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# CANADIAN DIVERSITÉ CANADIENNE

METROPOLIS NORTH AMERICA
METRÓPOLIS AMÉRICA DEL NORTE
METROPOLIS AMÉRIQUE DU NORD

## MIGRATION CHALLENGES IN NORTH AMERICA:
PEOPLE, LABOUR, BORDERS & SECURITY

## RETOS MIGRATORIOS EN AMÉRICA DEL NORTE:
POBLACIÓN, TRABAJO, FRONTERAS Y SEGURIDAD

## LES DÉFIS DE LA MIGRATION EN AMÉRIQUE DU NORD :
POPULATION, TRAVAIL, FRONTIÈRES ET SÉCURITÉ

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## LETTERS

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*Your letters may be edited for length and clarity.*

# INTRODUCTION

**Celine Cooper** has worked at the intersection of journalism, scholarship and public policy for over fifteen years, including time with UNICEF, Canada's federal government and in Quebec's community sector. In addition to being a former columnist at the Montreal Gazette, her writing and analysis about immigration, refugees and migration have appeared in some of Canada's most widely read policy publications, international media and popular press. Celine holds degrees from Queen's University and York University, and is currently teaching at Concordia University's School of Community and Public Affairs. She is chair of the board of directors for the Association for Canadian Studies and a governing board member for the Fraser-Hickson Institute.

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Current patterns of migration in and through North America are in a state of flux. These shifts are bringing with them new demographic trends, as well as challenges and opportunities around selection and admission, social cohesion, political management of diversity, citizenship, and the settlement and integration of newcomers, among other issues.

In September 2018, Mexico City will host the 2nd annual Metropolis North America conference. Convened by the Association for Canadian Studies in partnership with the Mexican Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, the forum will bring together an international delegation of policy makers, practitioners, scholars, government and community stakeholders who work at the intersection of migration, economy and security in the United States, Mexico and Canada.

This special edition of *Canadian Diversity* distils some of the thinking behind the forum, and includes work presented at the inaugural Metropolis North America conference held in Washington D.C. in November 2017. The authors address, from various perspectives, the complex legal, social and political implications of migration for all three countries, and explore where cooperation on migration can both promote security and grow the economy in the region.

We are living in a time of complex political and public tensions. Not unlike other parts of the world, North America has seen an increase in nativist and anti-migrant rhetoric, and threats to multilateralism. But rather than retreat into insular national approaches, a coherent North American migration strategy calls for dialogue, cooperation and multisectoral partnerships.

As the tableau continues to evolve, so must the policy thinking and strategic positioning around people, security and economy in the region.

Human migration is at once a global reality and part of the human experience. People have always moved to distance themselves from danger, or in search of a better life. Our goal with this collection is to contribute to the development of research and policy agendas focused on the changing migration dynamics in North America.

Los patrones migratorios actuales en América del Norte, y a través de ésta, están en constante cambio. Estas transformaciones

traen consigo nuevas tendencias demográficas, así como retos y oportunidades en torno a la selección y admisión, cohesión social, manejo político de la diversidad, ciudadanía, y el asentamiento e integración de las personas recién llegadas, entre otras problemáticas.

En septiembre de 2018, la Ciudad de México será sede de la Segunda Conferencia Anual de Metrópolis de América del Norte. Convocada por la Asociación para los Estudios Canadienses (Association for Canadian Studies) en conjunto con la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México, el foro reunirá una delegación internacional de encargados de políticas públicas, activistas, académicos, gobierno y grupos de interés comunitario, que laboran en la intersección de la migración, la economía y la seguridad en los Estados Unidos, México y Canadá.

Esta edición especial de *Canadian Diversity* condensa algunas de las ideas tras el foro, e incluye algunos de los trabajos presentados en la conferencia inaugural Metrópolis de América del Norte, celebrada en Washington D.C., en noviembre de 2017. Los y las autoras tratan, desde diversas perspectivas, las complejas implicaciones legales, sociales y políticas de la migración para los tres países, y exploran los puntos en los que la cooperación en torno a la migración puede, tanto promover la seguridad, como hacer crecer la economía de la región.

Vivimos una época de tensiones políticas y públicas complejas. De manera semejante a lo que sucede en otras partes del mundo, América del Norte ha visto crecer la retórica nativista y anti-migrante, así como las amenazas al multilateralismo. Empero, más que replegarse en enfoques nacionales aislados, una estrategia para la migración, coherente a nivel norteamericano, invita al diálogo, la cooperación y las colaboraciones multisectoriales.

Conforme evolucionan los hechos, también lo debe hacer el pensamiento en torno a las políticas, al igual que el posicionamiento estratégico alrededor de las personas, la seguridad y la economía en la región.

La migración humana es, a la vez, una realidad global y parte de la experiencia humana. La gente siempre se ha movilizado para distanciarse del peligro, o en búsqueda de una vida mejor. Con esta colección de materiales, pretendemos contribuir al desarrollo de agendas de investigación y de políticas públicas, centradas en la cambiante dinámica migratoria en América del Norte.

Les mouvements migratoires actuels vers et à travers l'Amérique du Nord sont en pleine mutation. Ces changements entraînent de nouvelles tendances démographiques, ainsi que des défis et des possibilités en matière de sélection et d'admission, de cohésion sociale, de gestion politique de la diversité, de citoyenneté, d'établissement et d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants, entre autres.

En septembre 2018, la ville de Mexico City accueillera le deuxième congrès annuel Metropolis Amérique du Nord. Organisé par l'Association d'études canadiennes en partenariat avec le Secrétariat mexicain des affaires étrangères, le forum réunira une délégation internationale de décideurs, de praticiens, d'universitaires, d'intervenants gouvernementaux et communautaires travaillant autour des migrations, de l'économie et de la sécurité aux États-Unis, au Mexique et au Canada.

Cette édition spéciale de *Diversité canadienne* distille certaines des idées qui sous-tendent le forum et comprend des travaux présentés lors du congrès inaugural Metropolis Amérique du Nord tenue à Washington D.C. en novembre 2017. Les auteurs abordent, sous différents angles, les implications juridiques, sociales et politiques complexes de la migration pour les trois pays et examinent où la coopération en matière de migration peut à la fois promouvoir la sécurité et développer l'économie dans la région.

Nous vivons à une époque de tensions politiques et publiques complexes. À l'instar d'autres régions du monde, l'Amérique du Nord a connu une augmentation de la rhétorique des nativistes et des anti-migrants, ainsi que des menaces au multilatéralisme. Mais plutôt que de se replier sur des approches nationales insulaires, une stratégie de migration nord-américaine cohérente requiert un dialogue, une coopération et des partenariats multisectoriels.

Au fur et à mesure que les mouvements migratoires continuent d'évoluer, la réflexion politique et le positionnement stratégique autour des personnes, de la sécurité et de l'économie dans la région doivent faire de même.

La migration humaine est une réalité mondiale et fait partie de l'expérience humaine. Les gens ont toujours cherché à se distancer du danger ou à chercher une vie meilleure. Notre objectif avec cette collection de textes est de contribuer à l'élaboration de programmes de recherche et de politiques axés sur l'évolution des dynamiques migratoires en Amérique du Nord.

# DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA[1]

**Víctor M. García-Guerrero** is a Professor at the Center for Demographic, Urban, and Environmental Studies at El Colegio de México (CEDUA-COLMEX). He holds a PhD in Population Studies by CEDUA-COLMEX. He also received graduate training at the World Population Program in the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis in Austria and at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research in Germany. His main research areas are formal demography and its applications, statistical, mathematical and computational modeling of demographic phenomena, demographic estimates and population projections, demographic impacts of migration, and its use in decision-making.

**Studies on the interaction between migration and aging have focused mainly on immigrant receiving countries and not on sending nations. Future migration and demographic changes are studied here within the migration system of North America and the Northern Triangle of Central America. We compare main demographic indexes and age structure indicators with and without migration using information from the United Nations. Findings show that demographic components of natural increase are converging in the region. Migration slows down the aging process for the United States and Canada, has a small effect on Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras, but speeds up aging in El Salvador. Changes in age structure for the main sending countries suggest international migration to the United States is unlikely to reach historical peaks observed in the past. The analysis provides a benchmark to foresee possible changes of migration and how they will interact with population aging, one of the key issues of our times.**

**Los estudios sobre la interacción entre migración y envejecimiento se han centrado, principalmente, en los países de recepción de inmigrantes, y no en las naciones expulsoras. En este artículo se estudian la migración futura y las transformaciones demográficas al interior del sistema migratorio de América del Norte y el Triángulo Norte de América Central. Comparamos los principales índices demográficos, así como los indicadores de estructura etaria, con y sin migración, utilizando información de las Naciones Unidas. Los hallazgos muestran que los componentes demográficos del incremento natural convergen en la región. La migración desacelera el proceso de envejecimiento para los Estados Unidos y Canadá, tiene un pequeño efecto sobre México, Guatemala y Honduras, pero**

1 A previous version of this work was presented at the Metropolis North America Policy Forum in Washington D.C. in 2017. This is a continuation of (Giorguli, Garcia-Guerrero, and Masferrer 2016) and part of a larger ongoing research project on international migration within North America.

acelera el envejecimiento en El Salvador. Los cambios en la estructura etaria para los principales países expulsores, sugieren que es improbable que la migración internacional a los Estados Unidos alcance los picos históricos observados en el pasado. El análisis ofrece un punto de referencia para predecir los posibles cambios en la migración, y cómo interactuarán con el envejecimiento poblacional, una de las problemáticas clave de nuestra época.

Les études sur l'interaction entre migration et vieillissement ont principalement porté sur les pays d'accueil des immigrants et non sur les pays d'origine. Les migrations futures et les changements démographiques sont étudiés ici dans le système de migration de l'Amérique du Nord et du Triangle du Nord de l'Amérique centrale. Nous comparons les principaux indices démographiques et les indicateurs de structure par âge avec et sans migration en utilisant les informations des Nations Unies. Les résultats montrent que les volets démographiques de l'accroissement naturel convergent dans la région. Les migrations ralentissent le processus de vieillissement aux États-Unis et au Canada, ont un léger effet sur le Mexique, le Guatemala et le Honduras, mais accélèrent le vieillissement au Salvador. Les modifications de la structure par âge des principaux pays d'origine suggèrent qu'il est peu probable que la migration internationale vers les États-Unis atteigne les sommets historiques observés dans le passé. L'analyse fournit une référence pour prévoir les changements possibles de la migration et la manière dont ils interagiront avec le vieillissement de la population, l'un des principaux problèmes de notre époque.

## INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND POPULATION AGING

International migration has a direct impact on population size, its distribution and its composition. How it impacts population aging has been studied mainly in Europe and traditional immigration countries like Canada and the United States (Bongaarts 2004, Canales 2015, Lesthaeghe, Page, and Surkyn 1991, Passel and Cohh 2017, Philipov and Schuster 2010, Plane 1993). Overall, studies suggest that, given usual inflow levels, immigration does not offset population aging, although it impacts population growth and changes the age structure in the short run (Beaujot 2002, 2003, Coleman 2002, 2008, Lutz and Scherbov 2002, Paterno 2011, United Nations 2000, Zaiceva and Zimmermann 2016). Scholars have highlighted similar population aging processes in Developing Countries (DCs), which have typically been immigrant-sending countries. For example, Renuga and colleagues (2017) find that many DCs will experience aging before they benefit from the demographic dividend. However, the impact of migration on population aging is understudied for traditionally immigrant-sending countries.

## NEW MIGRATION PATTERNS IN THE REGION

Migration dynamics between North America (NA) and the Northern Triangle of Central America (NTCA, formed by Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador) have changed in recent years. With one out of five living in Canada born in a different country, Canada has one of the highest migration rates. As the result of labour demands and immigration policy, the United States has an undocumented population of 11 million, of which 5.8 million are Mexicans and 1.7 million are Central Americans (Passel and Cohn 2016). The United States and Canada are traditional receiving-countries with large shares of foreign-born populations, while Mexico and the NTCA have been traditional sending-countries.

The role of Mexico changed recently with a decline in emigration and an increase in return migration and foreign-born arrivals, following the 2008 Great Recession and the increase of immigration enforcement since the mid-2000s (Masferrer and Roberts 2016). Today, the US-born population migrating to Mexico is the largest North-to-South flow in the world (Giorguli, Garcia-Guerrero, and Masferrer 2016). Central American migration to the United States came into sharp focus in 2014 when more Central Americans were apprehended than Mexicans at the Mexico-U.S. border (Cohn, Passel, and Gonzalez-Barrera 2017), although emigration from the NTCA to North America has its historical roots in the political conflicts of the early 1980s (Pederzini et al. 2015).[2]

## STUDYING DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS UNDER TWO DIFFERENT MIGRATION SCENARIOS

We use data from the United Nations (2017) that allow cross-country comparisons of demographic dynamics under two scenarios (with and without migration) to study

2 A more complete analysis of migration characteristics, trends and patterns, as well as immigration policies in the region over time can be found in Giorguli et al. (2016).

FIGURE 1: LIFE EXPECTANCY AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES FOR PERIODS 1950-2015 (SOLID) AND 2016-2050 (DOTTED)


Source: UN, World Population Prospects, 2017 revision

the effects of migration on future demographic patterns. Specifically, we analyze the evolution of life expectancy at birth (LE), total fertility rate (TFR), ageing index (AI), dependency ratio (DR), and selected population age groups.[3] Medium- and zero-migration variants are compared to analyze the effect of migration on age structure. Both scenarios assume medium fertility and mortality. The medium-variant assumes recent levels of net-migration will be constant until the period of 2045-2050 (United Nations 2015).

## MAIN FINDING: DEMOGRAPHIC CONVERGENCE

Results show a generalized aging process in the region. Convergence to higher levels of life expectancy (LE) is expected by 2050 despite different starting points in 1950 (Figure 1), and even if unexpected events might delay this process (Canudas-Romo, García-Guerrero, and Echarri-Cánovas 2015, Xu et al. 2016). Canada and the United States crossed the fertility replacement level threshold in 1972, El Salvador did it by 2016, and Mexico, Honduras, and Guatemala are expected to reach it by 2018, 2029, and 2045, respectively.

To analyze changes in age structure that result from the demographic transition of the countries in the region, Masferrer and colleagues (2018) show how migration impacts age-groups 0 to 15 and 15 to30 years. These age groups in Mexico and the NTCA will decrease marginally due to migration, although the effect will be more visible for El Salvador. Migration in Canada and the United States sharply increases for these age groups. It is expected that the number of young labour market entrants (aged 15-to 30) will increase in the United States by 2.2 million from 2016 to 2020 and more than 11 million by 2050 due to migration.

Future fertility trends (Figure 1) suggest that the increase in dependency ratios (DRs) for Canada and United States, and Mexico post-2035 is not driven by increases in the young population (Figure 2). In Canada and the United States, migration would slow down the increase of DRs at a stage of old-age driven dependency, whereas Mexico and the NTCA will have DRs dominated by the young-age population. In other words, Canada is going through the aging process at a

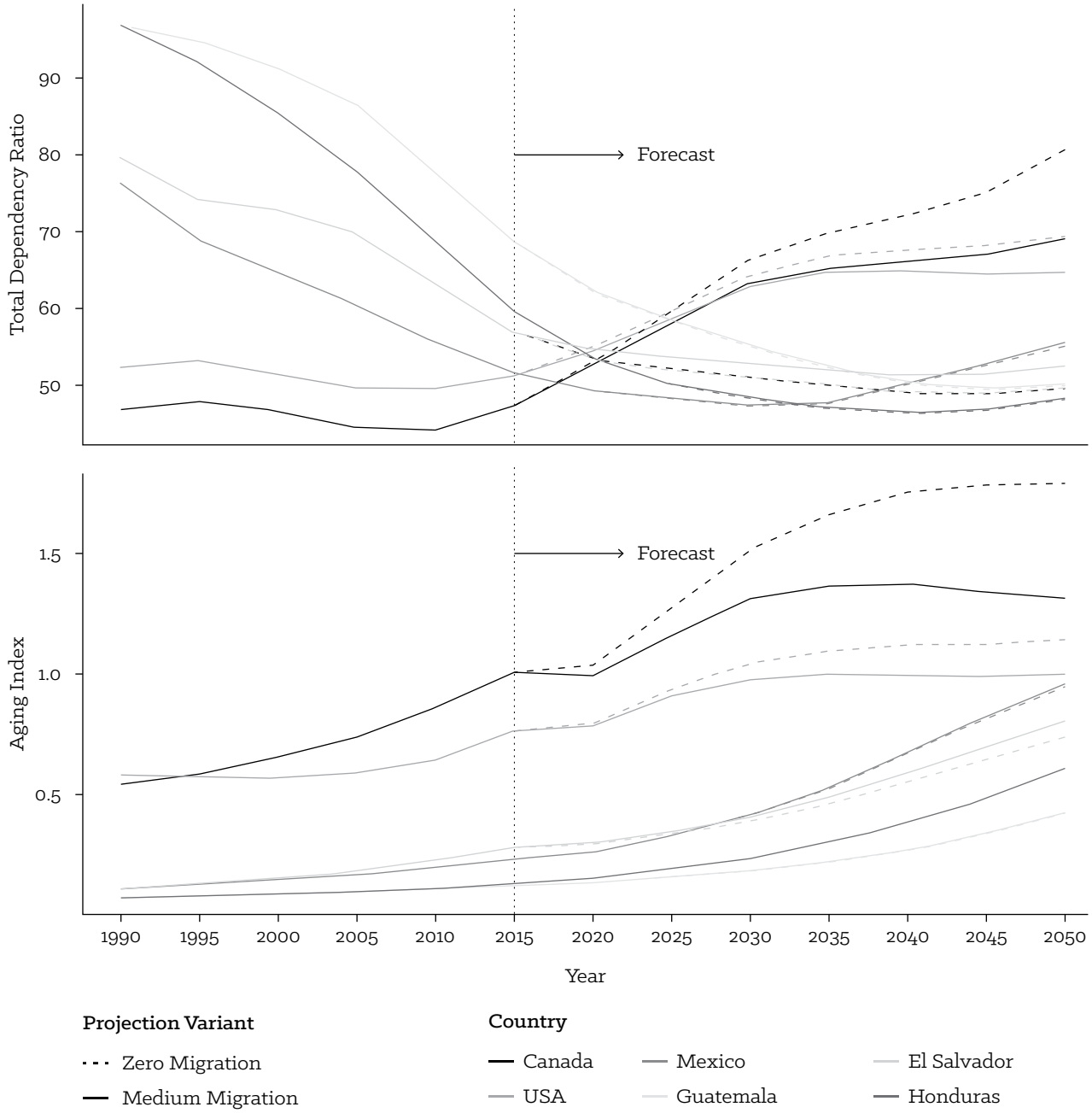
3 LE is defined as the number of years that a newborn expects to live if the mortality conditions of her or his year of birth remains along her or his life; TFR is the average number of children that a woman will have if fertility conditions for a certain calendar year remains along the rest of her reproductive life; AI is the ratio of the number of persons over 60 years old per hundred persons under 15 years old, and DR is the number of dependent persons per hundred persons in labour ages.

faster rate without migration, followed by the United States. The NTCA countries are aging; with migration having an earlier and more visible effect in El Salvador. Although the DRs for Mexico and the United States in 2015 are similar, an older-population drives DRs for the United States, while in Mexico a younger one drives them. Regardless of migration, the evolution of the total DR for Guatemala shows that dependency is driven by an increase of the young-age group.

## DISCUSSION

Demographic dynamics suggest convergence in fertility below replacement, and an overall aging process in the NA-NTCA region. Future migration may slow down the aging process in Canada and United States, have a small effect in Mexico, and speed it up in El Salvador. Considering the size of the populations and the decrease of young age-groups for the main

FIGURE 2: DEPENDENCY RATIOS AND AGEING INDEXES FOR NA AND NTCA, 1950-2050




Source: Own calculations based on Un World Population Prospects, 2017 revision

sending countries, it is unlikely that international migration to the United States from Mexico and the NTCA will reach the historical peak observed at the beginning of 2000s.

This is coherent with research suggesting that the era of rapid increase of immigration levels from Mexico and the NTCA is ending in the United States, contrary to what is expected in Europe (Hanson and McIntosh 2016). Of course, the NA-NTCA migration system is not closed, as the United States and Canada receive immigrants from diverse origins. In Canada, Asian migration is much larger than Mexican migration, for example. Still, the United States remains the main destination for Mexico and NTCA with immigrants from these countries overwhelmingly represented in jobs that are predominantly in low skilled occupations (Brick, Challinor, and Rosenblum 2011).

Medium-variant migration assumes that future trends of net migration will remain similar to recent ones. For Mexico, the close-to-zero net-migration rate observed since 2009 (Passel, Cohn, and Gonzalez-Barrera 2012) might be driving the small projected differences due to migration. These projections do not take into account changes in the age composition of migrants associated with changes in age at first migration or return migration. Nevertheless, this kind of analysis provides a benchmark to foresee possible changes of migration and how they will interact with population aging, one of the key issues of our time.

This must be kept in mind during the policy-making process. As the aging process advances in Canada and the United States, as well as in other countries in the region, the demand for migrant labour will continue and may even rise for particular occupations, such as care work. The decrease in demographic pressure from mainly sending countries may represent an opportunity to manage migration, recognizing regional dynamics and linkages. For many years now, Canada has explicitly acknowledged the demographic *need* for migration in its policy and target immigration levels. Our results show that other countries, especially the United States, would benefit from similar measures.

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# CENTRAL AMERICAN MIGRATION IN NORTH AMERICA: BETWEEN TRANSIT AND SETTLEMENT

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Migration of Central Americans to Mexico and the U.S. has gained prominence in public opinion and policy debates over the last decades in North America. In this short article, we summarize the key findings of a research project (CANAMID) focusing on migrant conditions at origin (Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador), in transit, at destination (Mexico and U.S.), and return, all characterizing the main trends in Central American migration in North America with the aim to inform future research and policy agendas on this critical challenge for the region. We provide an outlook of demographic trends, violence and impunity in transit, lack of consular protection, labour market incorporation in Mexico and the U.S., health challenges in Mexico, as well as access to school and educational gaps of their children in the U.S. and Mexico.

La migración de centroamericanos a México y EUA se ha vuelto prominente en la opinión pública, así como en los debates sobre política pública, durante las últimas décadas en América del Norte. En este corto artículo resumimos los hallazgos clave de un proyecto de investigación (CANAMID) que se centra en las condiciones del migrante en su lugar de origen (Guatemala, Honduras y el Salvador), en tránsito, en el destino (México y EUA), y en el retorno, como caracterización de las principales tendencias de la migración centroamericana en América del Norte, con el propósito de dar forma a las agendas de investigación futura y de política pública en torno a este desafío crítico para la región. Ofrecemos un panorama de las tendencias demográficas, de la violencia y la impunidad presentes en el tránsito, la ausencia de protección consular, la incorporación al mercado de trabajo en México y EUA, los retos a la salud en México, así como acceso a la escuela y las brechas educativas para sus hijos tanto en Estados Unidos como en México.

**La migration des Centraméricains vers le Mexique et les États-Unis a pris de l'importance dans les débats sur l'opinion publique et les politiques au cours des dernières décennies en Amérique du Nord. Dans ce court article, nous résumons les principales conclusions d'un projet de recherche (CANAMID) axé sur les conditions d'origine des migrants (Guatemala, Honduras et Salvador), en transit, à destination (Mexique et États-Unis) et sur le retour, les tendances de la migration en Amérique centrale en Amérique du Nord dans le but d'informer les futurs programmes de recherche et de politique sur ce défi crucial pour la région. Nous fournissons des perspectives sur les tendances démographiques, la violence et l'impunité en transit, l'absence de protection consulaire, l'insertion sur le marché du travail au Mexique et aux États-Unis, les défis en matière de santé au Mexique, ainsi que l'accès à l'école et les lacunes scolaires de leurs enfants aux États-Unis et au Mexique.**

The phenomenon of Central American migration has become highly prominent over the last decade in North American politics and social opinion. New flows of Central American migrants fleeing violence, prosecution and economic and political turmoil in their countries of origin have prompted a rise of undocumented migration through Mexico to the U.S. This has coincided with a period when net flows of undocumented Mexican migrants to the U.S. became negative for the first time in history. Although public debate over Central American migration is dominated by the widespread image of vulnerable undocumented migrants travelling to the southern border of the U.S. on top of freight trains through Mexico, this is actually a much more complex phenomenon. Central American migration is comprised of multiple migration flows, population collectives, travel methods and migration practices involving internal displacement within Central America, transit to the U.S., human trafficking, settlement in Mexico and in the U.S, family reunification, circularity and return. This last phase is a consequence of deportation or other reasons that lead to a failure of the migration attempt, and that sometimes produce situations of "permanent transit" where migrants get stuck in legal and geographical limbo for years. These circumstances characterizing Central American migration over the last decade challenge traditional notions of clean-cut origin-transit-destination distinctions in migration studies and in public policy making, and thus require innovative approaches in its analysis.

Within this framework, the authors coordinated a research project titled *Central America-North America Migration Dialogue* (CANAMID), a dialogue between academia, NGOs and policy makers aiming to generate updated and useful evidence to support new public policies tackling the main issues involving Central American migration to Mexico and the U.S. It focused on Central American migrants as a dynamic collective across five countries: Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, Mexico and the U.S. Canada was not part of this initial project due to the small volume of inflows in 2013 when it was conceived, although there are important implications for the whole of North America, as we will discuss here.

CANAMID focus is on migrant conditions at origin (the so-called Northern Triangle of Central America), transit, destination (Mexico and U.S.), and return. The project was funded by the MacArthur Foundation (2014-2017). Its main deliverable is a publication series consisting of 14 policy briefs (Mateos and Escobar 2017) published in English and Spanish by academic experts in each of the topics, who were each commissioned to tackle specific aspects of this phenomenon; demographic trends, lack of a Welfare State at the origin countries, violence and impunity in transit migration through Mexico, lack of consular protection, minors arriving at the U.S. border, labour market incorporation in Mexico and the U.S., health challenges of Central American immigrants in Mexico and deportees in Central America, as well as access to school and educational gaps of their children in the U.S. and Mexico.

In this brief essay we summarize some of CANAMID's key findings that together characterize the main trends in Central American migration in North America, with the aim to inform future research and policy agendas on this critical challenge for the region. We organize this synthetic outlook in three parts and collectives, tackling 1) transit migrants, 2) settlement in the U.S. and Mexico and 3) conditions at origin and returnees.

Transit migration of Central Americans through Mexico more than tripled from 126,000 after events in 2011 to a peak of 392,000 in 2014 and 377,000 in 2015, reaching its former peak of 2005 (Rodriguez, E. 2015). Ernesto Rodriguez, in Policy Brief 14, developed a complex model to estimate the volume of Central American transit migration flows using deportation data from Mexico and the U.S. as well as data on U.S. residents from the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Current Population Survey (CPS). He demonstrates that regardless of increased efforts to deport more migrants on behalf of both Mexican and U.S. migration authorities, variations in the net sum of the irregular migration flow is driven primarily by origin "push" factors, and not necessarily deterrent policies in transit and destination. What these efforts have produced is actually making the irregular crossing more dangerous and more expensive. As a consequence of harsher migration controls inland in Mexico, migratory routes have been pushed to less populated areas controlled by organized crime and drug

cartels, who have gained and now profit from the human trafficking of Central American migrants. As a consequence, reports of abuse to migrants' human rights have skyrocketed over the last decade. Hipólito Rodriguez (2016) disentangles the different factors behind the omnipresent corruption practices amongst government officials and security forces, producing the rampant impunity with which drug cartels operate in the Gulf of Mexico region and generating more violence towards transit migrants. The stories of kidnappings, rapes, murders, and other violent events sadly emanate from all authors' testimonies in the CANAMID series as they interviewed key respondents or conducted fieldwork in the region.

The response to this challenge from civil society organisations in Mexico has been exemplary, not only in terms of their direct humanitarian response through migrant shelters and legal assistance but also in generating spaces for debate from which concrete policy proposals were developed and implemented. Leticia Calderón (2016) demonstrated the leading role of NGOs in driving forward the policy agenda and pushing for substantial reforms to immigration law that took a major shift in the 2010-2014 period oriented towards the protection of transit migrants.

One of these legislative changes consisted for example in granting transit migrants access to free health treatment for 90 days. However, according to Rene Leyva and colleagues (2015), this benefit has been largely ignored on the ground and a lack of effective access to healthcare in government facilities is the norm. As a result, Leyva et al. (2016) find, the main burden of attending physical and mental health problems relies primarily on the work of shelter houses run by volunteer groups across Mexico.

CANAMID authors proposed that the re-definition of the concept of transit migration should be re-thought since there is growing evidence of transit trips becoming much longer, migrants being trapped along Mexico because of health issues, kidnappings, family reunification, couple formation, asylum filing, a host of factors that produce lives in continuous transit, circular movement along migratory routes within Mexico or with Central America, and situations of an "on-hold transit." Fernandez and Rodriguez (2016) interviewed Honduran families in Chiapas and Veracruz who considered themselves "in transit" despite the fact that they have been living in Mexico for over seven years. These situations of Central American migrants trapped in a sort of "eternal transit" requires further analysis within a framework that considers Mexico a settlement country and North America-Central America as a dynamic migration corridor that should be taken as a whole, as the CANAMID project does.

Jorge Schiavon (2015) concludes that despite recent efforts to enhance the capacity of Central American countries to be able to provide more consistent consular support to their nationals abroad, there is a general lack of institutional resources to properly attend to the critical situation of their citizens in the U.S. and Mexico. Furthermore, there is a general lack of coordination between Mexico and the three Central American countries in matters beyond migration issues, such as for example labour and social security, health, judicial coordination and so on. Several authors make the recommendation to Mexican authorities to develop a more proactive role to bridge this gap.

While Mexico is increasingly becoming a country of immigration, and Central Americans born in Guatemala is the second largest group of foreign born after the U.S., the figures of Central American-born permanent residents in Mexico are still extremely small for a country with a population of 120 million. There are only 68,000 people born in the Northern Triangle of Central America living in Mexico (Aguilar and Giorguli 2016), while in the U.S. this figure is 3 million people (Pederzini et al. 2015). Moreover, most of this settled migrant population is comprised of Guatemalans living in the state of Chiapas, which together with the daily transborder commuters comprise the bulk of Central American workers in Mexico. Liliana Meza (2015, 2016) analyzed the situation of Central American workers in Mexico, revealing distinct occupational patterns that vary by nationality, gender and geography. She recommends extending temporary work permits to Hondurans and Salvadoreans and beyond the border states of Chiapas and Campeche.

Other Policy Briefs compare the diverse outlook of Central American workers in the U.S. (Orrenius and Zabodny 2015), and the educational outcomes of children of Central American migrants in the U.S. (Jensen and Bachmeier 2015) and Mexico (Aguilar and Giorguli 2016). They conclude that Temporary Protection Status (TPS), and documented status in the U.S. provides better jobs, better pay and better educational outcomes for their children. However, children born to Central American-born parents tend to fare worst in school in both the U.S. and Mexico than their peers born to native-born parents.

In the rest of the policy briefs, Roldan and Hernandez (2015), Bojorquez (2015) and Pederzini et al. (2015), investigate how political, historic and socioeconomic conditions in origin countries in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala have shaped a vicious cycle of violence and instability that pushes new migration cycles. Over the last three decades, eternal political instability, militarisation, racism and corruption has perpetuated stark economic disparities, poverty and gang violence even after the peace agreements in the 1990s. Mass deportations by the U.S. of gang members, which became more violent while in U.S. prisons in California, have perpetuated a vicious cycle that reproduces violence and crime from U.S. prisons to Central American barrios, which in turn pushes more people to leave for the U.S. pressed by violence, kidnappings, extorsion or mandatory youth recruitment by gangs. Not all deportees of course are gang members or violent people, but Bojorquez (2015) brings up the issue of how more

serious mental health problems arise after deportation since broken families, and whole lives in the U.S. are put to an end overnight and deportees are forced to live in countries they do not understand.

Given the complex portrait presented in CANAMID's policy briefs, Mexico and U.S.' apparent ignorance of the factors driving emigration at the Central American countries of origin is striking. The U.S. reacted with a Peace and Prosperity Pact in 2014, after thousands of unaccompanied children "showed up" at the U.S. southern border. The plan promised new international aid for development projects to prevent emigration, but ended up beefing up the security budgets of Central American countries and Mexico's border patrol.

To conclude, the evidence gathered through the fourteen CANAMID policy briefs points at the urgent need for nuanced understandings of the complex phenomenon of Central American migration to North America. As such, it should be understood as a whole collective of migrants born or with direct family links in Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador and moving along or settling in the five countries involved, as a fluid continuum of people and places and not as disconnected silos. Previous or persisting attempts to conceive this collective as isolated national-populations in transit through Mexico to the U.S. are extremely restricted and fail to represent the reality of a dynamic collective moving along the Central American-North American region, increasingly settling in Mexico, and which present enormous contrasts and subtleties that need to be properly understood. Only a true North American approach to migration policy, as other authors propose in this special issue, will succeed in improving the life chances of the Central American migrant population and facilitate its integration in their communities of settlement.

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# GUATEMALANS, SALVADORANS AND HONDURANS IN MEXICO AND U.S.

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Emigration from the three nations of the Northern Triangle of Central America (NTCA), mainly directed to the U.S. and passing through Mexico, has continued growing in the past decade, despite the anti-migrant environment in the U.S., the many risks of crossing through Mexico and complex economic conditions. The main objective of this article is to compare and discuss the main characteristics of migrants from the NTCA in Mexico and the U.S. In the first section, the historical context and international migration dynamics in the NTCA is discussed. Using data from the Mexican and U.S. Censuses as well as the American Community Survey, the article examines the main characteristics of Mexico and the U.S. as destinations for migrants from the NTCA, comparing the demographic and labour profile of migrants in Mexico and the U.S.

La emigración de los tres países del Triángulo Norte de América Central (NTCA/siglas en inglés), dirigida principalmente a los EUA, a través de México, ha seguido creciendo en la última década, pese al ambiente anti-migrante que prevalece en los EUA, los muchos riesgos inherentes a cruzar México y condiciones económicas complejas. El objetivo principal de este artículo es comparar y discutir las características principales de los migrantes provenientes del NTCA en México y en los Estados Unidos. En la primera sección se plantea el contexto histórico y la dinámica de la migración internacional en el NTCA. Utilizando datos de los censos mexicano y estadounidense, así como la Encuesta de la Comunidad Estadounidense (American Community Survey), el artículo examina las principales características de México y de EUA como destino de las personas migrantes del NTCA, y compara el perfil demográfico y laboral de los migrantes en uno y otro país.

L'émigration des trois nations du Triangle du Nord en Amérique Centrale (TNAC), principalement dirigée vers les États-Unis et passant par le Mexique, a continué de croître au cours de la dernière décennie, malgré l'environnement anti-migrants aux États-Unis, les nombreux risques de traverser le Mexique et les conditions économiques complexes. L'objectif principal de cet article est de comparer et d'examiner les principales caractéristiques des

**migrants du Triangle du Nord au Mexique et aux États-Unis. Dans la première section, le contexte historique et la dynamique des migrations internationales dans le Triangle du Nord sont examinés. En utilisant les données des recensements mexicain et américain ainsi que de l'American Community Survey, cet article examine les principales caractéristiques du Mexique et des États-Unis en tant que destinations des migrants du Triangle du Nord, en comparant le profil démographique et professionnel des migrants au Mexique et aux États-Unis.**

## INTRODUCTION

Emigration out of the three Northern Triangle of Central America (NTCA) nations, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, is mainly unauthorized, directed towards the U.S. and has to cross over the Mexican territory. In the recent past, several economic and social factors pointed to a decrease in out-migration from Mexico and Central American countries. In fact, Mexican emigration has gone down significantly and it is estimated that the net migration flow from Mexico to the U.S. is very close to zero (Passel, Cohn and Gonzalez-Barrera 2012). The main drivers identified for emigration decrease are the slowdown in U.S. economic growth, the rising number of deportations and the overall anti-migrant atmosphere in the U.S. In the case of migration from the Central American countries, tougher immigrant controls and higher number of apprehensions in Mexico coupled with increased violence and insecurity throughout the journey should also have lowered the number of emigrants from Central America to the U.S. However, migrant outflow from the NTCA countries has continued at high levels, leading to a persistent growth of the NTCA-born population in the U.S., while Mexican population in the U.S. has remained stable (Pederzini, et al. 2015).

The main objective of this article is to compare and discuss the main characteristics of migrants from the NTCA in Mexico and the U.S. In the first section, the historical context and international migration dynamics in the NTCA is discussed. Some of the main characteristics of Mexico and the U.S. as destinations for migrants from the NTCA are described in the second section. The third section compares the demographic and labour profile of migrants in Mexico and the U.S. The paper ends with a discussion of the main findings and some policy recommendations.

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION DYNAMICS IN NTCA COUNTRIES

Migration flows from the NTCA have been produced not only by exceptional circumstances but also by long standing structural conditions in the sending countries. Economic and political conditions in the three countries of the Northern Triangle have been problematic and have generated large socio-economic inequalities associated with political turmoil in each of these nations.

Guatemala, a country of high ethnic diversity, underwent a long Civil War from 1960 to 1996. The majority of victims in this war were Highland Mayans. From 1981 to 1983, 440 highland villages were destroyed and 150,000 persons disappeared (Pederzini, et al. 2015).

In Guatemala and El Salvador the economy oriented to the external markets, mainly on basic agricultural commodities, favouring large domestic producers and foreign investment. Peasants were dislocated and had to seek refuge in Honduras. In fact, due to violence in Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador, Honduras received a large flow of immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s. Flows between Guatemala and the South East of Mexico have taken place historically. During the armed conflicts in Guatemala, refugee camps ran by United Nations were installed in Mexico.

The armed conflict in El Salvador caused the onset of migration flows to the U.S. However, after pacification, emigration rekindled due to longstanding economic problems and political confrontation. Natural disasters such as Hurricane Mitch (1998) and the 2001 earthquake contributed to emigration flows. Since the beginning of the 21st century, increasing gang violence is the main factor generating emigration.

Honduras had a later incorporation to the flow but is nowadays the country with the highest rate of emigration to the U.S., a phenomenon fueled by drug and gang related violence (Pederzini, et al. 2015).

## MEXICO AND THE U.S. AS DESTINATION COUNTRIES

Mexico is generally considered an emigration country. Only recently Mexico's role as a country of transit, settlement and return has gained attention. Nevertheless, Mexico has hosted in the past important flows of migrants escaping political persecution. For example, between 1939 and 1950, twenty thousand Spaniards seeking refuge arrived in Mexico as part of a program sponsored by President Lazaro Cardenas (Lida 1995).

At the end of the 1970s, the upsurge of Central American migrants fleeing political instability challenged Mexican asylum policy. Mexico offered protection and assistance to all the people who had arrived in the country, sticking to its asylum tradition forged since its independent life. In 1980, COMAR (Commission for Aid to Refugees) was created. During the two

decades after its creation, COMAR was dedicated exclusively to the Central American exodus, attending to mainly Guatemalans who were located in refugee camps first in Chiapas and later on in Campeche and Quintana Roo.

With the creation of Instituto Nacional de Migración (INM) in 1993, formal channels to control and manage migration through the development of special programs were established. Since the mid-1990s to 2005, transit migration from the NTCA to the U.S. increased sharply, reaching its highest point in 2005 (around 400,000 migrants). From 2006 to 2009, there was a significant reduction in the flows (around 70%) and a sustained increase of violence against migrants and human rights violations afterwards (Pederzini, et al. 2015).

In 2011, the Mexican government adopted a new migration law that was intended to guarantee the rights of migrants disregarding their legal status or their intention to settle in Mexico or in the United States. The law facilitates migrant regularization and permanent residence grants for those with high skills. It has also created channels to provide access to public services and to specific rights, such as basic access to health care via Seguro Popular. It incorporates recognition of a large number of rights and guarantees in favor of migrants but is not designed to ensure the effective exercise of these rights. On the contrary, due to the fact that irregular entry and stay in the country are treated as crimes and not as administrative offences, it regulates freedom deprivation in terms and deadlines that exceed many international standards and even the Mexican Constitution, generating a state of exception and discrimination against migrants. The law does not provide any kind of control to arrest. Admission to detention centers constitutes the standard of treatment for persons identified in irregular migratory situations and not the exception. In general, it has been found in detention centers that the development of the migratory administrative procedure is aimed primarily at deportation or return (Consejo Ciudadano del Instituto Nacional de Migración 2017).

In the United States, legal flows from Latin America were restricted between mid-1960s and the mid-1970s by the U.S. immigration law that established a preference system heavily favoring family reunification. However, hiring of unauthorized migrants was explicitly allowed by this law until 1986, enabling the growth of unauthorized labour migration mainly from Mexico and later on from the NTCA countries. The *Immigration Reform and Control Act* (IRCA) legalized 136,000 Salvadorans and 50,000 Guatemalans (around one fifth of the population in 1990).

Although most NTCA nationals in the U.S. were fleeing from conflict and political persecution in the 1970s and 1980s, refuge and asylum options were severely limited. Less than 3% of applications from Guatemalans and Salvadorans were granted asylum throughout the 1980s. It was not until the 1990s, a decade after their arrival, that many obtained legal permanent residency via asylum (Pederzini, et al. 2015).

The creation of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in 1990, a mechanism that provides provisional but renewable relief from deportation and also grants work authorization to people from countries affected by political strife or natural disasters, covered many Salvadorans but not Guatemalans.

## NTCA POPULATION IN MEXICO AND THE U.S.WW

In this section the population born in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras residing in U.S. or Mexico are analyzed and compared. Statistics were calculated from the Mexican (2000 and 2010) and U.S. Population Census (2000) and from the American Community Survey from 2008-2012 (Pederzini, et al. 2015). In order to get a picture of past and recent trends, recent (less than 5 years) and non-recent (more than 5 years in the country) migrants are analyzed separately.

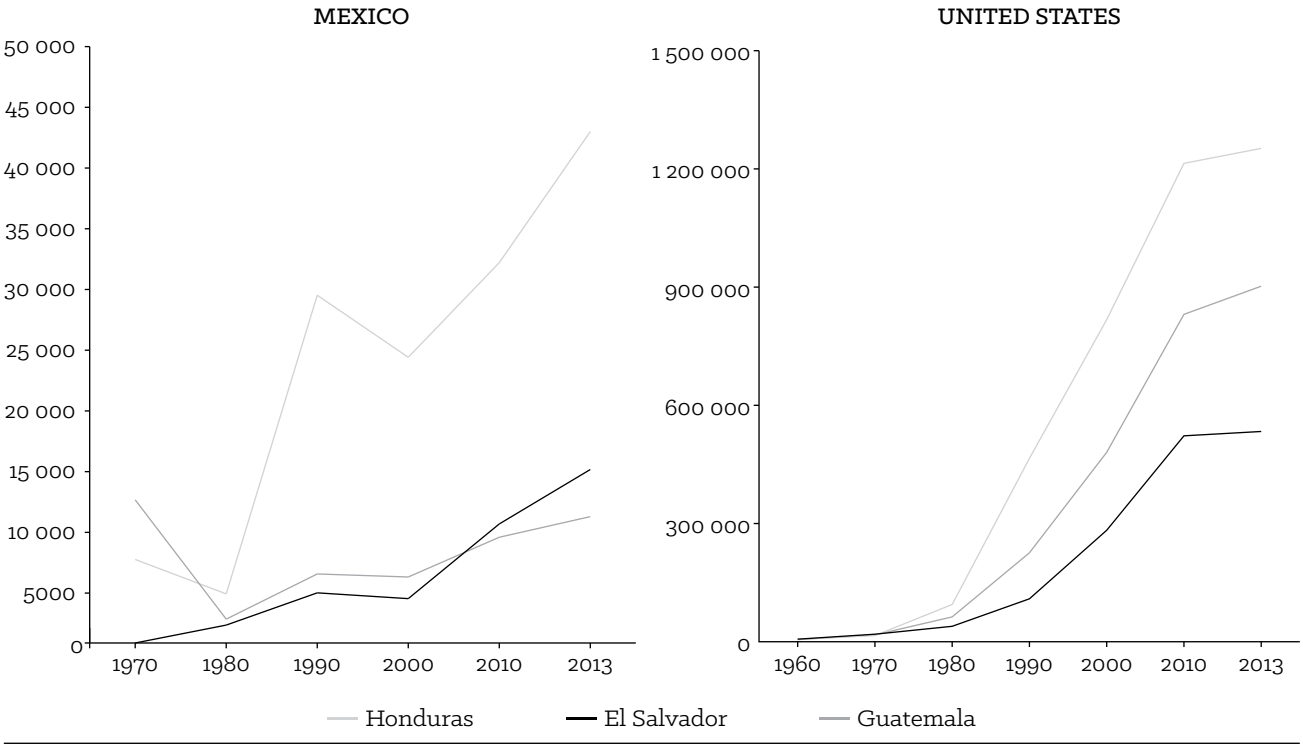
Between 2000 and 2010, NTCA population "normally residing" in Mexico increased by 50%, going from 33,000 to 50,000. More than two thirds (70%) of NTCA nationals in Mexico in 2000 were born in Guatemala, reflecting a migratory tradition and stronger relations linking the two countries (see Graph 1). Towards the end of the period however, the relative presence of Salvadorans and especially Hondurans increased, motivated by the economic, political and violent context described above (see Graph 1). Population from the NTCA in the U.S. is more than twenty times larger than in Mexico and Salvadorans show the highest relative presence throughout the analyzed period. From 2000 to 2011, the number of nationals from the NTCA in the U.S. increased almost 65%.

Feminization is greater in Mexico in the group of recent migrants. However non-recent migrants in 2010 show similar feminization patterns in both countries, but still greater feminization in Mexico for Guatemalans (see Table 1). Female immigration in Chiapas and historical bonds in terms of culture and work activities between the Soconusco region and Guatemala may explain the greater presence of women. Recent migrants tend to be younger and less educated (with the exception of Salvadorans) in Mexico. Selectivity is increasing in the United States, thus age and years of schooling tend to be higher there.

As expected, male migrants generally join the labour force in Mexico and the U.S. (Graph 2). In the case of female migrants, possibly because one of the main drivers to migrate to Mexico is not related to labour but the family, the probability of participating in the labour force is much lower in Mexico than in the U.S. The gender role system in Mexico most likely contributes in restraining female labour force participation.

Participation by sector of NTCA nationals in Mexico and the

GRAPH 1. NTCA POPULATION IN MEXICO AND U.S.




Source: Pederzini, Riosmena, Masferrer y Molina, 2015.

TABLE 1. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NTCA-BORN POPULATION LIVING IN MEXICO AND THE U.S. BY COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE

| | | 2000 | | | 2010 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | El Salvador | Guatemala | Honduras | El Salvador | Guatemala | Honduras |
| Percentage Females | | | | | | | |
| Recent* | U.S. | 43,9 | 36,5 | 43,8 | 48,1 | 34,3 | 39,2 |
| | Mexico | 46,5 | 54,4 | 58,5 | 46,8 | 55,1 | 54,1 |
| Non Recent** | U.S. | 49,6 | 48,0 | 53,6 | 48,8 | 43,5 | 49,8 |
| | Mexico | 52,9 | 51,8 | 58,3 | 48,4 | 52,6 | 47,7 |
| Average Age | | | | | | | |
| Recent* | U.S. | 24,6 | 24,0 | 25,4 | 27,3 | 25,2 | 26,9 |
| | Mexico | 27,7 | 23,7 | 24,4 | 25,4 | 24,3 | 23,7 |
| Non Recent** | U.S. | 36,7 | 36,4 | 37,5 | 41,1 | 38,1 | 38,9 |
| | Mexico | 39,0 | 35,7 | 37,8 | 44,5 | 38,1 | 35,5 |
| Average Years of Schooling | | | | | | | |
| Recent* | U.S. | 7,7 | 7,4 | 8,7 | 9,1 | 7,7 | 8,8 |
| | Mexico | 10,9 | 5,1 | 10,2 | 10,6 | 5,5 | 8,3 |
| Non Recent** | U.S. | 8,6 | 8,8 | 9,8 | 9,6 | 9,3 | 10,1 |
| | Mexico | 9,5 | 3,4 | 9,5 | 10,2 | 6,9 | 8,4 |

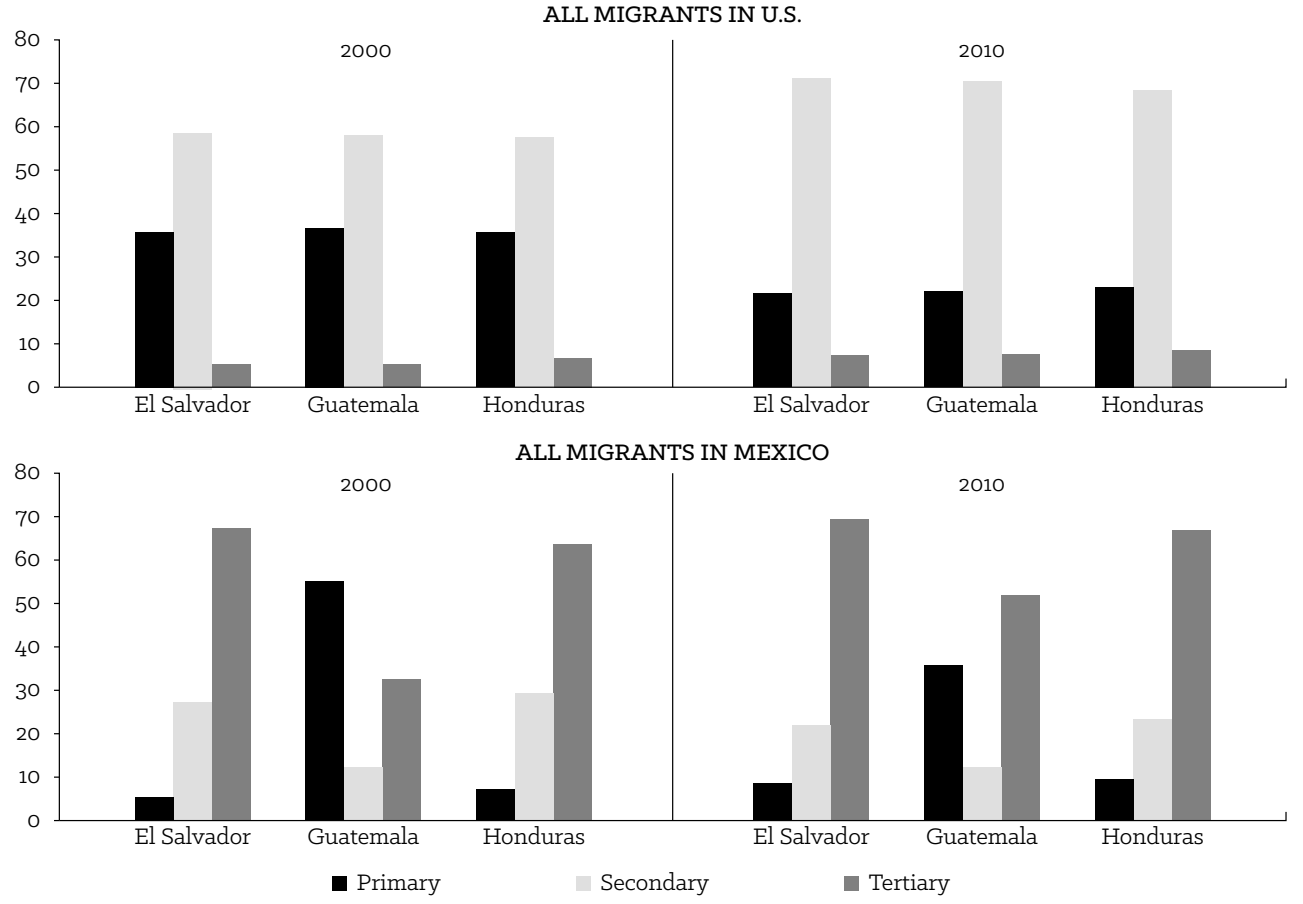
* Less than five years in the destination country ** Five or more years in the destination country

Source: Pederzini, Riosmena, Masferrer y Molina, 2015

GRAPH 2. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF NTCA MIGRANTS IN MEXICO AND U.S.


Source: Source: Pederzini, Riosmena, Masferrer y Molina, 2015

GRAPH 3. LABOR PARTICIPATION BY ECONOMIC SECTOR OF NTCA MATIONALS IN MEXICO AND THE U.S.




Source: Pederzini, Riosmena, Masferrer y Molina, 2015

U.S. by sector shows a higher secondary sector participation of NTCA nationals in the U.S., while in Mexico the tertiary sector is predominant, even for Guatemalans who may have been expected to participate more in the primary sector. The construction sector in the U.S. may explain participation in the secondary sector. In Mexico, activities in the third sector mainly comprise trading activities, which encompasses a low level of formality (see Graph 3).

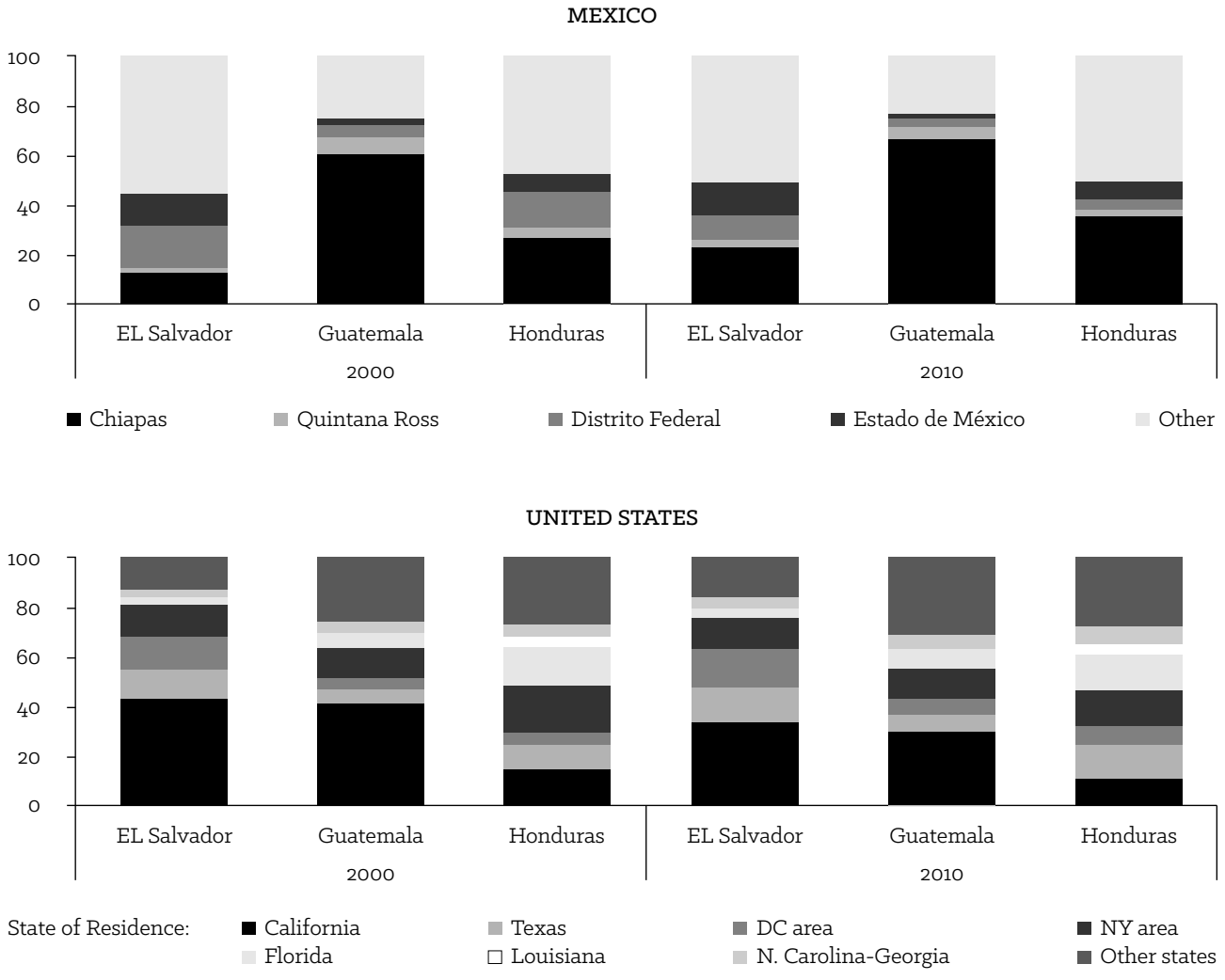
Regarding geographical distribution (see Graph 4), migrants of each nationality concentrate in certain states. However concentration is larger in Mexico and tends to increase, while the opposite happens in the United States. Guatemalans show the highest concentration levels in Mexico (60% in 2000 and 65% in 2010). The proportion of Salvadorans in the central urban areas of Mexico is greater than the other two nationalities, while Hondurans show the highest dispersion. However, Salvadorans and Hondurans show an increasing trend to concentrate in Chiapas, the closest state to the border with Guatemala.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Emigration from the NTCA to Mexico and the U.S., rooted in a historical and geo-political context defined by violence, insecurity and hard economic conditions, has persisted and even intensified in the past decade. In the past, civil wars and natural disasters were determinants for the Central American exodus. Nowadays, the population form the NTCA is fleeing gang and drug-related violence as the only way to survive.

The data presented here shows heterogenous demographic characteristics and work insertion of NTCA population in the U.S. and Mexico. Higher selectivity in the U.S. proves to be

GRAPH 4. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF NTCA MIGRANTS BY STATE IN MEXICO AND THE U. S.




Source: Pederzini, Riosmena, Masferrer y Molina, 2015

playing an important role in schooling levels and age profiles.

There are some clear challenges for integration of nationals from the NTCA in Mexico and the U.S. Immigration enforcement has favored the vicious cycle which links emigration, return and violence, creating more emigration. Attention has to be paid to the conditions where Guatemalans, Salvadorans and Hondurans return when deported.

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# RETURN MIGRATION FROM THE U.S. TO MEXICO: NEW CHALLENGES OF AN OLD PHENOMENON[1]

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An enormous change has been observed in migration flows between Mexico and the U.S.: the net migration rate has fallen to zero as a result of the decline in emigration, while return and U.S.-born immigration has increased. Over the past decade, an unprecedented number of Mexican migrants returned to Mexico due to immigration enforcement and deportation, and the erosion of opportunities in the post-2008 U.S. labour market. Recent return is unique because of the changing composition of returnees and their motivation, as well as the diversification of destinations on their return. Data show greater challenges for economic integration than before due to the deterioration of wages and the increase in precarious work from 2000 to 2015. Partially driven by discrimination, stigma towards deportees, and a deficient labour market where returnees cannot transfer skills, the situation calls for a new approach to integration.

Se ha observado un enorme cambio en los flujos migratorios entre México y los EU: la tasa de migración neta ha caído a cero como resultado del descenso en la emigración, en tanto que la inmigración de regreso y de los nacidos en los EUA, ha aumentado. A lo largo de la última década, una cifra sin precedentes de migrantes mexicanos volvieron a México, debido a la implementación de las políticas inmigratorias y a la deportación, así como a la erosión de oportunidades en el mercado laboral estadounidense posterior a 2008. El retorno reciente resulta único debido a la modificación en la composición de quienes vuelven y sus motivaciones, así como a la diversificación de los destinos de su regreso. Los datos muestran mayores retos para la integración económica que antes, debido al deterioro salarial y al incremento del trabajo precario entre los años 2000 y 2015. Impulsado en parte por la discriminación, por el estigma hacia los deportados y por un mercado laboral deficiente en el que los retornados no pueden transferir habilidades, la situación insta a encontrar un nuevo enfoque para la integración.

1 Based on the presentation entitled "Different profiles and challenges: Demography and geography of Mexican return migration" in the workshop "Migration and integration: Bridging divides and building resilient communities" at the Metropolis North America Policy Forum held in Washington, D.C.in November 2017. Results included those from the study on economic (re)integration patterns of returnees undertaken in collaboration with Nicole Denier (Assistant Professor at University of Calgary) from "The Payoff to Mexican Return Migration Before and After the Recession," presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America in April 2017.

**Un changement considérable a été observé dans les flux migratoires entre le Mexique et les États-Unis : le taux de migration nette est tombé à zéro en raison de la baisse de l'émigration, tandis que les retours et l'immigration d'origine américaine ont augmenté. Au cours de la dernière décennie, un nombre sans précédent de migrants mexicains sont rentrés au Mexique en raison de l'application de la loi sur l'immigration et l'expulsion, et de la dégradation des possibilités sur le marché du travail américain après 2008. Le retour récent est particulier en raison de la composition changeante des rapatriés et de leur motivation, ainsi que de la diversification des destinations à leur retour. Les données montrent des défis plus importants pour l'intégration économique qu'avant en raison de la détérioration des salaires et de l'augmentation du travail précaire de 2000 à 2015. Entraînée en partie par la discrimination, la stigmatisation envers les expulsés et un marché du travail déficient où les rapatriés ne peuvent pas transférer leurs compétences, la situation exige une nouvelle approche de l'intégration.**

## CONTEMPORARY PATTERNS OF MEXICAN RETURN MIGRATION

Return migration is by no means a new phenomenon in Mexico but was transformed as a result of the Great Recession and changes in immigration enforcement, which increased deportations of long-term residents. An enormous change has been observed in migration flows between Mexico and the U.S. since 2009: net migration rate fell to zero as a result of the decline in emigration, and the reversal of the flow (Passel, Cohn, and Gonzalez-Barrera 2012, Passel and Cohn 2016). This North-South flow includes Mexican returnees and their U.S.-born family members, most of whom are under 18 years old. The challenges of integrating an increasing number of migrants who arrived involuntarily, with broken social networks if they have lived out of the country for long periods, requires more attention to the phenomenon than ever before (Masferrer and Roberts 2016).

A large proportion of Mexicans define the United States as home as they have strong family, friendship, and work ties there. However, many face the daily fear of deportation and family separation. Today, 11.2 million Mexicans live in the United States, of which it is estimated that 5.8 million are undocumented, and a large proportion are long-term residents. Eight out of ten undocumented Mexicans have lived in the United States for more than a decade, and only approximately 7% arrived in the past five years (Passel and Cohn 2016).

Thousands of Mexicans have returned from the United States to Mexico due to economic hardship, family responsibilities, or health issues. The U.S. authorities have returned many others forcedly, and the involuntary nature of return has increased (Masferrer and Roberts 2012). Data from the Department of Homeland Security (Office of Immigration Statistics 2017) show that approximately 1.56 million Mexicans were deported during the Fiscal Years of the two George W. Bush administrations (2000-2008), and nearly two million during Obama's presidency (2009-2016). These removals are unlikely to be border apprehensions of those attempting to enter the country.[2] In fact, border apprehensions of Mexican nationals have been decreasing since 2000 and in 2017 they reached their lowest point since 1967. The 1.6 million border apprehensions of Mexicans registered in the year 2000 contrast sharply with the 130,000 in 2017.

Economic conditions in the U.S. eroded considerably between 2008 and 2009. Although it remains unclear whether the recession contributed to increasing returns over this period, limited labour market opportunities in the U.S. may have encouraged those who did return to join and remain in the Mexican labour market (Rendall, Brownell, and Kups 2011). The expansion of new migration patterns may in part reflect the changing nature of selectivity in returning: immigration enforcement may have locked up people in the U.S. who would otherwise have engaged in circular migration while increasing the involuntary nature of return through deportations (Massey, Durand, and Pren 2015).

## MEXICAN RETURNEES AND THEIR U.S. BORN (AND MEXICAN) CHILDREN

According to Mexican Census and Survey data,[3] the number of Mexicans living in the United States who returned to Mexico more than tripled from 240,000 in 2000 to nearly 800,000

2 DHS publishes statistics on apprehensions and returns at the border *(border apprehensions)* and deportations *(removals)* that occur in the interior, under deportation orders, with or without criminal charges. Fiscal years run from Oct. 1 to Sept. 30 of the following year, whereas presidential administrations begin on January 20.

3 Return migration is defined using indicators of place of birth and residence five years prior to the moment of the survey. Data limitations and challenges to capture Mexicans migrating to the U.S. and coming back using nationally representative data have forced scholars to study this phenomenon empirically using this definition, but we are aware of several limitations and biases. Some data sources also record *circular migration* (emigration and return over a five-year period) but this indicator excludes a large share of long-term U.S. residents who have come back to Mexico, a characteristic of contemporary return.

in 2010. In 2015, the number of recent returnees captured in Mexico who arrived during the period 2010 to 2015 fell to 442,000 (see Table 1). Recent return is unique because of the changing composition of returnees and the motivation for their return. Previous waves of return were often dominated by male labour migrants to the U.S. going back home, often to reunite with their families, after a sojourn abroad (Lindstrom 1996, Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002). For some, working in the U.S. provided the capital and skills to start small businesses, reflected in higher rates of self-employment compared to Mexicans with no migration history (Hagan, Demonsant, and Chávez 2014, Parrado and Gutierrez Vazquez 2016).

TABLE 1. SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEXICAN RETURNEE AND NON-MIGRANT POPULATION, 2000, 2010, 2015

| | Returnees | | | Non-migrant | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2000 | 2010 | 2015 | 2000 | 2010 | 2015 |
| Total (N) | 266.437 | 824.023 | 442.503 | 80.958.460 | 95.918.390 | 104.214.050 |
| ***Sex (% Female)*** | | | | | | |
| Total (5 years and older) | 34.9 | 28.0 | 32.1 | 51.7 | 51.4 | 51.8 |
| **Age** | | | | | | |
| Mean | 31.4 | 33.7 | 36.3 | 29.4 | 32.3 | 33.4 |
| Median | 29 | 32 | 35 | 25 | 27 | 29 |
| ***Relationship to the household head*** | | | | | | |
| Head | 43.3 | 49.6 | 48.3 | 26.1 | 28.5 | 29.4 |
| Spouse | 15.4 | 13.4 | 17.2 | 19.8 | 19.9 | 19.7 |
| Son/daughter | 30.3 | 25.9 | 23.2 | 44.5 | 40.1 | 38.4 |
| Other | 10.2 | 10.5 | 10.3 | 9.1 | 11.1 | 12.0 |
| Non-family | 0.8 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.5 |
| ***Marital status (12 years and older)*** | | | | | | |
| Single | 31.6 | 25.9 | 24.1 | 48.7 | 44.9 | 34.2 |
| Common law/married | 61.2 | 65.4 | 64.4 | 44.6 | 46.4 | 54.9 |
| Separated/Divorced | 5.3 | 7.4 | 9.5 | 3.0 | 4.6 | 6.1 |
| Widow | 1.9 | 1.4 | 2.0 | 3.7 | 4.1 | 4.8 |
| ***Years of schooling (25-64 years old)*** | | | | | | |
| Mean | 7.8 | 8.2 | 8.7 | 7.5 | 8.7 | 9.4 |
| Median | 6.0 | 8.0 | 9.0 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 9.0 |

Notes: Migration is defined using the indicator of residence five years prior to the survey. Non-migrants refer to the Mexican population who lived in the same state the year of the survey and five years prior, whereas returnees are Mexicans living in Mexico whose residence five years prior was the United States.

Source: own estimates using 2000 and 2010 Mexican census and 2015 Intercensal Survey

While men remain the majority of more recent returnees, they are increasingly "returning" to new destinations, establishing patterns of migration that are distinct from traditional short-term circular migration to and from home (Riosmena and Massey 2012, Masferrer and Roberts 2012). Destinations for return are not only located in places with long-standing emigration, but also in those with relatively attractive economic opportunities: northern border towns, tourist centers, and large metropolitan areas are increasingly important sites of re-incorporation (Masferrer and Roberts 2012, Rivera Sánchez 2013, Riosmena 2004). Overall, research shows that returnees form a heterogeneous group in terms of age, educational attainment and skills, work experience, time spent abroad, and migratory and family trajectories.

The recent flow of U.S.-born migrants from the United States to Mexico has increased in absolute numbers from around 80,000 in 1990 to 217,000 in 2015. Overall, these flows represent the largest North-South movement in the world. Between 2005 and 2010, the number of U.S.-born arrivals in Mexico reached a record high of more than 350,000. With the vast majority (three out of four) of the U.S.-born population living in Mexico since 2000 (i.e. the stock) aged 17 or younger (Giorguli Saucedo, Garcia-Guerrero, and Masferrer 2016). U.S.-born minors in particular are increasingly accompanying parents and siblings back to Mexico as age, sex and education selectivity patterns of returnees changed before and after the recession (Masferrer et al. 2012).

Many arrive with a Mexican parent who faces challenges reintegrating economically and socially upon return. A number of these U.S.-born minors are the children of deportees, and many of them have at least one Mexican parent and so are potentially dual citizens with the possibility of re-emigrating later in life. Immigration at a young age, both for those born in the U.S. and in Mexico, poses unique challenges for integration, especially in the education system due to their limited Spanish proficiency and problems with foreign credential recognition (Glick and Yabiku 2016, Medina and Menjívar 2015, Zúñiga and Hamann 2015).

## LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION OF RETURNEES

Historically, studies of the labour market integration of returnees have focused on the role of migration as a means to capital accumulation, and as a corollary of development in communities of origin. According to this approach, target earners migrate to the United States, sending back remittances, and upon returning, also bring back resources, including skills, to start small businesses. Thus returnees are more likely than the native-born to be self-employed. This pattern would also be consistent with those engaged in routine, circular migration to and from Mexico – perhaps reflecting patterns of seasonal work characterizing industries in which many immigrants work in the U.S. Recent studies, however, suggest that this is changing. Seven out of ten male and female returnees who participate in the labour force are wage employees (Denier and Masferrer 2017). With the increase in involuntary return, a significant share of returnees may arrive in Mexico with few resources to start a business, and little hope of returning to the U.S., instead of quickly joining the paid labour market upon return (Parrado and Gutierrez 2016).

Returnees are concentrated in economically productive ages (see Graph 1). Labour force participation rates among male returnees are higher than among their non-migrant counterparts, especially among those aged 25 to 49. Female returnees, however, have slightly lower participation rates than non-migrants. Data show a consistent decline in labour force participation as self-employed workers or employers, with an increase in informal salaried workers from 2000 to 2015.

Over this period, mean wages of Mexican returnees declined towards those of Mexican non-migrants, for both men and women. Results of multivariate statistical models (Graph 2) show that this narrowing of the gap holds, even after accounting for demographic, labour, and contextual geographical characteristics, for men and women in different age groups (Denier and Masferrer 2017). The deterioration of returnees' wages documented by Parrado and Gutierrez continued into 2015, after economic conditions improved in the U.S. This downward convergence is not unique when comparing those with and without migration experience. In fact, over this period, convergence occurred of several economic indicators, including salaries, where the more advantaged group grew closer to the disadvantaged one (El Colegio de México 2018).

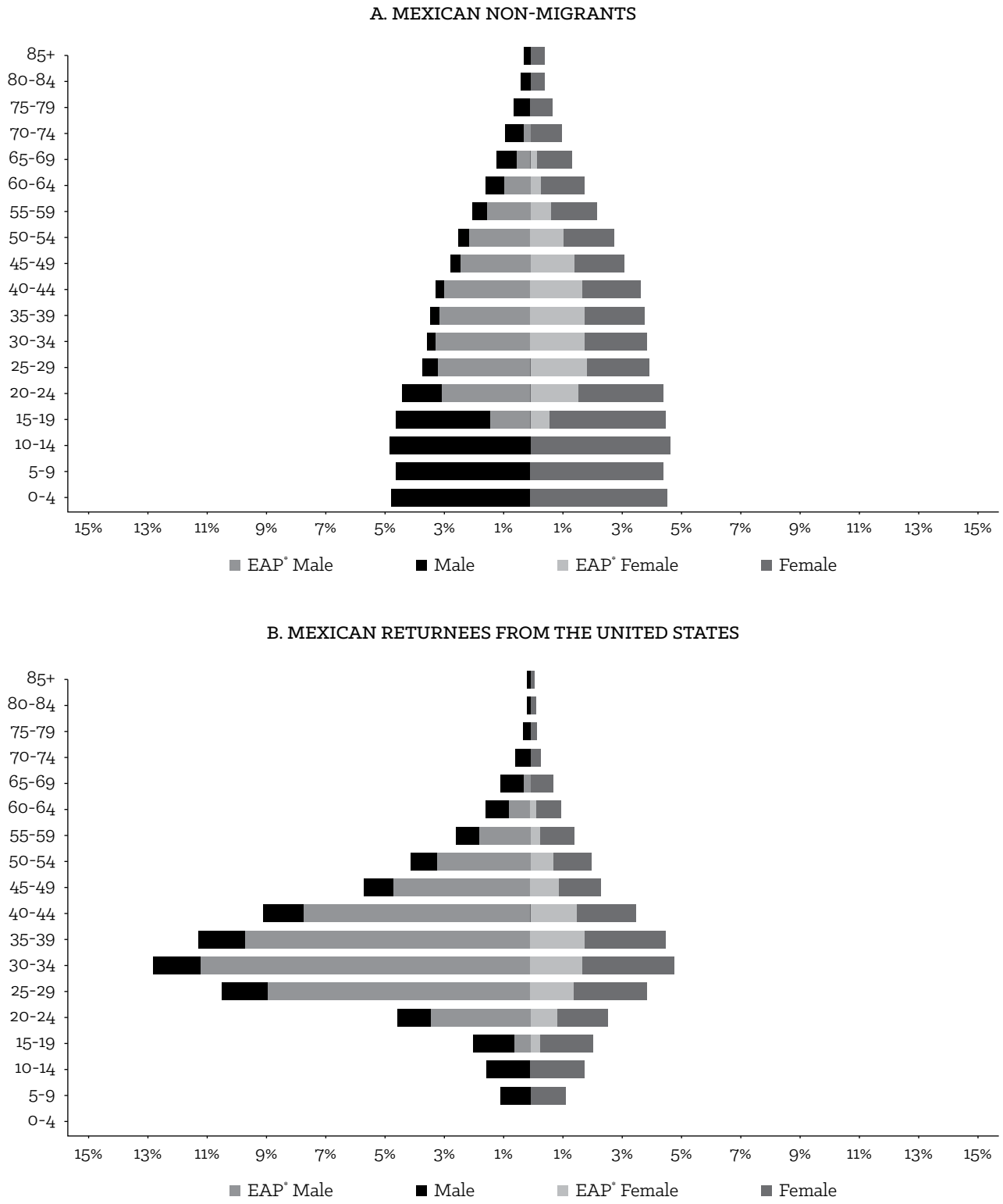
A Mexican citizen who returns has the same human rights as those who stayed put. However, upon return, many face stigma and discrimination. The "mark" of deportation, which is often associated with criminality (Pombo 2010, Wheatley 2011), may create additional challenges for labour market integration. Human rights violations against transit migrants, together with discrimination against the foreign born and nationals coming back create an adverse social context upon arrival.

## INTEGRATION POLICY AND A CHANGE OF NARRATIVE

For decades, Mexicans and foreigners alike have regarded Mexico as a country of emigration. Thus, immigration policy was not a priority, with most programs being implemented in response to specific situations, and mostly to address issues involving Mexicans living abroad (Giorguli Saucedo, Garcia-Guerrero, and Masferrer 2016). Irregular transit migration through Mexico intensified in the 1990s during a period of increasing migration from Central America, and increased again recently, gaining more attention since 2014 owing to the large share of unaccompanied minors migrating (Rodríguez 2016). Immigration also increased. The foreign-born population living in Mexico expanded dramatically from 2000 to 2015, but only accounts for 1% of the total population and is far from the 14% or 21% observed in the United States and Canada. When looking at the stocks, 2015 survey data show that 80% of the total foreign-born population living in Mexico is from the U.S., 80% of which is under 18. Contrary to common belief, less than 5% of the U.S.- born population in Mexico was older than 60 in 2015 (Giorguli Saucedo, Garcia-Guerrero, and Masferrer 2016).

Although several different initiatives have been proposed and considerably fewer implemented (Giorguli, Angoa, and Villaseñor 2014), programs for returnees fail to acknowledge

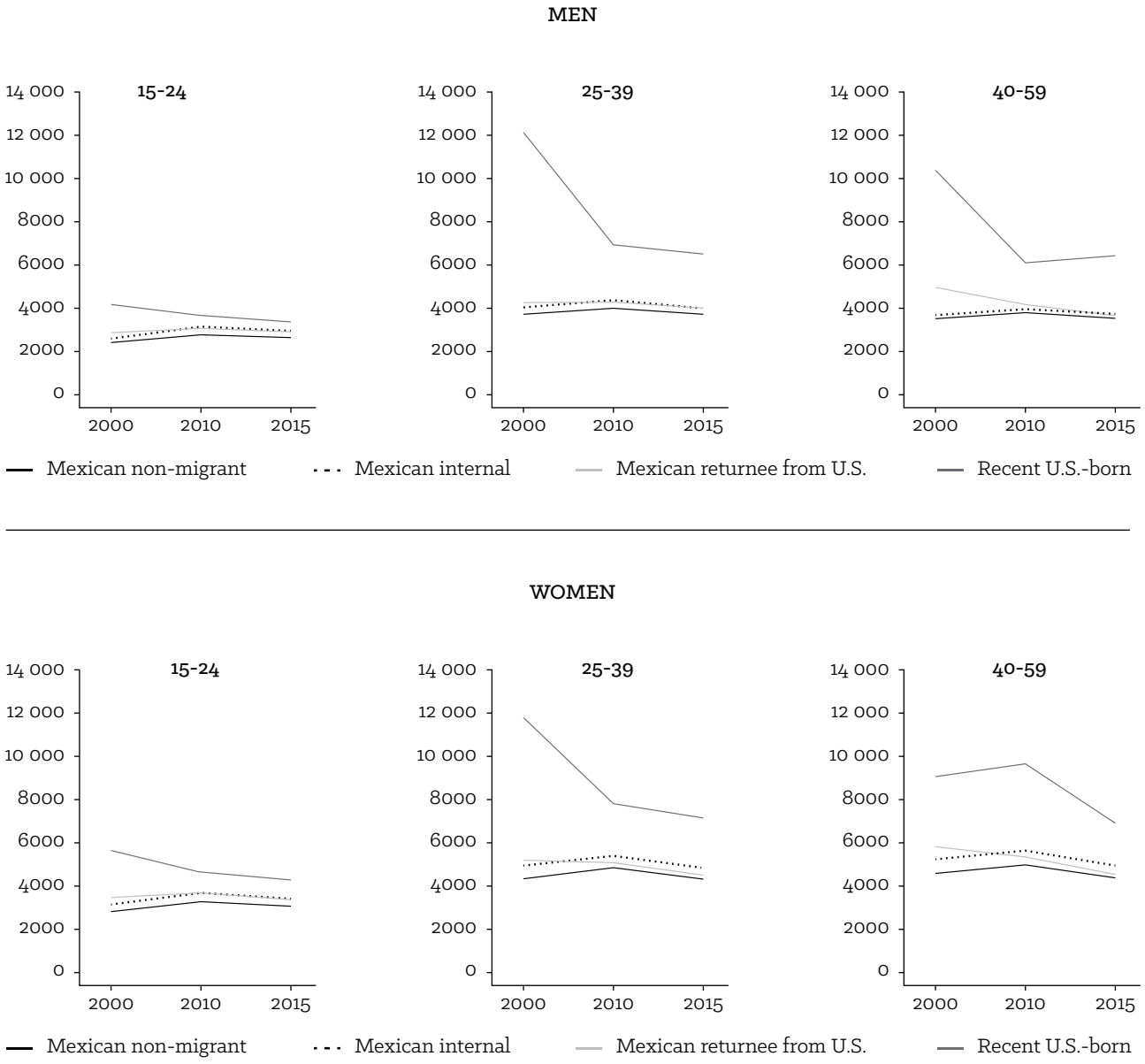
GRAPH 1. AGE, SEX, AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEXICAN NON-MIGRANT AND RETURN MIGRANT POPULATION, 2015




Notes: Migration is defined using the indicator of residence five years prior to the survey. Non-migrants refer to the Mexican population who lived in the same state in 2010 and 2015. Returnees are Mexicans living in the United States in 2010 and in Mexico in 2015. The economically active population (EAP) refers to the employed or unemployed population.

Source: Own estimates using the 2015 Intercensal Survey, graph based on the one in (Masferrer, Sánchez-Peña, and Rodríguez-Abreu 2017).

GRAPH 2. ADJUSTED MEAN WAGES FOR MEN (TOP) AND WOMEN (BOTTOM) BY AGE AND MIGRANT STATUS, 2000, 2010, 2015




Notes: adjusted mean wages refer to the mean of the estimated wages from OLS regression models stratified by sex and age group with a migrant and year interaction. Dependent variable is the natural log of income from employment, deflated to 2010 Mexican pesos. Controls include demographic (age, sex, marital status, relationship to household head), employment (educational attainment in years, class of workers, industry of employment), and contextual (size of locality, region of settlement, degree of marginalization) characteristics.

Source: Own estimates using pooled 2000 and 2010 Mexican census and 2015 Intercensal Survey, presented at (Denier and Masferrer 2017).

that they form a heterogeneous population with different needs. Migrants arriving in Mexico City will face different challenges from those in Tijuana, a rural community with long-standing migratory networks, or one with high levels of drug-related violence. The experience is not the same if a person arrives in their community of origin, or a new destination, where social networks may have changed over time. Demographic characteristics matter too, not only for integration into the education system or labour market, but for coping with family separation/reunification if children have been left behind, for example.

The changing scenario poses unique challenges. Policy responses should consider Mexico's nature as a sending country and its increasing role as a receiving one. Many countries that consider themselves "immigration countries" – including

Canada – have acknowledged the benefits of migration and diversity, and designed integration policies with the ultimate goal of social unity and national cohesion. Hopefully, Mexico will soon understand that immigration policy goes beyond selection policy and border control, changing the narrative towards migration and with integration in mind. Ideally this policy will not only address the needs of returnees and their U.S.-born children, but also of the foreign-born immigrant population in search of refuge and protection, family reunification, or migrating for other reasons, seeking either temporary or permanent residence in Mexico.

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# TWO HEMISPHERIC MIGRATION CRISES AND PROSPECTS FOR MODEST NORTH AMERICAN COOPERATION

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**Two migration crises in the hemisphere call out for North American cooperation. The first is the steady flow of Central American migrants through Mexico to the United States, with small numbers also arriving in Canada. The second is the flood of Venezuelans leaving their country for nearby countries in South and Central America. Creative, coordinated responses from the three countries of North America — Canada, the United States, and Mexico — are possible, but may be hampered by current political realities.**

**Dos crisis de migración en el hemisferio instan a la cooperación norteamericana. La primera es el flujo estable de migrantes centroamericanos a lo largo de México rumbo a los Estados Unidos, de entre quienes una pequeña cantidad también llega a Canadá. La segunda es la inundación de venezolanos que abandonan su país rumbo a países cercanos en América del Sur y Central. Es posible tener respuestas coordinadas, creativas, de los tres países de América del Norte (Canadá, Estados Unidos y México), pero pueden verse obstaculizadas por las realidades políticas actuales.**

**Deux crises migratoires dans l'hémisphère appellent à la coopération nord-américaine. Le premier est le flux constant de migrants d'Amérique centrale du Mexique vers les États-Unis, avec un petit nombre arrivant également au Canada. Le second est le flot de Vénézuéliens qui quittent leur pays pour les pays voisins d'Amérique du Sud et d'Amérique centrale. Des réponses créatives et coordonnées des trois pays d'Amérique du Nord – le Canada, les États-Unis et le Mexique – sont possibles, mais pourraient être entravées par les réalités politiques actuelles.**

Two migration crises are looming in the hemisphere and the countries of North America — Canada, the United States, and Mexico — and they should have a common cause to join together to find a response. These efforts require joint thought and action from the three governments, and a coordinated response could lay the foundations of greater migration cooperation for years to come.

The first migration crisis — that of Venezuela, a country that is rapidly losing population — will require close coordination and calibration with other countries in Central and South America. The neighbouring countries have been the largest recipients of the ongoing flows of Venezuelans out of their country, and they are the most directly affected by this emerging crisis. However, the three North American governments have a direct interest not only in ensuring that these countries have the ability to handle these new flows, but also that this crisis does not gradually move northward towards North America.

The second migration crisis — from the three northernmost Central American countries of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador — is, of course, far more directly in the North American neighbourhood. Tens of thousands of migrants are fleeing these countries in order to reach the United States, and growing numbers are staying in Mexico. There is a smaller number arriving in Canada or trying to cross from the United States northward.

Both of these migration crises lend themselves to thoughtful and measured responses that can both address the root causes of out-migration and deal fairly with those who are trying to leave their countries. Doing so would likely begin to create repertoires for problem-solving on immigration issues among the three countries of North America, something that has long been lacking.

Unfortunately, some of the preference for unilateral action among U.S. policymakers in the current administration will almost certainly undermine the possibilities for this kind of coordinated action, which may have to await a different political moment.

In the middle of a political crisis, Venezuela's economy has contracted three years in a row, according to the International Monetary Fund, with gross domestic product (GDP) shrinking by somewhere between a third to a half, while inflation has left many basic goods out of the reach of average citizens. Public hospitals often charge for basic medical supplies, and perhaps close to a third of the economically active population is now out of work. Given these pressures, roughly 1.6 million people have left Venezuela since 2015. Most of those who have left have moved to neighbouring countries in Latin America, but there is also a growing number of Venezuelans seeking asylum in the United States, Mexico, and, to a lesser extent, Canada.

Latin American countries have largely incorporated this new migration flow with little public debate or visible tension, but there are increasing signs of trouble. Panama and Chile have moved to place restrictions on new immigration from Venezuela, and Colombia has recently cancelled the issuance of new border mobility cards, one of the principal legal avenues for Venezuelans to enter the country (though officially only for short periods of time). As countries in the immediate region further restrict migration from Venezuela, there could be greater incentives to migrate to the three North American countries.

Moreover, a large percentage of Venezuelan migrants are either in unauthorized status or covered by temporary visas that are set to expire in relatively short periods. Should this temporary migration out of Venezuela become increasingly permanent, as current events suggest, there is reason to worry that it may generate a backlash in some of the countries of the region and create a new focus of political instability.

Cooperating with the South American countries that have received most of these migrants — Colombia, Peru, Panama, Ecuador, Chile, Brazil, and Costa Rica — is both the right thing to do to maintain stability and growth in the hemisphere, but it also makes sense in terms of containing a migration crisis that could easily begin to move northward as it becomes harder for Venezuelans to stay in South and Central America. To date, each of the countries of North America has pursued its own policy in providing aid to the recipient countries of South America and in setting its own response to the growing number of asylum seekers, but this issue seems ripe for additional conversation and perhaps coordination.

Even more clearly, a regional issue is the question of Central American migrants leaving the three Northern Triangle countries. Over 180,077 Central Americans were detained at the U.S.-Mexico border in fiscal year 2017, with even greater numbers in the first months of fiscal year 2018 (similar to the numbers in fiscal year 2016).[1] Of these, 75,622 were members of family units and another 41,435 were unaccompanied minors, altogether almost two-thirds of those apprehended.

All three countries of North America have seen spikes in asylum applications from Central American migrants, with by far the largest number in the United States, rapidly growing numbers in Mexico, and a more gradual increase in Canada. There is also anecdotal evidence that an increasing number of Central Americans are choosing to stay in Mexico, though this is not yet reflected in official statistics, and that small numbers of Central Americans may be trying to cross into Canada from the United States.

Given the proximity of North America to the three sending countries in Central America — and the fact that these migrants are trying to reach North America — there should be a clear call to action between Canada, the United States, and Mexico. To some extent the three countries have collaborated under the aegis of the Alliance for Prosperity, the official inter-

1 Please note that these figures do not include those who turn themselves in at border ports of entry.

national effort to support economic development and rule of law in the three Northern Triangle countries, but efforts now appear to be flagging, with the U.S. government reducing its support in the budget in each of the last two years.

Moreover, there are good reasons for the U.S. and Canadian governments to help Mexico develop its asylum capacity and immigration institutions more broadly. While the Mexican government has few incentives — and limited capacity — to become a bulwark against these migration flows, collaborative investment in Mexico's immigration and asylum capacity would better prepare it to respond to the current challenge in a more humane and sustainable way.

Instead, the U.S. government has sought to outsource its immigration enforcement policy to Mexico by trying to pressure the Mexican government to sign a "Safe Third Country" Agreement, which would require migrants to apply for asylum in Mexico rather than the United States. This might be possible someday, but Mexico has very limited ability to assume the responsibilities under international law that this would entail with its current capacity, which suggests that the U.S. government has gone far beyond realistic goals in negotiations with its Mexican counterparts and ignored other alternatives that might be far more possible.

Instead, the three governments of North America might look jointly at what they can do to re-commit themselves to addressing the causes of outflows from Central America while also addressing capacity issues in Mexico to address migration flows over the long-term.

It seems unlikely that a North American strategy on migration — even a modest one — is possible. Efforts to pursue a "zero tolerance" policy on migration at the U.S. border and to separate families that were detained crossing has closed most of the political room that might have existed for the Canadian and Mexican governments to entertain greater cooperative efforts with their U.S. counterparts.

However, given the magnitude of the two migration crises brewing in the hemisphere, even quiet, more measured efforts to coordinate strategies and assess possibilities would be extremely helpful, and it is possible that these could sow the seeds of even greater coordination in the future.

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# 'CANADIAN EXCEPTIONALISM': BORDER CONTROL ALSO MATTERS

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Canada stands as something of an outlier when it comes to global anti-immigrant politics. Though Canadians do not speak with one voice about immigration and refugee matters, there are no explicitly anti-immigrant political parties in Canada. The current Liberal government is committed to increasing the number of immigrant arrivals over the next few years, and many people continue to have positive attitudes towards immigration. Many Canadians also see immigration, diversity and multiculturalism as central to our national identity. Demographic factors and electoral politics, business support for immigration, the policy of multiculturalism, and our geographical separation from major refugee producing regions of the world help account for Canada's seemingly unique level of public support for immigration. But a neglected aspect of public support for immigration stems from the perception that Canada is in control of its borders. Border control efforts are central to maintaining public confidence in the immigration system, and broader support for immigrants and immigration.

Canadá es una especie de caso aparte en el tema de la política global anti-inmigrante. Aunque los canadienses no comparten todos la misma opinión sobre la inmigración y los refugiados, no existen partidos políticos explícitamente anti-inmigrantes en Canadá. El gobierno liberal actual está comprometido con el aumento en la cantidad de inmigrantes en el país a lo largo del próximo par de años, y mucha gente mantiene actitudes positivas hacia la inmigración. Muchos canadienses también consideran que la inmigración, la diversidad y el multiculturalismo son fundamentales para nuestra identidad nacional. Los factores demográficos y la política electoral, el apoyo empresarial a la inmigración, la política del multiculturalismo, y nuestra separación geográfica de las grandes regiones productoras de refugiados en el mundo, ayudan a dar cuenta del nivel aparentemente único que tiene Canadá en cuanto al apoyo público a la inmigración. Empero, un aspecto desatendido del apoyo público a la inmigración, parte de la percepción de que Canadá controla sus fronteras. Los esfuerzos de control fronterizo son centrales para mantener la confianza pública en el sistema de inmigración, así como un mayor apoyo para los inmigrantes y la inmigración.

**Le Canada se présente comme un cas particulier en matière de politique anti-immigrants à l'échelle mondiale. Bien que les Canadiens ne parlent pas d'une seule voix au sujet des questions relatives à l'immigration et aux réfugiés, il n'y a pas de partis politiques explicitement anti-immigrants au Canada. Le gouvernement libéral actuel s'est engagé à augmenter le nombre d'arrivées d'immigrants au cours des prochaines années et de nombreuses personnes continuent d'avoir une attitude positive à l'égard de l'immigration. De nombreux Canadiens considèrent également que l'immigration, la diversité et le multiculturalisme sont au cœur de notre identité nationale. Les facteurs démographiques et la politique électorale, le soutien aux entreprises en matière d'immigration, la politique du multiculturalisme et notre séparation géographique des principales régions du monde sources de réfugiés contribuent au niveau de soutien public élevé du Canada concernant l'immigration. Cependant, un aspect négligé du soutien public à l'immigration découle de la perception que le Canada contrôle ses frontières. Les efforts de contrôle aux frontières sont essentiels au maintien de la confiance du public dans le système d'immigration et à un soutien plus large aux immigrants et à l'immigration.**

The Liberal's 2015 pre-election commitment to admit 25,000 Syrian refugees by the end of that year resonated with many Canadians. Though there were concerns about whether that target could be reached with proper screening of refugee applicants, many ordinary Canadians and advocacy groups held the Liberal's feet to the fire and pressured them to keep their promise after they were elected. The Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), which is a slow-moving bureaucracy at the best of times, rather impressively mobilized resources and helped the government deliver on its commitment. Canadians, via the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program, responded with open arms to Syrian refugees in 2015 and 2016.

Though Canadians do not speak with one voice about immigration, and support for expanding the number of refugees and immigrants admitted to Canada is mixed (Nickel and Ljunggren 2017), Canada remains relatively bullish about immigration. In the government's immigration plan for 2018, Immigration Minister Ahmed Hussen indicated that the department planned to admit 310,000 immigrants and refugees. He also signaled that the annual immigration target would increase to 340,000 by 2020 (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada 2017). As part of the 2018 immigration plan, Canada expects to admit 48,700 refugees and protected persons, which is more than double the average of about 23,000 refugees admitted per year under the Conservatives between 2011 and 2014.

In a time when immigrants and refugees are vilified by populist governments, political parties and politicians in other parts of the world, Canada stands as something of an outlier. From a state policy perspective, Canada is open to the arrival of more immigrants and refugees. Moreover, many Canadians see the country's generosity toward refugees and its continued commitment to a relatively open immigration system in positive terms. But why is the reception context for immigrants and refugees seemingly more favourable in Canada than in other countries? Canada's positive attitude towards immigrants and refugees is, at least in part, contingent on the perception that the state remains in control of the border. When Canadians feel like the government is losing control of the border, attitudes towards immigration and refugees tend to harden. The border control regime, and efforts on the part of IRCC, The Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA), the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and other agencies to maintain the integrity of the immigration system, helps account for Canada's ability to maintain an expansive immigration program.

The usual reasons for 'Canadian exceptionalism' in immigration policy include a mix of variables (Bloemraad 2012). Clearly, demographics and electoral politics are at play. First and second-generation immigrants make up about 40% of the population. Citizenship take-up rates in Canada are high, and they continue to grow. In 2006, the take-up rate for immigrants with five or more years since landing in Canada was 88.3%, up from about 80% in 1986 (Xu and Golah 2015). Immigrant voting rates tend to approximate those for the Canadian born the longer they live in Canada (Uppal and LaRochelle-Cote 2012). Even though immigrants and members of particular ethnic communities do not vote as a block, or only on the basis of 'immigrant' or 'ethnic' issues (Chignall 2015), federal political parties in Canada must pay attention to so-called immigrant or 'ethnic' voters in order to achieve electoral success. Most Canadian politicians are reluctant to jump on the populist, anti-immigrant train because they know how to do electoral math.

Big and small businesses in Canada also have a love affair with immigrants and Temporary Foreign Workers. In a 2016 letter to Navdeep Bains, the Minister of Innovation, Science and Economic Development, the Business Council of Canada urged the federal government to 'make recruitment and retention of international talent — including international students — a top priority' (Manley, 2016). Businesses in Canada have consistently been one of the biggest supporters of Canada's expansive approach to immigration because immigrants are an important source of their labour force; immigrants are also consumers of a wide variety of goods and services. One does not have to be a Marxist to understand that business interests and government policies are often closely aligned.

Some credit ought to also go the federal policy of multiculturalism. For all of its apparent shortcomings, that policy has helped create a public discourse that is positive towards immigration, refugees and diversity. Even though national identity is hard to define, multiculturalism is nonetheless one of the key ways that Canadians define who they are (Fleras 2015).

Canada's geography is also significant. Canada is separated from many of the major refugee producing areas of the world by large bodies of water. This makes it hard, but certainly not impossible, for refugees and undocumented migrants to show up unannounced on our doorstep. The Safe Third Country Agreement with the U.S. provides Canada with a buffer from refugee claimants coming from Central America. Of course, this has changed over the past year as the White House's approach to managing migration has gotten harder, and more chaotic. Though our neighbour to the south is not normally the source of refugees or large numbers of undocumented migrants, its immigration policies are posing new challenges for how Canada responds to those who cross the border into Canada outside of an official port of entry.

The above are undoubtedly important pieces of the puzzle to explain Canadian exceptionalism. Another part of the explanation, though, is arguably related to immigration control. Positive attitudes to immigration are contingent on the perception that Canada is in control of its borders. This in turn helps the current Liberal government, and indeed past governments, maintain an expansive immigration program.

The Canadian immigration bureaucracy, along with their political masters, are obsessed with maintaining the integrity of the immigration system. This involves trying to ensure that individuals receive the visas for which they are eligible and preventing the arrival of individuals who are not eligible to visit, study or settle permanently in Canada. But immigration officials are also obsessed with preventing individuals from using the visitor visa system to make a refugee claim in Canada. They are intimately concerned about preventing the arrival of 'jumpers.' The term is the sub-cultural shorthand for 'cue-jumper' and includes visa overstayers and asylum claimants who manage to enter Canada on the basis of a visitor or other temporary resident visa. In their view, there is a right way of immigrating to Canada and a wrong way. There is also a right way to be a refugee and a wrong way to be a refugee; using the visitor visa system to set foot in Canada and then make an asylum claim is not seen as the right way (Satzewich 2015). But immigration bureaucrats also understand that their efforts to uphold the integrity of the immigration system helps to maintain public confidence in the immigration program (Satzewich 2015), and hence an expansive immigration program. I do not think they are wrong about this.

Canada has a rather mixed history of reception of different kinds of refugees, which lends weight to the view that there are right and wrong ways of being a refugee. At its simplest, Canada accepts two types of refugees. United Nations High Commission for Refugees screened Convention Refugees who are selected by Canada from abroad, and asylum seekers who make a refugee claim upon setting foot in Canada. Both are perfectly legal and legitimate ways to become a refugee in Canada but there is a difference between the ways that some politicians, the immigration bureaucracy, and members of the Canadian public regard these two kinds of refugees. Canadians seem more favourably disposed to Convention Refugees selected abroad than they are to asylum seekers. Arguably, the right way to be a refugee in Canada is to be stuck in a refugee camp overseas, screened by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, screened again by a Canadian visa officer and resettled in an orderly, planned manner via an official sponsorship program.

Much has been made of the way in which Canada was able to successfully resettle 60,000 Vietnamese boat people in 1978 and 1979. The story of the resettlement of Vietnamese refugees is complex (Molloy, Duschinsky, Jensen and Shakla 2017). Nonetheless, this was perceived as 'the right way' to be a refugee. Refugees were located overseas and Canadian authorities had the opportunity to determine whether they met Canada's definition of a refugee, screen them for inadmissibility, and select those who it deemed to be the potentially most valuable contributors to Canadian society.

The good news story of Canada's resettlement of Vietnamese (and Syrian refugees more recently) contrasts with how Canadians tend to regard asylum seekers. Canada has, on occasion, faced the unannounced arrival of boatloads of migrants on its borders seeking asylum, and both the public and governmental response has not been particularly positive. In May, 1939 Canadian authorities refused to allow the SS. St Louis to disembark its 907 Jewish refugees; the ship was forced to sail back to Europe, where 254 of the passengers subsequently died in the Holocaust (Abella and Troper 1982). Fast forward to 1999 when four boats carrying 590 people from Fujian province in China arrived on the shores of British Columbia, and to 2009 and 2010 when two ships containing Tamils from Sri Lanka landed on our shores. The ships, and their 'irregular migrant' passengers generated considerable public discussion and debate and social scientists have studied that reaction in depth, particularly the way that the Canadian media framed and defined who these people were, and how and why they were coming to Canada. Though the overarching story line in 1999 was about human smuggling, the sub plots focused on the Chinese as illegal migrants, how they could not possibly be refugees, that they were economic migrants pretending to be refugees, the tax burden imposed on Canadians to support the refugee claimants while their cases were processed, and the subsequent tax burden if their cases were successful. The latter was driven by the belief that because they were poor and uneducated, they would have trouble making it in Canadian society, and so would be a burden on the country for the rest of their lives. As one study found, the arrival of the

first boat was met with skepticism about their being genuine refugees but by the time the last boat arrived, the arrival of the boats was seen as a full-fledged 'crisis' that had the potential of undermining the integrity of the immigration system (Hier and Greenberg 2002). In short, Canada was going to be 'flooded' with refugees if it did not do something, and quickly. The storyline was similar for the Tamils.

Significant portions of Canadians continue to believe that individuals who make asylum claims in Canada are not 'real' refugees. In a 2018 Environics poll, 38% of respondents indicated agreement with the statement 'most people claiming to be refugees are not real refugees.' Another 17% were ambivalent (Environics Institute for Survey Research 2018). The fact that nearly four in ten Canadians continue to think that most people claiming refugee status are not genuine refugees suggests that Canadians' support for, and confidence in the immigration and refugee determination system remains fragile.

To the extent that populist anti-immigrant sentiments are rooted in perceptions that immigration is out of control, that states have lost control of their borders, and that immigration systems are broken, what role do immigration experts have to play in reassuring the public that the immigration system is not in fact broken? In other words, whose side are we on? The perhaps uncomfortable answer is that being supportive of immigration may also mean that we have to be supportive of government efforts to maintain the integrity of the immigration system. This is not to suggest that immigration experts ought to be apologists for government enforcement policies and practices, but it is to suggest that there is a delicate relationship between maintaining the integrity of the immigration system and Canada's ability to maintain an active, open and expansive immigration system.

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# GARS VS. PSRS: EXPLAINING DIFFERENCES IN OUTCOMES FOR RECENT REFUGEES TO CANADA

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There is a growing body of literature in Canada that points to the superior economic performance of privately sponsored refugees (PSRs) as opposed to government assisted refugees (GARs) in the country and, at times, underlying that view is the idea that governments should cede more responsibility to the private sector when it comes to welcoming refugees and helping them adjust to their new homes. Using 2016 census data on refugee admissions, while affirming the better economic outcomes of PSRs, this paper suggests that background characteristics of the two groups may play a greater role in the varying results between the two.

Existe un creciente grupo de estudios en Canadá, que señala el desempeño económico superior de los refugiados patrocinados de manera privada (PSR en inglés) en comparación con los refugiados asistidos por el gobierno (GAR en inglés) en el país y, en ocasiones, subyace a esta idea la noción de que el gobierno debería ceder mayor responsabilidad al sector privado cuando se trata de recibir a refugiados y ayudarles a adaptarse a sus nuevos hogares. Utilizando datos censales sobre admisiones de refugiados en 2016, al tiempo que confirma los mejores resultados económicos de los PSR, este trabajo sugiere que las características de los antecedentes de ambos grupos pueden jugar un mayor papel en los divergentes resultados entre ambos.

Au Canada, de plus en plus de publications soulignent la performance économique supérieure des réfugiés parrainés par le secteur privé (RPSP), en opposition aux réfugiés parrainés par le gouvernement (RPG) dans le pays, et parfois, ce point de vue sous-jacent rejoint l'idée que les gouvernements devraient laisser davantage de responsabilités au secteur privé concernant l'accueil des réfugiés et les aider à s'adapter à leurs nouveaux lieux de vie. En utilisant les données du recensement de 2016 sur les admissions de réfugiés, et en confirmant de meilleurs résultats économiques des RPSP, cette publication suggère que les caractéristiques socio-démographiques des deux groupes pourraient jouer un rôle plus important dans les résultats variables entre les deux.

Contrary to what might be assumed, both the Government of Canada and private sponsors do offer a support network to refugees. However, the private sponsors are seen as extending a more personalized and dedicated type and degree of support to refugees than the government does. But the 2016 census results suggest that the major differences in economic outcomes may have more to do with selection on the part of refugee sponsors than the personalized services they offer. Either way it is an issue that merits greater attention in the evolving process of refugee admission.

In 2016, for the first time Canada's census made it possible to classify immigrants that arrived as of 1980 according to the category under which they were admitted into the country. This data will enable analysts to document a key component of the profile of Canada's immigrant population. In public discourse, immigrants are too often the object of caricature and the manner in which distinctions are made between immigrants and non-immigrants gives the impression that the two groups possess fundamentally different social and economic characteristics.

Measuring immigrant integration can be complex and policy-makers and researchers generally use the non-immigrant as the benchmark against which to assess the evolving economic and social circumstances of immigrants. Taking into account the diversity of immigrants and non-immigrants inevitably renders comparisons between them even more difficult. The new census data on immigrant categories offer important insights into the diversity of backgrounds and the trajectories of the country's foreign-born population.

When measuring immigrant integration, it is essential to keep in mind that the variation in the migrant's social and economic circumstances at their time of arrival can be a key predictor of future outcomes. That which follows will look at how two categories of refugees in Canada have fared over time, specifically government assisted refugees (GARs) and privately sponsored refugees (PSRs). It is generally held that the PSRs do better than GARs owing to the stronger support system that arises from community and/or family sponsorship. While not disputing this claim, the data from the 2016 census suggests that the differences in origins and language knowledge upon arrival in Canada need closer attention before drawing firm conclusions as to reasons for the economic gaps between GARs and PSRs.

## MIGRATION SELECTION IN CANADA

In Canada, immigrants are selected based on three main objectives: to enhance and promote economic development; to reunite families; and to fulfill the country's international obligations and uphold its humanitarian tradition. Within these three broad areas are multiple categories of immigrants. In 2016, some six in ten immigrants were admitted under the economic category, when combining principal applicants, spouses and dependents. Some three in ten immigrants were admitted as family class to join family already in the country and about one in ten immigrants were admitted to Canada as refugees. As a result of the admission of Syrian refugees in early 2016, the share of refugees represented just under one in five immigrants over the period of January 1st to May 10th, 2016. Statistics Canada data reveals that amongst immigrants admitted during the 1980s and still living in Canada in 2016, economic immigrants accounted for four in ten immigrants with three in ten immigrants under the family class and some two in ten admitted as refugees (Statistics Canada 2017).

Although refugees are not selected based on their capacity for economic success, one of the objectives of immigration policy is to support their self-sufficiency and their social and economic well-being. Apart from their diverse backgrounds, refugees fall under certain admission subcategories. Amongst the refugee sub categories listed in the 2016 census are: (1) 'protected persons in Canada or dependents abroad,' which includes immigrants who applied for refugee protection while in Canada and who were granted permanent resident status on the basis of a well-founded fear of returning to their country of origin, as well as immigrants who were granted permanent resident status as a family member abroad; (2) 'resettled refugees,' which includes immigrants who have been selected abroad while outside of their home country or country where they normally lived and who were granted permanent resident status on the basis of a well-founded fear of returning to that country. Within the latter category there are government-assisted refugees (GARs), privately sponsored refugees (PSRs), and blended visa office-referred refugees (BVOR).

Under the GARs program, refugees are referred to Canada for resettlement by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) or another referral organization. Individuals cannot apply directly. You must register for refugee status with the UNHCR or state authorities to be considered by a referral organization. A GARs initial resettlement in Canada is entirely supported by the Government of Canada or the province of Quebec. This support is delivered by non-governmental agencies called service provider organizations, funded by the federal department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). GARs obtain support for up to one year from the date they arrive in Canada, or until they are able to support themselves (Government of Canada 2016a).

PSRs are sponsored by Canadians that have volunteered to help them adjust to life here. Sponsors commit to finding refugees a place to live; giving them financial support, providing social and emotional support and ensuring they have food and clothing. They have agreed to support them for one year after arrival or until such time as they can support themselves. The sponsor must provide support and there is no requirement that they be paid to do so (Government of Canada 2017a).

## REFUGEE ADMISSIONS

Canada has a long history of admitting refugees to the country. But that history is marked by difficult debates about the admission of certain refugees and a number of very unfortunate episodes where migrants were refused admission owing to their background and origins. Most Canadians are unaware of this history as some seven in ten believe that "throughout its history Canada has always welcomed immigrants" (Jedwab 2016).

The PSR program began in 1979 with the massive influx of persons displaced following the war in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Private sponsors are groups of Canadians or organizations, many hailing from faith-based communities as well as ethno-cultural groups and settlement organizations (Canadian Council for Refugees 2014). Recently, the number of refugees from Syria was met with a significant expression of interest in sponsorship on the part of Canadians. The model for Canadian private sponsorship is the object of interest from a number of immigrant receiving countries. However, above all else, success in copying the Canadian approach requires some comprehension of why Canadians are ready to commit to sponsoring refugees. To this end, additional insight is required into who the private sponsors are and what motivates them to receive refugees (in this regard, see the essay by Wendy Cukier in this edition).

The 2016 census reports that there are nearly 859,000 persons that entered Canada as refugees as of 1980 and some 53% are men. As seen in Table 1, those who settled in the country during the 1980's were overwhelmingly resettled refugees, by contrast with the first decade of the twenty first century where the protected persons in Canada constituted the majority of the country's refugees. In the 2011 to 2016 period, the resettled refugees reemerged as the majority of refugees in the country. Within the resettled refugees, the majority are GARs across the entire period (1980-2016). But it is worth noting that the gap GARs and PSRs was widest in the first decade of the 21st century.

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN CANADA BY SELECTED CATEGORY OF ADMISSION AND TIME OF ARRIVAL, 1980-2016

| Category | Total | 1980-1990 | 1991-2000 | 2001-2010 | 2011-2016 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All refugees | 858 850 | 229 120 | 242 275 | 246 940 | 140 520 |
| Resettled refugees | 533 505 | 221 510 | 127 055 | 99 760 | 85 180 |
| i. Government-assisted refugees | 297 105 | 115 135 | 68 680 | 66 805 | 46 485 |
| ii. Privately sponsored refugees | 233 340 | 106 380 | 58 370 | 32 955 | 35 630 |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

As observed in table 2, since 1980 just under half of the country's refugees have come from Asia. The share of refugees from Europe dropped from some one in four during the 1990's to some 4% since the year 2000. Refugees from Africa increased from about 12% in the 1990's to 25% in the period of 2011-2016. As regards specific countries, the data illustrates the decline in refugee numbers from a number of countries between the first decade of the century and the years 2011 and 2016, with Iraqi numbers remaining consistent and the numbers of Syrians rising substantially.[1]

When looking at the distribution of GARs and PSRs by continent and country of birth, one observes that GARs are more numerous across the spectrum and in particular amongst those coming from the Americas. where overall there are more than double the number of GARs and for the period 2011-2016 (the ratio of GARs to PSRs is four to one). When looking at specific countries, in terms of overall admissions, the GARs significantly outnumber PSRs for resettled refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina and El Salvador, while there were far more PSRs than GARs from Poland, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Pakistan. In the more recent period (2011-2016), while refugees from Syria represented one quarter of all admissions, refugees entered from several other countries.

## REFUGEES: WHERE DO THEY LIVE?

More than one-third of Canada's refugees live in the Toronto region (37%) followed by Montreal (14%) and Vancouver (8%). A majority of the refugees are "resettled" and the majority of the group are GARs. Yet over the period of 1980-2016, of the ten largest refugee receiving cities listed in table 4, all but Toronto and Montreal had more GARs than PSRs.

1 The 2016 census covers an important part, though not the entire wave, of Syrians that entered the country since 2015.

TABLE 2: NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN CANADA BY CONTINENT, SELECTED COUNTRY OF BIRTH, AND TIME OF ARRIVAL, 1980-2016

| Place of Birth | Total | 1980-1990 | 1991-2000 | 2001-2010 | 2011-2016 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total outside of Canada | 858 845 | 229 115 | 242 275 | 246 940 | 140 520 |
| Asia | 421 830 | 112 265 | 111 580 | 117 475 | 80 515 |
| Europe | 152 285 | 65 930 | 65 340 | 15 755 | 5 255 |
| Africa | 147 055 | 14 760 | 36 620 | 59 705 | 35 970 |
| Americas | 136 155 | 35 640 | 28 280 | 53 580 | 18 655 |
| Viet Nam | 60 145 | 50 450 | 8 360 | 860 | 470 |
| Poland | 56 615 | 42 845 | 13 145 | 515 | 110 |
| Sri Lanka | 55 195 | 8 635 | 29 920 | 14 160 | 2 485 |
| Iraq | 43 590 | 2 545 | 10 765 | 14 770 | 15 505 |
| Afghanistan | 41 165 | 3 905 | 12 155 | 19 005 | 6 105 |
| Iran | 34 705 | 9 765 | 13 140 | 7 600 | 4 200 |
| Colombia | 31 680 | 300 | 1700 | 25 685 | 3 995 |
| Syria | 29 025 | 440 | 805 | 1 225 | 26 550 |
| El Salvador | 28 385 | 17 650 | 8 150 | 1 490 | 1 095 |
| China | 27 000 | 2 855 | 4 705 | 14 555 | 4 880 |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

TABLE 3: GARS AND PSRS BY CONTINENT, SELECTED COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND TIME OF ARRIVAL, 1980-2016 AND 2011-2016

| | 1980-2016 | | 2011-2016 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | GARs | PSRs | GARs | PSRs |
| Total | 297 100 | 233 340 | 46 485 | 35 630 |
| Asia | 137 985 | 122 730 | 32 500 | 24 335 |
| Europe | 67 785 | 56 205 | 730 | 410 |
| Africa | 47 255 | 34 585 | 11 680 | 10 520 |
| Americas | 43 955 | 19 070 | 1 565 | 370 |
| Viet Nam | 33 040 | 26 295 | 220 | 115 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 20 385 | 3 400 | 60 | 10 |
| Iraq | 19 020 | 20 470 | 7 550 | 6 760 |
| El Salvador | 17 800 | 6 285 | 90 | 170 |
| Afghanistan | 17 090 | 17 765 | 1 135 | 3 320 |
| Poland | 16 960 | 38 845 | - | 10 |
| Syria | 13 730 | 10 625 | 12 785 | 9 955 |
| Ethiopia | 6 600 | 10 480 | 865 | 2 135 |
| Eritrea | 3 485 | 6 705 | 845 | 3 480 |
| Pakistan | 2 030 | 3 950 | 360 | 1 480 |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

TABLE 4: NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN CANADA BY SELECTED CATEGORY OF ADMISSION AND SELECTED CENSUS METROPOLITAN REGION, 1980-2016

| Region | Refugees | Resettled refugees | GARs | PSRs |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 858 850 | 533 505 | 297 100 | 233 340 |
| Toronto | 319 290 | 161 705 | 70 930 | 90 775 |
| Montréal | 117 890 | 53 470 | 25 070 | 28 400 |
| Vancouver | 71 115 | 54 090 | 34 315 | 19 775 |
| Calgary | 48 120 | 35 460 | 20 695 | 14 765 |
| Edmonton | 42 345 | 32 520 | 20 425 | 12 095 |
| Ottawa | 39 835 | 24 025 | 15 875 | 8 150 |
| Hamilton | 28 030 | 20 025 | 12 040 | 7 985 |
| Kitchener - Cambridge - Waterloo | 23 845 | 19 670 | 12 420 | 7 250 |
| London | 20 300 | 14 905 | 9 670 | 5 235 |
| Winnipeg | 18 925 | 17 330 | 10 165 | 7 165 |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

With the influx of Syrian refugees over the period of January 2015 to January 2018, the share of PSRs grew considerably and their number approached that of the GARs. As observed in Table 5, the vast majority of resettled refugees in Montreal were PSRs and two out of three refugees were settled in Toronto. In all likelihood, this is a function of where much of the sponsorship emerged for the Syrian refugee population.

TABLE 5: PERCENTAGE OF PSRS IN ADMISSIONS - OUT OF ALL RESETTLED REFUGEES - BY TOP 10 CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA (CMA) OF INTENDED DESTINATION, JANUARY 2015-JANUARY 2018

| Canada | 48% |
|---|---|
| Montreal | 85% |
| Oshawa | 81% |
| Guelph | 76% |
| St. Catharine's - Niagara | 68% |
| Toronto | 65% |
| Sherbrooke | 64% |
| Calgary | 63% |
| Winnipeg | 62% |
| Belleville | 54% |
| Edmonton | 50% |

Source: Government of Canada, 2017b

## GARS VS PSRS

In the aftermath of the admission of Syrian refugees to Canada, the country's immigration department, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (hereafter IRCC) conducted a Rapid Impact Evaluation (RIE) that aimed to assess the early outcomes of the 2015-2016 Syrian Refugee Initiative. The evaluation examined the Syrian refugees who were admitted to Canada between November 2015 and March 2016 and were part of an initial 25,000 Syrian refugee commitment made by the government of Canada (the RIE was conducted prior to the release of the 2016 census data). The RIE employed data from a Longitudinal Immigration Data Base (IMDB)[2] to examine the overall economic performance of GARs and PSRs for the period 1992-2012. The Report concluded that "in the first years following admission, GARs tended to have lower economic performance as compared to PSRs. Specifically, they had lower incidence of employment, lower employment earnings, and higher social assistance reliance" (Government of Canada 2016b).

On the basis of their economic performance, the RIE reported that GARs caught up to PSRs after seven years in Canada (and surpass them after 10 years). However, amongst those refugees arriving since 2002, the catch-up did not occur until after ten years in the country. Among refugees who landed between 1993 and 2007, the department found those sponsored by the government were, on average, about twice as likely as those sponsored privately to be on social assistance two years after resettling in Canada. Also, the RIE adds that during the

2 The IMDB provides detailed and reliable information on the labour market behaviour of different categories of immigrants over a period that is long enough to assess the impact of characteristics at admission, such as education and knowledge of French or English.

year 2009, some 19% of PSRs were receiving social assistance compared to 49% of GARs. During the same period, PSRs also consistently earned a higher annual income than their government-sponsored counterparts. The RIE reaffirms that PSRs had better economic outcomes than GARs. They had considerably better access to lodging, medical services and had less difficulty with language acquisition in finding employment and overall, had fewer challenges at adjusting to life in Canada than did GARs (Government of Canada 2016b).

One explanation for the differences in economic outcomes offered by the RIE was that adult Syrian GARs were less educated and less knowledgeable of either of the country's official languages compared with previous resettled refugee cohorts. In effect, the adult Syrian PSRs have more knowledge of the official languages compared with the resettled PSRs that arrived between 2010 and 2014. Adult Syrian refugees were less likely to be referred to employment services and more likely to be referred to language services than previous waves of resettled refugees. Given GARs weaker language skills compared with other newcomers, many were unable to access employment services until a specific language level had been reached (Government of Canada 2016b).

## REFUGEES: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS ACCORDING TO THE 2016 CENSUS

Results of the 2016 census confirms some of the findings in the RIE. It is important to note that the census data covers the entire country whereas the IMDB data employed by the RIE does not include Quebec. As observed in table 6, the overall rates of unemployment are somewhat greater for the GARs than the PSRs, but the gap is especially pronounced during the period of 2011-2016 where, especially so amongst men, the GARs unemployment rate was at 20.3 percent compared with a rate of 13.9 percent for the PSRs.

TABLE 6: UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR GARS AND PSRS BY GENDER, AGED 25-54, FROM 1980-2016

| Period | GARs | | PSRs | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Total period | 8.6% | 9.0% | 7.2% | 8.2% |
| 1980-1990 | 6.8% | 6.4% | 5.6% | 5.6% |
| 1980-1990 | 6.8% | 6.4% | 5.6% | 5.6% |
| 1991-2000 | 7.1% | 7.3% | 5.9% | 6.7% |
| 2001-2010 | 11.0% | 13.9% | 9.5% | 12.3% |
| 2001-2005 | 10.7% | 12.3% | 8.3% | 12.0% |
| 2006-2010 | 11.5% | 15.8% | 10.6% | 12.6% |
| 2011-2016 | 20.3% | 24.7% | 13.9% | 24.2% |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

As observed in table 7, the GARs overall income is similar to that of the PSRs when considering the entire group. But the census data reveal that amongst the most recent arrivals (2011-2014) male PSRs between the ages of 25 and 54 have much higher average total income than do GARS.

TABLE 7: AVERAGE TOTAL INCOME IN 2015 AMONG RECIPIENTS CANADA, AGED 25-54, FROM 1980-2016

| Period | GARs | | PSRs | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Total period | $44 017 | $35 524 | $45 175 | $36 819 |
| 1980-1990 | $55 498 | $44 810 | $54 174 | $44 223 |
| 1991-2000 | $45 282 | $37 363 | $46 758 | $38 327 |
| 2001-2010 | $34 147 | $27 280 | $35 352 | $27 338 |
| 2001-2005 | $36 259 | $29 748 | $37 707 | $30 959 |
| 2006-2010 | $31 722 | $24 694 | $33 345 | $24 169 |
| 2011-2016 | $22 239 | $19 734 | $29 279 | $19 999 |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

When it comes to overall rates of low income, the census points to little difference between GARs and PSRs. As seen in table 8, there are substantial gaps between the percentage of GARs and PSRs men and women in low income in the most recently arrived cohort (2011-2014) amongst those between the ages of 25 and 54.

TABLE 8: PREVALENCE OF LOW INCOME FOR GARS AND PSRS IN CANADA BY GENDER, AGED 25-54, BASED LOW-INCOME CUT-OFFS AFTER TAX (LICO-AT), FROM 1980-2016

| Period | GARs | | PSRs | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Total period | 22.8% | 23.9% | 18.9% | 19.8% |
| 1980-1990 | 10.7% | 9.0% | 11.1% | 8.7% |
| 1991-2000 | 13.3% | 11.5% | 13.7% | 10.9% |
| 2001-2010 | 20.7% | 24.3% | 16.7% | 17.9% |
| 2001-2005 | 18.9% | 21.3% | 14.8% | 15.4% |
| 2006-2010 | 22.8% | 27.4% | 18.4% | 20.2% |
| 2011-2016 | 41.6% | 45.5% | 22.9% | 31.3% |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

## MINDING THE GAPS BETWEEN GARS AND PSRS

While the 2016 census confirms the IMDB findings on economic performance of refugees, it points to certain other considerations that may account for the observed gaps between GARs and PSRs. When it comes to official language knowledge, we can see from table 9 how important the difference is between GARs and PSRs aged 25-54 for the period of 2011 to 2016 with a near twenty-point gap between the two in this regard.

TABLE 9: ONLY KNOWLEDGE OF NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE BY PERCENTAGE, AGED 25-54, 1980-2016 AND 2011-2016

| Knowledge of non-official language only | GARs | | PSRs | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| | 9.9% | 7.7% | 34.9% | 15.0% |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

There is a considerable gap in the level of education of those immigrants that Canada selects in the economic category and those that enter the country as refugees. In 2016, some 31% of the Canadian population reported holding a university certificate, diploma or degree at the bachelor level or above. Amongst Canada's economic immigrants, the figure was 60%. By contrast the figure for refugees was just over 20%. As regards the difference in levels of education amongst GARs versus PSRs, table 10 reveals that for those who arrived between 2011 and 2016, PSRs were more inclined to have some post-secondary degree and much more likely to have completed university.

TABLE 10: SELECTED EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR GARS AND PSRS IN CANADA, AGED 25-54, FROM 2011-2016

| | GARs | PSRs |
|---|---|---|
| Total Refugees | 18 425 | 17 565 |
| No certificate, diploma or degree | 10 075 (55%) | 5 940 (35%) |
| University certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above | 1 555 (8.5%) | 2 850 (16.5%) |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

## WHO ARE THE GARS AND PSRS?

In Table 3 we looked at the countries of birth of the GARs and PSRs. Underlying that data is variation in the respective origins of the GARs and the PSRs. Aside from the difference in official language knowledge between GARs and PSRs, there are also important differences amongst the two groups on the basis of their visible minority status. As observed in Table 11, between 2011 and 2016, the GARs are somewhat more likely to identify as visible minority and far more likely to identify as Arabic.

TABLE 11: SELECTED VISIBLE MINORITY STATUS FOR GARS AND PSRS IN CANADA, AGED 25-54, FROM 1980-2016

| Selected Visible Minority Status | 1980-2016 | | 2011-2016 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | GARs | PSRs | GARs | PSRs |
| Not a visible minority | 25.5% | 29.6% | 5.1% | 17% |
| Black | 15.2% | 14.2% | 23.9% | 28.0% |
| West Asian | 11.6% | 12.0% | 9.7% | 15.0% |
| South Asian | 4.3% | 6.9% | 9.9% | 4.2% |
| Arab | 9.9% | 8.5% | 42.5% | 28.8% |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

## REFUGEES: OUTCOMES AND EXPECTATIONS

Although the census and RIE findings confirm important economic gaps between the GARs and the PSRs, the RIE nonetheless points out that life satisfaction and sense of belonging on the part of GARs and PSRs is roughly similar. Hence expectations and outcomes for the two categories of refugees merit greater attention than they generally get, given the priority that is often given to economic outcomes as the key gauge of satisfaction.

Some nine in ten Syrian GARs and PSRs reported a somewhat or very strong sense of belonging to Canada. Yet the percentage of GARs with a very strong sense of belonging (72.2%) exceeds by approximately 10% the PSRs with a very strong sense of belonging (62.7%) (Government of Canada 2016b).[3]

TABLE 12: SATISFACTION WITH LIFE IN CANADA FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES

| Level of Satisfaction | GARs | PSRs |
|---|---|---|
| Not at all and a little bit happy | 5.6% | 5.5% |
| Somewhat Happy | 17.2% | 17.2% |
| Happy | 27.0% | 37.2% |
| Very Happy | 50.2% | 39.9% |

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016

## CONCLUSION

As seen above, the 2016 census data confirms some of the findings in IRCC's Rapid Impact Evaluation of the more recent wave of Syrian refugees as regards the differences between GARs and PSRs in terms of economic outcomes. Jennifer Hyndman (2012) maintains that "PSRs may become self-supporting more quickly than GARs, but this may be due to PSRs being pushed into the labour force more rapidly, out of necessity, in turn shaping access to settlement services and official language acquisition."

Vancouver-based immigration lawyer Steven Meurrens notes that:

> 'There's a great deal of thought [by private sponsors] that goes into how to get [refugees] economically established, because they're on the hook. Especially if they know that person, they'll know that person's strengths, where they might be able to work,' he said. 'Settlement agencies reaching out will never have the same impact as someone's friend saying, 'Hey, this is the person we brought over and he'd like to start working.' (Woo and Steuk 2015 para. 22)

Contrary to what might be assumed, both the Government of Canada and private sponsors do offer a support network to refugees. However, the private sponsors are seen as

3 Note: Surveys were only administered to those Syrian refugees 18 years of age and older who arrived between November 4, 2015 and March 1, 2016 and resided outside of Quebec.

extending a more personalized and dedicated type and degree of support to refugees than the government does. But the 2016 census results suggest that the major differences in economic outcomes may have more to do with selection on the part of refugee sponsors than the personalized services they offer. Either way it is an issue that merits greater attention in the evolving process of refugee admission.

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# SETTLEMENT SERVICE USE AMONG SYRIAN REFUGEES IN CANADA

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With the resettlement of nearly 46,000 Syrian refugees in 2015-2016, there is a need to examine some of their initial experiences with settlement services. In spite of successfully resettling these many Syrians, there was a mismatch between the resources available and the knowledge of accessing those resources among refugees. This paper examines the employment service use and language class enrolment among newly arrived Syrian refugees in western Canada. Through a survey of 624 refugees to Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba which represented 18% of all arrivals to the region, we were able to collect information about wait lists for language training and plans for future employment. Results indicate that the initial language and employment services should be integrated through a comprehensive approach for making resettlement a success.

Con el reasentamiento de casi 46,000 refugiados sirios en 2015-2016 se abre la necesidad de examinar algunas de sus experiencias iniciales con los servicios de ayuda al proceso de establecerse. A pesar del exitoso asentamiento de tantos sirios, hubo una discordancia entre los recursos disponibles y el conocimiento para acceder a dichos recursos entre los refugiados. Este trabajo examina el uso del servicio de colocación laboral, así como la inscripción a las clases de lengua entre los refugiados sirios recién llegados al oeste de Canadá. Gracias a una encuesta de 624 refugiados en Alberta, Saskatchewan y Manitoba, que representaban el 18% de todas las personas que llegaron a la región, pudimos recabar información sobre las listas de espera para la capacitación en lengua y planes de empleo futuro. Los resultados indican que los servicios iniciales de lengua y empleo debían constituirse mediante un enfoque integral, para que la reubicación resulte exitosa.

**Avec la réinstallation de près de 46 000 réfugiés syriens en 2015-2016, il est nécessaire d'examiner certaines de leurs premières expériences avec les services d'établissement. Malgré la réinstallation réussie de ces nombreux Syriens, il y avait un décalage entre les ressources disponibles et la connaissance de l'accès à ces ressources parmi les réfugiés. Cet article examine l'utilisation des services d'emploi et l'inscription à des cours de langue chez les réfugiés syriens nouvellement arrivés dans l'Ouest canadien. Grâce à une enquête menée auprès de 624 réfugiés en Alberta, en Saskatchewan et au Manitoba, représentant 18 % de tous les arrivants dans la région, nous avons pu recueillir des informations sur les listes d'attente pour la formation linguistique et les projets d'emploi futur. Les résultats indiquent que les services linguistiques et d'emploi initiaux devraient être intégrés au moyen d'une approche globale pour que la réinstallation soit un succès.**

## INTRODUCTION

Canada's humanitarian traditions and legal obligations towards refugees have mobilized the government, local communities, service providers, researchers and academics to seek out and collaborate on best practices that can reinforce the successful integration of over 40,000 Syrian refugees arriving in just over one year (IRCC 2017). This group represents the largest number of resettled refugees since the arrival of over 60,000 Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodians in 1979/80. Large numbers of people all arriving at the same time pose challenges for successful integration and resettlement and much of that work is done by settlement service providers. This paper examines the initial resettlement difficulties faced by Syrian refugees in Canada and plausible solutions for overcoming those challenges. It is based on a survey of 624 former Syrian refugees living in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, who arrived as government assisted refugees and who have been in Canada for approximately two years or less.

Specific to the Syrian refugee resettlement is the enormous pressure created on the settlement service providers and volunteers in resettling hundreds of Syrians within a very short time (Friscolanti 2016, McMurdo 2016). Part of the challenge is helping the Syrians access the correct services as they are needed. Accessing these services has been noted as especially challenging for the government-assisted refugees (GARs) because they lack the social connections that privately sponsored refugees enjoy (McMurdo 2016). They are also among the most vulnerable. A recently released government report finds that GARs are less likely to have completed secondary or post-secondary education and are far less likely to have any knowledge of English or French prior to their arrival. This means additional challenges to accessing services compared with their privately sponsored refugee (PSR) counterparts.

Research shows that newcomers who receive access to employment, housing, education and language training upon arrival tend to settle and integrate at a faster rate than those who have to wait for services (Valenta and Bunar 2010). All these factors are not mutually exclusive but influence one another, such as a lack of language ability restraining newcomers from accessing employment opportunities. Language ability is significant as it makes accessing many services in the larger society, such as navigating housing options, medical and health related services, and so forth, much more challenging (Myles and Hou 2003, Wilkinson, et al. 2018).

Our structured interviews were conducted by the Refugee Assistance Program (RAP) service providers for 13 days in March 2017.[1,2] As the refugees were contacted through the RAP service providers, the vast majority of the participants are GARs and only 8% are PSRs. The survey instrument was designed to examine the barriers and service needs based on temporary and permanent housing situations, use of settlement services, language training and employment experiences of Syrian newcomers.

## MAJOR INITIAL DIFFICULTIES IN SYRIAN REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

We asked newly arrived Syrians to list the most difficult aspects of resettling in Canada. The top six challenges included lack of training to get a job, difficulty finding work, credential and experience recognition, orientation to the Canadian economy, lack of links to employers and challenges learning English or French which are congruent with our previous studies (Wilkinson et al. 2017; Wilkinson et al. 2013). Examined together these challenges are mostly economic. The other service related challenges included both primary and secondary barriers such as lack of child-care facilities,

1 Our thanks to the following service provider organizations who conducted the interviews: Brooks and County Immigration Services, Calgary Catholic Immigration Society, Catholic Social Services (Edmonton), Catholic Social Services (Red Deer), Lethbridge Family Services-Immigrant Services, Moose Jaw Multicultural Council, Regina Open Door Society, Saskatoon Open Door Society, YWCA Prince Albert, La Société franco-manitobaine/Accueil francophone (Saint-Boniface), Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council Inc. (Winnipeg), Westman Immigrant Services (Brandon).

2 Funding from Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada-Integration Branch is gratefully acknowledged.

financial difficulties, and transportation which prevent many refugees from accessing housing, language, employment and general resettlement related services (See Table 1 below). We examine each challenge more deeply below.

TABLE 1: DIFFICULTIES RESETTLING BY PROVINCE, SYRIAN REFUGEES, 2017

| Reasons given | Alberta (AB) | Saskatchewan (SK) | Manitoba (MB) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Language classes | 16% | 66% | 73% |
| Lack of information about services | - | 15% | 20% |
| Lack of childcare | - | 61% | 13% |
| Transportation | - | 19% | 15% |
| Financial Difficulties | - | 2% | 24% |
| Lack of services in your community | - | 14% | 6% |
| Skills/training to get a job | 15% | - | - |
| Foreign credential recognition | 14% | - | - |
| Orientation to Canadian economy | 13% | - | - |
| Other | 28% | 3% | 9% |
| Nothing, I was prepared | 16% | - | - |

## LANGUAGE NEEDS AND CHALLENGES

Almost all of the refugees (97%) we interviewed indicated their mother tongue as Arabic and only 7% could speak some English prior to their arrival to Canada. Within the first three months in Canada, 60% are already enrolled in an English class but most did not attend until 7 and 9 months after arrival.

Those who were not currently in an English language class were asked to explain the reasons why. They told us that they planned to attend classes but were still not on a wait list (4%), or were currently on a wait list (3%), and 2% indicated they did not plan to attend an English language class. Respondents who chose not to attend the language classes indicated that they needed more advanced training in English than what is offered. Basic English funded classes are not high enough to allow professionally trained refugees gain higher employment.

Syrians who could not attend the classes indicated reasons such as class time conflicts with work schedule, long waiting lists especially in larger urban centres, unavailability of language classes in rural areas, and child minding not being appropriate for some refugee women and children who have been traumatized. Although the numbers of people not attending English language classes were small, some differences between the sexes were evident. As Table 2 reveals, females (SK 6%, MB 4%) were more likely than males (SK 1%, MB 0%) to be on a waitlist. Of these, females were also more likely to plan to attend English language classes (AB 10%, SK 8%, MB 9%) than males (AB 1%, SK 0%, MB 4%). Survey data indicates that females (76%) were slightly less likely to attend free language classes than their male counterparts (83%) in all provinces. The main reasons being the presence of small children or inadequate access to child care, increasing their numbers in the wait list or intending to enroll in English classes in the future when compared with men.

TABLE 2: REASONS FOR NOT ATTENDING ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASS BY PROVINCE AND SEX, SYRIAN REFUGEES, 2017

| Reasons given | Alberta (AB) | | Saskatchewan (SK) | | Manitoba (MB) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Currently on wait list | 5% | 4% | 1% | 6% | 1% | 6% |
| Plan to attend | 1% | 10% | 0% | 8% | 0% | 8% |
| No plans to attend | 11% | 11% | 2% | 3% | 2% | 3% |
| Attending | 83% | 75% | 97% | 83% | 97% | 83% |

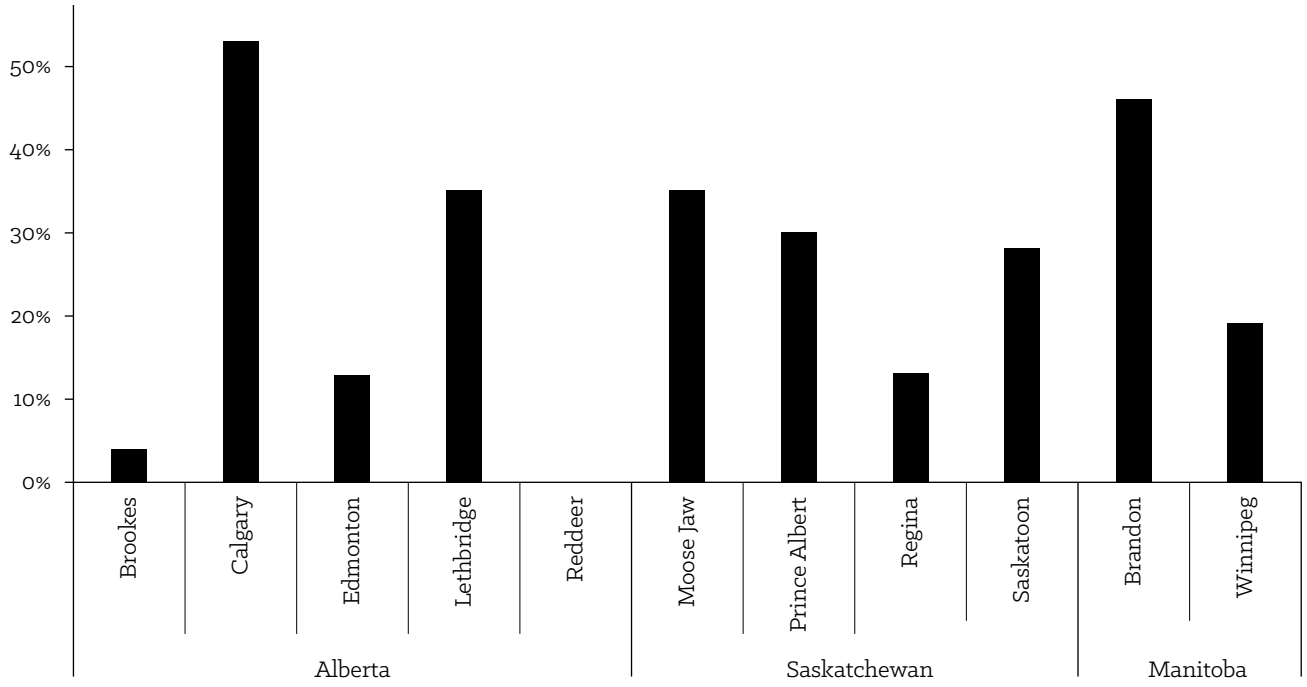
Women are usually assigned to take up the responsibility of the household and childrearing and this negatively influences their ability to access English language classes. When women have delayed or difficult access to language classes, their integration into the larger society is slower and they have difficulty when raising their children who are more likely to become fluent in the language much faster. This may lead to additional family discord and disfunction.

## EMPLOYMENT NEEDS AND CHALLENGES

Low proficiency in official languages is the greatest hindrance to finding employment among newcomers (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants 2012). Long-term joblessness rusts skills, saps motivation and deters prospective employers. High levels of unemployment and insecure employment experienced by refugee populations deter integration among newcomers, which in turn might cause higher rates of morbidity and mortality (Nobleman 2014). Joblessness affects mental health and long-term wellbeing. Thus, employment acts as a major indicator for achieving refugee integration within host societies.

Males are more likely than females to report challenges finding work but this is because more males than females were looking for work at the time of the survey. Table 3 shows the differences by city of residence in use of employment search services. Over half of those interviewed in Alberta indicated they had not sought services to help them find jobs. In Saskatchewan, fewer participants in Regina and Saskatoon had used employment services than those living in Moose Jaw or Prince Albert. In Manitoba, 25% of the refugees interviewed indicated they had used an employment service of some sort. Whereas, 45% of refugees of Brandon indicated that they have accessed such services, only 18% of their counterparts in Winnipeg did so. These low figures are understandable as the vast majority of our participants were still in English language training at the time of the interview.

Table 3: Employment Service Use by city, Syrian Refugees 2017




Source: UN, World Population Prospects, 2017 revision

The main difficulties accessing employment services are language problems, transportation to the job, and lack of foreign credential recognition. Some indicated that employers would not hire them because they did not have "Canadian" experience. A few of the participants were bewildered about how to apply for jobs online because they had very little experience using computers before. Other challenges include gaps in their employment record, being less likely to speak English, no previous job references and lack of Canadian education. Over all, there are very few refugee specific employment initiatives within the present resettlement process.

## CONCLUSION: LANGUAGE AND EMPLOYMENT SERVICE RELATED RECOMMENDATIONS

Language and employment are related to one another as it is nearly impossible to find good stable work without speaking the local language. Bleakley and Chin (2004) suggest that the causal effects of poor language learning on employment earnings are large and very real. Official language fluency is the second most important determinant of immigrant occupational success after possession of a relevant university degree (Sheilds 2003). Ability to understand spoken English is more important to labour market integration than speaking, writing and reading it (Skuderud 2012). For every month waiting for language training, unemployment increases by four months challenging the overall integration within the host society. English language for professionnels should be introduced within the language training programs, giving more emphasis on the spoken English skills to assist those with professional skills to retrain and regain work in their field. Refugees having difficulty attending classes should be provided with options of online English language training which would be helpful for those located outside of large urban centres. All places offering language training should provide more child-caring services as there is strong evidence that this would assist more women in attending classes.

On the employment front, getting any job quickly raises self-worth, self-esteem and fitting in, provides secure income, brings people off welfare, and reduces mental health problems (Legrain, 2017). In addition to speeding up refugees' full participation in society, employment helps raise self-esteem and speed integration. Quick access to English language training (at all levels), on-site-on-the-job language training, access to any work quickly by matching skilled refugees with potential employers, providing higher level language training to assist in gaining better employment and increasing mentoring programs can together hasten the process of refugee integration.

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# APPLYING A SOCIAL INNOVATION LENS TO ADVANCING DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION: THE RYERSON UNIVERSITY LIFELINE SYRIA CHALLENGE

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Social Innovation (SI) is defined as a new combination of practices in the area of social action, designed with a view towards better coping with needs and problems than is possible through pre-existing practices or routines (Howaldt et. al. 2018). While work in this area has tended to focus on driving changes in how we meet needs for health care, education, environmental sustainability, or economic well-being, recent work has explored the usefulness of this framework for advancing goals associated with human rights, equity and inclusion. This brief article offers a case study of the Ryerson University Lifeline Syria Challenge (RULSC) through a social innovation lens in an effort to explore how new entrepreneurial approaches can help meet the growing needs of refugees and migrants.

La Innovación Social (IS) se define como una nueva combinación de prácticas en el área de la acción social, diseñada con la mira de mejorar el manejo de las necesidades y problemas, respecto a lo que en el momento resulte posible mediante las prácticas o rutinas existentes (Howaldt et al., 2018). En tanto que el trabajo en esta área ha tendido a centrarse en procurar cambios en la manera en que enfrentamos las necesidades de atención a la salud, educación, sustentabilidad ambiental, o bienestar económico, algunas obras recientes han explorado la utilidad de este marco para fomentar metas asociadas con derecho humanos, equidad e inclusión. Este breve artículo plantea un caso de estudio en el Ryerson University Lifeline Syria Challenge (RULSC), mediante una mirada de innovación social, como esfuerzo por explorar cómo nuevos enfoques empresariales pueden colaborar a llenar las crecientes necesidades de refugiados y migrantes.

L'innovation sociale (SI) est définie comme une nouvelle combinaison de pratiques dans le domaine de l'action sociale, conçue pour mieux gérer les besoins et les problèmes que les pratiques ou les routines préexistantes (Howaldt *et al.* 2018). Bien que les travaux dans ce domaine aient eu tendance à se concentrer sur les changements dans la façon dont nous répondons aux besoins en matière de soins de santé, d'éducation, de durabilité environnementale ou de bien-être économique, des travaux récents ont examiné l'utilité de ce cadre pour faire avancer

**les objectifs liés aux droits de l'homme, à l'équité et à l'inclusion. Ce bref article présente une étude de cas du projet Lifeline Syria Challenge (RULSC) de l'Université Ryerson à travers une optique d'innovation sociale afin d'explorer comment de nouvelles approches entrepreneuriales peuvent aider à répondre aux besoins croissants des réfugiés et des migrants.**

## INTRODUCTION

SI, though becoming increasingly popular, remains an ambiguous concept (van der Have & Rubalcaba 2016). Recent work on "social" entrepreneurship has differentiated processes aimed at advancing social goals and for-profit goals, despite the fact that classic theories of entrepreneurship/innovation do not make this distinction. An entrepreneur is someone who executes "new combinations" (Schumpeter 1934); pursues opportunity without regard to resources controlled (Stevenson 1983); and "searches for change… and exploits it as an opportunity" (Drucker 1985, 1). Defining social innovation remains challenging – the recent *Atlas of Social Innovation*, for example, mapped 1,005 social innovation initiatives across the globe, that varied considerably in their objectives, history, structures and impact (see Howaldt, et. al. 2018). Adams and Hess (2010) distinguish SI from philanthropy in that it harnesses the strengths of communities to improve their condition. Moreover, SI typically involved partnerships "merging ideas, practices and resources between sectors," something that spreads the risks of SI across multiple actors, reducing the likelihood of failure (147-148). Phills, Deiglmeier, and Miller (2008) depict SI as not only as a "novel solution" that is more efficient than available options, but one that creates value accrued by a community. Others challenge this, suggesting SI is a neoliberal strategy that downloads government responsibilities to already-strained nonprofit actors (Montgomery 2016). Though gaining popularity as a solution to social problems, gaps in our knowledge about SI remain with respect to it transportability across regions (Grimm, et. al. 2013) and ability to promote systems change (Cukier 2018). Shaw and de Bruin (2013) further argue that large-scale data gathering efforts on SI are required to reliably measure its impact, and to allow for the identification of best practices.

## ANALYTICAL STRATEGY

In this piece, we employ a case study methodology to analyze a prominent SI initiative in Toronto, Canada that has been examined in other existing studies (Cukier and Jackson 2018): the Ryerson University Lifeline Syria Challenge (RULSC). We use this approach to identify elements of the RULSC which facilitated its success. In turn, we aim to isolate elements of SI that can be further studied by researchers and potentially replicated by practitioners. Our archival dataset is composed of official documents and news releases prepared by different actors, including: the RULSC itself, the four participating universities, student organizations, community organizations, private sector partners, sponsors and governments. For this article, we have analyzed the evidence over the period of 2015to 2017 to assess actions, statements and responses by key actors over time to reveal the initiative's underlying logics.

## CONTEXT

The Syrian crisis is one of the worst humanitarian crises of this generation, with more than 5.6 million people fleeing the country as refugees since March 15th, 2011 (World Vision 2018). Several countries have taken in large numbers of Syrian refugees during this period, including Jordan (660,000), Germany (530,000), Lebanon (1 million) and Tukey (3.4 million) (Connor 2018). Canada has also accepted a large number (54,000) of Syrian refugees relative to its proximate neighbours, such as the U.S. (33,000) (Connor 2018). The private sponsorship of refugees (PSR) program is a unique social innovation in Canada which emerged in response to the Indochinese refugee crisis following the Viet Nam war. The Canadian government promised a 1:1 "matching" program – whereby for every refugee privately settled through citizen support, the government would fund the sponsorship of another. PSR has served as a pathway to Canada for over 233,000 migrants from 1980 to2016, or roughly 44% of all resettled refugees during this period (Statistics Canada 2016). Private sponsors must provide the equivalent of social assistance rates, distributed throughout the refugee's first 12 months in Canada (approximately $27,000 for a family of 4) to cover basic necessities (e.g. food, shelter). In addition, private sponsors provide support for resettlement including securing housing, finding a job and enrolling their children in school. The primary barriers to PSR are thus financial resources and time. Evidence shows that PSRs are generally more successful that Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) perhaps because PSRs quickly build social capital.

## THE RYERSON UNIVERSITY LIFELINE SYRIA CHALLENGE

In 2015, in response to the Syrian refugee crisis, a group of citizens in Toronto launched the *Lifeline Syria* with the goal of privately sponsoring 1000 refugees. To help meet this goal, a group of individuals within Ryerson University launched the RULSC – with the goal of organizing ten sponsorship groups within the university community to raise $270,000, enough

to sponsor 10 families. The program design was simple: draw on leaders within the university community and its partners to spearhead a sponsorship team. A leader had to commit to donating $5000, and to mobilizing a team to raise the remainder of the funds. Other Toronto area universities joined the endeavor and RULSC wildly exceeded these original goals, eventually mobilizing more than 1000 volunteers, who raised $4.7 million to sponsor over 400 newcomers (RULSC 2018). We theorize that this success on the part of RULSC was due to its ability to 1) employ innovative technologies for crowd funding; 2) tap into resources and established infrastructure while overcoming limitations imposed by rigid bureaucratic structures; 3) leverage and support private sponsors with an expansive network of volunteers, largely students to increase access to human capital; 4) establish effective public/private partnerships to access expertise and resources; and 5) leverage entrepreneurial leadership and culture at Ryerson University.

The RULSC's crowdsourcing approach allowed it to quickly mobilize financial capital, a primary barrier to traditional PRS. Sponsorship teams developed an identity and online profile on a web platform which allowed donors around the world to directly contribute to their teams' fundraising goals. The largest donation, close to $1,000,000, and many smaller donations of $10, generated more than $4 million. The fact that the website was up and running on September 4, 2015, when the picture of four-year-old Alan Kurdi went viral, also drove massive interest and donations. Ryerson University administrators quickly adapted their existing infrastructure to support the initiative, treating each team as an applied research/experiential learning project with funds in a dedicated account. This was critical in being able to leverage the University's charitable status to provide tax receipts for donations.

RULSC was also able to mobilize university students as a source of volunteer labour, while also offering them access to community leaders and professionals, and to practical educational experiences. The Refugee Sponsorship Support Program (York University) affiliated with the RULSC initiative linked 16 Osgoode law students with Toronto-based pro-bono lawyers to provide legal support to assist sponsors in completing paperwork. Students from the Near and Middle Eastern Civilization Cultural Exchange and Support Initiative (University of Toronto) also provided language and cultural competency support for refugees. Meanwhile, OCAD students held an auction with artwork donated by them to raise funds. Students from Ryerson's Enactus group also created a Canadian financial literacy course for Syrian refugees (Carnegie Council 2016). A core of students were also administrative staff who provided central coordinating mechanisms for matching refugees with future sponsors, managing volunteers and information flows.

The RULSC also leveraged numerous private sector organizations to connect newcomers to employment opportunities. This reduced the resettlement responsibilities placed on private sponsors. In May 2016, for example, Ryerson hosted an event to aid Paramount Fine Foods' goal of providing 100 Syrian refugees with employment across its more than 20 franchise locations. More than 100 refugees attended the job fair, and were provided with assistance in applying to entry-level positions at Paramount restaurants. Key to Paramount Fine Foods involvement was a perception on behalf of their CEO that refugees were not an economic liability, but rather, a useful asset. A dozen students volunteered their time to helping refugees fill out application forms at the fair, further demonstrating the role of students in this initiative. Other employers also made a commitment to hire Syrian refugees more broadly, including Starbucks Canada, who pledged to hire 1,000 refugees over a 5-year period (Hire Immigrants 2017). RULSC also worked with Magnet, a job-matching platform created by Ryerson University and the Ontario Chamber of Commerce, to link Syrian refugees with employers who had expressed an interest in hiring refugees (Rizza 2016).

It is often said that "culture eats strategy." A critical factor affecting the success of the initiative was Ryerson's innovative leadership and entrepreneurial culture which allowed the institution to move quickly and efficiently. Indeed, reaching an agreement to act on the crisis took approximately 90 minutes of email exchanges on June 17th, 2015, and the time to launch was approximately a month (July 20th, 2015) (Cukier 2017). This agility was key to the success of the initiative. As were the internal processes and approach of the RULSC team, which saw sponsors as "clients" and adapted to their needs to ensure maximum engagement.

## CONCLUSION

Through an analysis of the development of the RULSC, several aspects of the initiative that are present within the SI literature stand out as catalysts of its success. We see the use of 1) cutting edge information technologies for crowd-funding, 2) the mobilization of existing resources and infrastructure across varied sectors, and 3) a more "entrepreneurial" disposition on the part of initiative leaders, as key to its success. Combined, such traits allowed the RULSC to make a valuable contribution to the refugee resettlement process. However, numerous questions remain. Is the innovative RULSC model transportable to other universities with disparate organizational cultures and less engaged students, faculty or administrators? Can the RULSC model be as successful in geographical regions where local corporate leaders are not as diverse, and thus, perhaps lacks the foresight to view refugees from an asset-based perspective? Moreover, can the model be adapted to other at risk or marginalized populations in need of support – other newcomers, marginalized youth, persons with disabilities. The PSR model is not without its critics, having been labelled by some as paternalistic (Lenard 2016). Research into these dynamics is essential to understanding the poten-

tial for initiatives like RULSC to be replicated across regions, and prospective scaled.

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# UNACCOMPANIED MINORS: HUMANITARIAN CRISIS VS. BORDER CRISIS

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As the world faces its largest refugee crisis since World War II and the attendant unprecedented migration of youths fleeing political upheaval, many nations are re-examining their policies towards those seeking refuge. Over the past several decades, United States policy had been increasingly empathetic towards children arriving to our shores without their parents despite steadily growing anti-immigrant sentiment among large parts of the populace. These competing forces were evident in the Obama Administration's response to the dramatic flow of unaccompanied minors from the Northern Triangle who began arriving in 2014, treating it as both a humanitarian crisis and a matter of border security. As these children continue to arrive, the Trump Administration has done away with the prior administration's relatively balanced approach, choosing instead to view the issue solely through the lens of a border crisis that threatens public safety.

Conforme el mundo enfrenta la crisis de refugiados más importante desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial, y la migración concomitante, sin precedentes, de jóvenes que huyen de la turbulencia política, muchas naciones reexaminan sus políticas hacia quienes buscan refugio. A lo largo de varias décadas anteriores, la política de los Estados Unidos se ha mostrado crecientemente empática hacia los menores que llegan a nuestras playas sin sus padres, pese a un sentimiento crecientemente anti-inmigrante presente entre grandes sectores de la población. Estas fuerzas en contienda fueron evidentes en la respuesta de la administración Obama ante el dramático flujo de menores no acompañados provenientes del Triángulo Norte, que comenzaron a llegar en 2014. Se trató como crisis humanitaria y también como tema de seguridad fronteriza. Conforme estos menores siguen llegando, la administración Trump ha acabado con el tratamiento relativamente equilibrado de la administración previa, para sustituirla por una consideración que pasa tan solo a través de la lente de una crisis fronteriza que amenaza la seguridad pública.

**Alors que le monde fait face à sa plus grande crise des réfugiés depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale et la migration des jeunes sans précédent fuyant les bouleversements politiques, de nombreux pays réexaminent leurs politiques envers ceux qui cherchent refuge. Au cours des dernières décennies, la politique des États-Unis a été de plus en plus empathique envers les enfants qui arrivent sur nos côtes sans leurs parents, malgré le sentiment anti-immigrés qui ne cesse de croître dans une grande partie de la population. Ces forces concurrentes étaient évidentes dans la réponse de l'Administration d'Obama au flot dramatique de mineurs non accompagnés du Triangle du Nord qui ont commencé à arriver en 2014, le traitant à la fois de crise humanitaire et de problème de sécurité frontalière. À mesure que ces enfants continuent à arriver, l'Administration Trump a supprimé l'approche relativement équilibrée de l'administration précédente, choisissant plutôt de considérer le problème uniquement sous l'angle d'une crise frontalière qui menace la sécurité publique.**

The world is currently undergoing its worst refugee crisis since World War II, and children have been particularly impacted by it. In 2016, UNICEF reported 11 million child refugees and asylum seekers (UNICEF 2016). In 2016, there were 100,000 unaccompanied minors applying for asylum, three times the number that applied in 2014. Over the last few years, the United States, Mexico, and Canada have seen a dramatic increase in the number of children fleeing gang violence in the Northern Triangle countries of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. The question of how to manage the arrival of unaccompanied minors has long been a source of debate in policy circles, and the current political climate in the United States has only served to further divide the opposing sides. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the U.S. adopted empathetic policies that recognized the various humanitarian crises that drove children to our shores. However, the current administration, reflecting the national divergence on immigration in general, has chosen to reverse course and adopt policies that see the influx of children as a border crisis.

Unaccompanied minors are generally defined as those under the age of 18 who enter the country without a parent or guardian. The U.S. has a long history of providing additional protections to such children. For instance, in the early 1960s, U.S. policy allowed for the arrival of nearly 14,000 children from Cuba in Operation Peter Pan. In 1975, Operation Babylift placed an estimated 3,000 orphans from Vietnam with adoptive parents in the U.S. However, during the 1980s, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was accused of severe mistreatment of unaccompanied minors, and lawsuits brought on their behalf eventually led to the 1997 *Flores Settlement* which recognized the vulnerable nature of these children and established national standards for their detention, treatment, and release (Human Rights First 2016).

In the new century, the U.S. Congress began to provide greater legal protections to children entering the United States. *The Homeland Security Act* of 2002 provided the first legal definition of unaccompanied minors as a child, under the age of 18, with no lawful status in the United States who either has no parent or legal guardian in the United States or has no parent or legal guardian in the United States that can care for the child (6 United States Code). *The William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Act* of 2008 further defined the responsibilities of various government agencies, including Customs and Border Protection (CBP), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), and the immigration courts with regards to the treatment of unaccompanied minors. Specifically, the act requires that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) transfer any children to the custody of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) within 72 hours of identifying that child as an unaccompanied minor. HHS is then required to place the child "in the least restrictive setting that is in the best interest of the child" (8 United States Code). In addition, unaccompanied minors are not subject to expedited removal, a process that allows the government to deport recent arrivals without the ability to see an immigration judge. Finally, unaccompanied minors are able to make an affirmative asylum claim with USCIS rather than a defensive asylum claim in front of an immigration judge.

Within a few years of passage of the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act*, gang-related violence in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras – together known as the Northern Triangle – lead to a dramatic increase in the numbers of unaccompanied minors seeking refuge in the United States. These countries have been some of the most violent in recent years, with murder rates ranging from 39.9 per 100,000 in Guatemala to 90.4 per 100,000 in Honduras. The increase in violence correlates directly with the increase in the movement of unaccompanied minors to the United States and other countries in the Americas. In FY 2009, CBP apprehended less than 20,000 unaccompanied children, with 82% of those apprehended being from Mexico. In FY 2014, the number of apprehensions peaked at nearly 70,000 –77% of whom were fleeing violence and poverty in the Northern Triangle (Kandel 2017).

The Obama Administration had taken a number of steps to try to counter the influx of immigrant children, and these moves reflected the already contentious nature of the policy debate. On the one hand, the administration established a process at the end of 2014 that would simplify and expedite the process by which children could apply for refugee status from within their home countries and also allowed certain

children to be paroled into the United States. On the other hand, they also took steps to try to deter the movement of children out of their homes by conducting a public relations blitz to let it be known that these children would not be able to find refuge here. Although these steps initially seemed to be effective in stemming the flow, the reality proved to be that these migrations were seasonal and climbed again with the arrival of spring. Although numbers never again reached the peak we saw in 2014, 2016 saw nearly 60,000 apprehensions of unaccompanied minors along the southern border (Kandel 2017).

Unlike the Obama Administration, the Trump Administration's approach to unaccompanied minors has come down heavily on the side of enforcement. In doing so, the administration has shifted from viewing the surge as a humanitarian crisis, and has instead tried to frame this as a border crisis while also implying a connection between these children and gang violence in the U.S., particularly through repeated reference to MS-13. Early on, the Department of Homeland Security adopted a narrow definition of unaccompanied minors that excluded children whose parents were already in the United States. This exposed these children to prolonged detention by ICE and expedited removal and would only allow them to make an asylum claim if they could pass a credible fear interview. DHS also decided to criminally charge parents and other family members in the U.S. with trafficking if they assisted or encouraged their children to come to the United States, even if the children do qualify as unaccompanied minors (Kelly 2017). Soon after, advocates also began seeing a concerted effort to initiate deportation proceedings against undocumented sponsors of unaccompanied minors. In the summer of 2017, the administration eliminated the program that allowed for unaccompanied minors to be paroled into the United States (Yee and Semple 2017). Following a strong public outcry against the way that the administration was treating families seeking refuge, the President issued an executive order on June 20, 2018 that, in part, called on the Department of Justice to seek a modification of the Flores Settlement that would allow for the prolonged detention of children. The Department of Justice filed its motion the following day, but was rejected by Federal District Court Judge Dolly M. Gee in early July. Despite this administration's display of a total lack of empathy, unaccompanied minors are still coming into the United States at a pace well above pre-surge rates; with CBP reporting nearly 26,000 apprehensions of unaccompanied minors in the first half of FY 2018 with no indication of a slowdown (Customs and Border Protection 2018).

Throughout our history, America's approach to immigration has swung wildly from welcoming to demonization, and our approach to unaccompanied minors has unfortunately not been immune to this dynamic. We are currently at a low point in the way that we receive some of the most vulnerable and desperate populations in world, but the mass uproar against the administration's treatment of children at the border is an indication that the American public is beginning to take notice and voice their opposition to the policies of cruelty. The majority of the American public views the arrival of children as a humanitarian crisis, but it is far too early to tell if government policy will respond accordingly or if they will continue to treat this issue as a border crisis.

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# MIGRATION IS NOT THE PROBLEM; OUR RESPONSE TO IT IS

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At a time of growing global migration, tensions that arise from demographic change not only threaten the safety and well-being of migrants but create new threats to democracy as nativist populism takes root. Rather than take a laissez faire approach, communities can respond proactively in ways that make them more resilient to the impact of "people change" and better equipped to leverage the benefits of migration and withstand other challenges of the modern era. By putting communities in the driver's seat; focusing on the interests and needs of long-time residents; and looking beyond service provision to social cohesion, participation, and belonging – the more fundamental building blocks of democratic societies – we can respond more resiliently to migration.

En un momento de creciente migración global, las tensiones que surgen del cambio demográfico, no solo amenazan la seguridad y el bienestar de las personas migrantes, sino que crean nuevas amenazas a la democracia conforme el populismo nativista se arraiga. Más que asumir un enfoque tipo laissez faire, las comunidades pueden responder proactivamente, de modo que se hagan más resilientes al impacto del "cambio de la gente", y estén mejor equipados para aprovechar los beneficios de la migración y resistir los retos de la era moderna. Al colocar a las comunidades en un lugar de agencia, centrarlos en los intereses y necesidades de las personas residentes de tiempo atrás, y mirar más allá de la provisión de servicios, hacia la cohesión social, la participación, y la pertenencia – los cimientos fundamentales de las sociedades democráticas – podemos responder a la migración con mayor resiliencia.

À l'heure d'une migration mondiale croissante, les tensions résultant des changements démographiques menacent non seulement la sécurité et le bien-être des migrants mais créent de nouvelles menaces pour la démocratie à mesure que le populisme nativiste prend racine. Plutôt que d'adopter une approche de « laissez-faire », les communautés peuvent réagir de manière proactive pour les rendre plus résistantes à l'impact des « changements de personnes » et mieux équipées pour tirer parti des avantages de la migration et résister aux autres défis de l'ère moderne. Plutôt que d'adopter une approche de laissez-faire, les communautés peuvent réagir de manière proac-

**tive pour les rendre plus résistantes à l'impact de « l'évolution des populations » et mieux équipées pour tirer parti des avantages de la migration et résister aux autres défis de l'ère moderne. En laissant les communautés tenir les rênes, en mettant l'accent sur les intérêts et les besoins des résidents de longue date, et au-delà de la prestation de services pour la cohésion sociale, la participation et l'appartenance (les éléments fondamentaux des sociétés démocratiques), nous pouvons mieux répondre aux migrations.**

Since the beginning of time, one change has remained constant – people move. Driven both by opportunity and by desperate circumstances, the 258 million people on the move today represent an unprecedented era of migration (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2017). As more and more places become receiving destinations for immigrants and refugees, tensions that arise from demographic change have the potential to erupt into backlash that not only threatens the safety and well-being of migrants but create new threats to democracy. Alternatively, places that are able to respond to migration from a position of strength and capacity are demonstrating that there are significant benefits that accrue to both new and long-time residents. Cities like Nashville, Tennessee and Dayton, Ohio are examples of places that have seen their economies reinvigorated as a direct result of their efforts to better incorporate newcomer populations ("Dancing," "Rustbelt"). These payoffs are hardly unique to the United States; according to a recent study by McKinsey (2016), supporting migrant integration could increase the economic contribution of migrants globally by up to $1 trillion USD annually.

While every era brings a new population on the move, and stirs new emotions driven by our natural fear of change and biases about the "other," these reactions – and the fact that people will continue to be on the move – are things we can anticipate and plan for. Even when migration spikes in unpredictable ways (the dramatic increase in people fleeing to Europe, for instance), resilience thinking can better prepare communities to respond to these seismic changes. With greater capacity to respond to migration, communities also become more cohesive places that can better withstand the populist political forces that feed off of – and perpetuate – the resentments that migration naturally stokes.

The field of resilience has traditionally focused on issues like infrastructure and climate change – topics that are important but fail to take into account the sweeping demographic changes of our time. Fortunately, that is changing, as the field begins to look at how communities can better prepare for "people change."

How cities and towns become more resilient to migration – and more resilient places as a result – is increasingly a focus area being explored by initiatives like the Rockefeller Foundation's 100 Resilient Cities initiative and the Atlantic Council's Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience, which placed migration front and center in a report last year exploring successful policies and practices that cities can use to strengthen the fabric of their communities and reap the economic, security, and cultural benefits of successfully integrating new immigrant populations (Saliba 2016, Pope 2017).

So how does a place become more resilient to migration? Welcoming America has worked over the last decade with communities across the United States, and increasingly, globally. The lessons learned offer insights for those looking to create more stable democracies and prosperous economies.

## 1. PUT COMMUNITIES IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT

Once newcomers arrive in a host country, their incorporation into local communities is critical. Localities not only play a crucial role in proactively identifying ways to weave migrants into the life of communities; in an era of harsh enforcement and rhetoric in the United States, and elsewhere, communities also play a key role in acting as a last line of defence for vulnerable populations, and as a strong counterpoint to narratives of exclusion.

Cities and towns are witnessing a growing sphere of influence on a host of policy matters. Until recently, however, many were not proactive in their efforts to incorporate migrants into civic, social and economic life, leaving this work to a handful of individual actors rather than making it the business of the community at large. In the United States, this is beginning to change, as the number of municipal offices supporting migrant inclusion and equitable policy has roughly quadrupled over the last five years. But the practice is far from widespread and a tipping point in this direction would have far-reaching positive benefits for migrants and society as a whole. That is not only because of the social, civic and economic benefits of focusing on migrant incorporation; in an era of sweeping demographic change, it is simply good governance to be continually designing policies and services that best serve a population with evolving interests, assets and needs.

An active role for localities is also crucial for another more fundamental reason: when change happens, it is all too easy for communities to lack a sense of agency. For instance, a growing refugee community in Boise, Idaho sparked a backlash some years ago that triggered local leaders to bring the community together to create a response. The community gained

a sense of agency and control by approaching that process with a key question in mind: how do we build our capacity to respond better and manage this change? The result was a new tone set for the city and a plan that put the community on a course to becoming one of the more welcoming in the nation (Neighbors United 2017). A unique feature of the plan was that it also addressed barriers experienced by other low-income populations, thus supporting the broader community as a whole (Institute for Local Government 2015). Many more communities – we estimate more than 40 in the U.S. over the last five years – have since created their own 'welcoming' plans, bringing multi-sector leaders to the table to identify and systematically reduce the barriers that migrants – and often long-time residents, as well – face to gain full participation, and to advance a culture of belonging and greater equity for all residents. By undergoing a planning process, the issue is elevated and examined comprehensively, while also providing an avenue for stakeholders to voice concerns and forge a path forward that incorporates multiple perspectives, including those of migrants themselves. Community-wide planning also puts communities in the driver's seat by working backward from a vision and set of goals that that are determined for and by the community.

A key feature of resilient policymaking is the notion of forethought – planning ahead to anticipate change even when the nature of those changes may be unknown. When it comes to migration, policymakers cannot only create their own plans, but do more to engage urban planners, economic development agencies, and others engaged in long range planning to ensure that those plans better account for changing demographics.

By helping local leaders shape their future, and designing solutions that speak to local values and shared priorities, we help communities regain a sense of agency that is often threatened by changes that can feel out of their control. Moreover, we more effectively muster the resources and political will to move communities from ambivalence to action. Federal/state governments still have a role to play in incorporating migrants – but one of the best roles they can play is to support localities with the resources and support to lead the way.

## 2. HOST COMMUNITIES BECOME MORE RESILIENT WHEN WE DIRECTLY ADDRESS THE FEARS AND CONCERNS THAT NATURALLY ARISE FROM A CHANGING COMMUNITY, AND ENSURE RECEIVING COMMUNITIES ALSO FEEL WELCOMED

Change is hard – both for newcomers adapting to a new community and its norms, and also for long-time residents. Particularly in destinations that are new to demographic change and are experiencing a rapid shift, barriers like language, culture and spatial segregation can make it difficult to form the "bridging capital" that links neighbours across lines of difference and diminishes stereotypes and misperceptions. Unless addressed head on, well-orchestrated efforts by nativist groups and political opportunists will fill this gap in understanding with misinformation and scapegoating. A receptive community is also an essential precondition for successful inclusion efforts – the "fertile soil" that makes it possible for policy changes to occur, and for all people to truly belong and thrive. Leaders can respond differently by investing in three key strategies – Welcoming America's "Receiving Community Approach," which research and experience have demonstrated to be effective.

The first strategy is to organize and support diverse, trusted local leaders who are credible in reaching beyond the typical choir of supporters to engage those who are uncertain about change. These may be faith leaders, chambers of commerce, or simply concerned residents. Their task is to engage the ambivalent or fearful using the other two key strategies of the Receiving Communities Approach.

The second strategy, and a key tool in the toolbox of resiliency, is strategic communications. Like all change management, communication is key, and when it comes to demographic change, combatting misinformation and othering narratives requires sustained efforts to elevate common values through a positive and affirmative narrative. This can be achieved in any number of ways – starting with focus groups that identify shared values and tactically through engagement of the media, billboard campaigns, and common talking points among groups working on the issue.

Equally important is the last strategy: facilitated contact building, which are efforts to establish deeper and sustained relationships of trust and mutual cooperation across lines of difference. This work may begin over a dinner table, a soccer pitch, or in a community garden, and can continue through a community board or resident association in ways that strengthen social cohesion and civic fabric.

## 3. CITIES AND TOWNS SHOULD LOOK TO BUILD EQUITY AND BELONGING - NOT JUST DELIVER SERVICES

If all we did was help people access services, it would not be enough. We need to make sure people feel connected as neighbours, and engaged as active citizens in our democracy. Resiliency experts have already identified the importance of relationships in creating communities that withstand other threats, like climate change or natural disasters. In demographically changing communities, it becomes all the more important to invest in social cohesion, so that all residents – new and long-time – truly feel welcomed, and build the ties needed to work together as neighbours. Likewise, resilient

communities also focus on civic participation, making it easier for all residents to join local boards, become voters, and run for public office.

Resilient communities are also places where inequality – especially on the basis of race and country of origin – is being systematically addressed. To do this, we have to look not only at individual biases but at institutional policies and practices that disadvantage racial or ethnic minority groups. Toward this end, Welcoming America (2017) created its Welcoming Standard[1] as a roadmap for communities looking to foster migrant inclusion while also addressing the divides that contribute to inequality and polarization.

As the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals point out, creating global prosperity cannot be achieved without addressing inequality. One's life expectancy, whether we succeed in school, or our ability to open or grow a business should not be predestined by our postal code, race, gender, or country of origin. We need to hold ourselves accountable to progress in closing gaps and to do that, we need to use data, and listen to and involve affected communities. There is also a strong business case for following this formula, particularly when it comes to addressing racial inequality in the United States: according to the Kellogg Foundation, by 2050, the U.S. stands to realize an $8 trillion USD gain in GDP by closing the U.S. racial equity gap (Turner 2018).

By putting communities in the driver's seat; focusing on the interests and needs of long-time residents; and looking beyond service provision to belonging and to more fundamental elements of democratic societies, we can respond more resiliently to migration. Even more than that, we establish the building blocks for a society that is better equipped to withstand other challenges of the modern era.

In many ways, we face a crossroads moment – the rise in dehumanizing language and policy directed toward migrants in the United States creates a destabilizing environment that threatens democracy, but also undermines sustained, long term investments, as policymakers and actors lurch from crisis to crisis. Until we address the fundamental narratives and conditions of exclusion for migrants, people of color, and other populations that have been marginalized, we will remain trapped in this dangerous downward spiral.

In contrast, by investing in long-range strategies that build resiliency, we can shape a positive, virtuous cycle – one in which communities recognize and invest in the opportunities and benefits of building inclusive communities for all. This is not wishful thinking; in more than 500 communities across the United States, and many more globally, such efforts are already taking place. Now is the time to scale such efforts – for the sake of democracy and our shared prosperity.

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# THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND SUBJECTIVE INTEGRATION FACTORS AMONG IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA: THE CASE OF QUEBEC'S LATIN AMERICANS

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The study of Quebec's Latin American immigrants reveals that this population shows self-reported high levels of integration and life satisfaction, even if its average economic performance significantly lags behind other groups in that province. Also, Latin American immigrants show strong ties to their countries of origin and also an emerging sense of belonging to a diasporic community. This article is based on a research project that examines the gaps between the objective conditions of these immigrants (e.g. employment, income) and their subjective perceptions (e.g. well-being, attachment to the host society). Using the case of Latin Americans, this research also focuses on the processes by which diasporic identities coalesce and mutate, particularly among co-ethnic immigrants with different national origins and multiple cross-border connections.

El estudio de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Quebec, revela que la autoevaluación de esta población muestra altos niveles de integración y satisfacción con la vida, incluso si su desempeño económico promedio está muy por debajo del de otros grupos en dicha provincia. También, los inmigrantes latinoamericanos muestran fuertes vínculos con sus países de origen, así como un sentido emergente de pertenencia a una comunidad diaspórica. Este artículo se fundamenta en un proyecto de investigación que examina las brechas entre las condiciones objetivas de estos inmigrantes (por ejemplo, empleo, ingreso) y sus percepciones subjetivas (por ejemplo, bienestar, apego a la sociedad de acogida). Al utilizar el caso de los latinoamericanos, este estudio también se centra en los procesos mediante los que las identidades diaspóricas se fusionan y mutan, en particular entre inmigrantes co-étnicos de diferentes orígenes nacionales y múltiples conexiones a través de las fronteras.

L'étude des immigrants d'Amérique latine au Québec révèle que cette population affiche des niveaux autodéclarés élevés d'intégration et de satisfaction de la vie, même si sa performance économique moyenne est nettement inférieure à celle d'autres groupes de cette province. Les immigrants d'Amérique latine conservent également des liens solides avec leur pays d'origine et un nouveau sentiment d'appartenance à une communauté diasporique. Cet article est basé sur un projet de recherche qui examine les écarts entre les conditions objectives de ces immigrants (p. ex. emploi, revenu) et leurs perceptions subjectives (p. ex. bien-être, attachement à la société d'accueil).

**Dans le cas des Latino-Américains, cette recherche se concentre également sur les processus par lesquels les identités diasporiques se fondent et se transforment, en particulier parmi les immigrants coethniques d'origines nationales différentes et ayant de multiples connexions transfrontalières.**

The study of Latin American immigrants residing in the province of Quebec reveals two apparently counterintuitive findings: on the one hand, this population shows self-reported high levels of integration and life satisfaction, even if its average economic performance significantly lags behind other groups in that province; on the other hand, Quebec's Latin American immigrants show persistently strong ties to their countries of origin and also an emerging sense of belonging to a diasporic community while simultaneously exhibiting, as a whole, what seems to be robust social and cultural patterns of incorporation. Of course, such trends are not necessarily contradictory, as abundant research has already shown, for example, that immigrants can concurrently develop local and transnational networks, and that the latter do not always hinder the former (Pantoja 2005). However, these intriguing results raise interesting, more general theoretical and empirical questions such as: How to explain the gaps between the objective conditions of immigrants (e.g. employment, income) and their subjective perceptions (e.g. well-being, attachment to the host society)? How to analyze collective identities that coalesce and mutate, particularly among co-ethnic immigrants with different national origins and multiple cross-border connections?

These questions require that we discard altogether the view of a linear mobility from a "sending country" to a "country of destination." To put it simply, a Colombian immigrant who settles in Quebec is exactly that (i.e. a national from a given country who integrates into one of Canada's provinces), but also much more: she may become a member (self-identified or identified by others) of Quebec's Latin American growing community, which is proportionally larger and linguistically distinct from English Canada's, while also maintaining family—and even professional, political, or financial—ties with Colombia and, at the same time, within the Colombian diaspora in North America and elsewhere. Her experience will be shaped and affected, not only by what it means to be an immigrant in French-language, more assimilationist Quebec, itself standing in tension with multicultural Canada, but also by what it means to be Colombian and Latin American (or Latina/o or Hispanic) in the United States – because of the massive weight of that reality (Armony 2014). Thus, for example, Latin Americans will be positively seen as culturally close by the francophone Quebecois – even as allies in the protection of language diversity in Anglo North America – but they will also experience the negative effects of U.S.-originated stereotypes spreading through public discourse and the media.

Quebec's demographic context is in itself quite distinct within the continent. On the one hand, it shows some parallels with the United States: out of a population of 8,066,555 inhabitants, 79.1% declare French as their mother tongue (comparable to the percentage of U.S. inhabitants who have English as their mother tongue: 79.3%), and 15.1% are foreign born (proportionally somewhat more than in the U.S.: 13.5% – but significantly less than in the rest of Canada: 26.5%). On the other hand, regarding the relative size and composition of its population with a Latin American background, Quebec stands out in comparison to both English Canada and the United States: Quebec has proportionally (among those foreign-born) more than twice as many Latin American immigrants as the rest of Canada, and proportionally as many South American immigrants as the United States. This is explained by the fact that almost two thirds of U.S. Hispanics declare a Mexican origin and that overall 77.3% of U.S. Hispanics stem from only three nationalities, none from South America (the other two being Puerto Rican and Cuban). Conversely, Latin Americans in English Canada have more diverse national origins, including a much larger percentage of South Americans (Colombian, Chilean, and Peruvian among the top five nationalities). But it is in Quebec that we will find the highest proportion of South Americans and the larger diversity among Latin Americans, with no nationalities decidedly predominating over the others.

All these figures tell us, firstly, that the Latin American presence is now much more salient in Quebec than in the rest of Canada (a higher share within a smaller immigrant population) and, secondly, that the Latin American population is much more nationally pluralistic than in the United States. Of course, these are not the only contrasts. Almost nine out of ten Latin Americans living in Canada are immigrants (foreign-born), while only one third of Hispanics are immigrants in the U.S. Because a large proportion of Latin Americans currently settled in Canada have gained residency through the selection process for qualified workers, which is in part based on academic credentials, they predictably show higher levels of education compared to their U.S. counterparts: more than half of U.S. Hispanics have no post-secondary degrees, compared to only 31% of Canada's Latin Americans. Unsurprisingly, Latin Americans in Canada earn more than U.S. Hispanics: their income represents 80% of their country's non-minority (white) population income (measured in median annual wages), while that figure is 60% for Hispanics in the U.S (to put it another way, the Latino/white income gap is 20% in Canada and 40% in the United States). So, in brief, a more educated, better payed, mostly skilled migrant population should exhibit rather favorable patterns of integration in Canada, in general, and in Quebec, in particular. As we will see, this seems to be generally the case, but not to the extent that one would expect.

Latin Americans arriving in Canada do not face the challenge of navigating a complex system of racial relations and historically-shaped (and politically charged) Hispanic social identities (Chicano, Mexican, Porto Rican, Cuban). This may be the underlying reason why, ironically, more U.S. Hispanics define themselves as racially "white" (53%) than do Latin Americans in Canada (34%). The multicultural approach, as well as the arguable less taxing notion of "visible minority" (rather than "race", the term used in the U.S. census), may offer Latin Americans an incentive – or a smaller deterrent – to see themselves as a separate group from the majority of European descent. Such context may also explain the fact that, according to a survey carried out in 2017, not only immigrants from Latin America maintain strong personal ties with their country of origin (family and friendship ties, interest in events, travel, sense of belonging), while developing an attachment to the host society, but also that they shift, over time, towards a pan-ethnic identification with a Latin American diaspora.[1] For example, with lengthier residence, relations with other immigrants of the same nationality decrease, but relations with other Latin American immigrants seem to remain present. Older Latin Americans mention more often the country of adoption to describe their identity, and comparatively less their country of origin, but they also tend to mention more non-national-specific forms of attachment (Latin America, language, region, ancestry, and religion) than younger ones.

Subjective indicators appear to corroborate a successful path to integration: immigrants from Latin America perceive far better standards of fairness and social cohesion in their host society. They are civically involved (mostly through naturalization and voting) and generally express high levels of life satisfaction (higher regarding family and home/local community, a key determinant of subjective well-being among immigrants, even if somewhat lower regarding work and health). There is also a strong sense among them that merit and effort are rightly rewarded in their country of settlement. They tend to judge equally positively the public image of immigrants in general and of Latin Americans in particular. This portrait is, of course, very encouraging. However, the same survey also reveals some troubling trends: life satisfaction levels and feelings of attachment to the host society are closely correlated to the degree of incorporation into the job market, as well as to the experience of having been a victim or a witness of discrimination. This finding is consistent with research in this area, and with common sense too: those who feel mistreated become alienated (Herrero et al. 2012; Hochman, Stein, Lewin-Epstein and Wöhler 2018; Kim and Noh 2015). But this begs the question of why we are seeing a segment of the Latin American population in Quebec encounter such obstacles, given the advantageous conditions they seem to enjoy, all the more so when compared to their U.S. counterparts.

The latest census data confirm that Latin Americans typically (in terms of median income) earn less than other minority groups in Quebec, and this gap is wider among women (Armony 2014). Latin Americans living in Quebec also display higher levels of poverty (23%, compared to 14.6% among the non-white population) and unemployment (10.3%, compared to 7.2%). There may be several factors at play in this situation, as minorities are themselves internally heterogeneous—and the term "minority" actually designates a wide array of realities. Many Latin Americans have integrated extremely well, and there is no obvious barrier dressed against this particular population. But the problem remains: how do we account for the evidence of a struggling experience for a significant number of them? One possible answer is that Latin American immigrants, in spite of the apparent ease with which the host society welcomes them (as "non-problematic" newcomers, even cultural "allies"), suffer the effects of implicit biases linked to Latino stereotypes, mostly coined in the United States. In other words, they may be negatively affected by a social and political dynamic that is rooted in a different national context. The survey results tell us that more than a third of Quebec's Latin Americans have personally experienced discrimination on the basis of language, and many of them feel that their chances in the job market (or at school, in their dealings with government agencies, etc.) have been unfairly diminished because of prejudice associated with the Latino identity. Their non-native French accent can trigger adverse reactions in others: comments or assumptions about their intellectual abilities, work ethic, legal status, sexual behavior, etc. (de Sousa et al. 2016; Gluszek and Dovidio 2010). Even if other common stereotypes are supposedly "benign" (Latinos as "friendly", "fun-loving", "easy going", etc.), the overall image is ultimately demeaning.[2]

About 150,000 individuals with a Latin American background reside in the province of Quebec, most of them in the Montreal area. They do not constitute necessarily a "community," not even a single statistical category, as they come from a dozen different countries, self-identify with various ancestries (a person can, of course, be Latin American and also Black, indigenous, etc.), and do not always consider their Latin American origin as relevant or even real at all – nothing more than a geographical designation. Even counting them proves challenging: Should we use mother tongue, place of birth or declared ethnicity to include them in the "Latin American" group? And, is Brazil part of Latin America?

1 The survey was conducted by UQAM's Interdisciplinary Latin American Studies Lab in March and April 2017. An on-line questionnaire was administered to 1,014 adult individuals who self-identified as having a Latin American background and residing in the province of Quebec.

2 These findings were corroborated by witness accounts collected by UQAM's Interdisciplinary Latin American Studies Lab for the Coalition pour l'Intégration Latino-Québécoise during a public consultation on discrimination carried out in the fall of 2017. See the report: www.midi.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/dossiers/valoriser-diversite/rapports/RAP_CAFLA%20.pdf.

Mexico? The Caribbean nations? But before we dismiss the very idea of a Latin American diaspora, we have to take into account the clear existence of a common cultural heritage, even if disputed, hybrid, and fluid. Many Latin Americans in Canada share a sense of belonging—even if often more tacit than explicit—and a number of them participate in pan-ethnic associations and networks. Such forms of attachment may be reinforced by a social label that is increasingly ascribed to them by others. At the same time that native Quebecers become more aware of a rapidly growing Latin American immigrant population in their midst, there is a dramatic rise in negative discourses about the Latina/o immigrant in the United States. As words and images travel easily across borders, it should not be unexpected that Latin Americans in Quebec may start encountering more prejudices and stereotypes in their own host society. This will lead them to reevaluate their own identity, and in some cases to appropriate and mobilize it more than ever.

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