

IWYS

**Immigrant women,
youth and seniors**

A Research and Knowledge Mobilization Project on the
Settlement Outcomes–Services Nexus

State of the Art in Research on, and Services for, Immigrant Women, Youth and Seniors

Knowledge Synthesis Report

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FOREWORD

This report, along with thematic reports on immigrant women, youth, and seniors, is an output of Phase 1 of our research and knowledge mobilization project that aims to document the settlement and service experiences of the three groups, as well as proposing new intervention strategies. The agenda of Phase 1 (2017–2018) has been knowledge synthesis on two dimensions. First, we reviewed research literature in Canada by paying special attention to four broad areas of settlement: economic, social, political, and ideational. Second, and in parallel to the first, we surveyed the Canadian service landscape again with a focus on those four areas. Building on the knowledge synthesis exercise, we will conduct in Phase 2 (2018–2019) primary research in three Ontario communities—Ottawa, Greater Toronto Area and Hamilton, and Windsor—and propose strategies for service innovation that are scalable across the country.

We hope that this report will give our readers (service providers, policymakers, fellow researchers, and the general public) a good sense of existing research on, and services for, what is considered to be three populations with special needs. What we know and do not know about the settlement outcomes and services for immigrant women, youth, and seniors, including the strengths and weaknesses of what we know, will inform our primary research agenda. Readers can help shape that agenda by providing feedback on the report to ceris@yorku.ca, subscribing and contributing to the project newsletter on www.iwys.ca, and participating in focus groups and interviews.

Finally, a note of appreciation is in order. We would like to thank our partners, volunteer members of the National Advisory Board, and staff at Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada and York University as contribution agreement partners.

IWYS Project Team

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This review of recent research on and existing services for immigrant women, youth, and seniors in Canada addresses three main questions. First, what do we know about the settlement experiences—particularly outcomes—of these diverse groups of immigrants? Second, what is out there in terms of services specifically targeting them? Third, what impact, if any, do existing services have on immigrant outcomes? The report tackles each question in four substantive areas of settlement: (a) labour market participation and income; (b) education and language training; (c) health, mental health, and well-being; and (d) social and civic participation.

Gaps

While testifying to the richness and diversity of the national research and service landscape, our review also identifies major gaps.

Research. The most glaring research gap is the paucity of studies on the settlement outcomes—services connection. Although research on substantive aspects of settlement abounds, it does not say much about the impact of services on immigrant outcomes. This should be a concern to policymakers and practitioners, as well as to researchers, since public investment in newcomer settlement is considerable and sustained. A second gap is that, while there is a significant body of literature on the use and non-use of immigrant-specific organized services, not much is known about the use and non-use of generically organized services by newcomers. A lack of attention to immigrant successes and contributions to Canadian life is the third gap. The “problem-centric” focus of Canadian migration scholarship does not pay sufficient attention to what women, youth, and seniors bring to Canada, and how they help themselves and their families in the process.

For women, existing research does not sufficiently address the shift towards a two-step immigration process, where many new immigrants first arrive in Canada on a temporary work or study permit. Also, there is limited research with LGBTQ populations, including the interplay of immigrant settlement with intersecting forms of discrimination. Unemployment and underemployment among out-of-school immigrant and refugee youth, as well as their employment and self-employment strategies, are not sufficiently studied. Nor do we know much about newcomer youth experiences in rural Canada, small urban centres, and the more outlying regions of the country. Although newcomer seniors face difficulties that are distinct from those of both mainstream older Canadians and long-term immigrant seniors, the literature pays limited attention to their difficulties. The paucity of research on different income sources and (self) employment strategies used by newcomer older adults and seniors is especially concerning in the context of a generally aging population.

Service. Three major service gaps can be highlighted. First, stringent eligibility rules for federally funded services exclude large swaths of the immigrant population such as citizens by acquisition and non-permanent resident migrants. Services funded by the provinces, municipalities, and community agencies have more flexible eligibility rules but are far from filling this gap. Second, rooted in the Euro-centric “social gospel” tradition, Canadian settlement services have long been “infantilizing” immigrants and have yet to fully adapt to the increasing racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural diversity of newcomer populations. Third, although research highlights the importance of family as a unit of analysis for settlement outcomes and although there is greater recognition of family in service conception and programming, settlement services are still very much organized on the premise of individual outputs and outcomes.

For women and seniors, language training services are particularly hard to access for reasons of family responsibilities, child care, pressure to work, and lack of transportation. The absence of newcomer older adults and seniors in immigrant-specific employment services is a glaring gap considering the fact that they do not have government income support either. Unaffordability may be an issue for them as well, since there is usually a fee associated with day programs. For youth dealing with instability at home, research highlights the need for immigrant family-inclusive educational and health services that address their special circumstances.

Recommendations

The report’s recommendations are not necessarily along the lines of “more research and more funding” in general.

Research

- 1) Conduct both large-scale, quantitative and in-depth, grounded studies into connections between settlement outcomes and immigrant-specific services.
- 2) Study how newcomers complement immigrant-specific organized services with informal and voluntary help channels, on the one hand, and generic public services, on the other, or how they skip the former altogether in favour of one or both of the latter.
- 3) With existing research sufficiently documenting what prevents newcomers from successfully settling in Canada, pay closer attention to how they overcome what stands in their way, and prosper socially and economically.

Policy

- 4) Build into policy a holistic understanding of immigration and settlement that takes families, not individuals, as the unit of analysis and practice.
 - 5) Create a pathway to permanent residence and citizenship for all classes of temporary migrants.
 - 6) Relax eligibility requirements for federally funded settlement services to allow temporary migrants and recent citizens access.
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- 7) Relax the 10-year residency requirement for immigrant seniors to be eligible for Old Age Security.

Service

- 8) Adopt a family-centred approach when conceiving, designing, and delivering settlement services.
 - 9) Pilot employment and self-employment programs for immigrant seniors and expand existing ones, especially those with occupation-specific job placements, for immigrant women and youth.
 - 10) Make language training more accessible and rewarding for immigrant women and seniors by expanding onsite child care, providing transportation subsidies, reaching out to rural communities, organizing flexible class schedules and locations, experimenting with new methods of delivery, and customizing content to diverse needs.
 - 11) In addition to in-school settlement workers, employ cultural brokers to mediate between newcomer students/families/institutions of different cultural backgrounds and facilitate service provision in a school setting.
 - 12) Approach and deliver health and mental health services in a gender-, race-, and culture-sensitive framework.
 - 13) Expand community-based activities, including volunteering, to reduce social isolation among, and increase social support for, all three groups of immigrants.
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1. INTRODUCTION

It has been generally accepted that Canada leads Western nations in providing publicly funded settlement services to immigrants (Praznik and Shields 2018; Türegün 2013). This is the case for both the spread of services across geography and immigration classes, and the scope of services covering different areas of participation. Indeed, historically, immigration has been a building block of Canadian nation-building and settlement services have been conceived accordingly (Biles et al. 2011; Richmond and Shields 2005; Türegün 2012; Vineberg 2013).

The core question of this project in general is how effective settlement services are and can be in facilitating positive settlement outcomes for immigrants in Canada. Any answer will depend on what we understand by immigrant settlement and settlement services. If settlement means an outcome, what is its social scope and temporal range? A short-term view of settlement limits it largely to information and orientation outcomes for newcomers. In contrast, settlement as a long-term outcome involving all aspects of immigrant social participation stretches the concept. In this context, it is important to refer to an unrealistic expectation from settlement services. With their organization, programming, and level of funding, settlement services in Canada are too limited to be a guarantee—and were never meant to be one—for immigrant success, particularly, in such areas as language acquisition and labour market participation. If, on the other hand, settlement means a process, we need to have a sense of when it begins and when it ends. A short-term view of the settlement process equates it with the period between the arrival and initial adaptation of newcomers, and thus is also a minimalist view of settlement services. In contrast, settlement as a lifelong process overloads the concept and renders concepts such as integration and incorporation redundant. Nor are settlement services sustainable over a lifetime.

Our secondary research reflects this tension that exists in the research literature and the service landscape. Even the definitions of our three demographic groups—immigrant women, youth, and seniors—are varied. Before describing the literature and service review methodology, let us elaborate on these conceptual and demographic definitions a little further.

1.1 Immigrant Settlement and Immigrants with Special Needs

Although the concept of settlement does not replace related concepts such as adaptation, integration, and incorporation, it has a distinct advantage over them as it is value-neutral unlike the latter. What is settlement anyway? How is it different from the rest of the pack?

According to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC 2017a:1), the funder of this project and the bulk of settlement services in the country, settlement “refers to a short period of mutual adaptation between newcomers and the host society, during which the government provides support and services to newcomers, while integration is a two-way process for immigrants to adapt to life in Canada and for Canada to welcome and adapt to the newcomers.” The goal of integration, IRCC (2017a:1) states, “is to encourage newcomers to be fully engaged in the economic, social, political, and cultural life of Canada.” This definition of settlement as a short-term process as opposed to long-term integration process is consistent with traditional sociological literature on stages of immigrant adaptation. As we will see later, it also informs eligibility criteria for federally funded settlement services.

An alternative view of the settlement process defines it as “a lifelong journey” (Richmond and Shields (2005:515). The process “does not end once a newcomer has lived in Canada for a year, nor when a newcomer becomes a Canadian citizen” (Praznik and Shields 2018:5). Yet, when settlement is seen in such light, it becomes necessary to divide it into stages such as pre-arrival, initial reception, intermediate stage, and long-term stage. The pre-arrival stage is about the preparation and expectations of prospective newcomers to Canada. In the initial reception stage, newcomers need basic information and referrals, language training, and temporary housing. Newcomer needs come to include longer-term employment, permanent housing, and education in the intermediate stage, when newcomers establish a foothold in the country. “In the long-term stage newcomers begin developing a sense of attachment or belonging in Canada, without giving up their attachment and belonging to their home countries. It is at this stage that the deeper forms of integration and inclusion should occur” (Praznik and Shields 2018:5). This definition, too, has implications for service, which comes to include any help immigrants get in their lifelong journey.

Our view of settlement is closer to the long-term edge of the short-term/long-term continuum. However, we are also careful not to use the concept in an all-encompassing way that would subsume related but different concepts such as integration and inclusion. Settlement certainly facilitates, but may not be enough for, integration and inclusion. In other words, it is a necessary but not sufficient condition of the latter outcomes.

As far as settlement services are concerned, they are more specific than universal services, such as health, education, employment, and public safety, that do not attend to any particular population. However, when hospitals, schools, employment agencies, and police forces serve immigrants in particular, they provide settlement services. As well, services that help immigrants access universal or generic services should be considered as settlement services. With this proviso, settlement services can be divided into two broad groups: (a) formally organized and funded services; and (b) informal/voluntary services and other help patterns. The first group, mainly funded by governments and delivered by community-based agencies, is much more prevalent and visible than the second, which may nevertheless be as effective as the first.

The next question concerns our population of interest: newcomers, recent immigrants, or immigrants in general? According to the official Statistics Canada definition, newcomers or new immigrants are those immigrants who have been in Canada for five or fewer years, that is, recent immigrants. This five-year period corresponds to the time it normally takes for a newcomer who is a permanent resident to acquire Canadian citizenship. A foreign-born person who has “settled” in Canada for any length of time can be called an immigrant sociologically, regardless of the person’s legal status, immigration class, or citizenship. We will use the term “immigrants” in this broad sense to capture the range of populations that appear on the research and service scene.

A few words about our three immigrant groups are in order at this point. These groups are often called immigrants with special needs and we use the term with caution. Not all immigrant women, youth, or seniors have special or “high” needs. Conversely, members of groups such as men and adults may be vulnerable and in need of special settlement services. For example, racialized adult men, immigrants with physical cognitive or developmental disabilities, and immigrants who identify as LGBTQ or non-binary gender may experience vulnerability at a deeper level than do immigrant women, youth, or seniors in general. The term “women” may seem to be straightforward as a gender category. Yet, in this report, the term refers to any persons who identify as women/transwomen. For youth, what are the cut-off lines from childhood, on the one hand, and adulthood, on the other? Statistics Canada defines youth as people between the ages of 15 and 24, with youth aged 15 to 19 being called adolescents and those aged 20 to 24 young adults. However, the lines separating youth from childhood and adulthood are often blurred on the research and service scene, and our report reflects that. Similarly, the official definition of seniors—people aged 65 and older—is often relaxed in existing literature and, particularly, services. For example, many seniors’ services offered by community-based agencies target people aged 55 and older.

Finally, definitions and distinctions aside, we should not lose sight of intersectionality, contingency, and embeddedness. First, these groups and their settlement experiences are conditioned by multiple levels of intersectionality (Choo and Ferree 2010). Age and gender, along with a host of other factors such as race, ethnicity, and class, intersect to shape the settlement process and outcomes, which themselves intersect; how immigrants do in one settlement area has implications for how they do in another area. Second, and as an element of contingency, settlement process does not lend itself to neat distinctions such as short, medium, and long terms. One immigrant may successfully take on long-term settlement challenges from the outset while another one may still be struggling with short-term challenges many years after arrival. What role do immigration status and (direct or indirect) route taken to permanent residence, for example, play in this variation? Third, and as an element of embeddedness, settlement is a family experience in most cases; how one (woman, youth, and senior) member of the family fares is intimately tied to how other (intergenerational and horizontal) members do (Burstein 2010; Shields et al. Forthcoming).

1.2 Secondary Research Methodology

We have adopted a mixed methods approach. Thus, our secondary research, generically called literature/service review, has the components of systematic review and scoping review. Systematic review was used especially in surveying the national service landscape for all three immigrant groups. Scoping review (Arksey and O'Malley 2005; Levac, Colquhoun, and O'Brien 2010) proved useful for developing criteria of inclusion and exclusion for both the literature and service aspects of our exercise.

1.2.1 Literature Review

Prior to the literature review, we developed a protocol to: (a) scope the literature by time, geography, and language; (b) determine project-wide and demography-specific search terms; and (c) identify search media and tools.

The temporal scope of our literature review is the 10-year period between 2008 and 2017, inclusive. The year 2008 is a meaningful cut-off point as it was when the global financial crisis set in and important policy changes began to take effect. Geographically, we have limited our scope to Canada given the mandate of the project. However, comparative or international literature dealing with the Canadian case is within the scope of the review. Linguistically, the review is limited to research reported in English for reasons of economy and consistency across the three research domains—women, youth, and seniors. Concerning publication format, our review is inclusive of both academic/refereed and grey literature although the ratio varies across the domains.

Next was deciding project-wide and demography-specific search terms. Project-wide terms include but are not limited to:

▪ Immigrant ▪ Immigration ▪ Settlement ▪ Settlement process ▪ Settlement outcomes ▪ Settlement services ▪ Employment ▪ Self-employment ▪ Civic participation ▪ Political participation ▪ Belonging ▪ Identity

As listed in thematic reports, demography-specific terms are chosen and refined with a view to generating the most relevant refereed and grey literature on women, youth, and seniors. We then identified search media and tools. Again, thematic reports show what these media and tools are for the three immigrant groups.

Finally, we developed a standard abstracting template for the use of all three research teams. The template refines four broad areas of settlement—economic, social, political, and ideational—as well as including sections on the disciplinary background, format, demographic focus, purpose, methodology, key findings, policy recommendations, and limitations of the research piece under review.

All in all, the women's, youth, and seniors research teams initially came up with broad lists of literature and reduced them to 183, 102, and 226 unique templates, respectively. When a template is also relevant to another demographic group, it is included in that group's analysis.

1.2.2 Service Review

Similarly, prior to the service review, a protocol was developed to: (a) scope the national landscape by jurisdiction, duration and frequency, relevance, and type of service; and (b) identify sources of information.

We began the scoping at the jurisdictional level by leaving out Quebec from the service review. This is because IRCC's Settlement Program, under which this project is funded, covers the rest of the provinces and territories whereas Quebec develops, administers, and delivers its own settlement services that are funded by annual federal grants under the 1991 Canada–Quebec Accord (IRCC 2017a:1). A second criterion is that a service has to be ongoing and be delivered regularly in order to be included in the review pool. Third, only services that directly target at least one of the three immigrant groups concerned are included in the pool. Fourth, informal/voluntary services and help from social networks are left out because, effective as they may be, they are extremely hard to detect, let alone analyze, at the level of secondary research. These services will thus be a subject of our primary research.¹

Our initial source of information was the list of service providers on the IRCC (2017b) website under "Find free newcomer services near you." As of November 9, 2017, the list had 1,076 (not necessarily unique) organizational entries, including those from Quebec. As the list is searchable by immigrant groups served, we pulled those entries concerning women, youth, and seniors. We then checked the websites of related organizations for actual services. The IRCC list was checked against other national lists such as those of the Canadian Council for Refugees and the Canadian Immigrant Settlement Sector Alliance, as well as against the lists of provincial/regional councils of immigrant-serving organizations and, in the case of Ontario, the ministry responsible for immigrant services. Locally and where available, the 211.ca directory of services was searched to the extent possible within the limits of project resources and timelines. To complement all of this, a call for information was issued to service providers across the country except for Quebec as per the scoping requirement.

The standard template that was developed to profile services includes sections on the funders and other contributors, sites and languages of delivery, year of launch, target groups and areas, and a detailed narrative of the service under review. The template

¹ We also had to be extremely selective in including services that are based on what can be called "soft programming." These services range from conversation and friendship circles through social and sports activities clubs to community and school support groups. Like informal/voluntary services and other help patterns, these services are more suitable for primary, grounded research.

was used by both the research team for organizing web-based information and service providers for submitting their information.

From the long list of services compiled from national, provincial/regional, and local sources, 291 were chosen for profiling based on the availability of online information. An additional batch of 50 profiles were received in response to the call for information. When a profile concerned more than one group, it was considered for all applicable groups. The resulting distribution of profiles was thus 136 for women, 167 for youth, 82 for seniors, and 54 for other groups such as children, parents, and families.

2. MAIN FINDINGS

2.1 Settlement Services

2.1.1 Organization: Programming, Funding, and Delivery

The federal government defines the national context of settlement services in Canada. With its programs such as the Settlement Program and the Resettlement Assistance Program for government-assisted refugees, IRCC in particular is by far the largest funder of these services across the country. The Settlement Program funds three types of services—direct, support, and indirect services (IRCC 2017a). Direct services are provided to newcomers in six main areas: (a) needs assessments and referrals; (b) information and orientation; (c) language assessments; (d) language training; (e) employment-related services; and (f) community connections. Support services, too, target newcomers to help them access direct services, by providing child care, transportation, translation, interpretation, disability support, and crisis counselling. Indirect services support the development of partnerships, capacity building, and the sharing of best practices among service providers. In addition to programming and funding, IRCC also sets the national parameters of service eligibility. Direct services funded by the Settlement Program are offered only to “permanent residents (PR) who have not yet become Canadian citizens, permanent resident applicants approved in principle (pending immigration security and health checks), protected persons as defined in Section 95 of IRPA, as well as some temporary residents [that is, caregivers]” (IRCC 2017a:3).

Leading as it is, IRCC is not the only federal department that programs and funds settlement services in a broad sense. Departments such as Canadian Heritage and Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC), too, support immigrant integration and inclusion (Biles 2008:148–57). With its Multiculturalism Funding Program, Canadian Heritage supports initiatives that promote the inclusion of ethno-cultural and racial minority communities. ESDC has programs and initiatives that are directly related to immigrant integration, including labour market agreements with the provinces, the Foreign Credential Recognition Program, and the New Horizons for Seniors Program.

In the late 1990s, the provinces, particularly Prairie and Atlantic provinces, began to take on a more active role in immigrant settlement and integration to address labour force shortages and counter an aging and/or declining population (Türegün 2012). However, the provinces vary widely in size, scope, and depth of settlement programming. In fact, not all provinces have a settlement program distinguishable from

other public programs. The provincial settlement programs that are distinguishable from other public programs are much smaller than the federal Settlement Program but tend to be more flexible than their federal counterpart in service eligibility and thus address a gap by also serving, although variably, groups such as citizens by acquisition, refugee claimants, migrant workers, and international students (Praznik and Shields 2018; Türegün 2012).

At the local community level, there is not much municipal programming and funding for settlement. When cities do have programs, however, they usually target those newcomers who are not eligible for federally and provincially funded services. In this respect, programs developed and funded by non-government, community agencies are generally the most inclusive ones in service eligibility. For example, United Ways across the country fund many services in local communities that target underserved groups, including our three immigrant groups as will be seen later in this report.

As for service delivery, governments and other programmers/funders are not directly involved in it although they set its parameters by defining eligibility for service providers, recipients, activities, costs, and duration. According to the so-called Canadian partnership model (Meinhard et al. 2012), community-based non-profit organizations are the main immigrant-specific service providers. Since the 1990s, however, “non-traditional” service providers such as ethno-specific agencies, social service organizations, school boards, YMCAs/YWCAs, and even businesses have increasingly been involved in settlement service delivery. At the federal level in particular, service providers are contractually bound to contribute in cash and/or in kind to the services they deliver under a “contribution agreement” system.

2.1.2 Access and Barriers

According to IRCC (2017a:3–4), 39% of the adult permanent residents who arrived in the 2015 admissions year used at least one settlement service between January 2015 and April 2017. Provincial surveys report figures that vary widely. For example, in a 2013 survey of Western Canadian provinces and territories, only 33% of the newcomer respondents indicated that they had accessed services (Bucklaschuk, Wilkinson, and Bramadat 2014:97). A higher proportion (47%) of the respondents to a 2012 survey in Alberta used one or more settlement services since their arrival in the province (Esses et al. 2013:12). Most remarkably, an Ontario survey conducted in 2011 found that 83% of the respondents had used one or more settlement support services (OCASI 2012:33–34).

Despite different methodologies and definitions behind them, these figures are highly significant. Moreover, not all newcomers need settlement services as the Ontario and Western Canadian surveys found out. More than one-third of the Ontario respondents who did not use any settlement support services reported that they did not need any (OCASI 2012:67). Yet such surveys also point to large sections of the newcomer population who do need but cannot access settlement services. The literature highlights four groups of barriers to accessing services: (a) barriers related to the organization and

content of services; (b) awareness of and information on services; (c) geographic barriers; and (d) affordability.

How settlement services are organized can be a barrier to their use. Operating in an environment of soft (short-term, project-based, and relatively stagnant) funding, heavy reporting, and tight deadlines, the non-profit service sector faces challenges related to funding, accountability, and lack of intersectoral collaboration. Lack of funding decreases the effectiveness of services as agencies face growing demand without adequate financial and human resources. Inter-agency competition for resources pits agencies against each other, making collaboration among agencies difficult while also threatening the sustainability of smaller organizations (Mukhtar et al. 2016; Shields, Drolet, and Valenzuela 2016; George, Selimos, and Ku 2017). Restructuring of funding policies created a two-tiered system—smaller organizations depend on larger organizations, who have better funding, for survival (Richmond and Shields 2004; Sadiq 2004; Omidvar and Richmond 2005; Mukhtar et al. 2016). Settlement agencies responding to our call for information frequently mentioned short-term and limited funding, lack of space, staff shortages, case overload and waiting lists, and disjointed nature of local services as barriers to accessing what they offer.

Stringent eligibility rules for federally funded services constitute a barrier for large swaths of the immigrant population. The exclusion of citizens from these services is one aspect. For example, many immigrant women, particularly mothers with young children and those who must begin working full time upon arrival, become ineligible for language classes when they acquire Canadian citizenship (Kilbride and Ali 2010). Another aspect of service ineligibility is the exclusion of non-permanent resident migrants such as refugee claimants, temporary workers except for live-in caregivers, international students, and people without status (CCR 2016; Rajkumar et al. 2012; Rural Development Institute and Immigration Research West 2015). Although the provinces, municipalities, and community funders have more relaxed rules as seen above, they are far from bridging the service gap. More and more temporary workers are becoming permanent residents in Canada, meaning that a growing proportion of the new immigrant population is unable to access many settlement services until years after they arrive in the country (Nakache and Dixon-Perera 2015). Migrants with continued precarious status and people without status who do not have a pathway to permanent residency may live for years with limited access to services. Policies which exclude certain categories of migrants from settlement services contribute to the marginalization of non-permanent residents, particularly migrant workers in “low-skill” occupations, and constrain their social rights (Rajkumar et al. 2012).

The content and scheduling of services may also be a barrier to certain groups of immigrants. For example, Bonifacio (2008) interviewed a group of Filipina live-in caregivers and found that the majority did not use services, in part because they were not considered relevant to their needs, which included housing support and workers’ rights information, and the services were not offered during their time off from work (evenings and weekends). Respondents to our call, too, raised service content as an access issue, citing the need for advanced language training and paid work experience,

urging that cut bridging courses be brought back, and expressing inability to provide crisis support.

Lack of awareness and information has been documented as a major barrier to accessing services. Lo and colleagues (2010:33) argue that the “use of services is tied to awareness of services.” In the 2011 Ontario survey, 30% of the respondents who did not use any settlement support services reported lack of awareness as the reason (OCASI 2012:67). Similarly, the 2013 Western Canadian survey found that lack of awareness of services is the second most frequently cited reason after not needing them among non-users (Bucklaschuk, Wilkinson, and Bramadat 2014:99). Aside from lack of awareness, lack of information about how to reach services can be a barrier on its own. For example, newcomer youth experience difficulties getting information and guidance about the Canadian education system, which can be detrimental to how they are placed in schools when they first arrive (Shakya, Khanlou, and Gonsalves 2010), as well as about general settlement and health services (Assefa 2017; Francis and Yan 2016; Li, Que, and Power 2017; Sarnia-Lambton LIP 2013). Similarly, due to limited official language skills, many newcomer seniors are unable to navigate the settlement service system (McDonald et al. 2001; Kilbride et al. 2010; Kilbride et al. 2011; Luhtanen 2009; Murphy 2010; Stewart et al. 2011). Consequently, they rely on family members and acquaintances from their ethnic communities in order to gain information on and access to settlement services (Lo et al. 2010; Muttersbach 2010). This “catch 22” situation has even wider implications for newcomer women. Research indicates that low official language proficiency among immigrant women compared to immigrant men in general, which is a consequence of selection policy and differential access to language training (Adamuti-Trache 2012), can be a significant barrier to accessing social services (Alaggia, Maiter, and Jenney 2017), as well as to socio-economic integration and well-being (Kilbride and Ali 2010), employment (Adamuti-Trache et al. 2013; Bonnycastle 2017; Choi et al. 2014), and capacity for advocacy within the health care and education systems (Kilbride and Ali 2010), protection from abuse (Bungay et al. 2012; Goldenberg et al. 2017; Merali 2009), and social networking and participation (Kilbride and Ali 2010).

As several respondents to our call pointed out, geographic barriers affect mostly immigrant seniors and immigrants in rural areas. Mobility issues and unreliable, costly, and unavailable transportation limit seniors’ access to and use of services. Infrequent and unreliable transportation makes it difficult for seniors to get things done and can lead to social isolation (Gallagher, Menec, and Keefe 2006; National Seniors Council 2009). Most settlement services are concentrated in the city; therefore, a high number of newcomers settling in rural areas are not able to access these services (Mukhtar et al. 2016; Wang and Truelove 2003).

Unaffordability of services is an issue that concerns immigrant women the most but also seniors with their needs for help with daily life. There is usually a fee associated with day programs for seniors. Financial needs that require women to find paid work immediately after migration and child and/or elder care responsibilities compound the difficulties they face in accessing language training and other settlement services

(Kilbride and Ali 2010; Sethi 2015; Vanderplaat, Ramos, and Yoshida 2012). The issue of child care also came up in the responses to our call. One service provider commented: “There are a significant number of clients who require outreach instruction in the home until their infants are six months old and can be enrolled in CNC [Care for Newcomer Children]. When the infant reaches six months and space becomes available, these clients are transitioned into mainstream classes. However, despite being put at the top of the wait list, a space becoming available at their language level at the same time as a daycare space at the child’s appropriate age does not always coincide. This is compounded if the client has multiple children requiring daycare. Therefore, these clients often spend longer in outreach than desired while the wait list continues to grow” (ISANS 2018a).

2.1.3 Impact on Settlement Outcomes

We should begin this part by dispelling a neoliberal myth about the impact of settlement services on settlement outcomes. From an “accountability” perspective, for every dollar spent on settlement services, there needs to be a quantifiable, positive outcome for newcomers. This assumption of a direct and exclusive causality from settlement services to outcomes ignores many things that happen in-between. What immigrants bring with them to Canada, what they face in Canada, and how they respond to their post-migration conditions all loom large in their settlement performance however it is defined. Service is just one factor interacting with many other factors that shape the settlement context, including level and field of education; work experience; wealth or poverty; demographic traits such as race, gender, and age; absorptive capacity of “host” society and community; welcoming or unwelcoming reception; and agency of individual immigrants.

Research on the impact of settlement services on immigrant outcomes is scant. Particularly quantitative research in relation to our three groups is missing. The lack of aggregate data may be one reason. Another reason is possibly the enormous difficulty of isolating the role of services from among a myriad of factors that we just referred to. What exists in research on services mainly concerns how they are organized (agents, mechanisms, and requirements of funding, programming, and delivery). The few studies that problematize services–outcomes connections are anecdotal or qualitative in terms of evidence.

In general, programs related to economic integration and language are cited as the most helpful services, particularly after arrival (Lo et al. 2010). While using some form of formal settlement service at least once, most newcomer seniors remain dissatisfied with available settlement programs even though they appreciate the fact that services are free (McDonald et al. 2001; Kilbride et al. 2011).

In some studies, women identify settlement services as an important source of support in starting their lives in Canada. For example, a study with South Sudanese refugee women in Calgary identified settlement services as playing a key role in their resettlement process (Pearce et al. 2017). In her interviews with immigrant families in

Calgary, Leigh (2016) found that several participants described the positive aspects of learning about Canadian cultural norms around parenting and household division of labour in settlement classes, which helped them in adjusting to life in Canada. In contrast, in her study of Chinese women in London, Ontario, Da (2010) found that settlement services were not a significant source of support for her participants, who sought information about life in Canada from Chinese-language websites rather than from existing settlement services.

Settlement services were also identified in some studies as playing an important role in linking immigrant women with other kinds of help. For example, in their study of women who were experiencing housing insecurity after leaving a relationship due to domestic violence, Thurston et al. (2013) found that the majority of women first sought help in dealing with the abuse from settlement and immigrant-serving agencies where they already had a relationship of trust and were then linked with domestic violence agencies. Settlement agencies were also found to play a key role in supporting women experiencing housing insecurity (Thurston et al. 2013; Walsh et al. 2016).

Some literature is critical of settlement services with most critique focusing on employment services. Some scholars critique the kind of employment services offered by settlement agencies, suggesting that they are inadequate and can contribute to the deskilling of immigrant women. In their study of the experiences of Black African immigrants in Vancouver, Creese and Wiebe (2012) found that most of their participants had been directed by settlement job-finding programs into low-wage “survival jobs.” They point to the neoliberal restructuring of settlement services during the 1990s as having resulted in a shift to focusing on the numbers of immigrants employed at the end of the program, rather on the kinds of work being attained, and cuts to programs focused on facilitating skills bridging and re-entry into professional fields (Creese and Wiebe 2012). Pakistani women participants in a Vancouver study reported that the employment services they participated in were useful only for finding work in low-skilled, low-paying areas (Zaman 2010). Premji and Shakya (2017) similarly identify the need for employment services focusing on linking immigrants with stable jobs in their fields of expertise, rather than generic job services, resume clinics, and Canadian workplace readiness classes. Dissatisfaction and frustration with settlement employment services was also evident in two grey literature reports based on focus groups with Francophone immigrants in Ontario (Ronald Bisson and Associates 2011) and the Alberta survey mentioned above (Esses et al. 2013). Other studies portray more positive experiences of services; for example, George and Chaze (2009) found that South Asian women in Toronto used settlement and community agency employment programs and found them useful as a general orientation to the Canadian labour market, although they desired more specific information to help them in their job search which they sought via their social networks. Two articles, one focused on employment programs (Ameeriar 2012) and the other on parenting support (Zhu 2016) provide a critique of settlement services as forms of governance focused on teaching immigrant women how to fit in with Canadian norms, and thereby placing responsibility for structural problems on individual women’s behaviour.

Against this research background, our review of the national service landscape targeting immigrant women, youth, and seniors has identified two broad groups of services. The first group, based on what can be called “soft programming,” range from conversation and friendship circles through social and sports activities clubs to community and school support groups. In this secondary research phase, we are extremely cautious about asserting the measurable impact of these services as they can be best assessed by the perception of their recipients. They are rather, like informal/voluntary services and other help patterns, a matter of primary research. The second group of services are more focused on specific areas such as labour market participation, language training, education, and health. They are thus our main concern in this review. We should note that these services are not distributed evenly across settlement areas for each immigrant group. For example, there is hardly any service targeting the employment of seniors or providing language training for youth while health and anti-violence services abound for women and education services for youth. Life cycle and gender play a large role in this unevenness but so do class and power.

In what follows, we present some common strands of the service landscape and sample exemplary practices from across the country. We do so in the context of immigrant outcomes in four main areas of settlement that the three thematic reports will provide more detail for: labour market participation and income; education and language training; health, mental health, and well-being; and social and civic participation.

2.2 Labour Market Participation and Income

2.2.1 Outcomes

Immigrant women, youth, and seniors are subject to the same trends that beset recent immigrants in general while, at the same time, facing specific labour market and income challenges in their own way. Moreover, these challenges vary widely within each group, depending on race, ethnicity, country of origin, knowledge of the official languages, migration status, social class, and so on. Research highlights labour market experience for immigrant youth, income status for seniors, and both aspects for women.

Women. Census data from 2011 show that, overall, immigrant women have lower labour market participation than Canadian-born women: In the core working age group of 25 to 54 years, 76.4% of immigrant women participated in the labour force compared with 83.6% of Canadian-born women (Hudon 2015:25). Studies based on the Labour Force Survey from 2006–2012 suggest that labour market participation rates vary by country of origin, with immigrant women from Africa and Asia having lower participation than those from Latin America and Europe (Frank and Hou 2016; Morissette and Galarneau 2016). Racialized immigrant women are particularly marginalized within the labour market, mirroring the overall income gap between racialized and non-racialized

Canadians (Block and Galabuzi 2011; Lightman and Good Gingrich 2012; Premji et al. 2014).

While the majority of immigrant women are highly educated, they are overrepresented in low-paying and often precarious jobs where their education and skills are underutilized. In the 2011 core working age group, for example, 48.7% of immigrant women and 60.1% of recent immigrant women with a bachelor's level of education or higher were employed in positions that do not generally require a degree, compared with 30% of Canadian women (Hudon 2015:28). Deskilling occurs for all immigrants but the mismatch between job skill requirements and education is greater for immigrant women and is experienced differently by them. As a result of deskilling, racialized immigrant women are overrepresented in low-paying, casual, and precarious forms of employment that are temporary, part time, unstable, and often high risk (Fuller and Vosko 2008; Hira-Friesen 2017; Premji and Shakya 2017; Premji et al. 2010; Premji et al. 2014). Precarious employment can have pervasive negative effects on the lives of immigrant women, such as economic insecurity, lack of family time, and high levels of stress and fatigue.

Barriers to immigrant women's labour market participation include: "non-recognition of foreign credentials;" systemic discrimination and racism; language difficulties; loss of social networks after migration; caregiving responsibilities; and bias of immigration policy. The underutilization and devaluing of internationally earned credentials, skills, and work experience remain a persistent employment barrier in Canada. While low language skills are associated with low employment rates (Adamuti-Trache 2012), immigrant women face employment discrimination even when they speak English, thus crowding the low-paying job market (Branker 2017). Research suggests that immigrant women have more limited social networks than men, which can limit their job search (George and Chaze 2009). Moreover, the labour market participation of immigrant women, like that of Canadian-born women, is greatly impacted by their caregiving roles within the family unit. Due to traditional gender roles, it is primarily women who take on the burden of added household and child care work, which acts as a barrier to full-time work (Banerjee and Phan 2015; Bryan 2012; Das Gupta et al. 2014; Dlamini, Anucha, and Wolfe 2012; Leigh 2016). Although the proportion of female principal applicants has risen, women continue to be overrepresented as secondary or dependent applicants within the Federal Skilled Worker Program and are underrepresented as primary applicants (Hudon 2015).

Youth. Research shows that youth aged 15 to 19 years are less likely to be active in the labour market as a majority of them are in secondary education, while those aged 20 to 24 are more likely to participate given that many have completed their education and/or must use employment to finance their post-secondary studies (Wilkinson 2008). In each age group, however, immigrant youth have lower levels of labour market participation than those of Canadian-born youth. High levels of secondary and post-secondary schooling among immigrant youth (as will be seen in the next section) have something to do with this low employment engagement on their part.

The difficulties that Canadian-born youth face accessing and performing in the labour market are accentuated in the case of immigrant youth, particularly newcomer youth (Abada 2014; Agyekum 2016; AMSSA 2016; Lauer et al. 2012). Even then, the latter's experience of unemployment, underemployment, and precarious employment varies by race, gender, country of origin, migration status, class, and type of neighbourhood. Immigrant non-students, those with more years of education but somewhat fewer years in Canada, and those from regions other than Africa are more likely to find work in Canada (Wilkinson 2008). Conversely, immigrant students, particularly those from Africa, are at higher risk of experiencing unemployment and underemployment than other immigrant youth. Yan, Lauer, and Chan (2012) label the experience of racialized immigrant youth in the Canadian labour market as "double jeopardy," because belonging to a minority group and being an immigrant create barriers to labour market success. Being a female among youth is correlated with longer periods of unemployment (Lightman and Good Gingrich 2012). Refugee youth experience higher levels of unemployment than Canadian-born youth and immigrant youth who are not refugees (Wilkinson 2008). Even where one lives can have an impact on employment prospects. Neighbourhoods of ethno-racial minority concentration have proven to be places of negative labour market and socio-economic outcomes (Hulchanski 2010; St. Stephen's Community House and Access Alliance 2016; Zaami 2015).

In addition to being exposed to precarious employment, immigrant youth crowd low-end jobs. Particularly African, Jamaican, and Latin American youth are at the very bottom of employment ladder with jobs such as those in the fast-food industry, which are still promoted as a way of getting the all-important "Canadian work experience" (Lauer et al. 2012). Similarly, female youth are more likely to take jobs associated with the so-called "womanly" qualities in the care sector that pays poorly and infers low status (Tyyskä 2014). Race and gender also loom large in the earnings differentiation among immigrant youth. Visible minority male immigrant youth earn less than their white counterparts and (white or visible minority) female immigrant youth (Pendakur and Pendakur 2016). Yet, on a different dimension of comparison, one-and-a-half-generation immigrant youth from Hong Kong, Taiwan, People's Republic of China, and South Korea are likely to study business, management, public administration, science, technology, engineering, and mathematical fields, and eventually have earnings advantages over the third-plus generation Canadians of European descent by 14% to 25% (Boyd and Tian 2016:720).

Seniors. Poverty among immigrant seniors is a persistent problem compounded by race, gender, official language capability, migration status, and rural–urban divide. Compared with 1.9% of Canadian-born seniors, 30% of immigrant seniors and over one-half (56%) of recent immigrant seniors live in chronic low income, which is defined as having a family income under the low income cut-off line for five consecutive years or more (Picot and Lu 2017:5–6, 13). As a result, poverty is increasingly intergenerational; income inequalities observed at one point in time are becoming more permanent (Heisz 2016). Racialized people, family class immigrants and refugees, people who do not know English or French, and women—especially those who live alone—are among the recent immigrant seniors most likely to live in chronic low income. Being racialized is a significant risk factor for senior poverty. Racialized immigrants make up 71% of all

immigrants living in poverty (National Council of Welfare 2012:5). Racialized poverty is most severe among recent immigrants, the majority of whom come from China, India, and the Philippines, and is geographically concentrated in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, especially in peripheral municipalities. Family class immigrants and refugees have higher rates of chronic low income than economic class immigrants. Lack of official language proficiency negatively impacts income among recent immigrant seniors who are more likely than previous cohorts to arrive in Canada without knowledge of either official language (Picot and Lu 2017:14). Living alone is a risk factor for poverty for both recent and long-term seniors, especially for single women.

One would think that, against this bleak picture, government transfers could help. They indeed do help reduce elderly poverty but not for newcomer seniors since they are ineligible for government income supports. Senior women are particularly dependent on government income supports: Over half of all senior women's income in 2003 depended on government transfer programs (Old Age Security/Guaranteed Income Supplement), spouse's allowance, and Canada/Quebec Pension Plans. Only 26.3% of their income came from private retirement pensions in contrast to men's income which was derived almost equally between government transfer payments (41.1%) and private retirement pensions (40.5%) (Statistics Canada 2018). Also notable is that the number of "invisible seniors," those living slightly above the poverty line, is growing.

2.2.2 Services

It may be necessary to repeat that existing research does not answer how settlement services counter the intersecting challenges facing our three immigrant groups in the labour market and other areas. However, by reviewing the salient features of the national service landscape, we can ask better research questions and perhaps point to pieces of a more effective strategy for employment and other services.

Women. Employment services targeting immigrant women can be divided into five groups: (a) pre-employment information, orientation, and training; (b) sector-specific training and job placement; (c) help with self-employment; (d) volunteering support; and (e) child care support. Pre-employment services take many forms, including job search help (e.g., resume writing and interview skills training), orientation to Canadian workplace culture, and long-term career planning. Services that approach career planning as part of personal development are more promising for professional development. Services that train women for, and provide them with, sector-specific work experience via job placements target a variety of sectors such as information technology, finance, accounting, human resources, office administration, customer care, child care and development, retail business, food service, cooking, sewing, and cleaning and room keeping. They are direct or indirect bridging initiatives, some of which have a mentoring component, and rely on businesses and non-profit organizations for job placements. In this context, Calgary Immigrant Women's Association's numerous services, Regina Immigrant Women Centre (2018)'s sewing program (Sew New), and the Winnipeg-based Canadian Muslim Women's Institute (2018)'s "SewFair" with a social enterprise component stand out. There are not many

services directing women to self-employment. The few that exist (e.g., in Halifax and Toronto) help with small business or microbusiness start-ups, including home-based businesses. Our review also spotted services in Calgary and Edmonton that support women in volunteering with a view to employment or in child care when they are working.

Youth. As in pre-employment services for women, general help services for youth abound. The latter include information and orientation, job search help, “life skills” and leadership training, mentoring, and various types of soft support. Career planning with training and job placement components is one service that is geared towards employment directly for underprivileged youth, including immigrant youth, who are out of school or in school on a part-time basis and who are unemployed or employed on a part-time basis. Youth up to 30 years of age are eligible for this service that is funded under federal-provincial agreements. For example, the Government of Canada–British Columbia Job Fund (GoC and GoBC 2014) supports initiatives under Youth Employment Connect or other titles that provide paid training and job placements in retail, food, and other sectors by offering wage subsidies to employers. Another initiative funded by the Fund is training/coaching for self-employment and business start-up, including importing and exporting, that is offered by the Vancouver-based United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society (2018a, 2018b). A corresponding federal-provincial agreement in Ontario (GoC and GoO 2014) supports Youth Job Connection (YJC) initiatives, including YJC–Summer and Youth Job Link. Similarly, agreements with Alberta, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Saskatchewan have spawned employability skills training, job placement, and self-employment initiatives in various sectors and industries.

We do not know the extent to which immigrant youth take up the employment services funded under these federal–provincial agreements. However, given their practical training and paid job placement components, these services should be expanded and, since they are usually generic, be more inclusive of immigrant youth.

Seniors. Unlike women and youth, older adults and seniors who are immigrants are largely absent in employment-related settlement services. In fact, our survey of the settlement service landscape has not located any specific service targeting the labour market participation of immigrant seniors, recent and long-term alike. Life cycle has something to do with this service gap. Another reason is the definition and prioritization of the “working population” by settlement policy and programming at all levels of government.

Given the high proportion of racialized Canadians who are vulnerable to poverty and low income, removing the residency requirement for Old Age Security uptake would better ensure that these groups have sufficient resources to escape poverty (Curtis et al. 2017). Curtis et al. also see Canada’s public pension system as a social right which should, by definition, be available to all citizens regardless of residency, official language knowledge, or racialized minority status.

2.3 Education and Language Training

2.3.1 Outcomes

Knowledge of English or French is both a main indicator of successful settlement and a key determinant of other immigrant outcomes, particularly labour market performance, in Canada. It is thus important to broadly look at the variation in official language proficiency within and across our three groups to get a better sense of their overall settlement performance.

Women. Generally, immigrant women arrive in Canada with lower official language skills than men. Adamuti-Trache (2012)'s analysis of Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada data showed that about two-thirds of newly arrived immigrants had high level official language skills and that women made up 68% of those arriving with poor language skills. Dependent economic class applicants, family class immigrants, and refugees are the most likely to have poor language skills, reflecting the fact that proficiency in official languages is one of the selection criteria for principal economic class immigrants. Women were also found to have fewer opportunities to develop language skills via workplace use of language (Adamuti-Trache 2012).

Research indicates that low official language proficiency can be a significant barrier to socio-economic integration and general well-being for immigrant women and their families (Kilbride and Ali 2010). Language skills are vital for employment (Adamuti-Trache et al. 2013). Women who arrive with low language skills and need to find work right away may find themselves stuck in low-paying, low-skilled jobs since they have limited opportunities to attend language classes or improve language skills (Bonnycastle 2017; Choi et al. 2014). Language proficiency is also crucial to women's ability to advocate for themselves and their children within the health care and education systems (Kilbride and Ali 2010). Low language proficiency exacerbates the vulnerability of certain groups of immigrant women who are at greater risk of abuse, such as sponsored spouses (Merali 2009) and migrant sex workers (Bungay et al. 2012; Goldenberg et al. 2017). Finally, language skills are an important aspect of building social networks and can facilitate immigrant women's social and political participation (Kilbride and Ali 2010).

Youth. Reaffirming the thinking of so many immigrant families, research shows that immigrant youth generally have a positive experience in the school system. Immigrant youth are more likely to complete high school than non-immigrant youth (Abada, Hou, and Ram 2008). They are 19.3% more likely to attend university than their Canadian-born counterparts, with the corresponding advantage for second-generation youth being 16.6% (Finnie and Mueller 2008:11). At the same time, however, immigrant youth's school performance varies by parental education and settlement experience, race, country or region of origin, gender.

A significant body of research reveals that educational outcomes for immigrant youth have a lot to do with their parents' educational attainment, inclusion in or exclusion from the labour market, and involvement (Abada and Tenkorang 2009a; Anisef et al. 2010; Hamilton et al. 2011; Kayaalp 2014; Li 2010; Rousseau et al. 2009; Taylor and Krahn 2013). Downward social mobility appears to be especially relevant to immigrant youth's academic development (Taylor and Krahn 2013). The relationship between immigrant youth's academic performance and their parents' experiences in the labour market underscores the importance of the family's economic and emotional stability in the overall educational development and labour market attachment and success of immigrant youth. It also points to the importance of the family as a unit of analysis in examining youth.

Immigrant youth's school performance also varies by country or region of origin, which can be a proxy for race (Anisef et al. 2010; Finnie and Mueller 2009; Hamilton et al. 2011; Odo, D'Silva, and Gunderson 2012; Wilkinson et al. 2012). Immigrant youth self-identified as Black are 25% less likely than non-visible minority Canadians to be in university (Abada and Tenkorang 2009a:195). The educational disadvantage of self-identified Black immigrant youth has been linked to a low degree of trustful relations with networks that could provide them with valuable sources of educational support and information. In contrast, with a high level of parental support and involvement, Asian immigrant youth have higher probabilities of obtaining a university education than do non-visible minority Canadians (Abada and Tenkorang 2009a). A study on recent Chinese immigrant youth shows that highly educated parents often cannot find professional employment in Canada and, instead, dedicate themselves fully to their children's education, providing direct academic instruction at home in areas such as math, physics, chemistry, and computer programming (Li 2009:488–9).

There are notable gender differences in educational attainment as immigrant girls tend to report higher academic achievement and attachment to school than immigrant boys (Abada and Tenkorang 2009b; Anisef et al. 2010; Odo, D'Silva, and Gunderson 2012). Additionally, a higher proportion of immigrant females than males obtain university degrees but this also reflects the more general Canadian pattern (Abada and Tenkorang 2009b:590). Similarly, there are subtle differences in academic performance between first- and second- generation immigrant youth (Kayaalp 2014, 2016; Anisef et al. 2010; Odo D'Silva, and Gunderson 2012; Finnie and Mueller 2009) but both have high levels of educational attainment (AMSSA 2016).

Seniors. Lack of fluency in English or French upon arrival and lack of opportunities for learning either official language within first five years of landing mar newcomer seniors' settlement experience (Kilbride et al. 2008; Kilbride et al. 2010). In British Columbia, for example, more than 50% of newcomer seniors arriving between 2006 and 2009 reported no official language ability (AMSSA 2017). Lack of English or French proficiency leads to social isolation, and over-reliance on family members for translation and transportation (Bauer 2013). As family caregivers, senior women cannot meet their families' needs without English or French proficiency. Nor can they attend language

classes when they are responsible for child care. Seniors consider language programs geographically inaccessible, intimidating, impractical, and ill-suited to their daily needs. They want more opportunities for conversational practice in and out of the classroom. Some seniors also want classes to cover more topics of interest to them, such as developing soft skills (Derwing and Waugh 2012; Murphy 2010).

2.3.2 Services

Compared with labour market participation, educational attainment and especially language acquisition are more responsive to public policy interventions. The following review of educational and language training services concerning immigrant women, youth, and seniors attest to that, although their precise impact can never be measured.

Women. Most language services targeting immigrant women offer general/conversational English instruction with a view to facilitating their daily lives. Some of this instruction, which usually takes place in such settings as conversation circles or clubs and support groups, is directed to refugee women in a regular classroom setting and with child care and transportation support (e.g., “Refugee English as Additional Language” offered by the Pacific Immigrant Resources Society [2018] in Vancouver). In addition, there are programs that address difficulties faced by immigrant women in accessing the regular Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) classes based on the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB). For example, since 1993, the Centre for Education & Training (CET) based in Mississauga, Ontario, has been delivering the LINC Home Study program based on distance (online, telephone, and correspondence) education to women and other immigrant groups facing barriers to in-person training for reasons of child care, elderly care, disability, irregular work, and geographic distance. Women constitute approximately 70% of program clients in Ontario and 59% in the rest of English Canada (CET 2018). However, as the program is funded by IRCC, immigration status remains as a barrier to accessing this service. Another program that offers language instruction to those who cannot attend regular LINC classes for reasons of health, disability, child care, and immobility is “EAL [English as an Additional Language] Outreach” by the Halifax-based Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia (2018a). The home-based program is delivered by LINC instructors on a one-on-one basis and bridges learners to regular LINC classes when the initial barriers to access are removed.

One program that combines education, literacy, and language training services for women is the Multicultural HIPPY (Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters) Program. Launched in 2000, the program serves mainly newcomer and low-income mothers with young (three to five years old) children who have low literacy and face social isolation, by helping them prepare their children for school, improve their literacy and English language skills, and reduce social isolation. At the heart of program delivery are home visitors who, as former users of the service themselves, visit families to engage them in structured, curricular activities over a 30-week period. Funded by IRCC and local agencies, the program is currently coordinated by the Vancouver-based Mothers Matter Centre (MMC) and delivered in partnership with immigrant and

community service organizations in 17 locations across six provinces. Since its inception, the program has served about 10,000 families (MMC 2016). Calgary Immigrant Women's Association (2018a) has a similar program called "Pebbles in the Sand" that offers literacy and English language training with transportation, child care, and first language support.

Women-specific language training services geared to labour market participation and workplace are few and far between. One example may be the Language and Skills Training Program offered the Women's Enterprise Skills Training of Windsor (2018). It provides language training as part of broader personal and professional development.

Youth. For in-school newcomer youth, afterschool programs and summer camps, along with homework and tutoring clubs, abound across the country. A more structured educational service is provided by mentorship programs that often utilize former newcomer youth as peer mentors. Some of these programs target refugee youth, as in the case of the "Peel Good Start Refugee Youth Project" by Brampton Multicultural Community Centre (2018), and ethno-specific youth, as in the cases of the "Student Education Attainment Program" for youth of Somali descent (by Toronto-based CultureLink [2018]), the "Immigrant Youth Replanting Roots" project for Karen, Syrian, and Iraqi youth (by Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers [2018]), and the "On Your Mark" program for Portuguese and Spanish speaking youth struggling with school (by Toronto's Working Women Community Centre [2018]). A third group of programs provide content-specific services such as remediation language classes offered by ISANS (2018b) for refugee young adults to help them get their high school equivalency and the placement (fieldwork) opportunities by the Centre for Immigrant and Community Services (2018) in Toronto for social work and social services students, immigrant and Canadian-born alike.

A fourth group of programs cater to the information, orientation, and general settlement needs of newcomer students. The "Settlement Workers in Schools" (SWIS) program, with the name changing slightly from province to province, stands out not just in its national scope but also in its holistic approach to education. Originating from the "Multicultural Liaison Officer" program of Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization (2018) launched in 1991, SWIS later expanded across Canada—first in Ontario and then in other provinces—with funding from Citizenship and Immigration Canada, IRCC's predecessor. It is an outreach partnership between immigrant service providers, local school boards, and the federal government to provide multilingual support to newcomer students and their families in their orientation and adaptation to the school system and the broader community. In 2016–2017, 524 SWIS workers were placed in 2,347 schools across Canada (IRCC 2017c:4–5). Recently, the Greater Toronto Area has seen the reorganization of SWIS program delivery under the "Settlement and Education Partnerships," including several geographic clusters.

International students who are missing from federal service programming are served intermittently at the provincial level. One exemplary service piloted in Ontario is the "International Student Connect" project launched with provincial funding in 2014.

Coordinated by COSTI Immigrant Services, the project is a province-wide partnership between 15 immigrant-serving organizations and 20 universities and colleges to provide online, in-group, and one-on-one information, orientation, and general settlement services in both official languages to international post-secondary students and their families (COSTI 2018a).

Seniors. As in the case of women, most language services that are available for seniors take the form of (mainly English) conversation circles to help them with daily life. There are also literacy classes on such topics as health and computers for seniors. Although they are not senior-specific, the two programs that were mentioned in relation to women above, LINC Home Study (CET 2018) and EAL Outreach (ISANS 2018a), provide structured language training via distance and home-based education, respectively, to seniors along with other groups who cannot attend regular LINC classes for various reasons. However, we do not know the extent to which seniors take up these services. One senior-specific program that needs to be highlighted is the “Senior Immigrant Settlement Services” offered by the Winnipeg-based A&O: Support Services for Older Adults since 2013. Funded by IRCC, the program delivers CLB-based language training along with group orientation to life in Canada and English conversation circles for newcomers aged 55 years and over (A&O 2018).

2.4 Health, Mental Health, and Well-Being

2.4.1 Outcomes

The “healthy immigrant effect” that newcomers arrive in Canada generally healthier than the native-born population but suffer deteriorating health over time does not capture the whole truth. As the following review shows, the immigrant experience with health, mental health, and well-being varies by age, gender, migration status, and other “social determinants.”

Women. Several studies on population health indicate that immigrant women have higher rates of poor health and chronic mental health problems compared with non-immigrant women in Canada (Alvi et al. 2012). A large body of the mental health literature points to high rates of prenatal and postpartum depression among immigrant women. New immigrant mothers have higher rates of depressive symptoms (Dennis, Merry, and Gagnon 2017) and are at a greater risk for health concerns despite having higher education than non-immigrant women (Gagnon et al. 2013). Health research also illustrates the negative impact of intersecting structural inequalities related to gendered migration patterns, economic marginalization, and racial discrimination on immigrant women’s health and well-being (Goldenberg et al. 2017). Emerging research on immigrant pathways into Canada identifies migration status as the “single most important factor affecting both an individual’s ability to seek out healthcare and her experiences when trying to access healthcare” (Campbell et al. 2014:165).

Violence and abuse against women can be thought of as a health and mental health issue. National data suggest that immigrant women experience rates of abuse similar to or slightly lower than those of Canadian-born women (Daoud et al. 2012; Du Mont and Forte 2012). However, smaller-scale qualitative studies indicate higher rates of abuse among refugee women. In a study of pregnant women (Mehta and Gagnon 2016), 81% of migrant women who reported abuse during pregnancy were asylum seekers who left their country of origin to escape abuse, more than half of whom had been abused by their partners. Women with precarious immigration status and immigrants who are sponsored by their spouses are particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence but are less likely to access support services. Vulnerability to abuse is linked to pre- and post-migration stress resulting from war trauma and forced migration, as well as from settlement challenges that contribute to family conflict. Women with precarious migration status and women who are sponsored by their spouses or children are particularly vulnerable to violence and are less likely to access support services.

Barriers to accessing and seeking help include lack of information about available services, low language proficiency, social isolation, and distrust of health practitioners (Higginbottom et al. 2016; Khanlou et al. 2017). Additional factors such as stigma and shame, rigid gender roles, and concern for child's well-being loom large in cases of abuse. In overcoming these barriers, the literature highlights social support as a key component (Guruge et al. 2010; Logie et al. 2016).

Youth. Immigrant youth tend to have cultural practices that help them avoid certain health risks such as eating an unhealthy diet (AMSSA 2016) and to smoke less than Canadian-born youth (Stoll 2008) while, at the same time, being more engaged in sports activities (Edge 2014). Moreover, immigrant youth generally are resilient and have more self-esteem than their Canadian-born counterparts. Active and healthy living and positive self-esteem may assist in countering some of the more negative health and mental health issues that immigrant youth confront. Nevertheless, the literature also highlights the high levels of stress and other mental health complications that immigrant youth experience.

Parental unemployment/underemployment and lack of knowledge of the Canadian health system are part of the social determinants of immigrant youth health. Research indicates that newcomer youth tend to suffer from stress resulting from the barriers their parents face in entering the Canadian labour market (Shakya, Khanlou, and Gonsalves 2010; George, Bassani, and Armstrong 2012). For example, a study with 1,225 Southeast Asian immigrant youth in British Columbia shows that youth with recent immigrant status have been associated with five times higher odds of extreme despair than average and that extreme despair is generally higher among newcomer youth (Hilario et al. 2014:1126). The same study also shows that, among young immigrant men, family connectedness is the only significant protective factor against extreme stress. However, immigrant parents have difficulty effectively advocating for their children to attain the health services they may need (Lindsay et al. 2012). Parents' socio-economic standing is likely more important as a determinant of immigrant youth

health than the case with non-immigrant youth (Barazzino 2010; Wahi et al. 2014). Language barriers have been identified as one of the biggest challenges for immigrant parents to learn about the health system in Canada (Shakya, Khanlou, and Gonsalves 2010:99).

Seniors. The health status of newcomer seniors is adversely affected by unmet immigration expectations, chronic low economic conditions, language difficulties, family conflicts, abuse, low levels of social support and integration, and lack of appropriate settlement services that address their health care needs (Alvi and Zaidi 2017; Hyman 2007; Kilbride et al. 2011; Matsuoka et al. 2013). Most newcomer seniors are eligible for services available to the mainstream senior population in Canada. As will be seen below, these programs may include food and nutrition programs (e.g., meals on wheels), health and wellness (e.g., adult day care programs), caregiving (e.g., respite care), and mental health (e.g., elder abuse counselling).

Yet immigrant seniors face many barriers to accessing health and mental health services (Stewart et al. 2011; Wood and Newbold 2012). Most newcomer seniors are economically insecure and financially dependent on their children, and cannot consequently afford programs that are not covered by the provincial health plan. Nor do they have access to reliable and affordable transportation to take them to health appointments and community services. Some programs offered by settlement agencies may require a small fee. Additional barriers include a shortage of culturally sensitive health care programs and of health care providers who can speak the same language as the newcomers.

2.4.2 Services

Settlement services in their narrow sense do not generally cover physical and mental health, leaving it to the federally funded but provincially administered mainstream service system. Stepping in to fill this gap, the provinces, municipalities, and community agencies such as United Ways play a large role in funding services specific to immigrants. Although their success may be limited in light of the picture above, they make a positive contribution to the immigrant experience in ways yet to be studied.

Women. Three main service categories can be distinguished for immigrant women. First, as part of the “soft programming” mentioned previously, there are many general and ethnicity- or region-specific support groups and circles that aim to help women cope with mental health issues resulting from country of origin conditions and social isolation experienced in Canada. The second category of services are those targeting pregnant women and women with young children to help them with health and mental health issues, including nutrition, stress, and depression. For example, Rexdale Women’s Centre (2018a, 2018b) in Etobicoke (Ontario) offers prenatal and postnatal nutrition services for expectant and new mothers. Initiatives aiming to address and/or deal with problems of family/domestic violence and abuse, violence against women in particular (including forced marriage), are the largest category of services specific to newcomer women that we came across. Outreach, online/phone help, group support, one-on-one

counselling for preventive and healing purposes, sheltering, and referral to and help with law enforcement and legal services are some of the features that can be seen in the collective stock of these initiatives. Family Service Toronto (2018)'s "Healthy Families. Healthy Communities" program may be an exemplary practice in this category. It trains Canadians and long-standing immigrants from Iranian, Afghan, Somali, and Tamil communities as peer leaders and community facilitators in supporting newcomer women (along with parents, seniors, and youth) from these communities to recognize and address abuse and violence within their family and community. The issue of women's trafficking can be considered as part of violence against women. Among the few programs that exist on the issue across the country, the Mennonite New Life Centre of Toronto (2018)'s Counter Human Trafficking Program may be a promising practice with its reintegration/rehabilitation and sheltering services for individuals experiencing trafficking in Canada, which are provided in partnership with Aurora House. While these initiatives abound, however, we do not know their impact on the incidence or remediation of violence against women.

Youth. Immigrant youth are not as visible in this service area as women and, as will be seen below, seniors. Nevertheless, there are general and ethno-specific support groups and circles across the country that aim to help youth cope with mental health issues caused by war and conflict in countries of origin, and post-immigration stressors such as intergenerational conflict, peer pressure, discrimination, gender-based violence, and social isolation.

Seniors. Older adults and seniors in general figure prominently in health and mental health services. Again, this makes sense in light of life cycle. The provinces, along with community-based agencies and Employment and Social Development Canada's New Horizons for Seniors Program, are the main funders as health care is a provincial responsibility under Canadian federalism.

Group services for seniors in this area take on many loose forms such as support groups, circles, clubs, and cafes that organize information and orientation sessions, physical (fitness and fall prevention) activities, and socializing activities promoting mental health and alleviating social isolation. However, there are also group services that are more focused and that cater to more specific needs. Four adult and senior day programs from the Greater Toronto Area can be given as examples. COSTI Immigrant Services' (2108b) Seniors Day Program offers care support and therapeutic activities to Italian-speaking elderly with early stages of dementia and/or mild form of Alzheimer's disease. Similarly, WoodGreen Community Services' (2018) Adult Day Program provides supervised social, recreational activities to English- and Chinese-speaking seniors who are frail or have dementia. St. Stephen's Community House (2018)'s Multicultural Adult Day Service does the same for seniors speaking English, Chinese, and Portuguese who cannot attend regular community activities because of frailty and mild dementia. Launched as an informal wellness program for isolated immigrant seniors, Human Endeavour (2018)'s Healthy Outcomes of Preventive Engagements has added adult day program (for South Asian and other ethno-cultural frail seniors with cognitive, physical, and communicative impairments) and many other critical services to

seniors in York Region. Day programs such as these usually complement external funding with a fee for service.

Individual services can be divided into sub-categories in terms of location of delivery. Those that are delivered at service provider sites include case management (supportive counselling) and referral to other, direct services. Some of the most innovative programs are delivered at seniors' homes and/or within their communities. Generally relying on tutoring, these programs are informed by the themes of senior caregiver support, elder abuse prevention, healthy/active aging, and aging at home. What follows are a few exemplary practices:

Newcomer Connections for Senior Caregivers: Funded by the New Horizons for Seniors Program and implemented by the North York Community House (2017) in partnership with several agencies since 2015, the initiative aims to identify, engage, and support caregiving seniors in northwest Toronto who are at a high risk of social isolation, by connecting them to peer mentors and youth volunteers to provide information, support, and direct services in the caregivers' first languages both in the community and at home.

Post Discharge Project: Funded by the Ontario Trillium Foundation and delivered by Toronto's Polycultural Immigrant & Community Services (2018) since 2016, the project promotes the physical, mental, emotional, and social well-being of seniors and marginalized individuals (on account of immigration or income status) after discharge from hospital, by arranging home visits and connecting them to community resources.

Diverse Seniors Support Services: Funded by the Ontario government (via the Champlain Local Health Integration Network) and delivered by Jewish Family Services of Ottawa (2018) in partnership with other local agencies serving immigrants, this service is part of the region's "Aging at Home" strategy that aims to help the elderly population stay longer and healthier in their own homes. It ensures that diverse seniors receive help with daily living, offers opportunities for socialization and recreation, and provides culturally and linguistically appropriate health information and support to seniors and caregivers.

Better at Home: Funded by the British Columbia government, managed by United Way of the Lower Mainland (2016–2017:6), and delivered by local non-profit organizations since 2013, Better at Home is a group of 67 programs across the province that helps seniors with simple day-to-day tasks so that they can continue to live independently in their own homes and remain connected to their communities. To date, over 20,000 seniors have enrolled in the 67 local programs in both urban and rural communities.

Generic programs such as British Columbia's Stay at Home serve immigrant seniors as well. However, as in other areas, we do not know the take-up numbers or rates of these programs for immigrants.

2.5 Social and Civic Participation

2.5.1 Outcomes

Social and civic participation does not lend itself easily to comparisons between immigrant and Canadian-born populations except for voting for and representation in political office, where immigrants lag behind the native-born. At the local community level, immigrants may have a higher level of activism than the general population but that carries within itself variations by usual socio-demographic factors.

Women. Research on immigrant women's social and civic participation is limited. An analysis of the 2013 General Social Survey on voting behaviour and participation in organizations and associations suggests that, overall, immigrant women are somewhat less politically involved than Canadian-born women (Hudon 2015). For instance, 55% of recent immigrant women, and 61% of immigrant women as a group, participated in an organization or association, compared with 67% of Canadian-born women. In addition, among eligible voters, immigrant women were less likely to have voted in the latest municipal, provincial, or federal elections than Canadian-born women.

Feminist political science highlights that women's political activity may often be at the local level and may, therefore, be invisible within traditional social science research focusing on the legislative and electoral sphere. Although political participation is relatively low among immigrant women in general, it increases among those who have been in Canada for more than 10 years. Higher income was found to be associated with increased political incorporation, and immigrant women who do not speak English or French were less likely to be politically active although not any less likely to vote (Gidengil and Stolle 2009). O'Neill, Gidengil, and Young (2012) found lower political participation for racialized women regardless of immigration status; visible minority status had a larger impact than immigrant status on conventional political activity such as voting and being a member of a political party.

Lower civic participation among immigrant women is linked to a variety of settlement factors. Immigrant women often experience a loss of their social networks after migration (Guruge et al. 2015). Social isolation is a clear barrier to political incorporation (Gidengil and Stolle 2009) as strong social networks promote political participation and knowledge about government processes and services, regardless of whether networks are within one's own ethnic community or within the greater Canadian community. Gender inequality in country of origin may also be a factor in limiting immigrant women's political participation in Canada. Socio-economic and structural characteristics are important predictors of political participation, with higher income, education, and occupational status being associated with higher levels of political participation (Gidengil and Stolle 2009; Harell 2017; O'Neill, Gidengil, and Young 2012).

Youth. Immigrant youth is frequently engaged in volunteering, particularly volunteering in hospitals with children, at local events, and via their religious institutions (Handy and Greenspan 2009; Yan, Lauer, and Chan 2012; Sarnia-Lambton LIP 2013). Volunteering can provide opportunities to develop skills, build social capital, and provide valuable Canadian work experience.

“Radicalization,” along with gang membership, among first- and second-generation youth is the subject of an emerging literature. The number of newcomer youth involved in gangs is comparatively small but pre-migration trauma and low household income constitute risk factors that can lead some youth to gang involvement and other “anti-social” behaviour (Hamilton, Noh, and Adlaf 2009; Rossiter and Rossiter 2009; Sersli, Salazar, and Lozano 2010; Van Ngo et al. 2017). Youth who face isolation, exclusion, and discrimination are especially vulnerable to gang recruitment (Rossiter and Rossiter 2009; Rummens and Dei 2010; Sersli, Salazar, and Lozano 2010). Of note is a recent increase in the number of publications on radicalization theories using typologies of the so-called lone wolf threat, including radicalized immigrant youth (Silva 2018). With governmental counter-radicalization strategies increasingly focusing on “evidence-based” research, there is a tendency to connect Islamic theology and socio-cultural psychological characteristics with youth radicalization. Immigrant youth from Muslim-majority countries suffer the consequences.

Some refugee youth from the Middle East are particularly vulnerable to marginalization. For example, a literature review on Syrian refugee youth in Toronto quotes that LGBTQ youth face discrimination both within the Syrian community and outside of it (City of Toronto 2016:16–17). Cultural change and adaptation are ongoing issues within the immigrant community with no sufficient programming responding to them.

Seniors. Immigrant seniors experience social isolation due to location and lack of awareness of available community programs. Unaffordable and inaccessible transportation impedes their participation in community programs. Living in small towns or rural areas can add to their social isolation. On the positive side, seniors participate in the community by volunteering in various capacities. Faith institutions and non-governmental ethnic organizations create a sense of community and help prevent social isolation. As well, efforts are made to reduce ageism in various cities (Age-Friendly Brandon 2012; Age-Friendly Winnipeg 2015; City of Toronto 2012; Gallagher, Menec, and Keefe 2006; Hamilton Immigration Partnership Council 2010; Novek et al. 2013; Premier’s Panel on Seniors 2012).

2.5.2 Services

For all three groups, we have come across a multitude of generic, loosely structured programs, services, and projects across the country under this service category. Yet there are also initiatives, though far fewer in number, that have a specific focus.

Women. The most common type of services in social and civic participation for immigrant women are support groups where they meet other immigrant women of the

same or different linguistic, ethnic, or religious backgrounds to network and engage in a variety of socializing activities. Although variably named, these groups are all organized with a view to creating a space for self-expression and community connection, encouraging volunteerism, and thus reducing social isolation. However, some of the support groups have a clear focus in achieving these goals. For example, the Immigrant Services Society of BC (2018)'s Immigrant Women's Peer Support Program trains immigrant and refugee women to become leaders and role models in their communities. Graduates of the program go on to facilitate peer support groups with the assistance of staff. Concerning civic engagement in particular, our survey found only one program, which is Calgary Immigrant Women's Association (2018b)'s Civic Engagement for Immigrant Women Program offering civic educational sessions, including an overview of the Canadian government structure, volunteer training, and information on voting and other civic duties in Canada.

Personal and professional development can be seen as a precondition of social and civic participation. In fact, the Canadian service landscape features many services aiming to meet the personal and professional development needs of women and youth in particular. The common themes of these services include building self-esteem, positive identity, self-confidence, "life skills," and leadership skills; setting and achieving personal goals; volunteering; empowerment; and social and environmental activism. Below are some of the practices that stand out:

Building Bridges: Funded by United Way of the Lower Mainland, and delivered by the Pacific Immigrant Resources Society and Family Services of Greater Vancouver (2018) in partnership with the Options Community Services Society, this program provides classroom training and practicum placement to immigrant women with functional competency in English to become community leaders and cultural ambassadors in their communities.

Project Footprint: This Calgary Immigrant Women's Association (2018c) project, funded by the Canadian Women's Foundation, aims to empower immigrant girls via themed activities related to protecting the environment, preserving the eco-system, and engaging in the wilderness, which also help build self-confidence and leadership skills.

Go Green Go Girls Game On! Funded by the Ontario government and corporate donors, and offered by the Go Green Youth Centre (2018) in Toronto, the program tackles barriers that prevent women and girls from South Asian communities from participating in sports and other recreational/leadership activities.

Youth. Immigrant youth, more so than immigrant women, are the subject of generic, loosely structured programs aiming to facilitate social and civic participation. These programs take on the forms of conversation circles or clubs, friendship groups, after-school and other networking events, sports and recreational activities, summer camps, and community engagement opportunities. The themes of personal and professional development programs for immigrant youth are very similar to those of women. The fact that provinces such as British Columbia and Ontario require a certain number of hours of community engagement or involvement activities for graduation from high school

provides an added incentive for the proliferation of such programs and for their uptake by youth. What follows are two examples from this services group:

Newcomer Youth Popular Theatre Program: Since 2006 and with support from various community funders, the Vancouver-based Multilingual Orientation Service Association for Immigrant Communities (MOSAIC 2018; see also McCreary Centre Society 2013) has been delivering this program for immigrant and refugee youth, ages 14 to 19 years, by using participatory theatre to explore participants' life experiences, find possible solutions to challenges, and connect with one another. Program goals for participants are to develop a greater sense of empowerment and self-confidence by sharing their stories with others and having their voices heard; to increase their peer support and social networks; to enhance their sense of community connectedness; and to contribute to improvements in skills, including problem-solving and teamwork.

The Perspectives Project: Launched in 2014 with funding from the Ontario government and in partnership with the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, this North York Community House (2016) project features a team of 12 LGBTQ++ and disability identified and allied peer leaders who share their "digital" stories with other newcomer youth and service providers in a conversation circle. Participants are quoted to have a reduced sense of isolation and an enhanced feeling of belonging and community.

An emerging service group for immigrant and minority youth in this area are initiatives to educate them about, and turn them away from, the "wrong" type of engagement such as gang membership and political radicalization. Usually these initiatives are funded by security branches of the federal and provincial governments, and involve local police departments and school boards. The service providers that are active in anti-gang and/or anti-radicalization education and training include: Calgary's Centre for Newcomers, Toronto's COSTI Immigrant Services, Vancouver's MOSAIC, Winnipeg's Newcomers Employment and Education Development Services, and Toronto's St. Stephen's Community House.

Seniors. Many of the women's support groups that promote social and civic participation also include senior immigrant women. In addition, immigrant service providers across the country organize similar support groups (circles, cafés, and clubs) that are specifically for older adults and seniors. There are far fewer targeted seniors' programs and services in this area. Examples include:

Connecting Elders from Ethno-Cultural Communities: With funding from IRCC and the Family and Community Support Services, and in partnership with Calgary Family Services, ActionDignity (2018) trains and supports the work of elder brokers who, as ethno-cultural community members, have committed to making connections among older adults, and between them and Calgary's Older Adult Services.

Seniors Active in Their Communities Project: Funded by the federal New Horizons for Seniors Program, this project by the Economic and Social Council of Ottawa–Carleton (2018) provides seniors an opportunity to share moral and social values as well as their cultural experiences and skills with youth in the community. In so doing, it fosters intergenerational relationships.

Intergenerational Curriculum Program: This pilot project by elementary schools and the York Care Centre in Fredericton, New Brunswick, bridges seniors and young children in order to encourage intergenerational interaction. It allows both groups to learn from one another and create invaluable experiences (Premier's Panel on Seniors 2012).

3. CONCLUSION

3.1 Knowledge and Service Gaps

The foregoing review, coupled with its thematic counterparts, points to numerous gaps in research on, and services for, our three immigrant groups. Without an international perspective, however, one could easily exaggerate these gaps and overlook how rich and diverse the Canadian settlement research and service landscape is. Since the launch of the national Metropolis project in the mid-1990s, Canadian research on migration and settlement has evolved into a truly multidisciplinary scholarship covering all aspects of migrant life. Likewise, since its beginnings in the mid-1970s, the national settlement program has come a long way to be a point of reference for many countries of immigration in the Western world. We hope that our portrayal and sampling of settlement services specific to women, youth, and seniors indicate that level of development.

With this proviso, we can highlight some of the research and service gaps that are identified by thematic reviews. There are three major gaps in research on all three groups. The first and, from the perspective of this project, most glaring gap is the paucity of studies concerning the settlement outcomes-services connection. While research proliferates on substantive aspects of settlement, it does not say much on the impact of services on immigrant outcomes. This should be a concern to both researchers and practitioners since public investment in newcomer settlement is considerable and sustained. Secondly, while there is a fair amount of quantitative literature on the use and non-use of immigrant-specific organized services, we do not know much about the use and non-use by newcomers of generically organized services, let alone about their impact on settlement outcomes. A third gap is the lack of attention to immigrant successes and contributions to Canadian life in different areas and at different levels ranging from neighbourhoods to the “imagined community” of Canada. As the group-specific reports emphasize, the “problem-centric” focus of Canadian migration scholarship does not pay sufficient attention to what women, youth, and seniors bring to Canada in contribution and how they help themselves and their families succeed.

There are also research gaps specific to each group. For women, the current research does not address the shift towards a two-step immigration process, where many new immigrants first arrive in Canada on a temporary work or study permit. What are the settlement needs of immigrant women who live in Canada on a temporary permit prior to becoming a permanent resident? Also, there is limited research with LGBTQ populations, including the interplay of immigrant settlement with intersecting forms of discrimination. The literature is thin on unemployment and underemployment among

out-of-school immigrant and refugee youth, as well as on their employment and self-employment strategies. Also, we do not have much information on newcomer youth experiences in rural Canada, small urban centres, and the more outlying regions of the country. As detailed in the related group-specific report, newcomer seniors have a set of difficulties that are distinct from those of both mainstream older Canadians and long-term immigrant seniors. Yet these issues are not sufficiently addressed in the research literature. The paucity of research on different income sources and strategies (let alone employment and self-employment strategies) used by newcomer older adults and seniors is especially concerning in the context of a generally aging population.

Three major service gaps pertaining to all three groups can be highlighted. First, stringent eligibility rules for federally funded services exclude large swaths of the immigrant population such as citizens by acquisition and non-permanent resident migrants, including refugee claimants, most temporary workers, international students, and people without status. Services funded by the provinces, municipalities, and community agencies have more flexible eligibility rules but are far from filling this gap. Second, rooted in the Euro-centric “social gospel” tradition, Canadian settlement services have long been “infantilizing” immigrants and have yet to fully adapt to the increasing racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural diversity of newcomer populations. Third, although research highlights the importance of family as a unit of analysis for settlement outcomes and although there is a greater recognition of family in service conception and programming, settlement services are still very much organized on the premise of individual outputs and outcomes.

Thematic reports identify numerous service gaps concerning their groups of interest. For women and seniors, language training services are particularly hard to access for reasons of family responsibilities, child care, pressure to work, and lack of transportation. The federal Care for Newcomer Children support service for attendants of language classes is a good start but other access barriers remain. The absence of newcomer older adults and seniors in immigrant-specific employment services is a glaring gap considering the fact that they do not have government income support, either. Unaffordability may be an issue for them as well, since there is usually a fee associated with day programs. For youth dealing with instability at home, research highlights the need for immigrant family-inclusive educational and health services that address their special circumstances.

3.2 Future Research and Service Programming

Thematic reports put forward a series of research, policy, and service recommendations for their demographic groups. They are not necessarily along the lines of “more research and more funding” in general. What follows are some of the high-level recommendations that apply to the three groups together or individually.

3.2.1 Research

- Conduct both large-scale, quantitative and in-depth, grounded studies into connections between settlement outcomes and immigrant-specific services.
- Study how newcomers complement immigrant-specific organized services with informal and voluntary help channels, on the one hand, and generic public services, on the other, or skip the former altogether in favour of one or both of the latter.
- With existing research sufficiently documenting what prevents newcomers from successfully settling in Canada, pay closer attention to how they overcome what stands in their way, and prosper socially and economically.

3.2.2 Policy

- Build into policy a holistic understanding of immigration and settlement that takes families, not individuals, as the unit of analysis and practice.
- Create a pathway to permanent residence and citizenship for all classes of temporary migrants.
- Relax eligibility requirements for federally funded settlement services to allow temporary migrants and recent citizens access.
- Relax the 10-year residency requirement for immigrant seniors to be eligible for Old Age Security.

3.2.3 Service

- Adopt a family-centred approach when conceiving, designing, and delivering settlement services.
 - Pilot employment and self-employment programs for immigrant seniors and expand existing ones, especially those with occupation-specific job placements, for immigrant women and youth.
 - Make language training more accessible and rewarding for immigrant women and seniors by expanding onsite child care, providing transportation subsidies, reaching out to rural communities, organizing flexible class schedules and locations, experimenting with new methods of delivery, and customizing content to diverse needs.
 - In addition to in-school settlement workers, employ cultural brokers to mediate between newcomer students/families/institutions of different cultural backgrounds and facilitate service provision in a school setting.
 - Approach and deliver health and mental health services in a gender-, race-, and culture-sensitive framework.
 - Expand community-based activities, including volunteering, to reduce social isolation among, and increase social support for, all three groups of immigrants.
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