INTEGRATION OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTED REFUGEES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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Abstract

Why are some refugees more likely to receive provincial income assistance than others? This study looks at 3,608 Government Assisted Refugees destined to British Columbia from 1998 to 2004. By combining federal immigration data with provincial data on welfare, it finds that one in four refugees received welfare. Using logistical regression, the explanatory strength of the model is low. However, the following categories are shown to be significant predictors of receipt of income assistance: refugees with a formal trade, dependants, and women were more likely to be welfare recipients whereas refugees with knowledge of English, refugees from Africa/Middle East and Asia/Pacific, refugees destined to Surrey, and a common law marital status were less likely. Women at risk and urgent protection cases were hypothesized to be significant but were not. With these findings, this study supports the status quo but recommends language training overseas for refugees if additional funds are available.

Keywords:

Social integration, Refugees, Emigration and immigration Canada, Immigrants, Welfare

Executive Summary

Every year, millions of people flee their country of usual residence for fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. The preferred durable solution to refugee situations is repatriation. The second solution is integration in the first country of asylum. The last option, when the first two are unavailable, is resettlement to a third country. This paper looks at refugees sent to British Columbia pursuant to this third option and asks why some are more likely than others to receive provincial income assistance.

Canada selected 235,824 immigrants in 2004. The largest group were economic migrants chosen because they possessed skills and abilities that would allow them to integrate and contribute to Canada's economic prosperity. Their selection is based on age, work experience, education, arranged employment, adaptability and language skills. The second largest group was based on family relationships with a Canadian or permanent resident sponsor. The third category of immigrants is the humanitarian class, more commonly known as refugees. It accounts for approximately 15 percent of total migration. People in this class are selected because they meet the 1951 Geneva Convention definition of refugee based on a well-founded fear of persecution. Sub-groups within the refugee category include Refugees Landed in Canada, Refugee Dependants, Privately Sponsored and Government Assisted Refugees (GARs). This study focuses on the last group for whom there was no other durable solution than resettlement to a third country. There are approximately 7,300 GARs destined to Canada each year representing slightly less than three percent of total migration to Canada. Of this national annual intake, approximately 705 GARs are destined to British Columbia each year. They are selected overseas and destined to a specific community in British Columbia (mainly Vancouver). Once in Vancouver, they receive a range of essential services like access to health care and a social insurance number as well as one year of federal income assistance equivalent to provincial welfare rates.

The study investigates whether GARs rely on provincial income assistance following their first year in Canada. It relies on a unique data set developed over a five-month period that combines federal immigration records captured at the time of landing with provincial welfare data for 3,608 GARs destined to British Columbia between 1998 and 2004. The federal data includes

demographic and human capital factors used in other research and the provincial data identifies whether or not the person received provincial income assistance.

While client expectations were that most GARs received provincial income assistance, this study finds that the number is closer to one in four. The variable of education, language, gender, age, marital status, source area, destination, special programme and family status were analyzed using a logistical regression given the binary categorical dependent variable of income assistance (Yes or No). The predictive power of this model is low; the naïve prediction rate without the variables is 74 percent and increases to 74.1 percent with variables. The Nagelkerke R squared value is 0.048. What this means is that the variables used in this model do not greatly increase our ability to predict accurately which refugees are more or less likely to receive income assistance. The Exp(B) coefficients do however point to certain predictors as being significant and this study clarifies the importance of certain characteristics. These show that refugees that have knowledge of English are less likely to have received welfare compared to those with no knowledge of Canada's official languages. The hypothesis that higher levels of education should be negatively associated with receipt of income assistance was only partially founded, as higher educational levels were not statistically associated with receipt of income assistance. However, possession of a trade certificate was correlated with income assistance with this group being 35 percent more likely to receive assistance than those with secondary education or less.

One of the most counterintuitive findings from the research relates to Source Area. Data from 1998 to 2004 indicate that refugees from Africa/Middle East and Asia/Pacific are less likely to be on welfare. However, a bifurcation of the data in 2001 to investigate changes in welfare policy show that GARs from Africa and the Middle East were more likely receive welfare from 1998 to 2001 than Europeans. The importance of this finding has to do with the shift in source areas from 1998. The trend in refugee source areas has shifted away from Europe and the United Kingdom in the late 1990s to Africa/Middle East in the early 2000s. This variable examines the relationship between source area and income assistance. From 2002 to 2004, source area is not statistically significant. The result means arguments that posit that refugees from older source areas (i.e., Europe) would have less reliance on welfare because of the historical similarities between Canada and Europe is unfounded. Equally, and conversely, suggestions that refugees from newer source areas (i.e., Africa/Middle East) would be more likely to be in receipt of welfare because of the dissimilarities in history and culture are also unfounded. Overall, it does not appear that Source Area can be consistently correlated with receipt of income assistance.

Lastly, with respect to statistically significant variables, being female is also positively correlated with receipt of welfare as well as being a dependant. Negative correlations include the common law category for marital status, being in the age category 18 to 34. Destination is significant but changes depending on the timeframe. From 1998 to 2004, refugees destined to Surrey were less likely than those destined to Vancouver to have received income assistance. Separating the data to look at 1998 to 2001 and 2002 to 2004 results in positive correlations with income assistance for Burnaby and New Westminster respectively.

Some of the refugees in this study came to Canada under a special programme designed to meet the needs of women whose lives are at risk or refugees in need of urgent and immediate protection. However, the variable of special programme was not statistically significant which is counterintuitive. Most of the refugees in this study were in the programme of Refugees Selected Abroad (94 percent). Assistance to Women at Risk and Urgent Protection Programme were two other categories. It was hypothesised that the latter categories would be positively associated with receipt of income assistance and would be expected to encounter greater difficulties in adapting to life in Canada because of the greater needs associated with a more vulnerable population. However, there was no statistically significant relationship between these categories and income assistance.

After identifying significant and non-significant variables, a number of policy options were generated that might assist in shifting people away from income assistance. These are evaluated using four criteria. The evaluative criteria were chosen to reflect the political sensitivity associated with refugees. Political Feasibility recognizes that refugee resettlement involves numerous stakeholders and partners including international organizations, other federal government departments, other levels of government, and Non-Governmental Organizations. The success of any policy option will need to have the support of the broader settlement community and acknowledge the different roles played by different actors. The criterion of Effectiveness seeks to determine whether the policy option will work. It is measured by determining how closely the alternative addresses the predictor identified in the data. Equity is included as a criterion because refugees are by definition a group that has experienced discrimination and equity is about how different groups are treated. Lastly, Cost is included as a criterion because many settlement programmes are paid for by government and, as such, it is important to assess policy options against increases or decreases in budgets.

Six policy options have been identified including the Status Quo, none of which dominates. Letting present trends continue is a viable option as the overall rate in the sample is 25

percent and the current rate is less than 12 percent. The first recommended policy option to consider is Language Training Overseas to be delivered while waiting for immigration processing to be completed (often close to a year). This option flows directly from the finding that possessing knowledge of English was negatively correlated with income assistance. It envisions adding language training to an existing federal programme called Canadian Orientation Abroad. Costing for this option depends on how extensively the training is offered. However, it is estimated that a pilot project could be created for \$40,000 to \$100,000, which is the estimated cost for one teacher for one year. Costs could be substantially lower if a locally engaged teacher was hired in an area with lower local wages. The second option is for the Vancouver regional office of Citizenship and Immigration Canada to take the lead role in the development of an employment programme aimed at bridging refugees with trade certificates or informal trade skills with the local labour market and is not recommended because it is appears less likely to be effective for the most recent cohorts. The third option is an Enhanced Resettlement Assistance Programme. This option envisions an increase in the number of hours of essential services offered to GARs. This option could be included with the Employment Programme option by using the additional hours to focus extra time on employment. Essential services are delivered by a local NGO through a contribution agreement that currently provides for 13 hours of service. An increase of two hours would add an additional \$17,500 to \$21,000 to the local budget based on a wage of \$25 to \$30 per hour for approximately 705 GARs annually. However, this third option is not recommended because of effectiveness. The remaining two options are also not recommended. One of them is to do research in Surrey, Burnaby and New Westminster to investigate the why refugees destined to these cities were statistically significant (with Surrey refugees being less likely to have received welfare and refugees destined to New Westminster or Burnaby more likely to have received welfare than those destined to Vancouver). It is not recommended because it scores low against the evaluative criteria, especially Political Feasibility, as there exists the possibility that singling out one community for critical examination may not be welcomed. It would also be costly, as an entire study would need be developed and implemented without any guarantee that it would work. The option of Gender Based Programmes is not recommended because it falls outside of the jurisdiction of the regional office of Citizenship and Immigration, which is the client for this report.

Dedication

To Karen for all your support and encouragement.

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Glossary

CIC Citizenship and Immigration Canada

GAR Government Assisted Refugee

IRPA Immigration and Refugee Protection Act

MEIA Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance (British Columbia)

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

PSR Privately Sponsored Refugee

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

VIF Variance Inflation Factor

1 Introduction and Overview

Every year, there are millions of people displaced and persecuted because of their race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group or political opinion. In an ideal world, these refugees would return to their homes if it were safe to do so. Another option is to integrate into the first country in which they sought refuge. As a last resort, some refugees are offered resettlement to a third country. Canada accepts approximately 7,300 such refugees each year and approximately 10 percent of those are sent to British Columbia to begin a new life. These refugees, termed Government Assisted Refugees (GARs), receive federal income assistance for one year after their arrival in Canada. Some of these refugees go on to receive provincial social assistance whereas others do not. This study seeks to discover why some refugees are more likely than others are to receive income assistance.

One of the difficulties in answering this question is the lack of data. There is no publicly available source of data that matches federal immigration records with provincial income assistance programmes in British Columbia. This study draws on a unique data set that allows an examination of refugees resettled to Vancouver from 1998 to 2004. It combines demographic information obtained on the landing record with provincial data on income assistance. A logistical regression confirms that human capital factors such as language and education are important predictors of being less likely to receive income assistance but the regression also reveals two counter-intuitive findings with respect to refugee source areas and refugees arriving under a special programme. After analysing the data and consulting the client for this report – Citizenship and Immigration Canada in Vancouver – evaluative criteria and policy options were identified. The status quo is a viable option but some alternatives are identified that are thought to assist some refugees and make it less likely for them to receive provincial income assistance.

The second section of this report attempts to define the population of this study. It endeavours to situate refugees in context of migratory movements to Canada as well as define them in policy and law. The third looks at different research examining integration using proxies of earnings, unemployment insurance claims, and social assistance. The section grounds the independent variables used in this study and identifies key themes in the integration process.

The fourth section elaborates on the data collection, data sources, and the sample population used in the study. The data set initially contained all GARs destined to British Columbia. The section explains how the data set was built over a five-month period by combining federal immigration data with provincial welfare data resulting in a data set with 4,934 observations, which was further reduced to 3,608 adults. The section describes the statistical results. It includes descriptive statistics that indicate approximately one in four resettled refugees have received provincial income assistance. Graphs and tables are presented that describe the population based on education, language, gender, age, marital status, destination, source area, and special programme. The fifth section presents the results of the logistical regression including a discussion of the variables.

The sixth section describes the evaluative criteria and the policy options from the perspective of the client (the regional office of Citizenship and Immigration Canada in Vancouver). Refugees and income assistance are both politically sensitive in nature and involve multiples levels of government, and international, national and local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The criteria sought to reflect the complexity of refugee resettlement by identifying political feasibility, effectiveness, equity and cost as criteria. The data points towards enhanced language as a possible avenue to pursue in reducing the likelihood of receiving social assistance. The seventh and concluding section provides a résumé of the study's findings and suggests future research.

2 Immigration and Refugees

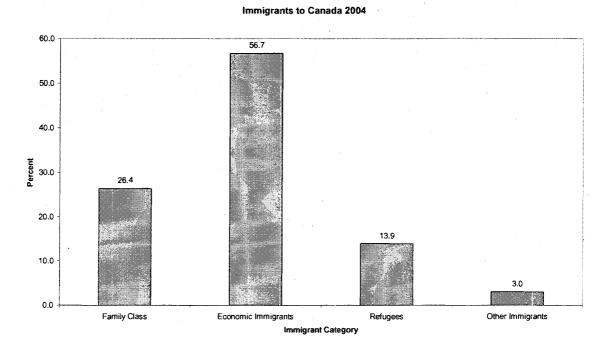
For some people, the word refugee conjures images of people leaving behind poverty and hardship seeking to build a new life in another country. For others it can mean people that have been displaced because of war or civil conflicts. For some it is both. This study focuses on Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) – which is a sub-category of refugees – destined to British Columbia. This section is primarily focused on defining GARs and situating them in the context of overall immigration to Canada. It is important to understand how and why refugees are selected because it tells about the population in this study. It provides both the statutory and policy objectives that explain who these refugees are – and who they are not – and provides an overview of the Resettlement Assistance Programme for which refugees are eligible upon landing.

2.1 Immigration - International Context

In 2000, there were 175 million international migrants, meaning people living in a country other than that in which they were born. Out of these 175 million migrants, 17 million were refugees, with the numbers being approximately equally split between men and women (International Organization for Migration, 2005, p. 379-381). The percentage of refugees in North America has been falling. In 1970, it was four percent falling to 1.6 percent in 2000 (International Organization for Migration, 2005, p. 399). In 2004, Canada accepted 235,824 new immigrants. The annual intake of newcomers has varied over the last decade with a high of 250,638 in 2002 and a low of 174,200 in 1998 (Canada, 2004).

2.2 Immigration to Canada

Figure 2.1 Distribution of Immigrants to Canada by Immigration Category, 2004



Source: Canada, 2004

Canadian immigration can be divided into three broad categories: economic, family class, and refugees. As with annual intake levels, there are fluctuations in the relative share of each category but the overall trend is relatively constant with economic immigrants representing the majority of newcomers and refugees in recent years accounting for 10 to 15 percent of total migration to Canada.

As can be seen in Figure 2.1, the category of economic immigrants represented 56.7 percent of all newcomers to Canada in 2004. Economic immigrants are selected for their ability to contribute to Canada's prosperity. The selection criteria are based on points awarded for work experience, language ability (in one or both of Canada's official languages), age, arranged employment, education and adaptability. Economic immigrants are thought to possess the skills that will allow them to integrate into Canada's economic and social fabric.

The next largest category is family class, at just over 25 percent. Family class immigrants are selected based on their relationship to a Canadian or Permanent Resident sponsor. Spouses are the main group in this category followed by parents and grandparents. The objective is to reunite

people with their family members already in Canada. Thus, this group's acceptance into Canada does not include specific adaptability requirements or labour market abilities: it is based solely on the existence of family ties. However, family reunification assists in the settlement of principal applicants by reuniting the family. The third category is the humanitarian class that includes refugees. In 2004, there were 32,686 refugees landed in Canada, who accounted for slightly less than 14 percent of immigrants to Canada in that year (Canada, 2004). The next section takes a closer look at the refugee category that makes up the core group analysed in this paper.

2.3 Refugees to Canada

The 32,686 refugees who came to Canada in 2004 were selected because Canada's Immigration and Refugee Protection Act has specific objectives relating to refugees, which allow Canada to meet its international obligations with respect to the displaced and persecuted. Canadian law defines both the purpose for refugee selection and refugee selection criteria. Refugees are selected because they meet the test of a well-founded fear of persecution. Thus, the essential basis for selection is not based on specific characteristics (such as adaptability for the economic class or familial ties for the family class) but rather the selection decision is based on fear of persecution.

2.3.1 Statutory Framework

The objectives relating to refugees are found in the *Immigration and Refugee Protection*Act at A3(2)¹ and are:

- (a) to recognize that the refugee program is in the first instance about saving lives and offering protection to the displaced and persecuted;
- (b) to fulfil Canada's international legal obligations with respect to refugees and affirm Canada's commitment to international efforts to provide assistance to those in need of resettlement;
- (c) to grant, as a fundamental expression of Canada's humanitarian ideals, fair consideration to those who come to Canada claiming persecution;
- (d) to offer safe haven to persons with a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group, as well as those at risk of torture or cruel and unusual treatment or punishment;

¹ References to the Act are prefaced by "A" followed by the section, subsection, paragraph and subparagraph where applicable.

- (e) to establish fair and efficient procedures that will maintain the integrity of the Canadian refugee protection system, while upholding Canada's respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all human beings;
- (f) to support the self-sufficiency and the social and economic well-being of refugees by facilitating reunification with their family members in Canada;

The key themes of Canada's refugee programme are found in statute. It is worth noting that the Act emphasizes the need for protection (as opposed to ability to integrate). Canada is a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol. The definition for conventions refugees is reproduced in Canada's Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2001. Section 96 of the Act states:

A Convention refugee is a person who, by reason of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion,

- (a) is outside each of their countries of nationality and is unable or, by reason of that fear, unwilling to avail themself of the protection of each of those countries; or
- (b) not having a country of nationality, is outside the country of their former habitual residence and is unable or, by reason of that fear, unwilling to return to that country.

The Act provides the framework within which the refugee programme operates. It provides clarifying objectives and links the programme to international obligations. This is important because it defines the characteristics of those selected.

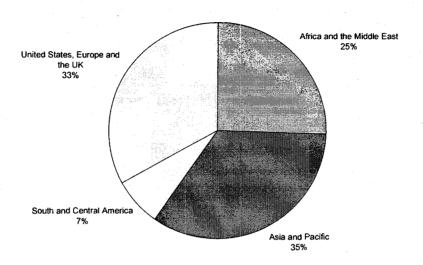
2.4 Source Areas for Refugees to Canada

As shown in Figures 2.2 and 2.3, refugees to Canada come primarily from two areas. In 2004, Africa and the Middle East accounted for 38.5 percent of refugees. Asia and Pacific represented another 37.2 percent. Canada has seen a shift in source areas for refugees over the last decade. In 1995, almost one third came from the United States, Europe and the United Kingdom.² In 2004, fewer than 10 percent of refugees came from that part of the world.

² Most refugees are from Europe, however the source area used by Citizenship and Immigration Canada includes the United States, Europe and the United Kingdom as one area.

Figure 2.2 Distribution of Refugees to Canada by Source Area 1995

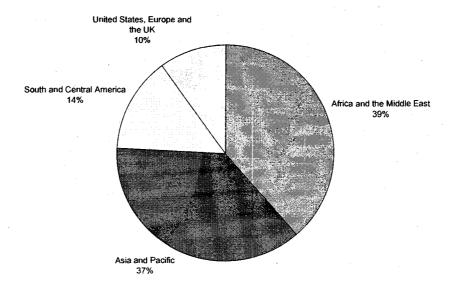
Refugees by Source Area 1995



Source: Canada, 2004

Figure 2.3 Distribution of Refugees to Canada by Source Area 2004

Refugees by Source Area 2004



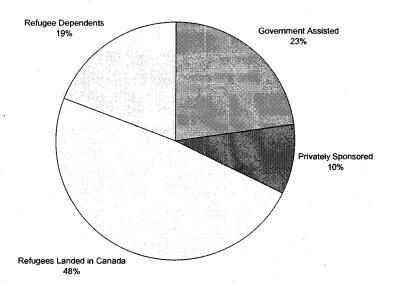
Source: Canada, 2004

2.5 Refugee Sub-Categories

As can be seen Figures 2.4 and 2.5, there are different sub-categories within the overall heading of refugee. The 32,686 refugees accepted in Canada in 2004 are further broken down into sub-groups. The largest category is the Refugees Landed in Canada class at 15,901 persons that accounted for just under half of all refugees in that year. An additional 6,258 were refugee dependants and 3,115 were Privately Sponsored Refugees. GARs numbered 7,411 (Canada, 2004).

Figure 2.4 Distribution of Refugees in Canada by Refugee Category 2004

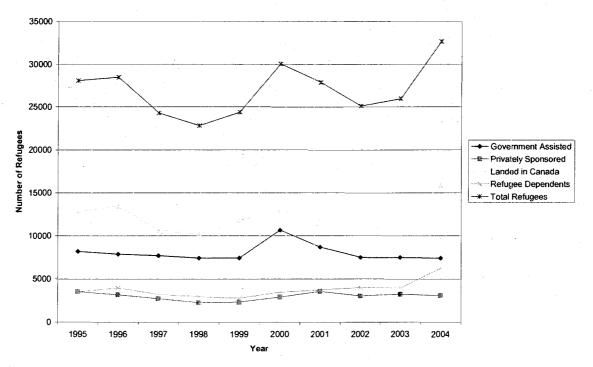




Source: Canada, 2004

Figure 2.5 Distribution of Refugee Sub-Categories to Canada 1995 to 2004

Refugees to Canada 1995-2004



Source: Canada, 2004

2.5.1 Refugees Landed in Canada

Figures 2.4 and 2.5 indicate that the Refugees Landed in Canada is the largest subcategory of refugees. These are individuals that have traveled to Canada to seek asylum. They have been found to meet the definition of convention refugee by the Immigration and Refugee Board in Canada and have subsequently been granted permanent residence by virtue of the refugee status conferred upon them in Canada.

2.5.2 Privately Sponsored Refugees and Protected Persons

Privately Sponsored Refugees are convention refugees being resettled who rely on private sponsors rather than financial support from the government. Figure 2.5 indicates a relatively constant trend over the ten year period ending in 2004, in which year 3,115 Privately Sponsored Refugees were destined to Canada. Canada also provides protection to others who do not meet the narrow definition in the Geneva Convention. To be a convention refugee, there are only five grounds of persecution: race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group or political opinion. However, Canada has expanded, through both legislation and regulation, the

categories of those in need of protection to include those in refugee-like situations. These included protected persons who may be granted protection in Canada if there are grounds to believe they will be tortured or face "unusual treatment or punishment" (A97). It also includes Humanitarian-protected Persons Abroad, which is further broken down into country of asylum and source country class. The asylum class covers those outside their country of habitual residence and who "have been, and continue to be, seriously and personally affected by civil war, armed conflict or massive violation of human rights in each of those countries" (R147). Whereas the Geneva Convention applies to refugees who are outside their country of residence, the source country class allows individuals in refugee-like conditions that *are within* their countries of nationality or habitual residence and who:

- (i) are being seriously and personally affected by civil war or armed conflict in that country,
- (ii) have been or are being detained or imprisoned with or without charges, or subjected to some other form of penal control, as a direct result of an act committed outside Canada that would, in Canada, be a legitimate expression of freedom of thought or a legitimate exercise of civil rights pertaining to dissent or trade union activity, or
- (iii) by reason of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group, are unable or, by reason of such fear, unwilling to avail themself of the protection of any of their countries of nationality or habitual residence. (R148(1)(b))

Only certain countries are designated as source countries; these are set out in Schedule II of the Act. These countries are selected by the Minister and can change over time. They have included countries where there is significant armed conflict and gross violations of human rights such as Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone and the Sudan.

2.5.3 Government Assisted Refugees in Canada

The purpose of this sub-section is to situate GARs within the overall context of refugee protection in Canada. Refugee protection in Canada falls under the humanitarian component of its immigration programme (Marr & Siklos, 2001). It includes a number of different types of

³ References to the Regulations are prefaced by "R" with the section, subsection, paragraph, and subparagraph where applicable.

refugees and reflects Canada's different international obligations and the objectives relating to refugees.

GARs are selected in support of objective A3(2)(b) "to fulfil Canada's international legal obligations with respect to refugees and affirm Canada's commitment to international efforts to provide assistance to those in need of resettlement." This category of refugees is the population covered by this paper. The *Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations* under R139(1)(d) define this category as:

- ...a person in respect of whom there is no reasonable prospect, within a reasonable period, of a durable solution in a country other than Canada, namely
- (i) voluntary repatriation or resettlement in their country of nationality or habitual residence, or
- (ii) resettlement or an offer of resettlement in another country; and
- (ii) in the case of a member of the Convention refugee abroad or source country class, financial assistance in the form of funds from a governmental resettlement assistance program is available in Canada for the foreign national and their family members included in the application for protection

This is known as the concept of durable solution and is essential to Canada's Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Programme. Resettlement is one of three solutions to persons in refugee situations. The other two options are repatriation and local integration into the first country of asylum. Repatriation involves voluntarily returning to the refugee's home country if it is safe to do so. Local integration means that the refugees are able to integrate into the first country of asylum and assume the rights and obligations of citizens. The last solution, as outlined in Citizenship and Immigration's departmental manual on processing refugees is resettlement, which:

...is intended for those refugees without local integration prospects. Resettlement may also be used as an instrument of protection geared primarily to the special needs of refugees whose life, liberty, safety, health or fundamental human rights are at risk in the country where they sought refuge. It is used for refugees unable to benefit from the other two solutions. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004, p. 16)

GARs are a sub-group of refugees that meet the Geneva Convention definition of refugee, are outside of their country of habitual residence, and cannot reasonably return to their

own country or integrate into the first country of asylum. As a last option, they are offered resettlement to Canada and assistance under the Resettlement Assistance Programme.

2.6 Government Assisted Refugee Selection

Before the introduction of *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* of 2001, refugees were given priority if they had the ability to establish (Nash, 1994 as cited by Hiebert, 2002). However, the current the selection criteria emphasize the need for protection over the ability to establish and are based on a well-founded fear of persecution. GARs are a sub-group of refugees and have been selected because there is no reasonable durable solution available to them. Unlike economic immigrants, they are not selected based on their ability to establish.

2.7 Refugees in British Columbia

In 2004, British Columbia received 37,018 immigrants. Most were economic immigrants (22,938) followed by the family class (10,866) and lastly, 2,367 were refugees, with the latter representing approximately three percent of the total immigration to British Columbia that year. Within the refugee group, 728 were GARs. It is this group, which averages approximately 705 per year for the years 1998 to 2004 that is the subject of this study.

2.8 Resettlement Assistance Programme

Refugees selected for resettlement to Canada are eligible for services provided under the Resettlement Assistance Programme (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003). It is a complex programme that that takes refugees from around the world and sends them to specific communities in Canada. It involves international organizations, Canadian missions abroad, a Matching Centre in Ottawa that destines refugees to their new communities as well as Service Providing Organizations to deliver services at the local level. This programme is designed to meet Canada's international obligations to the displaced and the persecuted. It supports Canada's obligations under the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol, which Canada signed in 1969. The Humanitarian Resettlement Programme has the following four principles (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003):

- 1. A shift toward protection rather than ability to establish
- 2. Rapid family reunion

- 3. Accelerated processing of urgent and vulnerable protection cases
- 4. Balancing inclusiveness with effective management through closer relationships with partners (p. 10)

Overseas, refugees are referred to the Canadian visa offices by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). A Canadian official determines whether they have a well-founded fear of persecution and determines whether they are in need of resettlement. The Matching Centre determines where to send the refugees in Canada by "destining [which] is the process whereby best efforts are made to send (destine) refugees to a location within Canada, where community resources and services will best support their resettlement and integration needs (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003, p. 15).

The Canadian portion of the programme includes a component of income assistance that is based on provincial income assistance rates for one year after their arrival in Canada. The second component of the programme is the delivery of essential services. These are contracted to a Service Providing Organization in Canada through contribution agreements. The services include meeting refugees at the airport, providing temporary initial shelter and an intake process. The intake is designed to ensure that refugees are oriented to their new community and equipped with access to other government services such as health care, social insurance numbers, etc. Additionally, the programme also provides for assistance in locating permanent accommodation. These services are normally delivered in the first six weeks following arrival.

2.9 Summary

Canada is an immigrant-receiving nation that selects newcomers under three broad categories: economic, family class and refugee classes. The refugee class accounts for approximately 10 to 15 percent of migration to Canada annually. The statutory framework for Canada international obligations with respect to the displaced and persecuted is found the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2001*. Refugees are selected because of a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. It is important to note that refugees are selected because of their need for protection and not because of specific adaptability characteristics. There are sub-categories with the refugee class. Most are refugees landed in Canada. Out of the refugees selected abroad, approximately 7,300 are selected for resettlement under Canada's Resettlement Assistance Programme. Of these, on average, 705 refugees are destined to British Columbia where they

receive assistance in accessing essential services like health care and accommodation. This group, termed Government Assisted Refugees is also eligible for federal income assistance based on provincial rates. This group is the focus of this study.

3 Policy Problem

The previous section identified the purpose of this study and sought to situate the sample population of refugees in the overall context of immigration to Canada. This section states the policy problem and grounds the forthcoming analysis in previous research. Different authors have looked at how immigrants integrate into Canada by examining their relationship with the labour market through the lens of earnings, unemployment rates and social assistance. Human capital factors of language (English and/or French) and education are thought to be associated with positive labour market outcomes.

3.1 Policy Question

Why are some Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) in British Columbia more likely to receive provincial income assistance than others? As described in the previous section, GARs are refugees selected overseas for resettlement to Canada. This study does not include any other refugee sub-groups. Specifically, it does not include refugees that have arrived in Canada to seek asylum or asylum seekers who have subsequently been found to be Convention refugees or refugees who have been privately sponsored. GARs have been selected for resettlement to Canada because they had a well-founded fear of persecution and did not have any other viable durable solution to their refugee situation. They were selected in process that emphasizes the need for protection over the need to integrate. The next section briefly looks at integration and grounds the variables used in the paper in previous research.

3.2 Integration

Conceptually, there are two ways of thinking about integration. Governments can select people with the characteristics needed to integrate into Canadian society or the host society can provide programmes to allow newcomers to acquire the skills and abilities once they have landed. Thus, the goal of integration is achieved through both selection and integration policies. As Hiebert (2002) notes:

...from an economic point of view, governments strike a balance between two basic elements when they establish immigration policy: encouraging

'appropriate' people to migrate (selection): and providing the conditions to ensure that immigrants will succeed (settlement). (p. 2)

The Canadian government supports integration policies officially. In its 2005 Report to Parliament, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration stated that:

The successful settlement and integration of new immigrants is an important objective under IRPA [Immigration and Refugee Protection Act]. In order to maximize the economic, social and cultural benefits of immigration, newcomers must be able to participate fully in Canadian society and have access to the same quality of life that Canadians enjoy. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005, p. 41)

The Canadian government also dedicates significant resources to support this objective. For the fiscal year 2003-2004, an estimated \$396 million was set aside for the settlement and integration of newcomers. This is broken down as follows (Canada, 2003, p. 2):

- \$164 million to Quebec
- \$30 million to the Immigrant and Settlement Adaptation Programme
- \$45 million to British Columbia and Manitoba
- \$100 million to Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada
- \$2.8 million to the Host programme

Settlement services involve both federal and provincial governments through agreements negotiated under section 8 of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*. Citizenship and Immigration Canada has agreements with Quebec, British Columbia and Manitoba. Programme delivery is provided through NGOs that are funded through contribution agreements.

Successful integration includes the full participation of refugees in Canadian society and economy. Most agree that it is important for refugees to integrate into the workforce (Canada, 2003; Yu, 2004). The cost of not integrating is high because it fails to use available labour (in a period in which labour is needed), it results in increased costs to the public for income support, and it results in lost earnings for the refugees (Yu, 2004). In addition, not being able to participate in the labour market can lead to social exclusion. Different research has sought to measure integration through proxies such as earnings, unemployment insurance, and income assistance. The following sections look at some different approaches and the variables identified as significant in the integration process.

3.3 Earnings

There is a clear link between human capital factors and immigrant earnings. Higher levels of education and knowledge of French or English are linked with positive labour market outcomes. Chiswick (2003) found a statistically significant link between language (i.e. ability to speak French or English) and earnings. Using 1991 Census data, he divided immigrants into three categories based on language ability. The first group was composed of those that spoke neither English nor French. The second group spoke one of the official languages but used a non-official language at home. The third group spoke one of the official languages at home. Results for English Canada showed average earnings increase from slightly over \$20,000 per year for the first group to over \$37,000 for immigrants speaking English at home (Chiswick 2003, p. 471).

Hiebert (2002) also confirms the importance of human capital in labour market outcomes. His study uses the Immigration Database (IMDB) and covers the years from 1980 to 1996. He found that human capital possessed by immigrants at landing is directly linked to positive labour market outcomes. He notes average earnings for economic immigrants were \$21,380 whereas earnings for refugees were \$16,762. Some 70 percent of economic immigrants had knowledge of an official language compared to approximately one third for refugees. Average years of education are 13 for the first group and 11 for the latter. The contrast is even greater with skilled workers (a subset of the economic immigrants). As a group, their educational history included close to 15 years of schooling and over 90 percent had knowledge of English or French; they had average earnings of over \$32,000 (Hiebert, 2002, p. 17).

3.4 Employment

Marr & Siklos (2001) posit that differences in selection criteria for different groups of immigrants should be reflected in their propensity to claim unemployment insurance. It is hypothesized that economic immigrants, being selected for their education, experience, and language skills, should have the lowest rates of claiming unemployment insurance whereas refugees, having been selected on humanitarian grounds, should have the highest. Their study reviewed cohorts in 1980, 1985 and 1989. Education was significant for all immigrant categories (p. 98). They found that the larger the number of immigrants with less than 12 years of education was, the greater the number of unemployment insurance claims. Their results confirm that GARs

⁴ The Immigration Database (IMDB) is a longitudinal database combining information captured at time of landing (including human capital and demographic factors) with personal income tax records (Abbott, 2003, p. 316). Further information on the IMDB can be found on Citizenship and Immigration Canada's website at www.cic.gc.ca.

have the highest claim rates, followed in order by Privately Sponsored Refugees, Assisted Relative, Family Class and Skilled Worker (p. 102). Rates for GARs were significantly higher than the Skilled Worker category (with rates of 35 to near 50 percent compared to 10 to 25 percent for the latter) at least in the first few years. It should be noted that their study found some small variations between cohorts in the claim rates by immigrant category, however these differences do not detract from the underlying reflection of the variable of education and its relationship to claims for unemployment insurance. Further, they found that, while initially all groups had high propensities to collect unemployment insurance, claims declined over time and converged with the national average (Marr & Siklos, 2001, p. 92). Thus, the rate of unemployment insurance claims decreases with the amount of time spent in Canada.

Hou & Picot (2003) have also looked at unemployment rates and neighbourhood composition. They note the number of neighbourhoods with a high proportion of visible minorities is increasing in Canada. Hou and Picot (2003) found that neighbourhoods with more than 30 percent visible minorities increased from six in 1991 to 142 in 1996 (p. 14). They state:

Visible minority immigrants, regardless of how long they have been in Canada, have increasingly through the 1980s and 1990s found themselves living in neighbourhoods with larger numbers of people from their own minority group. In particular, each wave of recent arrivals (those in Canada for five years or less) has found itself living in neighbourhoods that increasingly resemble visible minority enclaves. (p. 11)

They note that these neighbourhoods have lower incomes and higher rates of unemployment but it is not clear whether this can be attributed to human capital factors or whether it is because foreign educational credentials are not being recognized (p. 16).

3.5 Income Assistance

Education and age are significant variables associated with the receipt of social assistance with older refugees being more likely to receive welfare as well as refugees with lower education (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998, p. 35-36). Social assistance, as an income source, was studied in a special report entitled *The Changing Labour Market Prospects of Refugees in Canada* (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998). Using IMDB data from 1992 to 1995, their study confirms – as expected – that there is a high rate of receipt of social assistance for refugees in the first year in Canada. GARs, by definition, are in receipt of social assistance from the federal government for their first year in Canada. However, the high rate of social assistance continues for this group after their initial arrival with 67 percent of GARs receiving social

assistance one year after landing and dropping to 56 percent in the third year after landing, which is higher than both Privately Sponsored Refugees and Refugees landed in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998, p. 34). The same study notes an increasing use of social assistance by GARs by comparing rates for income assistance three years after landing and notes an increase from 32 percent to over 50 percent. However, it concludes that this may be largely attributed to employment insurance reforms, which toughened eligibility, thus leaving social assistance as the only form of income (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998, p. 40).

3.6 Key Themes

The key themes emerging from the literature are the importance of the human capital factors of language – defined as knowledge of French or English or both – and education. With respect to social assistance, age was also found to be significant. Across different classes of immigrants as well as within subsets of each class, there is an overwhelming indication that human capital factors assist the integration of newcomers into the Canadian economy. While different studies have used earnings, labour market attachment, rates of claims for unemployment insurance, and receipt of social assistance as measures of successful integration, the research points toward the variables of education, language and age as most important.

3.7 Conclusion

GARs are in Canada as a last resort. They have been selected overseas for resettlement to Canada because there was no other durable solution. They were selected because of a well-founded fear of persecution. This study looks specifically at this group in British Columbia from 1998 to 2004 in relation to provincial income assistance. Other studies have looked at earnings, unemployment rates and partially at income assistance. At this time, there does not appear to be any specific studies that look in-depth into GARs in British Columbia. It is possible that one of the main reasons this has not been done is the paucity of data. This study is different from those cited in this section because it combines data from the federal department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the provincial Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance in British Columbia. The next section outlines the steps involved in obtaining the data.

4 Data and Methods

The previous section stated the policy question as: Why are some refugees more likely than others to receive provincial social assistance? It also grounded the variables in research. This section describes the steps involved in data collection, the population sample, and the model. It reviews each of the variables and provides descriptive statistics.

4.1 Data Collection

The data collection process began in July 2005 with discussions with various federal, provincial and NGO officials working in the field of refugee resettlement to assess the feasibility of a study and the availability of data to measure the integration of GARs in Vancouver. The study proposed matching federal immigration data with provincial data on social assistance using demographic and human capital variables as independent variables and receipt of income assistance as a dependent variable. Discussions proceeded through the following three months to determine whether permission to use the data could be obtained and whether the sharing of data was consistent with federal and provincial privacy laws.

The final research proposal was submitted to the Regional Headquarters for Citizenship and Immigration on 14 September 2005 (see Appendix A). It included amendments to reflect the need to remove small samples and comply with federal data retention policy on the collection and storage of the proposed data set. It specifically identified the population for research as GARs destined to Vancouver for a five-year period ending 01 September 2004. This was subsequently modified to cover a seven-year period from 01 January 1998 to 31 December 2004. The rationale for these dates is that the beginning date corresponds to the implementation of the federal Resettlement Assistance Programme and for policy purposes allows for an analysis of the target population under one government programme. GARs receive federal income assistance for 12 months after arrival, which is why the end date is in 2004; the purpose is to investigate refugees who move from federal to provincial income assistance. Within this methodological framework, further consultations took place in October 2005 with the Multiculturalism and Immigration Branch of the British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General to define the variables to be shared.

The data was transferred to the provincial government on 26 October 2005 following a final determination that the proposed study met federal privacy requirements and that the sharing of information was in accordance with the *Agreement for Canada-BC Cooperation on Immigration*. Approval was obtained by the Director of Programs of the Policy and Planning section for the BC/Yukon Region of Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Final permission was obtained for the use of data for research purposes in a letter of intent with respect to data use and ownership signed between the writer and the Director General for the BC/Yukon Region for Citizenship and Immigration Canada on 03 November 2005 (see Appendices B, C, and D).

4.2 Data Source and Sample

The data were collected from two sources: the federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada and from the British Columbia provincial Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance. Citizenship and Immigration Canada maintains national records on immigration. The federal data used in this report are captured from the immigrant landing record (variously referred to as immigrant visa, landed papers, record of permanent residence, etc.) which is the official document that immigrants receive at the point they land in Canada and obtain their lawful permission to establish permanent residence. Specifically, it is the information captured on the IMM 1000 form for immigrants processed for landing up until 28 June 2002 under the 1976 *Immigration Act*. Data for immigrants processed after that date is captured on IMM 5292 Confirmation of Permanent Residence which contains the same data but reflect status document changes introduced with the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* of 2001. The data contain demographic information and human capital factors including educational qualifications, knowledge of English or French, gender, age, marital status, source area, destination in Canada, special programme, family status, and year landed.

The population in this study are permanent residents admitted as GARs destined to British Columbia from 01 Jan 1998 to 31 Dec 2004. It represents all GARs for the time under review, save deleted cases for privacy and other technical reasons. The data are from FOSS Copy, which is a copy of the legacy FOSS (Field Operation Support System) system contained in the Data Warehouse. The data were transmitted to on 04 November 2005 to Carolyn Glover, Programme Advisor for the Regional Headquarters of Citizenship and Immigration Canada in Vancouver by Rick Carlton from Citizenship and Immigration Canada Headquarters in Ottawa.

⁵ The agreement is available on the Citizenship and Immigration Canada website (www.cic.gc.ca) and can be accessed at http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/policy/fed%2Dprov/bc-2004-agree.html

The set contained 5,105 cases, which was reduced to comply with federal privacy laws. Samples of less than five were deleted to avoid being able to identify the person. This was conducted on 14 October 2005 by Carolyn Glover. Citizenship and Immigration Canada provided separate lists of the population sorted by Country of Last Permanent Residence, Country of Birth, and Citizenship with the number of cases per category. A search was conducted in the data set to identify and delete cases with fewer than five in any of these variables. The following cases were deleted:

- Country of Last Permanent Residence: 64 cases deleted representing 31 countries
- Country of Birth: 74 cases deleted representing 40 countries
- Citizenship: 64 cases deleted representing 31 countries

On Friday 25 November 2005, the data set was further modified to comply with privacy laws by reducing samples of four or fewer for the variable of postal codes. This variable was supplied by the Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance. This variable contained the first three characters of the postal code but because some smaller communities only have one postal code, any code with less than five cases was deleted.

Additionally, the initial data set showed inconsistencies between the date of birth supplied by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the date of birth drawn from Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance based on matching the client records. There were 39 cases where the date of birth did not match. Each case was reviewed and a determination to eliminate six files was made by the Regional Programme Advisor for Citizenship and Immigration Canada based on her assessment of the cases. These six cases had significantly large deviations in age that could not be explained and were thus deleted. The remaining 33 files with age discrepancies were kept because the variations were insignificant; most differences were less than one year. Three potential causes of variations were identified. One, in order to calculate age using Microsoft Excel software, a function is created that calculates the difference in years between two dates. For age, the date of birth is subtracted from the current date. Thus, small variations occurred for individuals whose birthdates fell on or near the conversion dates in late November 2005. Second, some errors appeared to be typographical errors. The data services for Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance are completely distinct organizations and have separate data entry. Some of the entries appeared to be different because a number had been transposed resulting in a different age. Third, some refugees are from parts of the world that use different calendar systems. In some cases, exact dates are not readily

available when they are being processed for landing or the conversion factor from one calendar to another is not known. In some cases the first of January is used when only the year is known. These dates are subsequently modified when additional information is supplied. Lastly, for unknown reasons, one line in the data set (2077) contained no matching information from Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance and was therefore deleted. The data matched by the province was re-checked against Citizenship and Immigration Canada data for quality assurance. Finally, all cases of GARs arriving in November and December 2005 were deleted because they would still be eligible for income assistance under the federal Resettlement Assistance Programme, resulting in 4,934 observations. This number was further reduced by 1,326 by selecting out cases under the age of 18 to focus on the adult population. The final number of observations is 3,608.

4.3 Dependent Variable

4.3.1 Income Assistance

The dependent variable is receipt of income assistance from the province of British Columbia as measured by accessing the Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance for social assistance. There is one case per person. Each case is coded as having received social assistance or not (see Appendix F for variable recoding). The results of the logistical regression are presented in the next section. This section outlines how the variables were measured, hypotheses, and descriptive statistics.

Out of the total sample population aged 18 years and older, approximately one quarter are in receipt of social assistance with 26 percent who have received welfare and 74 percent who have not. The data indicate that approximately one in four GARs destined to the lower mainland from January 1998 to October 2004 were in receipt of social assistance from Province of British Columbia at one point since landing in Canada.

Table 4.1 Distribution of Refugees by receipt of Income Assistance

Income Assistance	Percent	Frequency
No	74.0	2679
Yes	26,0	940
		Source: Data

⁶ For example, see http://www.payvand.com/calendar/ for an example of converting dates of birth from the Islamic calendar.

As indicated in Table 4.2, there was an average of 705 GARs destined to British Columbia per year from 1998 to 2004. The lowest number was 630 in 2001 and the highest 759 the following year. The year landed is the calendar year in which the refugee landed in British Columbia. It was taken from the landing date reported on the immigration record at the time of landing.

Table 4.2 Distribution of GARs by Year Landed

Year	Percent	Frequency
2004	14.8	728
2003	14.8	728
2002	15.4	759
2001	12.8	630
2000	14.5	714
1999	13.9	688
1998	13.9	687

Source: Data

The cross tabulation for income assistance by year shows an increasing trend that peaks in 2001 and then diminishes rapidly in the next two years. In 1998, 30 percent of GARs received social assistance. That number continued to climb to a high of close to 42 percent in 2001. The percentage of GARs on incomes assistance decreased steeply to 20 percent in 2002 and then again to approximately 12 percent for 2003 and 2004. The following section deals with some possible explanations for the decreasing trend in the percentage of GARs receiving income assistance.

Table 4.3 Distribution of Use of Welfare by Year of Landing

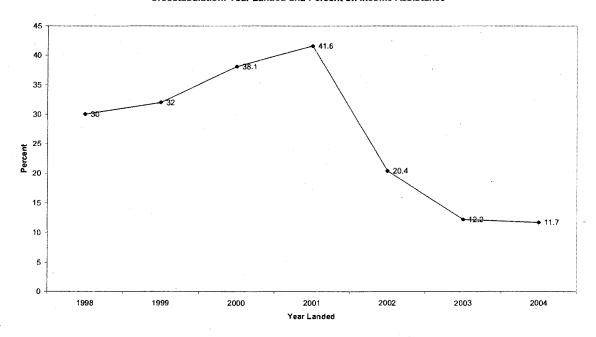
		,	.					
Income Assistance		1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
No	Percent use of welfare by Year of Landing	70.0	68.0	61.9	58.4	79.6	87.8	88.3
Yes	Percent use of welfare by Year of Landing	30.0	32.0	38.1	41.6	20.4	12.2	11.7

Source Data

⁷ Year landed is not included in the logistical regression because of collinearity with Source Area. Refugee source areas shifted significantly from 1998 to 2004. Refugees came predominately from Europe in the late 1990s and then shifted to Africa and the Middle East.

Figure 4.1 Distribution of Use of Welfare by Year of Landing

Crosstabulation: Year Landed and Percent on Income Assistance



Source: Data

One possible explanation is that refugees that have arrived later have had less time to go on assistance. Because the dependent variable is dichotomous and not linked to time, it means that refugees that arrived in 1998 may have received income assistance in any of six years from 1999 to 2004. Refugees that arrived later have had less time to go on assistance. For example, a refugee arriving in 2004 could only have received provincial income assistance in the year 2005. Potentially, if a similar study were done in the future, one might expect that the percentage of refugees arriving in the latter years in this study may increase because they would have been here longer and have therefore have had a longer time to be on assistance. However, this explanation does not seem plausible for two reasons. The first reason is that if the above explanation were accurate, then it does not account for the increases in the years from 1998 to 2001. During those four years, the percentage of refugees on welfare increased from 30 to 41.6 percent. Second, while this research study has a dichotomous dependent variable, previous research (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998) shows declining trends in social assistance at the macro level over time.

A second possible explanation is that the change in the percentage for those on welfare is attributable to policy changes introduced with the new Immigration and Refugee Protection Act in 2001. These changes put greater emphasis on the need for protection over the ability to

establish. This explanation also seems unlikely because it does not appear reasonable to link statutory changes made in 2001 with GARs in British Columbia in the same year. The law changed in 2001 but was not in force until June 2002. Assuming the bureaucracy overseas responded immediately, selection decisions it made in the summer of 2002 would not show up until at least 2003 because of administrative processing time required from application to final approval. A positive refugee selection decision in July 2002 for resettlement to British Columbia would mean that the refugee would likely not arrive until at least 2003 because of the required time to complete medical, security and criminal background checks. Therefore, there is insufficient reason to believe that the trend change in welfare at 2001 can be linked to changes in immigration policy.

A third possible reason is that the drop in percentage reflects policy changes introduced by the new provincial government in 2001. This is the most likely explanation. A government official at Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance advised that the drop in case load was brought about by changes in the provincial government at that time but also notes that the case load had been declining since 1995 (S. Knutson, personal communication, 26 January 2006). The changes ushered in during that time were significant. They involved a major reorganization of the income transfer to individuals based on an assessment that the system, as it existed before 2001, was financially unsustainable. Major policy revisions were introduced to shift the emphasis towards employment programmes (British Columbia, 2002). Changes were brought about in 2001 that resulted in changes to eligibility criteria for income assistance and had the effect of reducing the number of persons receiving income assistance. GARs were not exempt from the trend in decreasing caseloads.

As can be seen in Table 4.4, those on income assistance fall into different categories. The type of assistance refers to the provincial government designation for the person receiving income assistance. The categories are: Expected to Work, Persons with Disabilities, Temporarily Excused from Work, Expected to Work – Medical Condition, Persistent Multiple Barriers, and Child in Home of Relative. There is no hypothesis with respect to this variable because the information applies only to the group that has received income assistance. It is provided for descriptive purposes. It was measured based on provincial data matched to the immigrant record.

The categories are from the provincial Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance and refer to different groups within the population that did receive welfare. The largest category, at 80.6 percent, is the Expected to Work group. Persons who have a disability represent slightly more than 10 percent of the population. Slightly less than five percent were Temporarily Excused

from Work and the remainder fall into the remaining three classes: Expected to Work -- Medical Condition, Persistent Multiple Barriers or Child in Home of Relative.⁸

Table 4.4 Distribution of Income Assistance by Type of Assistance

	Percent	Freq	uency
Expected to Work	80.6		1039
Persons With Disabilities	10.6		136
Temporarily Excused from Work	4.6		59
Expected to Work - Medical Condition	2.1		27
Persistent Multiple Barriers	1.7		22
Child in Home of Relative	0.5		6
		_	_

Source: Data

4.3.2 Other Considerations

The sample represents almost all GARs in the lower mainland. There is no weighting of cases in the statistical analysis because the sample represents most of the population. The variables capture information on demographics, on human capital variables, and on different programmes but it does not capture changes through time. The immigrant data captured at the time of landing is a snapshot of the characteristics of that person at the time they became a permanent resident of Canada. The information captured by the Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance reflects income assistance received following their first year in Canada. Changes in human capital including language acquisition since landing are not captured.

The model does not account for secondary migration, which is inland migration after initial arrival. It does not include GARs that have moved to Vancouver or refugees destined to Vancouver that have left since landing. Thus, the descriptive numbers used for the dependent variable are on the conservative side, meaning that at least 25 percent of GARs have received social assistance. Some refugees destined to British Columbia will have left (or died in some cases) and if they did not receive income assistance, there is no way of knowing if they are still included in the population. However, this is not a significant problem because Vancouver is a city with low out-migration. Local records for secondary migration out of the region for 2000 to 2004 show an average percentage transfer out rate of 11.3 percent (C. Glover, personal communication, 27 January 2006). This means that an alternative analysis would show the sample population

⁸ More detailed information on the categories can be found on the provincial website at http://www.gov.bc.ca/bvprd/bc/channel.do?action=ministry&channelID=-8388&navId=NAV ID province.

reduced by 558 persons, which would slightly increase the percentage of GARs that have received income assistance from 25 to 29.4 percent. It should be noted that it is still valid to assert that 25 percent of GARs destined to British Columbia from 1998 to 2004 did receive income assistance. It is also valid to state that the number of GARs that did receive income assistance (n=1289) represents 29.4 percent of GARs originally destined to British Columbia and who have not subsequently left.

4.4 Independent Variables

Table 4.5 Summary of Variables and Hypotheses for Income Assistance

Variables	Hypothesis
Language (L)	L↑IA↓
Education (E)	E↑IA↓
Gender	None
Marital Status	None
Source Area	None
Age (A)	$A\downarrow IA\downarrow$
Destination	None
Family	None
Special Programme (SP)	SP ↑ IA ↑
Dependent Variable: Incom	e Assistance (IA)

4.4.1 Language

This variable is measured from the information reported on the immigrant record at the time of landing. It is self-reported rather than a formal test of language (Marr, 2001, p. 96). It reports knowledge of Canada's official languages: French, English or both. This is considered one of the key human capital factors. Thus, it allows comparison between individuals who have knowledge of English or French when they arrived in Canada and those that had no knowledge of one of the official languages. The hypothesis with respect to this variable is that knowledge of either English is associated with a lower likelihood of receipt of income assistance.

The descriptive statistics for language indicate that it is clear that most refugees destined to British Columbia from 1998 to 2004 have no knowledge of English or French. Over 80 percent did not know one of the official languages at the time of landing. Close to 16 percent had knowledge of English and the remainder fall in the categories of Bilingual or French. The cross-

tabulation for language and income assistance is consistent with the hypothesis that knowledge of English or French is negatively associated with receipt of welfare. Out of those without knowledge of English or French, 27.5 percent were in receipt of income assistance. For those with knowledge of English, there is a decrease to 22.8 percent.

Table 4.6 Distribution of Language by Knowledge of English, French or Both

Language	Percent	Frequency
None	81.3	4013
English	15.9	785
Bilingual	2.2	108
French	0.6	28

Source: Data

Table 4.7 Distribution of Welfare Use by Language Category

Income Assistance		None	English	Bilingual	French
No	Percent of welfare use by Language Category	72.5	77.2	98.1	78.6
Yes	Percent of welfare use by Language Category	27.5	22.8	1.9	21.4
				~	.

Source: Data

4.4.2 Education

This variable is measured by the information reported on the Record of Landing or the Confirmation of Permanent Residence at the time of the person becomes a permanent resident of Canada. It is measured in five ordered categories: None, Secondary or Less, Formal Trade Certificate (or Apprenticeship), Diploma (or Non-University Certificate), and University. The hypothesis for this variable is that it is inversely related to the dependent variable. This means that higher levels of education are less likely to be associated with receipt of income assistance.

As can be seen by the Table 4.8, 4.9 and Figure 4.2, the adult sample population is primarily composed of persons with lower educational qualifications. Approximately two thirds of the sample population have little or no education. The Secondary or Less category accounts for 55.9 percent of the sample and 10.4 percent are in the None category. Ten percent have a Formal Trade Certificate whereas 23.5 percent have a Diploma or University education.

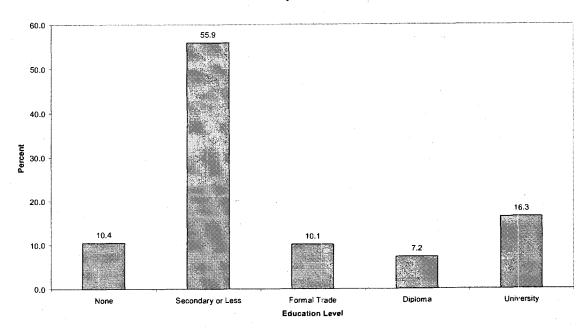
Table 4.8 Distribution of Adult GARs by Education Levels

Education - Adults	Percent	Frequency
None	10.4	361
Secondary or Less	55.9	1932
Formal Trade	10.1	349
Diploma	7.2	250
University	16.3	565

Source: Data (Note percentage total may not equal 100 due to missing cases)

Figure 4.2 Distribution of Adult GARs by Education Levels

Education by Level - Adults



Source: Data

Table 4.9 Distribution of Income Assistance by Education Category

Income Assistance		None	Secondary or Less	Formal Trade	Diploma	University
No	Percent of welfare use by Education Category	75.0	74.6	67.5	71.7	73.0
Yes	Percent of welfare use by Education Category	25.0	25.4	32.5	28.3	27.0

Source: Data

The cross-tabulation between Education and Income assistance surprisingly indicates that having no education is associated with a lower percentage of receipt of income assistance than the other categories. For those in the category of None, 25 percent received income assistance. This number increases slightly to 25.4 percent of Secondary or Less. In the category of Trade Certificate, 32.5 percent received income assistance. The corresponding percentage for Diploma holders or those with University education are 28.3 and 27.0 percent respectively.

This finding is contrary to what is normally expected; increased education is normally associated with better economic outcomes. The data appear to suggest that, as a percentage, there are more GARs with education on welfare than there are with no education. Possible explanations for this include the on-going problem of the recognition of foreign credentials. Educational qualifications obtained outside of Canada are not as readily recognized as Canadian credentials and are a barrier to employment. The fact that the largest percentage of those in receipt of income assistance in the educational categories are those in possession of a Formal Trade Certificate seems to indicate the need for specific programmes to bridge the gap between experience and qualifications obtained overseas with Canadian requirements.

4.4.3 Gender

This variable is measured from the information reported on the Record of Landing or the Confirmation of Permanent Residence and is dichotomous (male or female). There is no specific hypothesis formulated with respect to differences between men and women receiving social assistance.

The population is nearly evenly split between men and women with 46.3 percent women and 53.7 percent men. The cross-tabulation shows that slightly more women than men are in receipt of income assistance (27.8 percent versus 24.7).

Table 4.10 Distribution of Welfare Use by Gender

Income Assistance		Male	Female
No	Percent of welfare use by Gender	75.3	72.2
Yes	Percent of welfare use by Gender	24.7	27.8
		Se	ource: Data

4.4.4 Marital Status

This variable is measured from the information reported on the immigrant record at the time of landing. Categories include Married, Single, Widowed, Divorced, Common Law and Separated. There is no specific hypothesis with respect to Marital Status.

Over half of the population is married (56.1 percent). The next largest group is Single representing 37.5 percent. The other groups (Widowed, Divorced, Common Law and Separated) account for the balance. The cross-tabulation for Marital Status and Income Assistance shows there is a higher percentage of Divorced and Widowed that have received income assistance (30.8 and 34.6) compared to Married or Single persons. The lowest percentage was for Common Law with 3.2 percent that had received income assistance and 96.8 that had not.

Table 4.11 Distribution of Adult GARs by Marital Status

	Percent	Frequency
Married	56.1	1971
Single	37.5	1317
Widowed	3.3	117
Divorced	1.5	52
Common Law	0.9	31
Separated	0.7	23

Source: Data Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to missing cases

Table 4.12 Distribution of Welfare Use by Marital Status

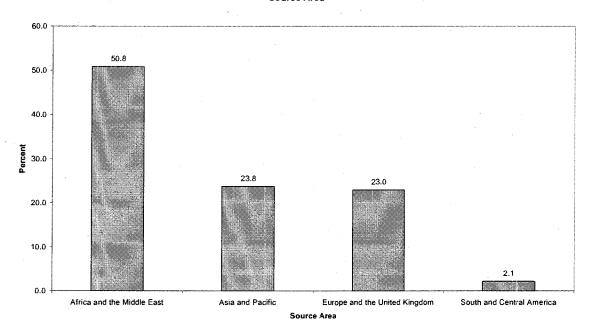
Income Assistance		Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Common Law	Separated
No	Percent of welfare use by Marital Status	71.9	77.1	69.2	65.4	96.8	82.6
Yes	Percent of welfare use by Marital Status	28.1	22.9	30.8	34.6	3.2	17.4

Source: Data

4.4.5 Source Area

Figure 4.3 Distribution of GARs by Source Area 1998-2004

Source Area



Source: Data

Table 4.13 Distribution of GARs by Source Area

	Percent	Frequency
Africa and the Middle East	50.8	2508
Asia and Pacific	23.8	1173
Europe and the United Kingdom	23.0	1134
South and Central America	2.1	106

Source: Data Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to missing cases

As can be seen in Figure 4.3 and Table 4.13, most GARs to British Columbia are from Africa and the Middle East. Source Area refers to the world geographical areas used by Citizenship and Immigration Canada in reporting migratory movements. The variable is measured by information reported on the immigrant record. The original data set contained 42 different countries of birth that were grouped into the four world areas used by the Department, which are Europe/United Kingdom, South/Central America, Asia/Pacific and Africa/Middle East. The purpose of the categories was to be able to do comparisons between the major source areas and

compare refugee trends in Vancouver with the broader refugee movements to Canada. While no specific hypothesis is formulated, the important question being asked is the relationship between source areas and income assistance. Given that source areas have shifted from 1998 to 2004, this variable seeks to examine what implications – if any – there are for the likelihood to receive income assistance.

Table 4.14 Distribution of GARs by Source Area by Year of Landing

, -	2	- /	Ģ				
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing	24.5	33.6	42.0	51.6	70.2	70.9	60.7
Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing	13.6	9.7	23.1	29.7	27.4	27.0	35.6
Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing	1.9	0.6	6.2	5.2	0.7	8.0	0.1
Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing	60.0	56.1	28.7	13.5	1.7	1.2	3.6
	Area by Year of Landing Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing	Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing Percent of Source Area by Year of Area by Year of Area by Year of Area by Year of 60.0	Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing Percent of Source Area by Year of	Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing Percent of Source Area by Year of	Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing Percent of Source Area by Year of Area by Year of	Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing Percent of Source Area by Year of Coordinates	Percent of Source Area by Year of Landing Percent of Source Area by Year of Area by Year of Counce Counce Area by Year of Counce Counce Counce Area by Year of Counce Counce Counce Counce Area by Year of Counce Counce Counce Counce Counce Counce Counce Counce Area by Year of Counce Counce

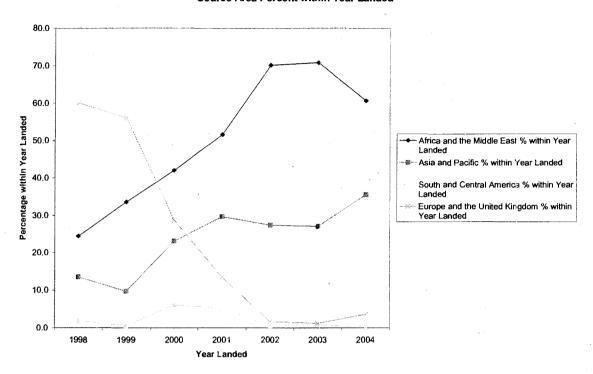
Source: Data

The source areas for GARs to British Columbia reflect the broader trends seen in refugee movements to Canada reviewed in the introduction of this paper. Overall, slightly more than half of refugees came from Africa and the Middle East. Asia/Pacific and the Europe/United Kingdom each accounted for approximately 23 percent each. South and Central America accounted for 106 refugees representing slightly more than two percent of arrivals from 1998 to 2004.

As can be seen in Table 4.14, the cross-tabulation of Source Area by Year Landed indicates a change in source areas. The trend is generally away from Europe/United Kingdom to Africa/Middle East and Asia/Pacific. For example, in 1998, 60 percent of refugees were from Europe/United Kingdom. That figure drops considerably over the next years to 28.7 percent in 2000 and 13.5 percent in 2001 with a low of 1.2 percent in 2003. The decreasing trend from Europe/United Kingdom is matched by an increase in refugees from Asia/Pacific and particularly from Africa/Middle East. In 1998, 24.5 percent of refugees were from Africa/Middle East. This figure increases steadily over the following years to a high of 70.9 percent in 2003 followed by a slight decrease to 60.7 percent in 2004.

Table 4.15 Distribution of GARs by Source Area and Year of Landing

Source Area Percent within Year Landed



Source: Data

Figure 4.4 Distribution of GARs from Africa and the Middle East by Year of Landing

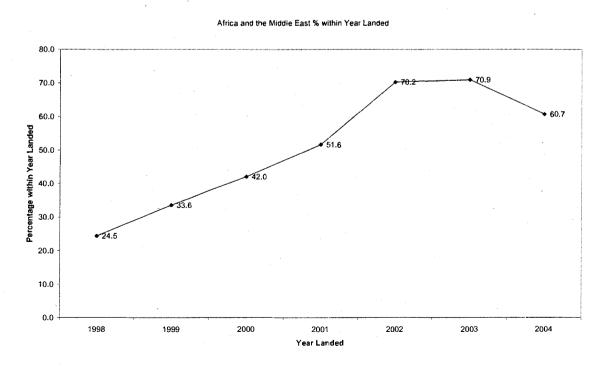


Table 4.16 Distribution of Welfare Use by Source Area 1998-2004

Income Assistance		Europe and the United Kingdom	South and Central America	Asia and Pacific	Africa and the Middle East
No	Percent use of welfare by Source Area	67.5	68.9	76.1	75.9
Yes	Percent use of welfare by Source Area	32.5	31.1	23.9	24.1

Source: Data

The cross-tabulation in Table 4.16 between Source Area and Income Assistance indicates that 32.5 percent of refugees from Europe/United Kingdom received income assistance. The lowest percentage of refugees that received welfare is for Asia/Pacific at 23.9 percent followed closely by Africa/Middle East at 24.1 percent. South/Central America is at 31.1 percent.

4.4.6 Age

This variable is measured from the date of birth reported on the Record of Landing or the Confirmation of Permanent Residence at the time of landing and was converted by Citizenship and Immigration Canada to age to comply with privacy legislation. The age range in the sample was from one to 86 years old, with nearly two-thirds under the age of 35. For the regression, years were converted to the following categories: 18 to 34, 35 to 49 and 50 years of age or older. The rationale for these groupings is that the categories are based upon the point system used by Citizenship and Immigration Canada for immigrants under the Skilled Worker category in which the maximum number of points are awarded for newcomers between the ages of 21 and 49 (R81). While this study focused only on GARs, the age groups used for the Skilled Workers are a reflection of adaptability with immigrants in the prime migratory age between 21 and 49 receiving the most points. The hypothesis for this variable is that lower age categories are associated with reduced likelihood of receipt of income assistance.

Table 4.17 Distribution of GARs by Age Category

Age	Percent	Frequency
0-17	26.7	1315
18-34	37.8	1867
35-49	27.5	1358
50+	8.0	394

Source: Data

4.4.7 Destination

GARs are destined to a particular community in British Columbia. This variable captures the location destination and is measured from the information reported on the Record of Landing or the Confirmation of Permanent Residence. The communities include Vancouver, Burnaby, Surrey, Coquitlam, New Westminster, Richmond, and North Vancouver. A separate category of Other includes communities located outside greater Vancouver. There is no specific hypothesis for the variable of Destination. However, researchers such as Hou (2004) and McDonald (2004) note that most new immigrants prefer large urban centres for the perceived economic and cultural benefits. Given that most (over 90 percent) of refugees are destined to Vancouver, this variable will allow an investigation into the relationship between location and income assistance.

Close to 90 percent of GARs destined to British Columbia are sent to Vancouver. The next largest frequency is found in Burnaby with four percent. Ninety-two persons were destined to Surrey and 88 to Coquitlam. New Westminster, Richmond and North Vancouver had 31, 20 and 15 refugees destined there respectively. Lastly, 52 refugees were destined to other communities in British Columbia.

Table 4.18 Distribution of GARs by Destination

Destination	Percent	Frequency
Vancouver	89.9	4437
Burnaby	4.0	199
Surrey	1.9	92
Coquitlam	1.8	88
Other	1.1	52
New Westminster	0.6	31
Richmond	0.4	20
North Vancouver	0.3	15

Source: Data Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to missing cases

4.4.8 Family Status

Family Status refers to the designation used by Citizenship and Immigration Canada to describe refugee family relationships. The categories include Principal Applicant, Dependant, Spouse and Common Law. It is measured by information reported on the immigration document completed at the time of landing. The following categories are included: Principal Applicant, Dependant, Spouse and Common Law. There is no specific hypothesis with respect to Family Status.

Table 4.19 Distribution of GARs by Family Status

Family Status	Percent
Principal Applicant	43.5
Dependant	38.6
Spouse	17.8
Common Law	0.1
C	ъ.

Source: Data

4.4.9 Special Programme

Special programme refers to an immigration sub-category. While all of the refugees in this study are GARs, some were resettled to Canada by virtue of a special programme designed to meet specific refugee situations. It is measured by information reported on the landing record. The main category (comprising over 90 percent of refugees destined to British Columbia) is the Convention Refugee Abroad Class. Refugees in this class meet the definition of the Geneva Convention for refugees as well as the requirements for resettlement. This means they are outside

their country of habitual residence with no reasonable other durable solution available to them. The other durable solutions are voluntary repatriation or integration into the first country of asylum (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004).

The other special programmes are Assistance to Women at Risk, Urgent Protection Programme and One Year Window of Opportunity. The category of Women at Risk is based on a UNHCR programme and is designed to meet the security needs of refugee women at risk because of their particular circumstances. For example, they may not have the protection normally provided by a family or the camp may be unable to ensure their safety. The Urgent Protection Programme allows for expedited processing for refugees whose lives are in immediate danger. Processing times are measured in days (i.e., from application to departure) rather than the usual processing times of many months. The One Year Window of Opportunity allows families who have been separated to be processed under the same initial application within a one year period. For example, a family member separated because of civil conflict can be named in the application and if he or she is located within a one year period there is no requirement to submit a separate sponsorship application from Canada or for the individual to apply on their own; they are simply processed on the basis of the original application (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004).

What the above special programmes have in common, compared to the Convention Refugees Abroad Class, is that they form a more vulnerable group and as such can be expected to experience greater barriers to integration. The hypothesis with respect to special programmes is that Women at Risk and Urgent Protection cases would be more likely to have received income assistance.

Most refugees destined to British Columbia are in the Convention Refugee Selected Abroad class (93.6 percent). There were 136 cases coded as Assistance to Women at Risk representing 3.1 percent of cases. The Urgent Pilot protection programme had 61 cases and the One Year Window of Opportunity had 38 cases. An additional 1.1 percent was in the Other category.

Table 4.20 Distribution of GARs by Special Programme Category

Special Programme	Percent	Frequency
Convention Refugee Selected Abroad	93.6	4147
Assistance to Women at Risk	3.1	136
Urgent Protection Programme	1.4	61
Other	1.1	48
One Year Window of Opportunity	0.9	38

Source: Data

4.5 Summary

This section presented each of the variables used in this study by describing their measurement, source and hypotheses. The dependent variable is receipt of provincial income assistance in British Columbia. The independent variables were obtained through information on the Landing Record or the Confirmation of Permanent Residence. They include the following: language, education, gender, marital status, source area, age, destination, family status, and special programme. The following section presents the results of the logistical regression.

5 Regression Model

The previous sections looked at the measurement and sources for the variables and presented descriptive statistics. This section reviews the results of the regression with one dependent variable and nine independent variables. The dependent variable is income assistance and is binary (Yes or No). Given the dichotomous dependent variable, a logistical regression was used. Tests for multicollinearity were performed on SPSS and there was no significant relationship between the independent variables. There are nine independent variables: language, education, gender, marital status, source area, age, destination, family status, and special programme.

Three different regressions were developed to investigate the relationship between the independent variables and the outcome of income assistance in three time segments. The first model encompasses the entire adult population in the data set from 1998 to 2004. Models II and III bifurcate the data to investigate provincial policy changes introduced in 2001 that significantly reduced income assistance caseloads, which is reflected in the data with a corresponding decrease in the percentage of GARs in receipt of income assistance by year landed, beginning in 2001.

Table 5.1	Logistical	Regression	Variables in	the Equation
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Model	.	I	,		II			III	
		1998-2004			1998-2001			2002-2004	
Variables in the Equation	В	Exp(B)		В	Exp(B)		В	Exp(B)	
Language	-4								
Language (English)	-0.348	0.706	*	-0.359	0.698	*	-0.475	0.622	##
Language (French)	-0.650	0.522		-0.295	0.744		-0.828	0.437	
Education									
Education (Trade Cert.)	0.297	1.346	**	0.109	1.116		-0.182	0.833	
Education (Diploma)	0.131	1.141		-0.149	0.861		0.640	1.896	
Education (University)	0.187	1.205		-0.027	0.974		0.443	1.558	

⁹ The test results are reproduced in Appendix E. Tolerance values do not approach 0.1 and VIF values are low; all are under two suggestion no significant relationship between the variables (Field, 2000, p. 201).

Model		I			li		III	
Gender (Female)	0.179	1.196	**	-0.005	0.995	0.474	1.606	*
Marital Status								
Marital Status (Single)	-0.160	0.852		-0.046	0.955	-0.420	0.657	
Marital Status (Widowed)	0.053	1.055		0.504	1.655	-0.095	0.910	
Marital Status (Divorced)	0.192	1.212		0.121	1.128	0.602	1.825	
Marital Status (Common Law)	-2.034	0.131	**	-1.439	0.237	-18.825	0.000	
Marital Status (Separated)	-0.583	0.558		0.299	1.348	-1.190	0.304	
Source Area								
Source Area (South and Central America)	0.334	1.397		0.089	1.094	-19.025	0.000	
Source Area (Asia and Pacific)	-0.290	0.749	**	0.151	1.163	0.451	1.571	
Source Area (Africa and the Middle East)	-0.220	0.802	**	0.344	1.410 *	0.436	1.546	
Age								
Age (18-34)	-0.367	0.693	*	-0.155	0.857	-0.699	0.497	*
Age (35-49)	0.017	1.017		0.038	1.039	0.011	1.011	
Destination								
Destination (Surrey)	-1.100	0.333	*	-0.381	0.683	-0.617	0.540	
Destination (Richmond)	-0.324	0.723		-0.447	0.639	-0.379	0.685	
Destination (North Vancouver)	-1.113	0.329		0.798	2.220	-19.000	0.000	
Destination (New Westminster)	0.648	1.912		-20.650	0.000	1.493	4.450	*
Destination (Coquitlam)	-0.428	0.652		-2.031	0.131	0.417	1.518	
Destination (Burnaby)	0.299	1.349		1.710	5.528 *	0.192	1.212	
Destination (Other)	-0.227	0.797		-0.368	0.692	0.486	1.625	
Family								
Family (Dependent)	0.365	1.440	*	0.124	1.132	0.712	2.039	*
Family (Spouse)	-0.062	0.940		0.056	1.058	-0.104	0.901	
Family (Common Law)	-18.036	0.000		· .		-0.431	0.650	

Model		i		Ii		W.
Special Programme						
Special Programme (Women at Risk)	-0.055	0.946	-0.401	0.670	0.546	1.726
Special Programme (Urgent Protection)	-0.837	0.433	1.056	2.875	-1.344	0.261
Special Programme (One Year Window)	-1.670	0.188	-1.478		-1.148	0.317
Special Programme (Other)	-0.843	0.431	0.122	0.228	* -19.142	0.000
Special Programme (Missing)	-0.117	0.889		1.130	-0.343	0.710
Number of cases		N=3,608		N=2,018		N=1,500
Nagelkerke Pseudo R squared		0.048		0.043		0.102

Notes: * $p \le 0.01$, ** $p \le 0.05$. Entries are standardized logistic regression coefficients.

5.1 Discussion

The main regression (model I) includes 3,608 people. The initial population of 4,934 was reduced by 1,326 by selecting out cases under the age of 18. Therefore, these results reflect the adult population of GARs destined to British Columbia from 1998 to 2004. Approximately one in four GARs was in receipt of social assistance through the Province of British Columbia for the period from 1998 to 2004. For clarity, this study does not imply that those that did not receive income assistance are employed. Instead, this study looked at who received social assistance by examining the relationship between refugee characteristics and the dependent variable and is able to confirm that for the seven years examined, 25 percent of GARs received provincial welfare. The naïve prediction rate without variables is 74 percent. With the variables included in the regression, the model increases to 74.1 percent. The Nagelkerke R squared value is 0.048. This means that the model explains approximately five percent variation between those who have received income assistance versus those who have not. The interpretation of this result means that the variables provided in the immigrant landing record do not provide a high degree of explanatory power in determining the relationship between GARs and income assistance. Model II looks at the population from 1998 to 2001, which is the period before the introduction of welfare policy reform that resulted in sharp declines in case load in subsequent years. This model includes 2,108 persons. The R squared is 0.043. The third and final model covers the years from 2002 to 2004 during which the percentage of GARs that received income assistance fell from 41.6 percent to slightly more than 10 percent in 2003 and 2004. This regression included 1,500

people and resulted in an R squared value of 0.102. These findings mean that overall, one cannot – with the variables used in this study – state that certain refugees are more likely than others to receive social assistance. It should be noted that with logistical regression, it is the interpretation of the Exp(B) value that is of concern (Field, 2000, p. 182). The following sections look at each of the individual variables and their relationship with the dependent variable of social assistance.

5.2 Language

Knowledge of English is negatively associated with receipt of income assistance and statistically significant. The regression confirms the hypothesis regarding language and is the only variable that is consistent throughout all three models. This means that GARs with knowledge of English are less likely to receive income assistance than those who do not know English. This variable compared GARs with knowledge of English to those that did not have knowledge of either of Canada's official languages. Refugees that know English are 29.4 percent less likely to receive income assistance.

5.3 Education

The findings regarding education partially confirm the hypothesis that greater education is associated with less likelihood of receipt of income assistance. With this variable, those with higher educational qualifications were compared to those that have secondary level of education or less or no education (None and Secondary or Less). The purpose behind these categories was to look at the difference between groups that had completed higher education and those that had not. Diplomas or University education were not statistically significant predictors of receiving income assistance. However, in the full regression (model I) refugees with a formal trade certificate were 34.8 percent more likely to have received social assistance. This may be due to the difficulty in having foreign credentials recognized in highly regulated occupations such as the trades and points to possible policy options. When looking at data the bifurcated data (models II and III), the variable of Education is no longer statistically significant.

5.4 Gender

This variable compared females to males and was statistically significant. Female refugees are 19.5 percent more likely than males to have received income assistance in model I, which covers 1998 to 2004. It is not statistically significant from 1998 to 2001 but it again positively correlated with income assistance for 2002 to 2004. It is beyond the scope of this paper

to try to explain why women are more likely to receive welfare than men are. This does however speak to possible policy options to investigate why this is occurring and whether or not targeted programmes need to be developed or improved.

5.5 Marital Status

This variable compared marital categories to the category of married. It found that the only statistically significant category was that of common law (n=32). This category is 86.8 percent less likely than the reference category to be in receipt of social assistance. It is not clear what this result means. It should be noted that the definition of common law has evolved in Canada and in the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* in 2001. Further study would be required to determine whether this is related to income assistance. This variable was not statistically significant in models II and III.

5.6 Source Area

Source area is statistically significant for GARs from Asia/Pacific and Africa/Middle East. The surprising finding with this variable is that people from Asia and Pacific are 21.8 percent less likely to receive welfare that refugees from Europe. Similarly, refugees from Africa and the Middle East are 19.2 percent less likely than those from Europe to have received income assistance. However, these finding only apply when looking at the data from 1998 to 2004. In an attempt to investigate the sharp decline in the percentage of GARs on income assistance in 2001, the data was bifurcated into two additional samples: 1998 to 2001 and 2002 to 2004. For the period from 1998 to 2001, GARs from Africa/Middle East are more likely to have received income assistance than Europeans (i.e., the relationship is reversed). For the period from 2002 to 2004, the variable of Source Area is not significant. The essential question that this variable tried to examine was the relative importance of source area with respect to income assistance. Does source area matter? As noted in the first section of this paper, source countries have shifted significantly over the last decade. The largest shift has been the decrease from Europe and the United Kingdom and a corresponding increase from Africa/Middle East. Asia/Pacific has also increased their relative share as a proportion of refugees to British Columbia, which is why Europe was used as the reference category. In the past, refugees primarily came from Europe and currently are now coming in greater numbers from Africa and the Middle East. However, in the middle of this period (i.e., 2001), provincial policy changes decreased the number of people

accessing income assistance. Thus, it becomes necessary to investigate the relationship between Source Area both before and after the welfare reform of 2001.

Notwithstanding confounding variable of provincial policy change, it appears that Source Area cannot be singled out as an important determinant in the receipt of income assistance. Looking at the data in different years yields different results. Overall, the relationships are weak; varying between approximately 20 and 40 percent, which further supports the relative non-importance of source area. The implications for this finding are important. Arguments that posit that refugees from Europe and the United Kingdom should have lower barriers to integration due to historical similarities are not supported. A contrary position that refugees from more recent source areas can anticipate greater barriers to integration and a corresponding higher propensity to receive social assistance is also unfounded in this sample.

5.7 Age

GARs aged 18 to 34 were 31.5 percent less likely to receive assistance than those aged 50 years or older. This is consistent with the hypothesis and was statistically significant for 1998 to 2004, 2002 to 2004 but not for the period from 1998 to 2001. While this paper is concerned with a sub-group of immigration (i.e. GARs), it is noted that selection policy for Skilled Worker (which constitutes the majority of economic immigrants to Canada), awards points based on age. The highest number of points is awarded to those aged 21 to 49 (R81). This variable looks at adults within this group and compares them to those over above the prime migratory age. The overall finding that refugees within a lower a category are less likely to have received income assistance is consistent with previous research.

5.8 Destination

Refugees relocated to Surrey were 62.5 percent less likely to have received welfare. This variable compared GARs from other cities and communities to Vancouver in the full regression (model I). In model II, covering the period from 1998 to 2001, GARs destined to Burnaby were more likely than those destined to Vancouver. For model III (2002 to 2004), New Westminster is positively correlated with income assistance. Almost 90 percent of GARs were destined to Vancouver. Other communities in the lower mainland of British Columbia include Burnaby, Surrey, Coquitlam, New Westminster, Richmond and North Vancouver. A final category of Other was created to capture the low number of refugees destined to smaller communities outside of the lower mainland with the objective of determining whether there was an urban/rural difference in

receipt of social assistance. The current data does not allow an explanation for these findings. Further research is required to determine why refugees destined to one municipality are more or less likely than others to receive income assistance. It is possible to develop a number of hypotheses such as the existence of a network of immigrant serving associations, specific labour market opportunities or the existence of strong ethno-cultural communities that may affect the propensity to receive provincial income assistance. A separate qualitative study could potentially examine and test reasons to explain this finding.

5.9 Family Status

Dependants are more likely than Principal Applicants to be on welfare (85.9 percent more likely than the principal applicant). This finding is consistent for models I and III but is not statistically significant for model II from 1998 to 2001. Dependants are defined in the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations (R2) as someone who is dependent on the Principal Applicant by virtue of being under the age of 22 or ongoing dependency due to school or medical condition. The data set used for this analysis does not allow an examination of family relationship between subjects as it was stripped of personally identifying characteristics to meet with federal and provincial privacy requirements.

5.10 Special Programme

The hypothesis regarding Special Programmes is unfounded as these programmes are not statistically significant predictors of income assistance. This is an important finding because GARs can be destined to Canada under special programmes usually designed to meet specific circumstances. These programmes include Assistance to Women at Risk, Urgent Protection Programme, and One Year Window of Opportunity. The Assistance to Women at Risk is a programme that can allow for expedited processing of women in refugee camps that are in need of protection because their safety cannot be ensured due to the non-availability of family protection or because the camp is unable to provide protection (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004, p. 27). The Urgent Pilot Protection refers to a programme designed to remove people on an emergency basis because of an immediate threat to their life or security (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004, p. 86). The One Year Window programme allows family members to processed on the original application by the principal applicant up to one year after to allow families separated (for example due to war) to be reunited without the delay and cost normally required to reunite families through a sponsorship. These programmes were compared

to the Convention Refugee Selected Abroad programme, which is the single largest category within the GAR population. The rationale for the comparison was that special programmes are designed to assist refugees in extraordinarily negative situations. It might be hypothesized that these individuals would have greater difficulty in adapting (and therefore be more likely to be in receipt of income assistance); however, this is not supported by the data. It should be noted that the category of Other in model II is statistically significant and is positively associated with income assistance. This category includes a number of different programmes that contained too few cases to be examined (n=30). As such, there is no particular importance or interpretation attached to this finding. The important result is that the two programmes that meet the needs of an extra ordinarily vulnerable population (i.e., Women at Risk and Urgent Protection) are not statistically significant predictors of income assistance.

5.11 Summary

A logistical regression was performed using the dichotomous dependent variable of provincial income assistance. The following variables were included in the equation: language, education, gender, marital status, source area, age, destination, family status and special programme. The naïve prediction rate is 74 percent and increases to 74.1 with the variables. The Nagelkerke R squared value is 0.048. The study found that approximately one quarter of GARs received income assistance. The hypothesis with respect to language was founded; knowledge of English is negatively associated with income assistance. For education, the hypothesis was only partially founded; it was thought higher levels of education would be negatively associated with income assistance but were not found to be statistically significant in this study. However, refugees in possession of a Trade certificate were more likely than those with Secondary or Less to be in receipt of income assistance.

However, this applies only when examining the entire population as it is not significant in models II or III. The hypothesis for Special Programme was also unfounded. It had been hypothesized that Women at Risk and refugees in need of Urgent Protection would be more likely to receive income assistance because their greater but this was confirmed by the data. Source area presented a counter intuitive finding: GARs from Africa/Middle East and Asia/Pacific are less likely than those from Europe to receive income assistance. However, a bifurcation of the data before and after provincial changes in welfare policy in 2001 yields different results. From 1998 to 2001, GARs from Africa/Middle East are more likely than the reference group to have received income assistance. The variable is not significant in model III which looks at 2002 to 2004. None-

the-less, the finding is important because it implies that source areas do not appear to be consistently linked to income assistance. Overall, the data points towards the language training and potentially employment programmes. The next section looks at the evaluative criteria used to evaluate policy options.

6 Criteria and Policy Alternatives

The last section looked at the significant variables in the regressions. Language was the only variable that was consistent in all models. Other significant variables, depending on the model, include gender, age, destination and source area. Also noteworthy is that special programme was not significant. The findings indicate that refugees with a formal trade certificate and women were more likely to have received social assistance. English speakers, refugees aged 18 to 34 were all less likely to have received income assistance. Refugees destined to Surrey, refugees from either Asia/Pacific or Africa/Middle East were all less likely to receive income assistance, and yet an analysis of destination and source country for different years indicate refugees from Africa/Middle East are more likely to have received welfare as well refugees destined to Burnaby and New Westminster. These findings point towards policy options for the Citizenship and Immigration as the client of this report. This section presents the criteria by which to evaluate policy options.

6.1 Evaluative Criteria

This section presents the evaluative criteria that will be used to assess and rank the alternatives presented. The criteria are designed to be "acceptable to relevant constituencies" (Patton & Sawicki, 1986, p. 139). In this case, the main constituency is the client of this report, which is the regional office of Citizenship and Immigration Canada located in Vancouver. The options are presented from the perspective of Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the criteria are designed to recognize the role that the regional office plays in refugee resettlement as well as the elements that are important from a decision-making perspective. The criteria on which options are based are Political Feasibility, Effectiveness, Equity, and Cost.

6.1.1 Political Feasibility

Political feasibility, as a criterion, is an explicit recognition of the multiple actors and stakeholders that are involved in refugee resettlement. From the decision to seek to refugee status abroad to their landing and subsequent resettlement in Canada, refugees face a myriad of

organizations involved in the refugee resettlement process. ¹⁰ Overseas, the UNHCR is involved in referring persons for resettlement. Canadian officials posted in missions abroad are responsible for processing the application including screening for medical, criminal and security inadmissibility. The International Organization for Migration arranges travel. Citizenship and Immigration is involved nationally with matching refugees to specific communities in Canada. In British Columbia, the regional office is responsible for programme guidance and the local office in Vancouver for the delivery of the first year of income assistance through the Resettlement Assistance Programme. In Vancouver, the Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia – a local NGO – is responsible for meeting refugees at the airport and the delivery of the essential services to them in their first few weeks in Canada under the Resettlement Assistance Programme. Settlement programmes, including English language training, are provided by the province of British Columbia. The list is not meant to be exhaustive but merely illustrative of the complexity of organizational interdependence that accompanies refugee resettlement. For clarity, this is not a political analysis of whether political parties (or political actors) are likely to support an option or not (though it can include general support by governments – for example on the need to support the integration of newcomers or address the issue of the recognition of foreign credentials). Instead, with respect to political feasibility, any option must pass a political test in a broader sense of whether the option will be supported by various stakeholders. Any option that does not account for the various organizations involved is considered unlikely to succeed. This criterion thus asks will the policy option garner support from those involved. The measurement for this criterion is subjective but is also based on an analysis of current conditions and opinions from those that work in the business (interview, 2006) as well knowledge that is currently in the public domain. Following political feasibility is the question of whether or not the policy will work. The criterion of effectiveness is intended to answer that question.

6.1.2 Effectiveness

The criterion of effectiveness seeks to answer whether the policy option will have the intended effect. Will the policy provide individuals with the characteristics that will make it less likely that they will require income assistance from the province of British Columbia? Is there a concrete link between the intended policy action and the desired outcome? What significant differences in outcomes are anticipated by the policy? What difference is there between

¹⁰ Information on Canada's resettlement programme can be found on the departmental website for Citizenship and Immigration (www.cic.gc.ca) under the heading of Refugees (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/index.html)

implementing the policy and not pursuing it? Lastly, how are the changes measured? This last question is crucial. Ideally, since the dependent variable is a dichotomous category of either having received or not having received income assistance, it would be advantageous if the outcome of each policy could be quantified by evaluating how likely it is to reduce welfare reliance. While ideal, this is difficult in practice. It must be remembered that the overall explanatory power of the model used in this study is low. This means that it can only explain a small amount of the variation between those that have and those that have not received income assistance. Because there appear to be other factors involved in social assistance, it becomes more difficult to establish quantitatively the direct impact of policy options. However, this is not surprising; ultimately; this study is using one measure – income assistance – to look at a complex process of integration through resettlement to a third country by a group that has suffered persecution and for whom a new life in Canada was the last available long term solution for refuge. What this study did reveal is that certain predictors are associated (either negatively or positively) with receipt of income assistance. Therefore, the measurement for the effectiveness for a particular policy option will need to be based on the relationship of the alternative to a particular predictor, which is linked to the dependent variable of income assistance. A discussion on the effectiveness is provided for each of the policy options identified. If effective, it is necessary to establish for whom it is effective. The criterion of equity addresses this question.

6.1.3 Equity

The criterion of equity is appropriate with refugees because they are – by definition – a group that has experienced discrimination and equity is about how different groups are treated. Equity revolves around how benefits – and services in refugee resettlement – are allocated among different groups. Which groups benefit more than other groups? If there is inequity, it is important to assess the importance of the inequity and determine if the policy option can still be considered notwithstanding inequity.

For refugees resettlement, equity is relevant because the policy options imply allocating services (for example English language training or an employment programme) differently among immigration sub-categories. This criterion seeks to analyse the implications of offering different services horizontally across different immigration streams (economic, family class and humanitarian classes). What are the implications of different services among different groups of immigrants? The criterion also analyzes equity vertically – that is to say within the refugee category; what implications are there for treating members of a similar group (i.e., refugees)

differently? If issues of political feasibility, effectiveness and equity are addressed, the next issue is that of cost.

6.1.4 Cost

Cost matters because large parts of refugee resettlement are financed by governments meaning they are ultimately funded using tax dollars. The criterion of cost is measured relative to the status quo and from the perspective of Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The ranking for cost is established to make it comparable to the other categories. This means that a rating of low implies that it does not rate well compared to the status quo (i.e., it will increase costs). A ranking of medium is viewed as cost neutral and a rating of low implies that it does rate favourably compared to the status quo (i.e., it will increase costs). Policy options are measured compared to how much they deviate from current practices and current budget allocations. Will an alternative be delivered within existing resources? If not, will it result in an increase or decrease in resources? The analysis is relative to resources available to and used by Citizenship and Immigration Canada for refugee resettlement. Some alternatives should result in decreased costs to other organizations. Where possible, these will be identified. However, the main measure is how much it will cost (or save) Citizenship and Immigration Canada relative to what it is currently spending. If a proposed alternative results in increased costs, dollar estimates are provided using an approximated range.

6.2 Alternatives

Refugee resettlement in British Columbia involves numerous stakeholder and many different levels of government. These alternatives are aimed at advising as to how Citizenship and Immigration Canada might alter its current policy. The alternatives are also presented taking into account the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration Canada (Canada, 2003) that notes the need for integration services is not equal for all newcomers; some bring extensive skills and abilities to Canada whereas others are selected for humanitarian reasons. For policy options, it may be necessary to build greater flexibility into settlement service eligibility. Most newcomers require settlement services during their first year in Canada but may access them for up to three years after arrival. However, this does not take into account the differences in types of immigrants. Some may not need any services or may only need to access services for a short period of time (Canada, 2003, p. 9). These options try to recognize the need for different settlement needs for different groups.

6.2.1 Alternatives Criteria Matrix

Table 6.1 Alternatives Criteria Matrix

	Effectiveness	Political Feasibility	Equity	Cost
Language Training Overseas	High	High	High	Low
Employment Programme	Low	High	High	Medium
Enhanced Resettlement Assistance Programme	Low	High	High	Low
Status Quo	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Gender Specific Programmes	Medium	Low	Medium	Low
Research Surrey	Low	Low	Low	Low

Note: With respect to Cost, a rating of low means that it compares unfavourably with the status quo and results in increased costs. Medium means cost neutral and high means it compares favourably with the status quo (i.e., decreased costs).

6.2.2 Recommendations

English language training overseas is the dominating alternative and is recommended. While the employment programme and the enhanced Resettlement Assistance programme score favourably against the criteria they are not recommended because of their low scores under the criterion of effectiveness. Gender specific programmes and researching specific communities are the lowest ranked and are not recommended. Gender specific programmes are not feasible because they are not within the scope of responsibility for the client of this report. The option of researching destination is not recommended because it scores low against all of the criteria.

6.2.3 English Language Training Overseas

This alternative envisions English language training delivered to GARs before arriving in Canada during the lengthy processing delays between application acceptance and travel to

Canada.¹¹ It should be noted that this recommendation specifies English based on the data that indicated knowledge of English was beneficial in British Columbia. It is recognized that French language training may be appropriate or desirable for GARs destined to French speaking communities, as well as to fulfil requirements under the Official Languages Act; however, such an assessment is beyond the scope of this study, which focuses on Government Assisted Refugees destined to British Columbia only.

This option recommends that English language training be added to the Canadian Orientation Abroad programme. The latter is a federally funded programme delivered by the International Organization for Migration in various locations around the world. This programme is offered over a period of three to five days. It covers basic aspects of life in Canada like finding accommodation, employment and weather. English Language Training Overseas involves adding a module of language training for GARs.

There are several advantages to this policy option. It scores highly on the criterion of political feasibility because it recognizes and takes advantage of existing partnerships in refugee resettlement. In terms of effectiveness, the policy option speaks directly to the predictor of knowledge of English as being negatively associated with income assistance. GARs destined to British Columbia were less likely to receive social assistance if they had knowledge of English. Chiswick (2003, p. 478) notes that a policy that selects immigrants with higher language skills will result in higher immigrant earnings. He also notes that an in-Canada policy that favours language acquisition will have a positive impact on labour market outcomes for immigrants. This option is also consistent with other research and literature that indicates human capital (language and education) is associated with positive economic outcomes.

In terms of measurement, depending on the specific nature of implementation, this alternative could be measured by looking at the percentage of GARs that identify having knowledge of English before landing. It would have direct costs for the federal government over and above existing agreements, which is why it rates low on the criterion of cost. While this option does incur additional costs relative to the status quo, it should be noted that by adding English language training to an existing programme, most additional costs are marginal costs. Because there is an existing programme, additional instruction can be viewed as a variable cost

¹¹ Processing times vary by mission abroad but are usually over one year in duration. Citizenship and Immigration Canada posts processing times on its website (www.cic.gc.ca); they can be accessed at http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/times-int/10-ref-government.html

¹² Information on the Canadian Orientation Abroad programme can be found on the website for Citizenship and Immigration Canada (www.cic.gc.ca); it can be accessed at http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/orientation.html

with low additional fixed costs. Estimating costs depends on the extent to which the programme is to be delivered. It is recommended that a pilot project be done in one area (based, for example, on source area, suitability of camp, existence of Canadian Orientation Abroad, etc.). While it is very difficult to estimate costs in the absence of an agreed level of effort, a useful benchmark is the \$40,000 to \$100,000 salary range for professionals at the United Nations. ¹³ It is not unreasonable to estimate that a pilot project to hire one instructor for one year could be delivered within this range. However, it is possible that costs would be lower if locally engaged staff were employed at a lower wage (Kinley, interview, 2006).

There are equity issues with respect to this option but they do not appear to be overly problematic for three reasons. First, the delimitation of a sub-group based on immigration category (in this case GARs) is valid. The status of Convention Refugee and Canada's Resettlement programme are premised on humanitarian and compassionate considerations; refugees are selected for resettlement precisely because of persecution. Thus, specific programmes that target groups that are arguably disadvantaged is appropriate when compared to other categories of immigration such as economic immigrants, which are selected because they already possess the skills and abilities to successfully establish. Second, the sub-group delineation could be redefined by language ability rather than immigration category. In this type of analysis however, the vertical inequity still exists between GARs and the main category of economic immigrants. As was seen in the section on descriptive statistics, GARs destined to British Columbia in large part do not possess knowledge of English. Whether the decision is to assess certain sub-groups of immigrants differently because of the persecution suffered as refugees or because of lower levels of language ability results in similar conclusions: In both cases, government-specific programmes are designed to meet the needs of a disadvantaged population. Third, and lastly, the vertical inequity inherent in delivering English language training to GARs overseas is not a significant concern because it seeks to provide services to allow for a minimum level of integration. There is no disadvantage to most other immigrants, who already have the language skills, except save for the cost of English language training overseas compared to other settlement programmes.

¹³ This approximated cost range is based on professional salaries for United Nations, which is the basis for pay scales at the International Organization for Migration (which delivers the Canadian Orientation Abroad programme. Salary ranges can be found at the website for the United Nations headquarters (available at http://www.un.org/Depts/OHRM/salaries allowances/salary.htm).

6.2.4 Employment Programme

This alternative suggests a specific programme to facilitate the employability of GARs with experience in the trades or other types of similar employment. It envisions the regional offices of Citizenship and Immigration Canada take a lead role in working with other partners in investigating the feasibility of developing such a programme. This option flows from the finding that refugees in possession of a formal trade certificate destined to British Columbia were more likely than those with an education level of secondary or less to be in receipt of income assistance. While the data indicate a positive correlation between this educational category and social assistance, they do not provide an explanation. One possible interpretation is that trades are a regulated occupation and the difficulty in securing employment may be related to the much larger issue of the recognition of foreign credentials - briefly, the issue that foreign educational qualifications and foreign work experience are not recognized by regulated Canadian employers. Another possible explanation is that GARs with trade certificates may be less willing to undertake employment outside of their area of expertise. They may be unwilling as 'skilled' workers to accept employment that is 'unskilled'. It is not possible to substantiate these interpretations within the context of this study. Further research is required to unpack the reasons behind this finding. This programme would target GARs who have a trade certificate and whose work experience could potentially be used if bridges could be built to match these individuals with employment opportunities. In addition, this option envisions not restricting the programme to persons with trade certificates but instead having it available to all GARs while targeted specifically to refugees that possess both formal and informal work skills in occupations that involve the trades or related occupations. One reason for this is administrative in that there are on average only 50 GARs with a formal trade certificate per year and as such, they are insufficient in number to sustain a programme. Another reason is that expanding the programme to all GARs, it potentially reaches prospective candidates that have skills in the trades or other similar occupations but that do not possess the official accreditation (C. Glover & C. Kinley, interview, 24 January 2006).

This option scores very high on the criterion of political feasibility. There are numerous groups working on the recognition of foreign credentials as well as Federal/Provincial/Territorial (FPT) agreement on strategic direction on immigration announced 04 November 2005 that included an objective to cooperate to ensure "improved outcomes to ensure immigrants' skills are used to full potential." As noted in the section on criteria, effectiveness is measured by linking

¹⁴ The document is entitled Federal Provincial Territorial Strategic Direction on Immigration and is available at http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/press/05/0525%2De.html

the proposed policy option to the predictor. In this case, there is sufficient reason to believe that a programme targeted to this sub-group with the Government Assisted Refugee population will be effective because it directly targets the group with the higher likelihood of receiving social assistance, however this only applies to the entire population from 1998 to 2004 and does not reflect the characteristics of GARs destined to British Columbia from 2002 to 2004. This option scores favourably on equity grounds as well as it is designed to assist a particular group to achieve greater integration into Canadian society through employment. The criterion of cost is also favourable in the sense that it is possible to carry out this policy option within existing resources and with partnerships with other stakeholders, notably the province of British Columbia. This option envisions Citizenship and Immigration Canada taking a lead role in guiding the allocation of current settlement resources based on an identified need. It would also be possible for Citizenship and Immigration Canada to take a larger role by incorporating an element of an employment programme within the provisions of the Resettlement Assistance Programme with associated costs. This is covered under the option of an enhanced Resettlement Assistance Programme.

This option however does not score favourably against the criteria of effectiveness insofar as the more recent data (i.e., model III from 2002 to 2004) is not statistically significant. While the variable is significant, looking at the entire population from 1998 to 2004, it is not significant in the other two models. Most importantly, the most recent cohorts do not display a positive correlation between education levels and income assistance. Thus, this option is not recommended because it is not directly tied to the characteristics of the current population.

6.2.5 Enhanced Resettlement Assistance Programme

The policy option of enhancing the Resettlement Assistance Programme is the most ambitious alternative in that it departs from the status quo to a much greater degree than the other options. It envisions expanding the number of hours of essential services provided to GARs upon their arrival in Canada. Currently, refugees receive 13 hours of essential services (see the section on Resettlement Assistance Programme for additional elements of the programme). The essential services are designed to provide refugees resettled to British Columbia with an orientation to Canada that covers such areas as obtaining a Social Insurance Number, locating accommodation, and accessing health care. It is delivered in the first six weeks of their arrival through services provided by a local NGO and is funded Citizenship and Immigration Canada in Vancouver. Under this option, Citizenship and Immigration Canada would increase the number of hours

available to GARs under the Resettlement Assistance Programme in order to provide additional referrals and assessments to employability programmes. This option is thus closely linked to the option of employment programme but with additional costs being borne by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. This programme would ideally be available to all GARs and not just those with trade certificates. The reason for this is that the number of refugees with trade certificates is relatively low (approximately 50 per year) and as such, they are insufficient in number to sustain or justify enhancing the programme. In addition, as a government official explained, there may be refugees who possess work skills but do not necessarily have the credentials (C. Kinley, interview, 24 January 2006). An enhanced programme would be able to identify and include informal job skills in an employment programme. It also differs from the employment programme option by changing Citizenship and Immigration Canada's role to a more active one for this category of newcomer only. This alternative involves a programme change that acknowledges that settlement needs are different for different types of newcomers and is consistent with the Report of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration (Canada, 2003). The Resettlement Assistance Programme includes essential services covering areas like finance, health care, and accommodation. This option expands service to add an element of employment counselling that is specific to an immigration sub-group selected on humanitarian grounds instead of economic reasons or family relationships. As such, it is designed to meet the specific and unique needs of a particular group.

This option, however, is not recommended primarily because it rates low against the criterion of effectiveness. As presented here, an employment programme that is not limited to refugees with formal trade certificates is more difficult to assess. It is more problematic to draw a direct connection between the targeted population (i.e., the sub-category of refugees in possession of a trade certificate) and the programme. In addition, while the trade certificate sub-category was significant looking at the entire population from 1998 to 2004, it is not significant for the most recent cohorts from 2002 to 2004. With respect to equity, the option scores favourably because targeting all GARs would include those with a trade certificate as well as those with informal skills. It scores favourably on equity grounds as well because it enhances a programme to target refugees and provide them with services designed to bridge the gap between foreign work experience and Canadian employment. This option however, scores low on the criterion of cost. To provide two additional hours of essential services for GARs destined to British Columbia would add an additional \$17, 500 to \$21, 000 to the local budget based on a wage of \$25 to \$30 per hour for approximately 705 GARs annually. With respect to political feasibility, this options

rates high because it is an expansion of complementary services being offered to refugees. It is in addition to the variety of services already being offered to this group.

6.2.6 Status Quo

The status quo, viewed from the perspective of Citizenship and Immigration, is to allow present trends to continue. This means that GARs destined to British Columbia would continue to receive services under the Resettlement Assistance Programme from the federal government and would be eligible for existing settlement services, including language training, offered by the provincial government and NGOs.

The status quo is considered a viable option using the evaluation criteria identified. In terms of political feasibility, from the perspective of CIC, it means continuing with the various roles and programmes that are currently in place for refugee resettlement. Initially, there was no readily available source to quantify how GARs were faring in Vancouver with respect to social assistance. In the absence of concrete information, various opinions existed on the extent of social assistance with estimates up to 90 percent (C. Glover, interview, 24 January 2006). The data for this study suggest that approximately one in four GARs have received income assistance from the province. It must be remembered that these options are being analyzed from the perspective of Citizenship and Immigration Canada and other stakeholders may or may not view the status quo as an acceptable alternative based on their own objectives and evaluative criteria.

With respect to effectiveness, there are various settlement programmes, including language training, that are available to newcomers to Canada including GARs. Existing programmes and services are predicated on human capital improvements to allow newcomers to develop the skills and ability for integration in British Columbia.

In terms of equity and cost, the status quo scored favourably against the criteria. The current situation does address the different needs of immigration categories. The Resettlement Assistance Programme is specifically designed to meet the needs of GARs. Other settlement programmes are accessible through provincial programmes. This option scores high on the criterion of cost because it is cost neutral.

6.2.7 Gender Specific Programmes

The policy alternative of providing gender specific resettlement programmes flows from the finding that women are more likely than men are to receive social assistance. As a policy option, it envisions further study to identify the underlying causes behind the differences between female and male GARs with respect to their likelihood of receiving social assistance and ensuring that resettlement programmes account for gender specific issues. It is not recommended that this option be pursued by Citizenship and Immigration Canada because it has some disadvantages as measured against the evaluative criteria.

Gender specific settlement or resettlement programmes are not an option using the criterion of political feasibility. While it be would disingenuous to suggest that programmes to ameliorate women's reliance on social assistance are not appropriate, it appears that other levels of government, other government departments and NGOs are in a better position to provide gender specific programming. It should be noted that Citizenship and Immigration Canada does conduct gender-based analysis (interview, 2006) on the Resettlement Assistance Programme at the national level and this potentially may be a source for review of policy action. There is insufficient evidence to conclude that the Regional offices of Citizenship and Immigration Canada in Vancouver have the mandate or the resources to undertake a programme to address gender inequality within the Government Assisted Refugee population (C. Glover & C. Kinley, interview, 24 January 2006). Further, additional study is required to determine whether the objective of reduced reliance on provincial income assistance is necessarily the most appropriate outcome desired in all cases. For example, a local government official noted that the higher likelihood of income assistance for female refugees might be related to family structure (C. Kinley, interview, 24 January 2006). Specifically, some refugees may be widows because of war and find themselves in Canada with children. Depending on the size of the family unit, it may be more appropriate for the head of household to access social assistance to allow for child rearing and other benefits. While the current data does not allow for an analysis of family composition because of privacy laws, it remains a sufficiently compelling argument that warrants further study to ensure that a blanket policy prescription to assist women off income assistance is the most appropriate objective in all cases. With the information included in this study, it is recommended that the regional offices of Citizenship and Immigration Canada note the finding and raise it in the appropriate forum such as federal/provincial working groups or national working groups dedicated to refugee resettlement in Canada with the goal of determining whether additional research into family composition is warranted to assist in the integration process.

6.2.8 Research Destination Community

This option is not recommended at this time for a number of reasons. The main reason is political feasibility; it is unclear that focused attention on immigrants located in a certain geographical area would be acceptable. If immigrant groups and NGOs working in the community are of the opinion that there are insufficient services being offered, a research project on Surrey could cause division by aligning groups against each other to prove that certain newcomers are doing well with other groups saying the opposite. It also must be remembered that GARs represent only a small portion of total immigration. It is possible that suggestions that GARs destined to Surrey are doing 'better' could be misread to imply that somehow all newcomers to Surrey are doing better than all immigrants to British Columbia. There is a danger that the specificity of this finding with respect a certain limited category of immigrants (i.e., GARs) is erroneously applied to a wider community. Further, the number of immigrants to Surrey is small (92 people over seven years). It is unclear that a qualitative analysis of Surrey is worth the potential harm to community relations. Such an undertaking would also result in increased costs. Research into the findings that refugees destined to Burnaby and to New Westminster are more likely to have received income assistance is also not recommended for similar reasons identified for Surrey.

7 Summary and Future Research

On average, 705 GARs are destined to British Columbia each year. This study examined the relationship between this group of refugees and provincial income assistance from 1998 to 2004. GARs are a sub-category of refugees that have been selected for resettlement to a third country. Resettlement is considered a last option for a durable solution. The question to be answered was why some refugees are more likely than others to receive provincial income assistance.

This study uses a unique data set that combines federal immigration data and provincial welfare data. The data set was created over a five-month period from July to November 2005. The initial data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada included 5,105 cases representing all GARs destined to British Columbia from 1998 to 2004. This number was reduced to 4,934 to comply with federal and provincial privacy legislation and then further reduced to 3,608 in the logistical regression to look at the adult portion of the population. The federal data contained the information captured on the immigrant landing record. This document contains demographic information and human capital factors like language and education. This data was matched with provincial records on income assistance.

The dependent variable is welfare and is dichotomous (Yes or No). The independent variables are education, language, gender, marital status, source area, age, destination, family status, and special programme. A logistical regression was done and found that refugees that spoke English, refugees aged 18-34, refugees destined to Surrey, and refugees from Asia/Pacific and Africa/Middle East were less likely to have received income assistance. Females, refugees with a formal trade certificate and dependants were more likely to have received income assistance. Two additional regression models were analyzed to investigate the sharp decline in the percentage of GARs receiving income assistance following provincial welfare reform in 2001 and resulted in slightly different findings. Refugees from Africa/Middle East destined to British Columbia from 1998 to 2001 were more likely than Europeans to have received welfare, which is contrary to the finding analyzing the entire data from 1998 to 2004. However, the overall finding that source area cannot be singled out as an important predictor of income assistance remains

valid. In general, the findings are generally consistent with previous research that suggests that human capital factors such as language and education are important.

The evaluative criteria selected reflect the politically sensitive nature of refugee resettlement. The criteria are Political Feasibility, Effectiveness, Equity, and Cost. The status quo is considered a viable option from the perspective of Citizenship and Immigration. In the absence of empirical data, anecdotal reports indicated that the majority of GARs received provincial income assistance. This study found that approximately one in four refugees destined to British Columbia from 1998 to 2004 received provincial welfare. In addition to the status quo, one other policy option is recommended which is English language training overseas. The alternative of including an English language-training programme to the existing Canadian Orientation Abroad programme flows from the finding that those with knowledge of English were less likely to have received income assistance. The employment programme stems from the finding that those in possession of formal trade certificate were more likely to have received income assistance and involves working with other partners to create a programme that would bridge the foreign work experience in trades (including those who may not have a certificate) with the Canadian labour market. It is not recommended because while the variable was statistically significant for 1998 to 2004, it was not significant fro 2002 to 2004 and can therefore be argued be less effective in that it does not respond to characteristics of the most recent cohorts. The enhanced Resettlement Assistance Programme option is very similar to the employment programme but involves CIC expanding the essential services offered to refugees from 13 to 15 hours to allow for a greater emphasis on employment. It is not recommended for the same reason.

There are a number of areas for future research. While this study found that approximately one in four GARs received income assistance, it does not provide any indication as to the outcome for the other 75 percent of GARs. The data used in this study does not allow any determination with respect to the integration of those that did not receive income assistance. It is recommended that research be undertaken to determine if these people are working or receiving other types of income transfers such as employment insurance or support from family members.

Lastly, this study focuses on the human capital and demographic factors as they relate to receipt of income assistance. However, the low predictive ability of this model implies other factors that affect welfare reliance. It is recommended that additional research be done into determining what other factors affect receiving income assistance. Possible areas to examine include the existence of established immigrant serving organizations, provincial welfare policy, and ethno specific community associations.

Appendices

Appendix A: Research Proposal

To: Carolyn Glover

Programme Advisor CIC Vancouver RHQ Tel: 604 666 8681

Fax: 604 666 1927

E-Mail: carolyn.glover@cic.gc.ca

From: Craig Watson

Student (and employee of CBSA on education leave)

Vancouver

Tel: 604 671 1518 E-Mail: craigw@sfu.ca

Date: 14th September 2005

Subject: Research proposal No. 3 on GARs combining federal and provincial

data

Hi Carolyn,

This is a revised version of a proposal for research into the integration of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) in the Vancouver area combining federal and provincial data. What follows are some brief notes under the some broad headings that will outline how the data can be collected as well methodology.

Policy issue/problem/question

Analyse the integration of GARs in Vancouver. As we discussed "How are GARs doing?" In essence the question is one GAR resettlement in Vancouver. Receipt of social assistance will be used as a partial measure or proxy for integration. I recognize integration cannot only be measured by income and the research would seek to place this in the overall context of resettlement.

Data required and Procedure

Data is required on GARs (immigrant category CR1) destined to Vancouver from 01 Sep 1999 to 01 Sep 2004 (or a five year period ending as close as possible to one year prior to the present date because GARs will be in receipt of assistance through the Resettlement Assistance Program for the first 12 months). This data should be available from CIC and should include the data captured on the landing record or the confirmation of permanent residence. All data fields captured should be included and those that are not required can be deleted. The important fields are name, landing record (starting with W – the province has indicted they need this), date of landing, sex, education, knowledge of official languages, country of birth (COB), country of last permanent residence (CLPR), marital status, etc. Population sample size is estimated at 4000 persons (800 per year times 5 years).

The table should look something like the following:

Case No.	FOSS record	Name	DOB	СОВ	Sex	CLPR	Etc	Etc
1	W123457890	Surname, given name	01 01 1960	Sudan	М	Sudan		
2	W123457891	Surname, given name	01 01 1962	Somalia	F	Italy		
3	W123457892	Surname, given name	01 01 1962	Iraq	М	Iraq		

The columns labelled etc. include the other information captured by CIC.

The following information would be given to the Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance (MEIA):

Case No.	FOSS record	Name	Receipt of social assistance (Yes or No)	Period of receipt (measured in months)
1	W123457890	Surname, given name		
2	W123457891	Surname, given name		
3	W123457892	Surname, given name		

This information is then returned to CIC, who will combine the last two columns (the dependent variables) with the original data. It should look something like:

Case No.	FOSS record	Name	DOB	СОВ	Etc.	Etc.	Social Assistance (Y/N)	Length of time (Months)
1	W123457890	Surname, given name	01 01 1960	Sudan			Yes	8
2	W123457891	Surname, given name	01 01 1962	Somalia	·		No	
3	W123457892	Surname, given name	01 01 1962	Iraq			No	

It is imperative at this point that the data received from MEIA be accurately matched to the case number. The is no methodological reason that the entire table (i.e. containing all of the GAR data be given to MEIA but there may be other reasons not including the fact that they do no need it to determine whether the individual has received social assistance).

CIC would then strip the name and FOSS record from the table. The other variables like DOB, COB, Sex, Education, Languages, etc. should be unchanged. If DOB causes some problem then age in years is sufficient.

The table should look something like:

Case No.	DOB	СОВ	Other characteristic	Etc.	Social Assistance (Y/N)	Length of time (Months)
1	01 01 1960	Sudan			Yes	8
2	01 01 1962	Somalia			No	
3	01 01 1962	Iraq			No	

The original table can then be destroyed or stored according to CICs retention policy. I will need to document and seek approval for the process to ensure data integrity. I would then be left with case numbers and characteristics as well as whether or not they have received social assistance. For privacy, it will be necessary to eliminate samples of 5 or smaller (if $N \le 5$, i.e., if there are only 5 GARs from a particular country, it could lead to identification and so would be removed from the sample). Further, I anticipate modifying the data set to focus on adults. I will have no need for any personal information that could identify any of the individuals in the population.

At no time will I be able to identify any individual in receipt of social assistance. CIC will know who is receiving of social assistance when they get the data from MEIA. It is my understanding that sharing of information regarding who is receipt of social assistance may be permitted. Again, the final data set will not permit me or anyone else to identify who is in receipt of assistance.

What the study will do

I will do an empirical statistical comparative analysis of GARs in Vancouver. I will be able to describe what the GAR population on social assistance looks like compared to those not in receipt of assistance. I will also likely be able to tell you which characteristics are more significant than others (e.g. education or language). Depending on the data, I would seek to provide a qualitative analysis of why some GARs are more likely to have employment income by interviews with subject matter experts. The policy implications will also be explored (e.g. language may be significant which could point to language training; COB could be significant which could affect destining decisions.)

Time lines

I realistically need the data by the end of September. I can do the numerical analysis and have preliminary findings by November. The preliminary findings will answer the

question of how GARs are doing with respect to social assistance. The policy analysis portion would be conducted in December and January. The analysis would seek to the answer the question of why some GARs are more likely to receive social assistance than others followed by recommendations.

Regards,

Craig Watson

Appendix B: Copy of Director's Letter

October 26, 2005

David Curtis,
Director of Planning, Performance and Data Services Branch
Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance
5th Floor, 614 Humboldt Street, Victoria, BC V8W 9R2
PO Box 9944, Stn Prov Govt
Victoria, BC V8W 9R2

Dear Mr. Curtis:

RE: GAR Research Project between Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the BC Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance

Following the spirit of the new Annex G: Canada-BC Memorandum of Understanding on Information Sharing on Immigration and Social Assistance, under the Agreement for Canada-BC on Co-operation on Immigration, I am writing to you at this time to advise you that Citizenship and Immigration Canada is providing immigrant landing data to the BC Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance (MEIA) in order to support a research project on the integration of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) destined to British Columbia. Carolyn Glover from my office has been speaking with Shannon Knutson from your office to develop the parameters and logistics of the research project.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) is currently conducting research on permanent residents of Canada who entered Canada as GARs. We will be sharing CIC's landing data with MEIA to determine how many GARs go directly from the federal Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) onto provincial income assistance and to identify any trends.

Policy Relevance:

The purpose of this research is to better inform both levels of government, including the new Federal/Provincial Working Group on GARs, in order to make recommendations and/or policy decisions on settlement and integration programs. Research from the BC/YT Region may also assist CIC's NHQ.

Process:

CIC has obtained landing data from our data warehouse on approximately 5000 GARs destined to BC for the time period: January 1, 1998 to December 31, 2004. CIC is now providing this data to your Ministry who in turn will run it through your computer system to determine if the individual is/was on income assistance and for how long and frequency. MEIA will then return the data to CIC in an anonymized, non-identifiable form so as to eliminate the possibility of being able to identify a particular individual. CIC then may share the non-identifiable data with a research student who will analyze the information. At no time will the researcher or anyone outside of CIC be in possession of any personal information of this population that will allow the public to identify particular subjects in the study.

Privacy Issues and Safeguards:

CIC's Privacy and Access division have reviewed this proposal to ensure that it meets federal privacy requirements as well as the intent of the information sharing clauses under the *Agreement for Canada-BC Cooperation on Immigration* for the purposes of research, planning and evaluating immigration policy and programs.

Thank you for your support of this project. We will be pleased to share the results of the research and final report with you which we anticipate receiving by late March 2006. If you have any questions, or need clarification, please do not hesitate to contact myself at (604) 666-6482 or Carolyn Glover at: (604) 666-8681.

Yours truly,

Jim Redmond A/Director of Programs, Policy and Planning BC/Yukon Region

CC: Heather Primeau, A/Director, Public Rights Administration Division, CIC NHQ

CC: Debra Pressé, A/Director of Resettlement Assistance, CIC NHQ

CC: Shannon Knutson, Immigration Policy Analyst, MEIA

CC: Deborah Goble, Access to Information and Privacy Coordinator, CIC RHQ

Appendix C: Copy of Regional Director General's Letter

October 26, 2005

Tom Jensen
Assistant Deputy Minister
Multiculturalism and Immigration Branch
Ministry of Attorney General
6th Floor, 1019 Wharf Street
PO Box 9213, Stn Prov Govt
Victoria, BC V8W 9J1

Dear Mr. Jensen:

RE: GAR Research Project between Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the BC Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance

I am writing to you at this time to inform you that Citizenship and Immigration Canada will be providing immigrant landing data to the BC Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance (MEIA) in order to support a research project on the integration of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) destined to British Columbia.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) is currently conducting research on permanent residents of Canada who entered Canada as GARs. We will be sharing CIC's landing data with MEIA to determine how many GARs go directly from the federal Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) onto provincial income assistance and to identify any trends.

Policy Relevance:

The purpose of this research is to better inform both levels of government, including the new Federal/Provincial Working Group on GARs, in order to make recommendations and/or policy decisions on settlement and integration programs. Research from the BC/YT Region may also assist CIC's NHQ.

Privacy Issues and Safeguards:

CIC's Privacy and Access division have reviewed this proposal to ensure that it meets federal privacy requirements as well as the intent of the information sharing clauses under the *Agreement for Canada-BC Cooperation on Immigration* for the purposes of research, planning and evaluating immigration policy and programs.

We will be pleased to share the results of the research and final report with you which we anticipate receiving by late March 2006. If you have any questions, or need clarification, please do not hesitate to contact myself at (604) 666-6301 or Carolyn Glover at: (604) 666-8681.

Yours truly,

Marilyn Viger Director General BC/Yukon Region

Appendix D: Use of Data Letter

November 3, 2005

Craig Watson 1215 Comox, Apt 208 Vancouver, BC V6E 1K6

Dear Mr. Watson:

RE: Government Assisted Refugee (GAR) Research Project and Terms of Reference

This letter shall serve as an expression of intent between Craig Watson and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) with respect to data use and data ownership for research into the integration of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) in the Greater Vancouver area.

Background:

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) is currently conducting research on permanent residents of Canada who entered Canada as GARs. CIC will be sharing CIC's landing data with the BC Ministry of Employment and Income Assistance (MEIA) to determine how many GARs go directly from the federal Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) onto provincial income assistance and to identify any trends. Craig Watson, a research student from Simon Fraser University, has approached CIC to provide an analysis of this data.

Policy Relevance:

The purpose of this research is to better inform both levels of government, including the new Federal/Provincial Working Group on GARs, in order to make recommendations and/or policy decisions on settlement and integration programs.

Privacy Issues and Safeguards:

CIC's Privacy and Access division has reviewed your proposal to ensure that it meets federal privacy requirements as well as the intent of the information sharing clauses under the *Agreement for Canada-BC Cooperation on Immigration* for the purposes of research, planning and evaluating immigration policy and programs.

Terms of Reference and Conditions:

- 1) Craig Watson is a Masters student in Public Policy at Simon Fraser University. He has submitted a proposal to CIC to research the integration of GARs in the Vancouver area using federal and provincial data (see attachment).
- It is understood and agreed that CIC is bound by the Privacy Act and that the data provided to Craig Watson has been purged of all personal identifying information.
- 3) It is understood and agreed that permission is granted to Craig Watson to use the data for academic research purposes only and that the use, transfer or

- release of the data for any other purpose is prohibited without the written permission of CIC.
- 4) It is understood and agreed that Craig is not currently an employee of CIC and CIC will not pay Craig Watson for the research.
- 5) It is understood that Craig Watson is a former employee of CIC and currently a CBSA employee on educational leave.
- 6) It is understood and agreed that Craig Watson shall provide a copy of the final report when completed to Marilyn Viger, CIC's Director General, BC/YT Region, who may share the research with interested parties.
- 7) It is understood and agreed that CIC owns the data and that Craig Watson shall return the data (and any copies) to CIC's Regional Headquarters in its original format upon completion of the research.
- 8) It is anticipated that the research and report will be completed by June 30, 2006 and that the data mentioned in #7 will be returned to CIC no later than this date.
- 9) In the event either party would like to publish the research, both parties will communicate their intent, prior to anything being published.

Sincerely,

Marilyn Viger Director General BC/Yukon Region

I accept the above terms of reference and conditions.

Craig Watson Research Student

Appendix E: Collinearity Statistics

Collinearity Statistics	Tolerance	VIF
Language	0.915	1.093
Education_sec	0.845	1.184
Gender	0.793	1.260
Marital Status	0.861	1.161
Source Area	0.898	1.114
Age	0.928	1.078
Destination	0.990	1.011
Family Status	0.724	1.380
Special Programme	0.928	1.077
Dependent Variable: Income Assistance		

Source: Data

Appendix F: Variable Recoding

The data was combined in Microsoft Excel in text format. Data representing numbers was converted into number format in Excel. The data file was imported into SPSS (version 13.0 released 01 September 2004). Given that most of the variables are categorical, most were recoded in SPSS into new variables and assigned a numerical value. This section describes how each variable was recoded as well as the rationale and decision making process involved in creating the new variables.

Income Assistance

Income assistance is the dependent variable. This is a dichotomous variable indicating whether each case has received social assistance at any time since landing in Canada. Those who have not received social assistance are compared to those who have received it.

Income Assistance	Variable Coding
No	0
Yes	1
	Source: Data

Language

The original data included knowledge of Canada's official languages in text format. The rationale for the recoding was to be able to compare those that identified knowledge of English or French to those who stated they had no knowledge or either official language. The data was recoded as follows:

Language	Variable Coding
None	0
English	1
Bilingual	1
French	2
	Source: Data

Education

The education variable is from Citizenship and Immigration Canada data and captures the educational qualification of the person at the time of landing. The data was in text format and originally included nine different categories ranging from no education to doctoral degree. The

variable was recoded to combine small samples at the higher end of the educational qualifications. It was recoded as follows:

Education	Variable Coding
None	0
Secondary or Less	0
Formal Trade Cert. or Apprenticeship	1
Non-University Certificate or Diploma	2
Some University - No Degree	3
Bachelor's Degree	3
Some Post-Grad. Education - No Degree	3
Master's Degree	3
Doctorate	3
	Cormon Data

Source: Data

Education	Variable Coding
None/Secondary or Less	0
Formal Trade Certificate	1
Diploma	2
University	3
	a ·

Source: Data

Gender

The original data included gender in text format. It was recoded as follows:

Gender	Variable Coding
Male	0
Female	1
	Source: Data

Age

The original data included ages from one to 86 years of age. Individual ages were recoded into ranges to allow for categorical analysis. The rationale for these groupings was to capture the relationship between age and income assistance. These groups are based on the points awarded to the Skilled Worker category of immigrants based on age. The prime migratory age reflected in the points system is 21 to 49 (R81). This age group is awarded the highest points because they are considered best able to contribute to Canada and most adaptable. The groupings

selected for this paper use two categories to cover this range to provide for a more nuanced analysis and to maintain a manageable number of categories. Persons 17 years of age or under were classified as system missing to examine the relationship between adults and income assistance in the regression. The following categories were created:

Age Range (in Years)	Variable Coding
0 to 17	System Missing
18-34	0
35-49	1
50 to highest value	2
	Source: Data

Marital Status

The variable of marital status was recoded from text to numeric format so that all categories could be compared to married persons. The reason for this is that marriage is considered a positive factor for integration. The family class category of immigrants supports the integration of economic immigrants. The categories were recoded as follows:

Marital Status	Variable Coding
Married	0
Single	1
Widowed	2
Divorced	3
Common Law	4
Separated	5

Source: Data .

Source Area

The original immigration data contained 42 different countries of birth. These were recoded into source areas used by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004). The rationale for this recoding was to group countries into departmental source areas for the purposes of comparison. The recoding was done as follows:

Country of Birth	Variable Coding
Afghanistan	2
Azerbaijan	0
Bhutan	2
Bosnia-Hercegovina	0
Burundi	3
China, People's Republic of	2
Colombia	1
Congo, Democratic Republic of	3
Croatia	0
Cuba	1
Egypt	3
El Salvador	1 .
Eritrea	3
Ethiopia	3
Germany, Federal Republic of	0
Guatemala	1
Guinea, Republic of	1
Honduras	1
India	2
Indonesia, Republic of	2
Iran	3
Iraq	3
Kazakhstan	0
Kenya	3
Kuwait	3
Kyrgyzstan	0
Lebanon	3
Liberia	3
Malaysia	2
Myanmar (Burma)	2
Pakistan	2
Russia	0
Rwanda	3
Sierra Leone	3
Somalia, Democratic Republic of	3
Sudan, Democratic Republic of	3
Syria	3
Tanzania, United Republic of	3
Thailand	2
Turkey	0
Uganda	3
Yugoslavia	0

Source: Data

Destination

GARs are destined to a city within Canada. The goal was to recode in a manner that allowed a comparison between municipalities in the lower mainland as well as other communities in British Columbia. Smaller communities with few cases were grouped together. The reference category is Vancouver. This also allows a limited comparison between refugees destined to a large urban environment and smaller urban centres. The rationale for this is because that research has shown that immigrants prefer large cities with populations that include others of a similar ethnic background. The variable was recoded as follows:

Destination	Variable Coding
Vancouver	0
Surrey	1
Richmond	2
North Vancouver	3
New Westminster	4
Coquitlam	5
Burnaby	6
Other	7
	Carrer Data

Source: Data

The original 21 communities were recoded as follows:

Destination	Variable Coding
Abbotsford	7
British Columbia Not Elsewhere Specified	7
Burnaby	6
Coquitlam	5
Delta	7
Kamloops	7
Kelowna	7
Langley	7
Maple Ridge	7
Nanaimo	7
Nelson	7
New Westminster	4
North Vancouver	3
Port Coquitlam	7
Prince George	7
Prince Rupert	7
Richmond	2
Surrey	1
Tumbler Ridge	7
Vancouver	0
Victoria British Columbia	7

Source: Data

Special Programme

This variable designates the type of programme. Most were selected under the Convention Refugees Selected Abroad provisions. The objective of this recoding was to assess refugees resettled to Canada under a special programme compared to Convention Refugees Selected Abroad class. The programmes are Assistance to Women at Risk, Urgent Pilot Protection, One Year Window of Opportunity and Other.

Special Programme	Variable Coding
Convention Refugee Selected Abroad	0
Assistance to Women at Risk	1
Urgent Protection Programme	2
One Year Window of Opportunity	3
Other	4
Missing	5
	Source: Data

Family Status

The original data included the family status of each person according to immigration categories of principal applicant, dependant, spouse and common law in text format. These were recoded as follows:

Family Status	Variable Coding
Principal Applicant	0
Dependant	1
Spouse	2
Common Law	3
	Source: Data

Year Landed

The original data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada contained the date of landing, which is the day, month and year that the person was granted permanent residence in Canada. This information was in Excel date format. This date was converted using a utility in Excel that converts the difference between two dates into years.

Year Landed	Variable Coding
2004	1
2003	2
2002	3
2001	4
2000	5
1999	6
1998	7
	Source: Data

Source: Data

Type of Assistance

Provincial data included the programme type for each person on income assistance. The purpose of this variable is to provide descriptive data within the sample that has received income assistance. The different types of assistance are as follows:

Type of Assistance	Variable Coding
Expected to Work	0
Expected to Work - Medical Condition	- 1 "
Child in Home of Relative	2
Persistent Multiple Barriers	3
Temporarily Excused from Work	4
Persons With Disabilities	5

Source: Data

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