seconded this (G1, G2, G6, & G8). A large influx of immigrants in a short period can have far-reaching effects on a municipal government’s services. Services may have to be expanded, funds may need to be allocated to specific areas where there is more need, and culturally sensitive training may need to happen for staff. If municipalities had a clear idea of what may change in the near future, they could plan accordingly and adjust for expected changing circumstances. This preparation would equal more effective government services. For these reasons, municipalities want more collaborative policy between different levels of government.

Thus far, I have discussed legal, fiscal, and structural solutions to solving municipal impediments to immigration. As the last impediment to municipal progress on
immigration is cultural, it demands a cultural solution. Nevertheless, trying to create a culture of immigration within Durham’s municipal government culture is a complicated and challenging task. Despite this, many immigrant organizations have several ideas on how to achieve this. In the view of the interviewee from MCOD, within government, there needs to be more representation from diverse interests (VS6). Almost every organization recommended more representation on behalf of different immigrant groups within municipal personnel. For the representative from DCE, this representation must not be limited to simply handpicking from different immigrant groups; it also needs to include the right people who understand diversity and its benefits (VS7). Presently, according to the interviewee from the DCE (VS7), municipalities “do not get it” and “live in separate worlds”, thus there is “no shared experience” between municipalities and immigrant groups. Similarly, the representative of the PCCCA believes that municipal governments need to reflect “an exchange of both cultures,” (VS12) different immigrant cultures and Canadian culture. Representation to the informant from CDCD does not mean only more individuals from immigrant groups it also means diversity training for all municipal staff. Diversity training gives individuals of all backgrounds an awareness of the benefits of diversity and knowledge of how to accommodate diversity appropriately. Beyond representation, as aptly described by the informant from ASACC, “there needs to be recognition” (VS1) of the value of immigration by municipalities. Although there is a partial recognition, the interviewees of numerous organizations such as the DDSB, DCE, WMRCC, and the MCOD all believe recognition has yet to come full circle (VS3, VS6, VS7, & VS8). As the respondent from the ASACC notes, recognition is important and once recognition occurs, change will happen (VS1).
Problems for Immigrant Organizations

As governments begin to rely increasingly on immigrant organizations as they restructure, immigrant organizations become more crucial to the effectiveness of the governance structure to integrate immigrants. Therefore, the health of these organizations is vital to the integration process. It is not the purpose of this thesis to assess the condition of immigrant organizations, however, it is within the realm of this thesis to highlight the challenges this sector is facing.

Of the many challenges, immigrant organizations have, recruiting and retaining volunteers’ ranks near the top of the list. Because immigrant organizations are primarily volunteer-based, their level of success depends considerably on their volunteer base. In the words of the interviewee from the Hispanic Alliance of Ontario, “we live and die by our volunteers” (VS2). For many of these immigrant organizations in Durham, this volunteer base is drying up. According to the interviewee from the Hungarian Culture Club, finding volunteers has become such a problem; they wish “they could pay volunteers” (VS4). Although this defeats the purpose of volunteering, it speaks to the desperation of this organization. This case is far from an anomaly, as other organizations such as the PCCCA have had to downsize the number of activities they offer considerably because of a decrease in volunteers. Previously, as highlighted by the respondent from the PCCCA, the organization worked with the police, offered educational tutorials weekly, hosted several cultural functions, and gave students bursaries (VS12). Presently, this activity is reduced to hosting two cultural functions per year. Moreover, this informant went on to say, the organization currently functions because of the work of six people and all membership fees have been dropped in an
attempt to bolster involvement (VS12). The PCCCA’s situation is similar to that of the Hispanic Alliance of Ontario. The representative from HAO said that within their organization, “a small number of people” (VS2) complete the work. The reason for this, as indicated by the respondent, is it is hard to get people involved (VS2). In addition to the organizations mentioned above, respondents from the MCOD, Durham Tamil Association, and the League of Ukrainian Canadians all mentioned finding volunteers as a fundamental challenge (VS6, VS11, & VS13).

In addition to finding volunteers, immigration organizations have difficulty retaining volunteers. It is important to identify that several immigrant organizations, when asked about challenges they faced, did not list retaining volunteers as a challenge because in order to retain volunteers’ organizations must find them and clearly, finding volunteers is a significant problem. Nonetheless, there were immigrant organizations that stated that retaining volunteers was a problem. For instance, the interviewee from the WMRCC avowed that retaining staff was a major challenge (VS8). As per the informant from the WMRCC, the organization does not have a steady source of funding, as it must apply annually for grant money (VS8). Consequently, with the uncertainty surrounding the grant money and thus the future of the WMRCC, it has a hard time maintaining a base of volunteers. In the words of the respondent from WMRCC, it would nice to have “consistency in maintaining staff rather than always have to be recruiting from project to project” (VS8). In another case, the respondent from the MCOD highlighted the difficulties associated with maintaining a good number of dependable volunteers (VS6). Similar to the PCCCA, as indicated by the representative from the MCOD, the organization is currently undergoing a period of transition as it seeks to redefine itself
(VS5). This transition has not helped any in attempting to retain volunteers. Overall, recruiting and retaining volunteers are two fundamental problems limiting the effectiveness of immigrant organizations.

Possibly, the largest challenge immigrant organizations face is financial. To clarify, as emphasized in the previous results chapter, funding is not an issue for federally funded organizations such as DCE and the CDCD. In spite of this, as illustrated by Table 5, most service and non-service immigrant organizations are in dire fiscal straits.

**Table 5: Funding Sources for Social Service Agencies and Immigrant Organizations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Organization</th>
<th>Source(s) of Funding</th>
<th>Is Funding a Challenge?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Development Council of Durham</td>
<td>Federal/Provincial governments, Trillium Foundation/United Way Grants, Personal Donations</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham Continuing Education</td>
<td>Federal/Provincial governments</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham District School Board</td>
<td>Federal/Provincial governments</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajax South Asian Cultural Center</td>
<td>Personal Donations</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian Culture Club</td>
<td>Membership Fees, Fundraising from Cultural Events, Personal Donations, Outsourcing of Group’s Facility</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman’s Multicultural Resource and Counseling Centre of Durham</td>
<td>Federal government, Trillium Grants, Status of Women, Crime Prevention Centre, Fundraising from Galas</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural Council of Oshawa-Durham</td>
<td>Oshawa Bingo Hall</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham Tamil Association</td>
<td>Sponsor Money from Local Businesses, Membership Fees</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickering Canadian Caribbean Cultural Association</td>
<td>Fundraising from Cultural Events, Membership Fees</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Funding Sources</td>
<td>YES/NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League of Ukrainian Canadians</td>
<td>Membership Fees, Outsourcing of Group’s Facility, Fundraising from Cultural Events</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Alliance of Ontario</td>
<td>Membership Fees, Advertising in Newsletter, Fundraising from Cultural Events</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, every organization interviewed besides the three mentioned above, listed funding as one of their challenges. For the interviewee from the MCOD, their organization’s “number one challenge is financial” (VS5). Because of a limited cash flow, recently, the MCOD was forced to sell their meeting place. Historically, according to the MCOD respondent, the organization has received the bulk of their revenue from Oshawa Bingo Halls (VS6). Once the smoking by-law came into effect, people stopped attending and thus revenues dropped for both the bingo hall and ultimately, MCOD. For other organizations with different sources of funding, the situation remains the same. In the case of the Durham Tamil association, their primary source of funding is sponsor money from local businesses. In the view of the respondent from the Durham Tamil Association, although this funding source has been adequate, as the economy is in a recession, this is an emerging issue and may affect how the organization operates (VS11). The current recession also threatens other sources of funding like government grants. For organizations such as the WMRCC, this may be extremely problematic. According to the representative from WMRCC, they were already struggling to obtain government and community group grants (VS8). As the recession deepens, government and community grants will only decrease in size and availability, thus, adding to the WMRCC’s financial woes.
As the voluntary sector depends on volunteers and money to exist, it is no surprise, that each of these remain issues for immigrant organizations. However, after these issues, the most common problem is public awareness. It is easy to assume that organizations with ample financial resources would not have public awareness issues, as they would be able to allocate a specific amount of funds for promotion and advertising. However, based on my research, this is incorrect. According to the interviewee from DCE, one of the well-funded organizations in Durham, public awareness is a major problem (VS7). As DCE is a branch of the Durham District School Board, thus, it is not given the resources to promote itself. As a result, according to the respondent from DCE, it remains within the shadow of the Durham District School Board. Independent organizations, not confined by any structural constraints, also suffer from a lack of public awareness, albeit for different reasons. In the view of the informant from the CDCD, even with adequate financial footing, reaching not only the public but also immigrants is a challenge (VS9). As indicated by the CDCD interviewee, getting the word out that education and language training exists for newcomers are difficult (VS9). For the representative of the HAO, public relations are a problem. In their words, the HAO has “difficultly getting the word out” (VS2). The interviewee stated that the organization does send out an annual newsletter and prior to the organization’s events places an ad in the local newspaper, however, these methods have been inadequate for promoting the organization (VS2). Furthermore, as stated by the interviewee, some mainstream locations such as the local library have refused to allow them to place the organization’s brochure on their premises (VS2).
Proposed Solutions for Immigrant Organization’s Challenges

Solving volunteer recruiting and retention problems is not simple. For many organizations, the answer to this problem lied in recruiting more youth volunteers. For the respondent from the PCCCA, the solution to their volunteer problems was in increased youth involvement (VS12). In the eyes of the PCCCA research participant, he wanted to give youth “a chance to participate” (VS12). By doing this, he believed the organization would become more vibrant and sustainable. The respondent from the Hungarian Culture Club proposed a similar solution, seeing increased youth membership as an answer to their volunteer shortfall (VS4). The MCOD, which has historically been a major player for diversity and immigration issues in Durham, is pinning, according to its representative, its hopes for rebirth in youth (VS5). As it is undergoing a rebuilding phase, it is experimenting with programming linked to the local University, UOIT. According to the respondent, the MCOD is hoping to recruit university students to volunteer within the community (VS6). Other solutions include teaching immigrant organizations effective ways to recruit and retain volunteers. For the HAO, this approach has paid huge dividends. As per the informant from the HAO, the organization attended a workshop delivered by the municipality of Ajax on recruiting and training volunteers (VS2). In the words of this informant, this workshop was extremely “useful” (VS2). Considering this positive experience, it may be valuable for municipal governments to administer similar workshops in the future especially considering the increased reliance on the voluntary sector. Moreover, the representative from the WMRCC has also called for government recruiting and retaining programs to address volunteer gaps within its organization (VS8).
The obvious solution towards resolving the funding problems of immigrant organizations would be to increase government funding. This option was suggested by a respondent from the CDCD, one of the best-funded organizations in Durham (VS10). The likelihood of this occurring in the midst of a recession is minimal. Despite this, numerous organizations that had never relied on government funding, were open to or considering applying for government funding to tackle their financial troubles. Representatives from the Durham Tamil Association, the PCCCA, and the HOA all mentioned they were either applying or considering applying for government funding (VS2, VS11, & VS12). At the same time, respondents from the MCOD and Hungarian Culture Club said they had already applied for grants from the Ontario Trillium Foundation (VS4 & VS5). The City of Pickering plays an interesting role in helping immigrant organizations solve their financial troubles by identifying different funding opportunities from various levels of government and telling immigrant organizations about them. According to the representative from Pickering, this approach works well as it matches the municipal government’s knowledge and awareness of funding opportunities with immigrant’s organizations need for funding, thus the whole community benefits (G8). Besides acquiring funding, other immigrant organizations suggested the government cut taxes on immigrant organization facilities. The respondent from the League of Ukrainian Canadians believed cutting the GST and PST on its organization’s activities as well as the property taxes on its building would provide enormous financial relief (VS13). Finally, the informant from the League of Ukrainian Canadians along with the respondents from the Hungarian Culture Club and the HOA saw increasing membership numbers as an alternate way of increasing revenues to deal with funding issues (VS2, VS4, & VS13).
In several cases, financial difficulties were inexplicably linked with a lack of public awareness. Because of financial shortages, many immigrant organizations are unable to promote themselves at the level they would like. The representative from the HOA, “we have lots of ideas, we just don’t have the means” (VS2) best captures this reality. One of the methods the HOA has used to solve this problem is developing pamphlets and disturbing them to places where new immigrants are most likely to come. For the DCE, who, as shown earlier in this chapter, suffered from being constrained by the DDSB structure is attempting to acquire additional funding to enhance its public relations efforts. Other solutions for immigrant organizations include utilizing specific skills of their volunteers to increase public awareness. For instance, according to the representative from the Durham Tamil Association, they have members who are computer web designers, thus, they used a website to raise public awareness (VS11). Participating in community events has been another strategy both the WMRCC and HOA have used to increase the public’s knowledge of their existence. The most cost effective approach, immigrant organizations can use to develop public awareness is working with municipal government. In the interviews, immigrant organizations were asked what the benefits were of working with municipalities. Representatives from the CDCD, Durham Tamil Association, PCCCA, and HOA all listed visibility and publicity as major benefits (VS2, VS9, VS11, & VS12).

**Urban Geography**

In Chapter Two, I situated my thesis topic in three areas of the geographical literature, urban geography, urban governance, and the geography of voluntarism. Within each sub-discipline, I looked at the literature both from a conceptual and contextual
perspective. In light of this, to compare my findings to the literature, I will run through each sub-discipline comparing my results on a conceptual and contextual basis. I am going to follow the order of my literature review beginning with urban geography followed by urban governance and concluding with the geography of voluntarism.

Urban geography is a vast discipline, thus, for my purposes, I focused on the urban geography literature pertaining to the decentralization of the city. The reason for this is that Durham, as an urbanizing suburb, exemplifies this trend. According to the respondents in my research, Durham is urbanizing at a rapid rate. It has reached the point where development is extending beyond the traditional southern municipalities and into the northern part of the region. Perhaps the best example of this is Clarington, which has traditionally been considered a rural municipality. Over the past 10 to 15 years, it has easily lost this classification. Currently, at a population of 80,000, in terms of population size, it is beginning to challenge both Pickering and Ajax, two long developed municipalities. What is driving Clarington’s growth is internal migration from the GTA and the Durham Region. The people moving to Clarington and to northern parts of Durham are mainly of an Anglo-Saxon background. At the same time, as Anglo-Saxons are moving further north into the rural municipalities, immigrants are moving into the southern municipalities of Durham. It has been mentioned in the literature how scholars have begun to include cultural aspects is their analysis of urban geography. What is happening in Durham precisely warrants this type of analysis. Population growth in Durham is being driven by immigration; yet, all immigrants are settling within the southern municipalities particularly Ajax and Pickering. At the same time, many people of Anglo-Saxon background are beginning to move into the northern municipalities of
Durham. Therefore, what is developing is a major cultural divide. Although it is not yet evenly split, northern municipalities are maintaining an Anglo-Saxon character while southern municipalities are becoming increasingly diverse. Moving forward, this divide, which has yet to develop fully but is clearly in the making has vast implications for the region.

With this cultural divide, there is also a rural-urban divide emerging. One of the reasons why immigrants are moving into the southern municipalities is because of their level of urban and suburban development. Although not classified as core urban centers, many of the southern municipalities have developed to the point where they have substantial service, commercial, and industrial sectors. They are gradually moving away from their classification as suburbs and moving closer and closer to complete urban centers. Essentially, this level of development has led to considerable decentralization. For example, Ajax and Pickering are expected to build out in terms of development within the next ten years (G2 & G8). Ultimately, this level of urbanization has sprawled and continues to sprawl into the countryside. Hence, what is developing is a clear divide between urban and rural centers and urban and rural municipalities.

Empirically, there is evidence to support this cultural and rural/urban divide. For example, a representative from Scugog, a northern municipality of 22,000, believed immigration “was not a prominent issue” (G6). In terms of government partnerships, none of the northern municipalities, Clarington, Scugog, Uxbridge, or Brock had ever worked with or collaborated with immigrant organizations. In discussions with upper levels of government whether it be federal, provincial, or regional, the issue of immigration has never arisen. None of these municipalities have a Race-Relations
Committee. The reasons for this are simple; there is no demand or need on the behalf of the population of these municipalities for any action on any immigration. Conversely, for the southern municipalities, this is a different story. Every southern municipality has a Race Relations Committee. Every municipality spare Whitby has worked with or partnered with immigrant organizations. In discussions with upper level governments, the issue of immigration has come up. The location of most immigrant organizations and integration services is in the southern part of Durham. These vast differences are indicative of the cultural divide, which is developing within Durham.

**Urban Governance**

The geographic literature around urban governance describes the governance structure as the three sectors, which comprise Canadian society, the public sector, private sector, and civil society (See Figure in Chapter Two). Recently, within this structure, because of state restructuring under neo-liberalism, responsibilities have shifted to different parts of the governance structure. As it relates to my research, the two significant trends of this shift are devolution of responsibilities to local government and contracting out of services by the state to the voluntary sector.

Within Durham, this trend of devolution of responsibilities and services to municipal governments has definitely taken place. Nevertheless, it has affected different sizes of government differently. It seems as if the upper tier municipality and the larger lower-tier municipalities were much harder hit by downloading of responsibilities then medium to smaller size municipalities. Although all municipalities have no doubt been affected, the scale of the impact as well as the extent of the response has varied. For larger municipalities, it has forced to make the most of their limited resources and re-
examine their governing approaches. In this case, it has led larger municipalities to adapt Harvey’s (1989) idea of governing like a collective corporation. Governing in this manner essentially means democratic decision-making operates on a more even level within the governance structure. From this new approach, there is a strong emphasis on partnerships and networks rather than top-down government. Examples such as Oshawa and Ajax’s entry into public-private partnerships and Pickering’s reliance on community organizations both serve as prime demonstrations of this new approach. In contrast, municipalities such as Clarington or Brock have not followed this trend toward governing as a collective corporation. Although they rely and partner with community organizations, the extent of this relationship is not near what it is for say Pickering, nor has either of these municipalities entered into any public-private partnerships. Overall, Durham does not conform to the literature in this regard, as different municipalities have gone in different directions.

Voluntarism

The other trend changing under state restructuring is the decline in the size of the state and thus, the restructuring of public services. What has happened through this restructuring is the government has not only reduced its role in terms of administration and delivery of services but funding has also dropped considerably. Because of this, a service gap has developed. In order to fill this gap, the voluntary sector seems to be a playing a bigger role in the funding and delivery of public services.

In Durham Region, immigrant integration services have definitely followed this trend. Currently, all settlement and integration services are delivered via NGO’s or through departments of local school boards, both catholic and public. Besides the school
boards, the NGOs who deliver settlement services have recently gained these contracts as the result of re-structuring at the federal level. Although, these voluntary sector organizations have been the product of contracting out, currently, they are not experiencing any funding difficulties. This is a significant divergence from the trends in the literature where NGOs delivering public services are under considerable financial pressure.

Nonetheless, for NGOs who are not government funded and deliver public services, they are in dire financial straits. Financial need is by far their biggest concern and priority. Although filling a gap the government is not covering, many of these organizations have trouble acquiring government funding for numerous reasons. A prime example of this is the Ajax South Asian Cultural Center, who provide a number of ESL and counseling services and serve immigrants from any group yet because they are a faith based organization, they cannot get funding.

There are two types of NGOs who play a role in the integration process, ones who deliver services and ones who host and support cultural and community events. For NGOs who do not deliver services, their troubles are much worse. These organizations are struggling to raise money, recruit, and retain volunteers, and virtually to keep their organization running. In the words of a representative from the Hungarian Culture Club, “even though it defeats the purpose, I wish we could pay volunteers” (VS4). This quotation is a reflection of the desperation many of these NGO’s face in trying to operate on a sustainable basis.
Recommendations

The research question that has guided this thesis, is as follows, how does the governance structure in the Durham Region operate in terms of immigrant integration services and where could improvements be made? Thus far, in presenting my general results (Chapter Four) I answered how the governance structure operates and in my critical analysis in this chapter, I answered where improvements could be made. With this in mind, based on my findings and what has been discovered in the literature, I am going to suggest recommendations, that I think would make a more effective governance structure for Durham Region and the municipalities and civil societies within. Before I make these recommendations, I want to be clear in my approach. Unlike some research reports, I am not going to list my recommendations. Furthermore, I will not simply state one problem and recommend how that issue must be resolved. Instead, what I will do is recommend a new approach for the governance structure as a whole and through my explanation highlight the issues this approach will solve. Once this is complete, I will move to a recommendation specifically for the Region of Durham.

For my thesis, I have used the theoretical framework of the governance structure. As described in Chapter Two, the governance structure is the three sectors, which comprise Canadian society, the public sector, private sector, and civil society. The governance structure is merely foundational, it is not a strategy or approach to a particular issue or a governance model, which can be adapted, it is merely the groundwork for my analysis. In light of this, I would recommend that the municipalities of Durham not including the Region employ an integrated model of urban governance. The following figure, when compared with the original governance structure in Chapter
Two (see Figure 9) demonstrates the difference between the governance structure and an integrated model of urban governance.

**Figure 9: Integrated Model of Urban Governance**  
(Adapted from Skinner & Rosenberg 2006)

Clearly, as shown by the figure, visually, there is not a fundamental difference from Figure 3. The primary difference is the connection between each sector of the governance structure. The governance structure has merely connection points between the different sectors. In contrast, the integrated model of urban governance has arrows, pointing both ways. These arrows symbolize the integrated nature of the model, which emphasizes more interaction between each sector. The model is designed to foster more communication, consultation, and ultimately, collaboration between different sectors.

Within the literature, DiGaetano and Strom (2003) developed an integrated model of urban governance. To reiterate, this model conceives of urban governance as occurring within a nested set of environmental complexes in which institutions provide the integument. Although DiGaetano and Strom’s (2003) integrated model of urban governance has the same name as mine, there is a significant difference. The model I am proposing is based on the concept of the governance structure, theirs is not. Moreover, their model is focused on a cultural analysis, while mine is political, as it is a strategy for municipal governments to employ.
Although I am suggesting all municipalities implement this governance approach, it is better suited and more applicable to the larger municipalities who have been hit harder by downloading and who have the bulk of Durham’s immigrant population. Nevertheless, there are several reasons for this integrated model of urban governance. As established by the literature review and results chapters, both municipal governments and the voluntary sector are facing considerable fiscal constraints. In light of these circumstances, municipalities have come to rely increasingly on the voluntary sector to provide services and satisfy government objectives. Pickering, Ajax, and Oshawa are all examples of this trend. Because municipalities have no capacity to provide direct immigration services, they need to tailor their current services to immigrants. The most effective approach to achieving this goal is to gain input from immigrant organizations on how to best adjust their services to meet the needs of immigrants. This approach will not guarantee but at least ensure municipalities are not expending their minimal resources on service designs that are ineffective.

As municipalities depend increasingly on the voluntary sector, they have a vested interest in ensuring this sector is healthy and sustainable. Thus, it becomes strategic for municipalities to extend a hand out to give immigrant organizations a hand up. This hand out does not have to be financial; there are alternate ways municipalities can assist immigrant organizations. As immigrant organizations struggle fiscally, municipalities do not have to provide them with funds but instead tell them where opportunities for funding exist. According to the representative from Pickering, they employ this approach, as Pickering’s municipal staff has the institutional expertise to identify funding opportunities for immigrant organizations (G8). Once identified, the city informs
immigrant organizations and then organizations apply. This is an effective strategy that other municipalities would be wise to follow. Similarly, many interviewees from immigrant organizations like the HAO or the Hungarian Culture Club had difficulties applying for government funding (VS2 & VS4). This is yet another area, where municipalities, in an advisory capacity could assist immigrant organizations, so they can obtain funding, they desperately need. In an educational sense, municipalities can also teach immigrant organizations how to recruit and train volunteers. In the interviews, the representative from the HAO mentioned a workshop the municipality of Ajax delivered teaching not just immigrant organizations but also community organizations techniques for effective volunteering (VS2). The HAO respondent described this as helpful and useful for their organization (VS2).

In addition, an integrated urban governance approach means more partnerships between municipal governments and immigrant organizations. As shown previously, the number of partnerships has increased because of the effects of downloading, in spite of this; it needs to continue to increase to ensure the resources of the governance structure are being used most efficiently. Besides this, partnerships provide other benefits. For municipalities, it gives them additional human and financial resources to draw on to serve the community at a time when resources are scarce. On the other hand, for immigrant organizations working with municipalities increases their probability of receiving grants from upper level governments and other community organizations. As indicated by the interviewee from the WMRCC, “many grant sources suggested working with municipalities in order to increase their chances of obtaining grant money” (VS8). Moreover, working with municipalities provides great visibility and publicity for
immigrant organizations. As immigrant organizations do not always have the public’s attention as much as municipalities, if immigrant organizations collaborate with municipalities, they receive access to a larger public stage. This is crucial considering public awareness is major problem for many immigrant organizations. At the same time, if immigrant organizations are able to collaborate with municipalities, it is a sign of endorsement from the municipality and thus for immigrant organizations, this endorsement becomes a source of legitimacy.

Lastly, if Durham is going to continue to recruit and retain immigrants it must be able to offer precisely what immigrants are looking for. Prior to the development of the Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council, Durham had left immigration services and any type of diversity work to the voluntary sector. As demonstrated by this research, this has begun to change as municipalities and the regional government, mostly for financial reasons have started to collaborate more with the voluntary sector. Moving forward, this must continue, as according to the respondents from immigrant organizations, in order to look after the needs of immigrants, both the voluntary sector and government must work together (see Figure 10). This is but another reason for an integrated model of urban governance.
At the regional level, what I recommend is developing a regional forum focused on immigration. Presently, the regional government is in the process of developing the Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council. The specifics of this council are still unclear, thus, I am not considering this council in my recommendations. The primary reason why a regional forum needs to be developed is that there are two major impediments for immigrant integration services in Durham, accessibility and visibility. Currently, each government and most immigrant organizations as well as social service agencies move in their own chosen direction. There is little coordination on a regional scale among the different sectors of the governance structure. Consequently, according to a diversity consultant, there is a duplication of services for immigrant employment help (VS14). Furthermore, as indicated by a representative from ASACC, there is competition among government funded and non-government funded organizations for the same clientele (VS1). Yet, the voluntary sector has little resources to compete. Moreover, because there is little cooperation on a regional level, different organizations, and even governments are using what minimal resources they have to promote themselves.
Accordingly, their efforts are not going far as they have limited resources. This scattered approach plagues the region as a whole because there is no visible element representing immigration. Instead, there are different governments, social service agencies, and immigrant organizations operating in their silos, isolated and disconnected from each other. This situation hurts accessibility, because new immigrants have to search high and low to find appropriate services and resources necessary for settlement. Likewise, if a new immigrant is seeking both integration and employment assistance, they must go to two different places. As Durham seeks to compete not only regionally but also provincially for immigrants, this reality is a substantial weakness.

In light of this, what Durham needs is a forum where all stakeholders can meet and discuss issues surrounding immigration: a forum that publicizes and promotes Durham’s integration services as well as its immigrant organizations. Durham needs to project not only to itself but also to potential immigrants and competing jurisdictions what it has to offer to immigrants. If every stakeholder were brought to the same table, duplication of services and competition among organizations for the same clientele may be able to be solved because different stakeholders will be looking at the issue from a regional perspective. For the regional government, this forum could serve as its recognition of the benefits of immigration, a recognition, which as discussed at the start of this chapter, is lacking. Finally, in this era of decentralized government, it would give the region the opportunity to invite immigrant organizations to the policy-making table. This is a request, representatives from the Durham Tamil Association and HAO had (VS2 & VS11). As the respondent from the HAO poignantly stated, “immigration is about more than having a multi-cultural fair” (VS2). Overall, a regional forum for immigration
would help address accessibility, visibility, and connectivity issues, which plague Durham’s approach to immigration.
CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSION:

It has been the purpose of this thesis to describe, explain, and critique the governance structure in Durham Region as it relates to immigrant integration services. I did this by employing a macro to micro organizational approach. I began by explaining the macro issues related to research such as the changing dynamics of immigration, public service restructuring, and the governance structure. I then situated these issues and my research within the geographical literature, focusing on three sub-disciplines, urban geography, urban governance (including public service restructuring), and the geography of voluntarism. Once this was complete, I profiled my study area, the Durham Region. Within the same chapter, I described the importance of a case study, my methodology, and the rationale for my interviews. Hereafter, I disseminated the findings of my research, mostly in a descriptive manner. In an analytical manner, I then identified and proposed solutions to Durham’s governance structure, compared my results with the literature, and offered key recommendations for improvement. I will now move to evaluating my objectives.

Evaluation of Objectives

My first objective was to describe the general context of immigration and immigration integration services in Durham Region. From this, I discovered municipal governments have been merely responsive in their action towards immigration. In some areas, they have adjusted their services to different immigrant group’s needs. Nevertheless, for the most part, municipalities have taken baby steps towards addressing immigration. The bulk of integration services are delivered by the voluntary sector. The main distinction among voluntary sector organizations is service versus non-service
organizations. Service organizations funded by the federal government are surprisingly not suffering from a lack of funding, despite public service restructuring. Conversely, non-government funded service organizations and non-service organizations are experiencing funding difficulties. Finally, after a history of no involvement, the regional government seems poised to take its first significant step towards addressing immigration with the development of the Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council.

My second objective was to examine the immigration policy framework in Durham Region as it relates to the federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government, and the downloading of responsibilities for services since the 1990’s. Through this examination, the goal is to develop the perspective of local government on this issue. The immigration policy framework has no place for municipalities. Municipalities are not consulted and have no input on immigration issues within upper levels of government. In fact, most municipalities stated there was a policy deficit with the federal government. Because of this, municipalities are unable to plan for the effects of immigration. This partly explains the reactionary nature of municipal policy around immigration. The impact of downloading was unequal across Durham’s municipalities. The regional government was hit the hardest as it relied the most on upper level government revenue, which decline drastically. Of the lower-tier municipalities, the larger municipalities, Pickering, Oshawa, and Ajax felt the effects more than smaller municipalities such as Brock, Scugog, and Uxbridge. This is not to say, the smaller municipalities were unaffected, they were just not affected to the same degree.

My third objective was to assess critically the changing role of the voluntary sector and community organizations within the local governance structure of immigrant
integration services in Durham Region. Within Durham, the nature of the voluntary sector’s role is changing. Where change is most profound is in municipalities hardest hit by downloading. For instance, Pickering currently employs a decentralized approach in which it works on an equal level with the voluntary sector. In addition, it relies not only on the voluntary sector for their human participation but also their financial participation. For the Region of Durham, their governance approach has devolved to the point where their immigration council means working at the same level as both the voluntary and private sector. Lastly, in a sign of recent trends, all of Durham’s integration services funded by the federal and provincial governments are delivered and administered by NGOs or local school boards.

My last objective was to identify problems on behalf of both municipalities and community organizations with the local governance structure and propose solutions based on these findings for Durham Region. Municipalities have four problems preventing them from addressing immigration: no legal or constitutional mandate; lack of funding; no position at inter-governmental immigration table; and; a municipal culture that has yet to embrace immigration. To address these problems, municipalities need a legal mandate, additional funding, more collaborative policy, and more immigrant representation within municipal government. On the contrary, immigrant organizations have three central problems: recruiting/retaining volunteers; financial troubles; and; a lack of public awareness. Immigrant organizations see youth involvement, government funding, and working with municipal government as solutions to these problems.
Reflection

Looking back on this thesis, the first thought that enters my mind is the number of changes I had to make. I began this project thinking I was going to study the governance structure only in Ajax and only with government funded service organizations. After preliminary research, the research design changed quickly as it expanded to include Durham, non-government funded service organizations, and non-service organizations. As I started to interview immigrant organizations and social service agencies, I had to change my interview rationale, as not all organizations I wished to interview were available or interested. After my first thesis seminar presentation (Fall 2009), I also had to change the nature of my research question and a few of my objectives as they were beyond what I was capable of measuring in this time frame. Besides a few roadblocks, perhaps my largest difficulty was properly marketing my research to prospective interviewees. Initially, most municipalities showed little interest in my project, as they thought it was irrelevant to their jurisdiction. This goes to show how important a persuasive sales pitch is. In addition, I was surprised by the lack of interest among some immigrant organizations. They were not nearly as open or welcoming to my research, as I anticipated, which seemed strange considering this was a first rate opportunity for them to offer their views for a research project. At the same time, trying to get in touch with immigrant organizations was a considerable challenge. For a short time, no matter which method I employed, I could never reach the person who I should talk to.

If I were to do this research project over, I would do a few things differently. First, I would have sharpened my semi-structured interview guides. Once I began conducting interviews, I noticed I had a few unnecessary questions that I rarely ended up
asking. Second, I would have started interviewing immigrant organizations first, as they were hardest to get in touch with. Moreover, they had more insight into which individuals were best to interview in the municipalities. Lastly, before beginning, I would have conducted a more thorough research of the historical context of immigration in Durham.

Limitations

The largest limitation for my thesis was the time frame. While I did formulate the research design and engage with the ethics review prior to September 2009, I had only eight months to create, develop, and implement an entire thesis project, I was extremely constrained as to how many interviews I could do or how much background research I could conduct. Next, because I used the governance structure as my theoretical framework, there was no human agency accounted for in my approach. In addition, in empirical terms, since I focused on services provided by immigrant organizations and municipalities, I did not talk to any immigrants who used the services. In order to determine the effectiveness of these services, obviously, one would have to interview the users of those specific services (i.e., a sample of people from different immigrant communities in Durham region). Again, in terms of interviews, I interviewed only a quarter of all the immigrant organizations in Durham, which is only a sample of the larger number of organizations. Furthermore, because of the broadness of my semi-structured interview guides, not all informants were able to answer every question. As a result, in some cases, there are areas, that have been left unexamined.
Areas for Future Research

In order to determine how effectively the governance structure is working in Durham in terms of immigrant integration services, the individuals that researchers need to speak with are immigrants themselves. Therefore, interviewing immigrants about the governance structure in Durham and service availability and accessibility to gather their views would be an important area for future research. In addition, my research focused on the local level in terms of government, I did not interview anybody from upper levels of government. With this in mind, it would be useful to speak to members from either level of upper level governments to see how their views on downloading or policy deficits compare with those of Durham’s municipalities (i.e., key informants at the federal and provincial levels). Similarly, in the future, it would be extremely intriguing to examine how Durham’s Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council plays out as it represents a paradigm shift in intergovernmental relations. It is no secret that when immigrants move to Canada, they face many barriers. However, the barriers immigrant organizations face in terms of acquiring funding or working with governments is a very interesting area, which could definitely use further study. In sum, when I set out to complete this thesis, part of what I wanted to know was whether immigrant organizations were developing to address a service gap left by public service restructuring. In Durham, because of its recent influx of immigrants, this was hard to determine because I was unsure as to if they were developing because of a service gap or simply because immigrant groups were looking to build their new social networks. This is a complicated dilemma, which one requires more research.
Importance of the Research

In sum, the Durham Region is at a turning point in terms of immigration. According to the 2006 census data, immigrants now account for one fifth of the population, a number that governments at all levels can no longer ignore. Moreover, the Region of Durham has finally taken its first step towards developing an immigration strategy for the region with its Local Diversity and Immigration Partnership Council. This council will be the blueprint for how Durham will address immigration moving forward. Yet, at the same time, little scholarly research has been completed on Durham as it relates to immigration. Most research on Durham is not focused specifically on Durham but rather Durham as it relates to the larger GTA. It is within this context that my research sits. Because such little research has been completed, the findings of this thesis, regardless of its limitations, serve as a valuable tool for both present policy and future research. Moreover, the results and findings could be useful to both immigrant organizations and municipal governments.

To conclude, fortunately, on a small scale, this research already has produced change. Durham has a list on its website and in its directories of all the ethno-cultural and immigrant organizations in the region. For my purposes, I used this list when I started calling immigrant organizations. After phoning numerous numbers and not getting in touch with any organizations or their members, I soon realized, the list was out of date. I began to mention this within my interviews and as of two months ago, Durham Region was taking action to update the list. Although this is minor change, it does represent a step in the right direction in terms of resolving the accessibility issue, which plagues Durham’s governance structure.
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