

“POSTERCHILD”: NOTIONS OF COMMUNITY AND INCLUSION IN A RURAL  
CITY

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## Abstract

This thesis presents how forms of neoliberal policy act upon notions of community and how official constructions do not necessarily reflect the sense of community felt by individuals. Research was performed in Brooks, Alberta, a rural city of approximately 13,600, which has experienced significant immigration to the area within the last 20 years. The focus of study was on migrant perspectives of “community”, in light of policies aimed at including migrants into the existing community. Through semi-formal interviews and ethnographic data this work reveals how notions of community and inclusion are intricate, complex, and at times competing amongst individuals in a rural community. This thesis attempts to contribute to existing research on small-scale and rural centers, and on concepts of community. Particularly in a rural center, such as the one in this study, “community” takes on a variety of meanings and is felt in a variety of ways. Municipal policy informed by neoliberal approaches may not necessarily begin to address the expansive ways in which community emerges in the city.

Keywords: community, policy, immigration, rural Canada, Brooks, Alberta

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Canada Day in the city of Brooks, Alberta, a rural city of 13,636 (Statistics Canada, 2011), is a day full of events throughout the municipality organized to bring citizens together to celebrate their nation. Events organized by the City of Brooks staff and local organizations include BBQs, games, music, and entertainment. A few days before Canada Day, I spoke with an individual about the city's and region's celebrations. She confided in me that she did not appreciate how the City of Brooks would at times utilize local African dance groups as their entertainment. She was worried because she would often take her two boys to the events and wondered if they would not understand their history. "What does this teach them about their *own* culture?" she asked, "This is about celebrating Canada. I want them to see some of *this* country's history, not someone else's." She had difficulties with the city's decision to have African dancers represent Canada, believing that there should be a specific imagery associated with "What is Canadian", rather than defining the nation in contrast to other nations, or rather abstract concepts, such as 'multicultural'.

In Canada, official multiculturalism is a citizenship regime or model, which involves a set of norms, policies and practices (Good, 2009). Multiculturalism is often misunderstood, although there are specific guidelines (see below). These misunderstandings lead to differing opinions on what a multicultural state means, and should look like. The city of Brooks has undergone significant changes over the past few years. From its beginnings as a rural farm community, to its current status as a diverse city, this vignette about the representation of "what is Canada" is relevant for the citizens

of Brooks, who are attempting to make sense of “their community”, as it undergoes changes in its demographics, landscape and scale, over a short period of time. In order to address the context of the city of Brooks, as it is currently, I will begin by presenting the history of Brooks.

This study will examine a municipal response to these challenges through the development of an official “Welcoming and Inclusive Community” plan in Brooks to consider how the municipal government intends to carry out this plan in an ethnically and culturally diverse rural setting. A key goal is to unearth the intricacies involved in creating a municipal policy intending to unite a diverse population. The creation and implementation of this type of policy, juxtaposed with the actual lived experience of the citizens this policy intends to act upon, will shed light on conceptions of community and community participation and how these meanings are not always shared. This research will examine how the experiences, goals, and priorities of migrants in a small-scale city are sites for production of various, potentially competing notions of history and community, inclusion and exclusion, and policy implementation. The ways in which individuals develop, reproduce, or are excluded from social interactions demonstrates how community policy may not be able to address divergent notions of belonging and commitment.

### **Brooks, Alberta: History and Context of Labour and Immigration**

Located along the TransCanada Highway, between larger centers, Calgary and Medicine Hat, Brooks, Alberta, is an irrigated “oasis” on the prairies of Southeastern Alberta. Extensive irrigation was developed in a region originally thought to be



unsuitable for crops and pasture. Beginning in 1902, the Canadian Pacific Railroad company was contracted to build a large aqueduct and irrigation system to develop the region. The Brooks Aqueduct, built in 1912-1914, serviced the region for over thirty years. Irrigation shifted away from above ground to canal systems, but the structure remains and is currently a historical site. Irrigation transformed the semi-arid land into a viable location for pasture and certain crops. From its beginnings, Brooks has been a service center for surrounding farming communities (which together with the city of Brooks make up the County of Newell) and for the oil and gas industry (Broadway, 2007).

Brooks can be defined as a rural center due to its geographical location. Brooks is positioned outside of the central, urban area, in that it is located away from the population concentration in Alberta - which begins South of Calgary, extending upwards to Edmonton (Statistics Canada, 2011). Brooks is also rural in its landscape and culture. Glenda Bonifacio, in her work on Migration, Identity, and Community of *Pinay* in Western Canada describes the scenery as “the big sky” open-space prairie, with “the vastness of open space dotted with small communities and huge tracts of land with rolled hay worked by machinery” (2013: 73). She found that many new arrivals to the area found the setting in sharp contrast to where they arrived from (2013).

In addition to geography and setting, rural also relates to a culture. Bonifacio found that prairie represents “a different way of life” based on farming and agribusiness, situated in the west and characterized by mountains, herds and cowboys” (2013: 73). Agricultural life has been prevalent in the Brooks area for many years, even after the

development and establishment of the oil and gas industry, which brought its own economic boom to the region. Rodeo culture is present in the area, with many of the small farm communities holding rodeo events. Brooks also holds a rodeo event, featuring a week of rodeo-related activities culminating in Rodeo Weekend held the first weekend in June. One of the longest running events held in Brooks is a pro rodeo organized by the Kinsmen Club of Brooks. The rodeo runs Friday and Saturday of “Rodeo Week”, which involves various activities, breakfasts, and decorating around the city in preparation for the weekend. Currently located a few minutes outside of the city, the rodeo grounds are typically bustling all weekend. The highest attendance usually occurs on the Friday night for Midnight Madness which is popular with youths and adolescents (the night involves pre-purchase wristbands that allow unlimited access to rides from 5pm until midnight). Rodeos, like this one, are fairly common to the rural municipalities of Southern Alberta (Newell Regional Tourism Association, n.d.).

The weekend is a fairly big event in the city and region. It is a yearly homage to Brooks’ agricultural roots, though the significance of this industry has diminished somewhat over the years (as will be examined later on). The rodeo is a once a year event; however, more quotidian Western imagery of the rodeo is reflected throughout the year in depictions of farmers and ranchers; cattle and hay bales; the Brooks aqueduct; and the city’s emblem, the Pheasant. Presented through banners on the street lights, on painted murals, and in official and tourist documents, these images are frequent reminders of the region’s cultural history.

Throughout much of its history, Brooks was relatively homogenous demographically, similar to most other Southern Albertan communities (Broadway, 2000: 39). The notion of relative homogeneity refers to the fact that most of the long-standing population are of European decent, with some Chinese, Japanese, Cambodian, and First Nations groups (Statistics Canada, 2006). While I will discuss my use of labelling more in-depth in Chapter 2, I will note briefly here that the long-standing residents, for the most part, represent what is referred to as “white settler society” (Abele and Stasiulis, 1989). As Abele and Stasiulis note, this term is useful as it draws attention to certain characteristics Canada shares with other colonies, but it is also problematic to the extent that it may lead analysts away from addressing questions of race and ethnicity (243). Long-standing residents will be referred to generally as settler residents to contrast them with newer immigrant populations. By use of this term, I hope to address the presence of “born-and-raised” sentiments, as well as the presence of visible and marked racial and ethnic differences between the white residents, and those who have recently immigrated.

Brooks’ population grew steadily since its establishment as a village in 1910, with no significant changes in demographics until around 1995, when it became a site for new immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2011). The city has experienced several changes over the past few years. In 2003, the local cattle industry dealt with the BSE crisis, which had lasting effects on the local economy. 2005 saw both positive and negative attention being brought to the community, as the municipality outgrew its status as a town, receiving city status, and the occurrence of a labour strike at Lakeside Packers. Lastly, the 2008

recession greatly impacted the oil and gas industry in the area. But the single greatest factor which has impacted the municipality the most has been the inflow of immigrants and refugees (City of Brooks, 2012). This factor has had the greatest effect on all aspects of the city, and has contributed to many of the challenges the city has faced.

Immigration has been a substantive process in Canada throughout its history. To get a sense of the immigration process on the local level in Brooks, I will briefly outline the recent history of immigration in Canada. Usha George (2006) provides a summary of Canada's Immigration and Refugee Policies throughout history, focusing on more recent changes. The first major policy on immigration in Canada was the Immigration Act of 1976 (which took effect in 1978). It was based on "non-discrimination, family reunification, humanitarian concern for refugees, and the promotion of Canada's social, economic, demographic and cultural goals" (CIC, 2010a; as cited in George, 2006). Due to the economic recession (in the 1980s) and the increase of asylum-seekers, George states that the act was amended in 1993, in accordance to population and labour market needs (2006: 355). This amendment introduced three classes of migrants: family class, refugees, and independent immigrants (business immigrants, skilled workers, and assisted relatives) (355). This change, found George, impacted the source location of immigrants to "non-traditional" (European) countries (2006: 355).

One of the more significant policies related to immigration, George (2006) outlines, is a part of the temporary foreign worker program: the live-in caregiver Program. In 1992, the live-in caregiver program was established from the foreign domestic program of 1979. This program placed conditions of admission on applicants as

well as on eligibility for landed status (in addition to the existing emphasis on self-sufficiency as the guideline for application for permanent residency, and the two-year time-frame for the program, as dictated in the 1970 policy). This program has brought many migrants to Canada, but has received a great deal of criticism (Stasiulis and Bakan, 1997; Bonifacio, 2009; 2013; George, 2006).

The most recent major change, in 2002, was Bill C-11: The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. This act meant to replace the 1976 Act. This act recognizes three categories of foreign nationals for permanent resident status: family class; economic class (to be selected based on the applicant's ability to become economically self-sufficient in Canada); and conventional refugees to be selected inside or outside of Canada (George, 2006: 357). This act also defined the criteria for eligibility for permanent residency, pertaining to physical residency requirements (applicants must have been residents of Canada for 2 out of the last 5 years). It also outlined the criteria for skilled workers in the economic class, which shifts away from an occupation-based model, to one based on flexible and transferrable skills (George, 2006: 357). The act proposes to expand the temporary foreign worker program (as outlined later on). Lastly, the Act defines two classes of refugees: convention refugees and people in need of protection. The refugee reforms intend to facilitate rapid entry of those in immediate need of protection and strengthened focus on family reunification (George, 2006: 357). These recent changes have greatly impacted immigration in the types, rules and regulations governing who is allowed to enter the country and how. George (2006) notes that economic concerns are high in terms of the focus on immigration policy. This is reflected in the case of Brooks,

where economic factors are the main driving force for migration to the city. George however notes that this focus tends to ignore the adaptation and integration of newcomers to Canada (2006: 369).

While the more recent influx of immigration to Brooks is the focus of this study, it is important to note that migration has a much longer history in the area. As noted, the homogeneity of the population was relative: Brooks has experienced migration throughout its inception. Waves of farmers arrived to the area from various sending countries, establishing their own connections in the area, and at times, attempting to create their own nationality-based farming communities, such as Scandia – a village outside of Brooks which was intended to be a Scandinavian-only community (Ellefsen, pers. comm.) One of the most storied and celebrated farmers in the area was John Ware, an African-American rancher, who played an important historical-cultural role in the area (Alberta Parks, n.d.). Additionally, Brooks has been “home” for generations to individuals from Japan, due to displacement following internment in prisoner-of-war camps following World War II, and individuals from Cambodia, Hong Kong, and China due to immigration and refugee claims resulting from post-war periods and other forms of civil unrest (Ellefsen, pers. comm.). More locally, prior to the recruitment of refugees and permanent residents, Lakeside recruited from Eastern Canada (namely Newfoundland and Nova Scotia) which resulted in the internal migration of a significant number of individuals.

As George (2006) suggests, economic factors were a main aspect in immigration policy. Economic factors are also a key driving force for immigration through

individuals, the state, and businesses. The influx of immigration to Brooks was due to recruitment by Lakeside Packers (now JBS Canada<sup>1</sup>), a feedlot and meat processing plant located 5 km west of Brooks. Lakeside (as it is commonly referred, despite several changes in ownership and name) has contributed greatly to the development of the city. In his long-term studies of meat packing plants, geographer Michael Broadway (2000; 2007; 2013) has visited Brooks repeatedly over many years and has witnessed many of the changes which have occurred in the municipality over the years. In a 2007 article comparing and contrasting Lakeside to a plant in a similarly-sized center in Kansas, Broadway details the history of the Lakeside feedlot and meat processing plant. Lakeside was founded in Brooks, in 1966, as a small Feedlot operation. This small, local business, known then as Lakeside Feeders, was bought by US-based Iowa Beef Producers (IBP) in 1994 (Broadway, 2007: 568). Alberta (particularly in the southern region) is the largest beef producing province in Canada, and therefore was an ideal location for development of a processing plant which would compete in the global economic sphere. IBP soon expanded the small feedlot by opening a large processing facility across from the feedlot, located on the opposite side of the TransCanada Highway. The local company was now part of a multinational corporation.

With the expansion, Lakeside IBP needed to increase their workforce from 500 people to 2,000. At the processing plant's opening in 1997, the plant initially attempted to

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<sup>1</sup> On January 14, 2013 XL Foods Inc. sold the Lakeside plant to JBS USA, a subsidiary of JBS SA, the largest producer of beef and pork in the world. The Lakeside plant as of this date, is now JBS Canada. This name change occurred after fieldwork, during the writing process, but the process which lead to this change began during fieldwork, and therefore, in this paper, the Lakeside plant will be referred to as "Lakeside XL Foods (JBS Canada)", or "Lakeside" as the locals refer to it.

recruit locally, but found difficulties following this policy. Facing competition from the lucrative oil and gas industry in the area, the plant was in need of workers in a town where unemployment was quite low (2007). IBP Lakeside turned to the process of external recruitment, initially directed at individuals in Eastern Canada, and British Columbia, where there were higher unemployment rates due to the collapse of resource-based industries in the area (Broadway, 2013: 47). These first recruits who came to work at the Lakeside plant did not remain there long. Most eventually moved back home, or on to other sectors, where wages were higher. Broadway (2013: 48) notes that high employee turnover is common with meatpacking companies in rural areas of the United States. He found that in the US, companies have dealt with this by employing legal and illegal migrants from Mexico and Central America. Canada, however, lacks a relatively porous border from which to draw such labour, and therefore companies must seek out immigrants, refugees and temporary foreign workers (TFWs) to meet their needs (2013: 48).

In 1998, IBP Lakeside shifted their efforts, and began a recruitment campaign for potential workers, which involved sending recruitment videos to Calgary Catholic Immigrant Society (CCIS) in Calgary. The process successfully resulted in the arrival of many secondary migrants in Brooks, who relocated from Calgary, and other gateway cities. Between 2000 and 2005, approximately 2,000 refugees arrived in Brooks. The majority came from Sudan (Sudan and South Sudan); with large groups also coming from Ethiopia and Somalia (Broadway, 2013, 49). Saamis Immigrant Services Association based out of Medicine Hat was contracted by IBP Lakeside to provide on-site assistance



to the immigrant employees (Broadway, 2013, 49). The changing and rescaling of Brooks was beginning, as the city slowly started to become an attractive site for migrants.

In 2001, IBP was bought by another American company, Tyson Foods, who took over operation of the Brooks plant. Tyson's control of the Lakeside plant represented an era of mass growth for the company. This growth required an even larger workforce. In an industry with high turnover rates, Tyson Foods continued the process of recruiting these secondary migrants and immigrants and refugees directly to Brooks. By 2006, migrants accounted for more than 60% of Lakeside's labour force (Broadway, 2007: 569). The flow of immigrants and refugees to Brooks resulted in increased attention from potential residents, as well as from media sources interested in analysing the ongoing changes and "growing pains" of this "new" city (Berenyi, 2010; Solomon, 2005). Brooks' paradoxical nature as a "Caucasian prairie town" (Yanchyk, 2011) undergoing rapid ethnic and racial diversification has inspired at least two documentaries, as well as various television news stories (Yanchyk, 2011; Inkster, 2007; Global News, 2008).

In October 2005, a labour strike broke out at Lakeside. Workers walked off the job in an attempt to obtain a union contract from Tyson Foods. The Lakeside strike received some attention due to its racialized dimension: African migrant line workers tended to support a walkout, whereas the predominantly white clerical, managerial, and maintenance staff were more readily opposed to the strike (Broadway, 2007). The result of the strike led to the formation of the UFCW local no. 401 (United Food and Commercial Workers Canada Union) at Lakeside, and Lakeside's turn away from hiring

African migrants in favour of direct recruitment abroad. This led to an increased diversity of migrant types and locations of departure.

### **The nature of labour: the trend towards temporary foreign workers**

Shortly after the events of October 2005, Lakeside announced it would bring 250 workers from China, the Philippines, El Salvador, and the Ukraine under a provincial government Labour Recruitment Program, aimed at addressing Alberta's "chronic labour shortage" (Broadway, 2007: 11). Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) became the preferred hiring method for dealing with the rapid employee turnover. Stull and Broadway (1995: 63) found that turnover among line workers typically averages six to eight percent per month. To counteract this, companies must therefore constantly recruit workers. Constant recruiting using the TFWP has transformed Brooks into a demographically diverse city. When the Lakeside plant was bought by XL Foods in 2009, the recruitment of temporary foreign workers (TFWs) was amplified, and it is now the primary method of recruiting workers (Koronko, pers. comm., 2012). Approximately one-third of Lakeside's labour force consisted of temporary foreign workers by 2011 (Broadway, 2013: 50). This number is in addition to permanent residents and refugees who work at the plant. As for the processing performed by these workers, the Lakeside plant currently outputs a third of Canada's beef processing.

Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) is designed to enable employers to hire foreign workers on a temporary basis, to fill immediate skills and labour shortages when Canadian Citizens and Permanent Residents are not able to do the job (Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC, n.d.). There are four options

for employers to “choose” from, depending on the type of labour required: agricultural workers, live-in caregivers, lower skilled occupations and higher skilled occupations. Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) and Service Canada are responsible for assessing employer applications to hire temporary foreign workers (TFWs) and issue a positive labour market opinion (LMO) on the impact these TFWs would have on the Canadian Job Market. Positive LMOs mean that the employers are required to hire TFWs, and the number of LMOs granted equals the number of workers who may be hired. Employers must pay a processing fee of \$275 dollars for each position requested (EDSC, n.d.).

Employers must meet compliance standards required for the TFWP as outlined in the “Employer Compliance: Requirements for the Temporary Foreign Worker Program” document (ESDC, n.d.), demonstrating that they are providing wages comparable to wages of Canadian Citizens in the same position, that affordable housing is available for workers, and that attempts have been made to recruit Canadian Citizens and Permanent Residents before hiring TFWs. Despite these guidelines, Broadway (2013) outlines the ease with which Lakeside hires TFWs. He notes how starting wages at Lakeside are \$15.40 an hour, compared to other manual labour jobs requiring no education which pay \$20-30 per hour to start (2013: 50). Officials, Broadway notes, have argued that Lakeside’s policies discourage local people from applying to work at the plant (2013: 50). Such practices at Lakeside include the refusal of requests by refugees for leave to visit family abroad. Instead, when these workers leave, they are not hired upon their return. These policies result in short staffing of the plant and an increase in need for

TFWs (Broadway, 2013: 50). The experiences of individuals who enter as temporary foreign workers have been documented by researchers focusing on female migrants who came as temporary foreign workers under Canada's live-in caregiver program.

Work by Daiva Stasiulis and Abigail Bakan (1997) examines the experiences of Filipino live-in caregivers (as part of the TFWP) and issues of citizenship and transition to roles outside of domestic work. Stasiulis and Bakan (1997) discuss citizenship pertaining to female domestic workers in Canada. Similar to the TFWs with Lakeside, their entrance is based on exploitation (demanding labour with poor working conditions, low pay, poor job security) and their access to citizenship is full of barriers. Stasiulis and Bakan note that citizenship is "negotiated" (1997: 119) between the individual and the state and between public and private. In the case of female domestic workers, they need to negotiate their non-ideal status: from receiving "temporary visitor" rather than "landed immigrant" status upon arrival, to a long and difficult process to obtain the most minimal citizenship rights (Bakan and Stasiulis, 1997: 7). Stasiulis and Bakan suggest that there is a "spectrum" of negotiated citizenship, in which various forms of migrants fall between the categories of citizen and non-citizen (1997: 117). The authors note that relationship to this spectrum is dynamic, active and continually negotiated.

The TFWP allows a maximum cumulative duration of four years, followed by a period of four years in which the employee is not eligible for work in Canada. A Lakeside recruiter I met named Alberto, who was once a TFW himself, explained to me that Lakeside contracts were for one year and could be renewed right away, without having to return to the worker's sending country. When a worker's contract is up,

Lakeside can nominate that worker for permanent residency, if they so choose. This is controversial, in that many believe this practice leaves workers hesitant to complain, for fear of being sent back home. Broadway notes that the prospect of permanent residency and family reunification are powerful motivators for workers to “stick it out” (2013: 49). Bakan and Stasiulis also found that workers may be subject to poor working conditions and the risk of immediate termination, and subsequent return home (1997: 9). When I met with Lakeside workers, both from Human Resources and line-workers, the narrative was that the TFW program was viewed as a predetermined pathway towards permanent residency, and many migrants who arrived as TFWs do receive their permanent residency. However, for Canadian citizenship, the pathway through the TFW program lengthens and adds uncertainty to the process. Residency time as a TFW accounts to half-time towards permanent residency: each day spent in Canada under a temporary worker contract counts as a half-day of residency (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, n.d.).

Those with TWF status were traditionally expected to stay in the receiving nation for a set time period, before returning to their home country, and perhaps leaving for another work term again in the future. Temporary foreign workers are contracted by companies who wish to obtain foreign labour on a limited term. Often, they are subject to specific regulations regarding hours of work, benefits, and are limited to working only for the company to which they are contracted (Bakan and Stasiulis, 1997: 9). As informants noted to me, temporary foreign workers cannot pick up additional employment and there are limits placed on volunteer opportunities. Once their work contract is over, TFWs are typically sent back to their home countries (Stasiulis and Bakan, 1997: 123). The

temporary foreign workers who come in through Lakeside are restricted by their contracts in terms of labour. However, when the contract term is over, employees are encouraged to stay with the company, while working towards citizenship as they remain in the country. This encouragement may be due in part to the high turnover rates, mentioned by Broadway and Stull (1995). Although the temporary foreign worker status makes the process longer, many workers see it, and the company advertises it, as a way to “get their foot in” towards citizenship. Many friends and family sign up on the next recruitment campaign to join their family members who have already come over under the program.

Stasiulis and Bakan (1997) analyse how contemporary conditions of globalization and restructuring, facilitate a partial recognition of universal human rights and citizenship rights, referring to state regulations which determine the level of citizenship and access to citizenship and citizenship rights. By relegating the various forms of migrants (such as temporary foreign workers) to a spectrum of citizenship, the position on the spectrum also defines access to citizenship rights (1997: 121). Temporary foreign workers, specifically, have limited access to full citizenship and migrant services, as is examined by Bonifacio (2009). She states that settlement services are designed for specific types of migrants, namely immigrants and refugees, and generally not for temporary foreign workers (2009: 136). The type of services available to immigrants represents the positioning of groups into certain modes of activities, and those that fall outside the set settlement program structures, such as temporary foreign workers and live-in caregivers, remain invisible agents in their own migrant experience (Bonifacio: 31). This complex context sets the stage for how migration is experienced in Brooks.

### **A changing community: The effects of globalization felt in a rural community**

While it has been difficult to track current numbers of the migrant population, the city approximates that migrants account for 20-25% of the city's population and continue to increase (City of Brooks, n.d.). Brooks is a site for migrants of various types and from various locations including: South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Philippines, China, Mexico, Colombia, and Ukraine to name a few. In addition to Lakeside, migrants in the city occupy jobs such as physicians, managers, and business owners, as well as performing service industry and agricultural work.

Broadway has detailed the many economic and social changes related to migration which have occurred in the municipality. There have been periods of low housing availability, particularly in the early stages of the opening of the meatpacking plant (2013: 52). There have been physician shortages; specifically from January 2009 to July 2010, when there was no obstetrics division, and expectant mothers had to travel an hour away to Medicine Hat. Initially, the city had limited social services, particularly for immigrants, immigrant families, and temporary foreign workers. Due to the influx of young families, there have been major changes to the school system, including the creation of ESL programs. Changes have occurred in the healthcare system, such as the addition of Language Line (a system which facilitates multilingual patients by translating from various languages) in emergency rooms (2013: 277). New immigrant agencies have also emerged, and service providers have created a broader range of services (2013).

The city has numerous “ethnic” businesses, including grocery stores like Fil-Mart, Sam’s Oriental Market, and the Latino Store; restaurants, such as Mayra East Africa Café, Wasana, and Sam’s Oriental (same ownership as the market); clothing stores, such as Hip Hop clothing store and Mel’s; and hairdressers serving specific ethnic groups. Many such businesses have opened and closed over time. Broadway (2013) outlines the more general business expansion in the city since his first visit in 1996, including: an increase in motels and fast-food restaurants (particularly on the north end of the city, just off the Trans-Canada highway), and the construction of new (and newer versions of) big box stores. In 1998, the Brooks Food Bank was established. Other stores catering to those with “reduced spending power” (Broadway 2013: 50) began to appear: “dollar stores”, second-hand stores, cash loan offices, and an increase in taxi services.

Social changes and struggles have also been a part of the last few years of the city’s history. Much of the discrimination and resentment which emerged was connected to real, and perceived, increases in crime and violence. A 2006 report issued by Alberta’s Crime Reduction and Safe Communities Task Force noted that there was an increase in drug trafficking in Brooks associated with drug trade funneling in from other cities such as Toronto (Government of Alberta, 2006), as well other centers, such as Winnipeg (Brooks and County Chronicle, 2010). There had been conflicts ranging from gossip to verbal and physical altercations, specifically during the first waves of immigration, which were majority male, African refugees (Medicine Hat News, 2010). Brooks has had cases of altercations between and within the migrant and settler groups, which have involved again, a range of situations from stereotyping, to drug trade and gang-related issues. As



someone who has spent time living in Brooks, I have observed first-hand, as well as through local media and popular knowledge some of reactions to the influx of markedly different residents. Some of these observations also occurred during fieldwork. One particular observation involved a conversation with an acquaintance whose long-time friend moved his family to one of the smaller surrounding communities, so his children would not attend school with migrant children, and another, involved a sexual assault case (in 2005-2006) in which some residents expressed concern that this type of crime was associated with the arrival of “newcomers.” These conflicts are not unique to Brooks, as many of these “growing pains” are attributed to population growth characteristic of “Boomtowns” (Broadway, 2000). He notes that, like most Boomtowns, Brooks experienced an increase in crime rate beginning after Lakeside’s expansion, in the late 1990s (2007: 576). This is notable, as it links the increase in crime rate to the Boomtown experience, before the arrival of the first waves of international migrants. It also reflects a kind of Othering, since many of the first migrants were visibly marked from the rest of the population, and were thus identified as outsiders.

Broadway notes that increased social struggles are typical of migration patterns of meatpacking towns (2007). Contributing to perceptions of migrant outsiders were narratives about the type of work available at Lakeside and the type of workers who were employed there. Marin Olsechuk (2012) has researched transnational foodways -- the global connections which define food and food practices -- of South Sudanese women in Brooks, and while addressing the women’s positioning in the city, found that migrants were often associated with their labour options. Olsechuk found that many migrants were

stereotyped by the fact that they worked at Lakeside, that those who were employed there were deemed “bad”, aggressive, or generally rough (2012: 72). These notions surrounding work only added to the visible racial differences between the various migrant groups and the settler society in the city. The Othering of migrants often involves forms of stereotyping through the establishment of a good/bad migrant narrative (Abele and Stasiulis, 1989; Pozniak, 2010) with less direct use of a crime and gang-violence narrative.

The negative feelings stemming from some of these conflicts have left a lasting impression on residents of the city. While some representations of Brooks in the media have indeed focused on these issues, the lens has been most sharply focused by locals themselves, who feel that the attention placed on the conflicts in Brooks have been largely negative and an affront to their community, citing for example Solomon’s (2005) article suggesting the city was a “hellhole.” Broadway, in an article for *Alberta Views* magazine, notes this dynamic and describes a counter narrative which has the residents of Brooks “embracing its newest residents” (2012: 39). Broadway cites a letter written to the local paper, the Brooks Bulletin, in February 2011 from an individual from Medicine Hat who described the city as “crime-infested,” “filthy” and full of “run-down apartments and rentals and gangs of every ethnicity” (Broadway, 2012). He noted that:

Locals were furious and said as much in the following week’s letters section. As one put it, ‘I’m proud to belong to a community with so many different cultures to enjoy.’ Another acknowledged that newcomers ‘work their butt off for little pay and get treated like crap.’(2012: 40)

Broadway stated this is rather anecdotal, but asserted that in his experiences in Brooks, he has had conversations with people which suggest that many residents are thinking about the welfare of their “new co-workers and neighbours” (2012: 40). The indignation of residents to perceived “attacks” on their city has on more than one occasion resulted in strong declarations of community and solidarity from residents. As Broadway suggests, much of the information about Brooks is anecdotal in nature. Through the data presented in the following chapters, I intend to provide a more in-depth analysis of the context.

In response to the migration-fuelled diversity which has shaped the municipality, the City, in its yearly financial report, officially recognized the label of “The City of 100 Hellos, which embraces the challenges that have paired rural Canadian friendliness with global population trends” (City of Brooks, 2012). In partnership with the Provincial Network of Welcoming and Inclusive Communities, developed by the Alberta Urban Municipalities Association (AUMA), and Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination (CMARD), the City of Brooks has developed a three-year plan, the “Welcoming and Inclusive Communities Partnership Plan 2012-2014. Building a Welcoming and Inclusive Brooks: A Strategy for CMARD and WIC.” This plan intends on creating a welcoming community, which is “diversity-friendly.” The plan encourages citizens to share in its notions of community involvement and community awareness as steps to becoming members of the community. Nonetheless, the city still focuses on maintaining its traditional western culture, in addition to the recognition of a growing multiculturalism, which must be managed through fostering diverse and inclusive relations.

Regardless of attempts to rebrand the city as “Welcoming and Inclusive”, the city also advertises an alternate slogan, “Alberta’s Centennial City”, based on the coordination of Alberta’s centennial celebration and Brooks’ shift from town to city status. These brands represent two distinctive, unrelated community images, which leads to questions about which image best represents Brooks. The competing images of “Brooks the Centennial City” and “Brooks the Welcoming and Inclusive City” reflect the struggles the city and its residents face in making sense of the changing city. The context in Brooks is full of complications and contradictions in defining “what is Brooks” as a community.

While Brooks is unique in the sense that it is not a typical landing site for immigrant populations, the pattern of migration relies on the greater national context of immigration. Immigration into Canada has changed over time in terms of the type of policies in place, and the type and reasons for immigration. As examined by Walsh (2008), current trends in globalization play a role in migration patterns and attitudes. The modern state, Walsh suggests, is interested in maintaining its sovereignty and territoriality, which is linked to identity of the nation-state and its people. The combination of the state’s desires to maintain their borders and identity are part of the reason for politically mediated immigration policies (Walsh 2008, 809). Khalid Koser’s (2007) research on transnationalism and the state identifies that national borders are controlled and regulated by rules which define who, and what is allowed to enter and exit. Many nation-states view certain types of individuals, for example asylum-seekers, as representing a ‘threat’ to the state’s sovereignty and ideals tied to nationality, security,

and social cohesion (2007:235-236). He found that European nation-states were willing to override obligations to the United Nation's refugee regime in order to privilege their own national interests (240). This notion of controlled transnationalism places refugees in a vulnerable position, due to entry restrictions, movement, and the ability to achieve financial participation (2007:248). Koser suggests that the labour market is as important as the state in determining immigration policy, as companies seek to compete in the global marketplace (2007: 250). As was noted, in Brooks, after the 2005 labour strike, asylum-seekers and African migrants as the focus of recruitment at Lakeside were forgone in favour of temporary foreign workers. The influence of state policy, transnational ties, and capital are factors which affect who is allowed to enter the state, participate, and in this regard, the places where they settle, once in the nation-state.

### **Chapter summaries**

The aim of this work is to analyze the ambiguous productivity of community in Brooks, and the difficulties which arise out of policy and its attempts to "shape" community. Using the concept of community, I attempt to display how the local context of Brooks relates to policies of neoliberalism and multiculturalism. These policies which are developed and implemented on a local level are informed by larger, more global, processes and policies, which themselves hold contradictions. Thus, when local policies are informed by these greater policies, it is inevitable that there will be some disjuncture. The main goal of this thesis is to identify the possibility for discrepancy between policy and action, and identify the divergences between notions of what constitutes, and results

in, inclusion and belonging. Drawing on Amit's notion that community is about conflictive forms of sociation and affect, this thesis intends to examine how a municipality constructs notions of an inclusive community that are not always shared by all citizens.

This thesis is divided into a chapter on methods and background literature, four substantive chapters and a conclusion, which are organized as follows. In chapter 2, I will expand upon the ideas presented above through an examination of key concepts, which will help facilitate an understanding and interpretation of the situation in Brooks. Concepts such as globalization, transnationalism, multiculturalism and neoliberalism and community provide key contextual considerations for theorizing about notions of community in Brooks. I will also outline my methods used for this chapter, with an explanation of terms used in this thesis. Chapter 3 will examine the creation and implementation of a Welcoming and Inclusive Community plan and how this type of policy acts upon the residents of the community. This chapter examines the official stance of the City of Brooks, through its employees and its WIC policy. It also takes a look at how a community responds to globalization and multiculturalism as a result of global context. The chapter presents the notion of a 'multicultural' community, and begins to set up how notions of diversity and inclusion are contradictory. The intention is not necessarily to critique or to rebuke Welcoming and Inclusive Community policy, but rather to gain an understanding of where these policies come from and how official governmental bodies construct, and attempt to guide how individuals construct, notions of community. Interview data from City of Brooks employees, as well as ethnographic

data involving temporary foreign workers from Lakeside will be presented to examine the current context of the city, and how the WIC plan is informed by the global (and economic) context. This chapter draws upon notions of multiculturalism and how it informs ideas and policies at the municipal level. The effects of globalization, particularly in economic terms, will also be addressed, and how it contributes to the context and discourse in the municipality.

Chapter 4 draws on theories of neoliberalism and policy-in-action to examine the views of those who provide services. Bonifacio (2008) notes that policy implementation and practices shape the resulting experience of settlement and inclusion or exclusion. In the current global context, the tendency of nations is towards a reduction in services to address the needs of citizens and immigrants. Policy becomes more an initiative of local and private organizations. This chapter describes how service workers address notions of inclusion and integration. I will present how service workers utilize WIC policy (policy-in-action), and how policy informs service organizations (through collaboration, but also through a hands-off approach, meaning that independent service organizations are often left to do the work and funding through their own means) will be developed by presenting interviews with individuals working in immigrant services, general community service organizations and language organizations. In this chapter, the ways in which these providers think about community will be revealed through the ways they construct clients, their services and their perceptions of inclusion and migrant pathways. Providers have very clear objectives about how migrants should act, and this will be examined using the narrative of a good versus bad migrant. This chapter will examine, as

mentioned, theories on policy and their actualization. How policy and the set-up and dissemination of services relate to the “good” migrant narrative and what (and who) constitutes the “bad” migrant will also be considered.

Chapter 5 presents the actual practice of residents. This chapter begins to breakdown the WIC notion of community to consider how community can be contested in various ways. How individuals contribute to, or follow the neoliberal multicultural ideology on how to “create” community will be revealed. Ethnographic data and interviews present some of the various “non-official” organizations, such as the Congolese Community, PIBA, and The Francophone Association, which have emerged in the city, considering how individuals construct notions of belonging, pathways to incorporation and identifications of “community.” Interviews with individuals from these organizations will demonstrate how community organizations construct community and what membership entails. These individuals reinforce notions of the good/bad migrant, how to be included, and reveal how community is felt in a range of ways. This chapter will utilize Amit’s notion of community in terms of examining social relationships and networks. Conflict and disjuncture will be addressed by presenting how—counter intuitively— these processes may mark the strength of a community, if not its unity.

Chapter 6 considers how a nominally inclusive policy can actually be exclusive. This chapter demonstrates disjuncture and different senses of belonging, joint commitment and association. Ethnographic data from Eid el-Fitr celebrations in Brooks and interview data presenting cases where individuals reject or are rejected by so-called inclusive policy will draw on theories which deconstruct policy, as well as revisiting



Amit's three points of strategic ambiguity, and how they relate to sociation, and how they apply to different individual cases. This chapter presents not only the actual lived-experience of residents, but how inclusive policy can be contradictory. Notions of globalization and neoliberalism will be readdressed in relation to how they contribute to the varying experience of community, and how inclusive policy might not be able to be supported in a small, rural community. In Chapter 7, I conclude by revisiting the key issues which have been examined in light of the evidence from my fieldwork: economic and cultural globalization, neoliberal multiculturalism and policy, and concepts of community.

This research focuses on how the city and its citizens are interacting with their surroundings and responding to the context of a small-scale community which has been radically transformed over a short period of time. By analyzing the articulations of community and policies of 'Welcoming and Inclusive' communities, this research will contribute to a better understanding of how these categories create an intricate, and sometimes contradictory, situation. In the current global context, the City of Brooks and its residents provide a key site to examine municipal responsiveness, policy on a local level, and the impact on notion of community and inclusiveness in a small-scale rural center. This thesis reveals how the case of Brooks forces us to re-examine community and raises the question of what exactly are we attempting to include people in. The intention is that this research will contribute to existing knowledge on small-scale, rural centers as sites for migration and on conceptions of migrant incorporation and inclusion. Inclusivity creates a paradox: what is and who are included are loosely defined by one

overarching policy. If one does not fit, or follow the specific guidelines for inclusion, then that individual faces the possibility of being excluded by inclusion.

In order to examine the case of immigration in Brooks, I first will present some of the background literature which informed my research. In the following chapter, I outline some of the key concepts utilized in this thesis: multiculturalism, neoliberalism, and community, as well as additional works which help demonstrate the broader global context, as well as how this broader context acts on a local center. As will be examined, neoliberal policies acting on a local level contribute to the discussion on the concept of community. I anticipate that, as Amit suggests, the notion of community needs to be re-examined and defined as being inflected with tensions.

## **Chapter 2: Concepts and Methods**

This thesis examines immigration on a local level; however, in order to understand what is occurring locally, it is important to address the larger context within which the local is located. Global processes such as the flow of goods, ideas, people, and capital impact localities in a way which is rapid, fluid, and constant and can have a lasting effect on residents. Additionally, processes related to immigration occur on a global scale, and thus the occurrences in Brooks may occur in other, similar locations across Canada and the globe. This chapter will present some of the key literature which is relevant to this study, as well as to consider how this research on Brooks is located within the broader scope of work on immigration, policy and community in Canada. This chapter will also present this study's methods as well as address topics of labelling, related to scope and analysis of this research. I will begin with the background literature, starting with the broadest themes, globalization, and multiculturalism, and then move into an analysis of neoliberalism, and lastly, present the central theme of community. An understanding of the processes which act upon Brooks, and formations of community, will facilitate the analysis of how notions of community inclusion are felt by residents in Brooks.

### **The Context of Globalization, Multiculturalism, and Neoliberalism**

Michael Kearney examines global flows and how they relate to a “dynamic of communities and the identities of their members (1995: 548). He defines globalization as “the social, economic, cultural, and demographic processes that take place within nations, and also transcend them, such that attention is limited to local processes, identities, and

units of analysis which provide an incomplete understanding of the local” (1995: 548).

Globalization obscures the local, but it also breaks down the divide between global and local. Similar to Kearney, Arjun Appadurai, in his essay on the global cultural economy, identifies five “scapes” which refer to the way current globalized cultural flows occur in and through individuals, technology, information, capital, and ideas (1996: 35).

Appadurai suggested that the global political economy must take into account the “deeply disjunctive relationships” among the movement of people, the flow of technology, and the transfer of finances (1996: 36). Appadurai’s development of “scapes” is a way to conceptualize how globalization involves a deterritorialized flow of more than just capital, and how different global flows act upon one another.

Globalized flows are related to transnationalism, with the former transpiring on a global level, and the latter occurring in and across one or more nation-states (Kearney, 1995: 548). Transnationalism brings attention to nation-states’ cultural and political projects as they compete with one another, with their citizens and with non-citizens (548). Kearney states that these cultural and political projects of transnationalism are inherently tied to concepts of nationalism (1995: 548). Transnationalism in this sense can be considered political and ideological, whereas globalization in contrast, is universal and impersonal (549). As noted, transnational flows involve the movement of individuals across national borders. Aihwa Ong (2002) examines the relationship between immigration policy and reason for migration, focusing on global economic elites and transnational citizens. These individuals are able to transcend borders with “greater ease” than other types of migrants (Ong, 2002: 339). This ease of movement is

institutionalized, through nation-states' policies. She cites globalization as the reasoning for nation-states to formulate their immigration laws, pointing out that these laws are changing to allow more "capital-bearing" individuals to migrate while simultaneously limiting the amount of unskilled labour migrants entering the nation-state (2002: 340). This process is what Ong refers to as graduated sovereignty (2000). Ong states that graduated sovereignty is a two-fold process which involves: "differential state treatment of segments of the population in relation to market calculations, which results in an increased division of citizenship depended on pre-existing social markers of race, gender, ethnicity, class, and religion; and a state-transnational network in which certain aspects of state power and authority are taken up by foreign corporations located in specific economic zones" (2000: 58). Graduated sovereignty is related to citizenship, whereby the possibilities of citizenship are directly related to one's investments in state power and relationship to market forces (Ong, 2000: 57). This process is one of the ways in which a state regulates and controls its borders.

Global economic elites and transnational citizens, Ong found, utilize immigration laws to their own advantage, to build capital, and to reinforce family ties and obligations (2002: 352). Examining transnational families, Ong suggests that children are encouraged to be successful in family businesses or other endeavours and often use their transnational status to help build and expand family businesses or send money back to their family (2002: 342). While in this case, individuals freely pass into a nation for their benefit, as well as for the nation's benefit, it is interesting to note that these cosmopolitan transnational citizens are seen quite differently than non-elites in terms of immigration

capabilities (Ong, 2002). As previously mentioned, these global economic elite are seen as “beneficial” (Ong 2002: 339) both to the sending and receiving states. Ong notes how the view of Asian immigrants is “orientalist” in that Chinese migrants are seen as stereotypically productive and hard workers (2002: 348). Using this idea, Ong suggests that states play up the value of Asian immigrants as a form of flexible accumulation for the nation-state, so that it may become more competitive in the global economy, by taking advantage of the global flows of wealth (2002: 349).

The flows of capital and of individuals are intricately tied together, in varying ways. In addition to Ong’s transnational elite citizens, transnationalism involves the flow of poorer migrant labour. In an introduction to their edited book on gender, religion, and migration, Glenda Bonifacio and Vivienne Angeles state that economic globalization facilitates international labour migration (2010a). The demand for labour in developed nations alongside increasing poverty in many developing nations, Bonifacio and Angeles explain, enhances aspirations to seek improved social and economic conditions, as well as other objectives (2010a: 3). The authors note that this process is not necessarily new; however the speed, direction, and extent of movement—which in turn are facilitated by advances in technology—are what define current migratory trends (2010a: 3). In a comparable vein, as addressed earlier, Khalid Koser’s (2007: 250) study on refugees and the state suggests that the labour market has considerable influence on immigration policy, which acts on and above humanitarian concerns. Kearney suggest that an awareness of the “growing dispersion, decentering, interpenetration and general complexity of globalized and transnational communities is reflected as a rising concern

with identity” (1995: 557). He states that deterritorialization eliminates the notion of bounded cultures, as “the increasing volume and velocity of the global flows of information, images, simulacra, and diffusions of cultural traits” results in the rejection of the notion of culturally-bounded spaces (Kearney, 1995: 557).

The notion of territoriality (and deterritorialization) are tied into the idea of the nation-state as a body with well-defined borders. When these well-defined borders become blurred (as in deterritorialization) due to increased global flows, states will often develop policies in order to regulate, control, or regain their borders. While some states create policies which reject, or attempt to reject, global flows, others attempt to address and/or embrace the changes occurring within their borders. One way in which states attempt to address deterritorialization is through creating and developing policies of multiculturalism. Since multicultural policy influences the flow of culture, ideas, and people across borders (an in fact, is an idea itself which is global), and impacts municipalities on a local level, an analysis of multiculturalism in Canada – the basic model, how it is performed - is beneficial.

Kristen Good (2009) documents the array of responses to immigrant and ethnocultural minorities in the municipalities of the Greater Toronto, and Greater Vancouver Areas in order to develop an explanation of the varied responses to large-scale immigration and demographic changes. She (2009) suggests that multiculturalism represents a rejection of past approaches of assimilation. The multicultural model, she states, is grounded in “recognizing and accommodating diversity and how it contributes to the development of a common integrated sense of belonging and participation in

social, political and economic communities” (2009: xv). This idea is key in the development of notions of community in that the idea is to facilitate belonging.

In Canada, Good (2009) states that official multiculturalism is a citizenship regime or model, which involves a set of norms, policies and practices. Official multiculturalism establishes what she refers to as a “normative framework which prescribes a proactive public role in facilitating positive ethnocultural relations and interethnic equity” (2009: 6). As well as the public role, these policies imply that citizens will also take on this role. The multicultural model, suggests Good, implies that there is a joint responsibility, on the part of the state, as well as the individual, for the “equitable inclusion of all ethnic, religious, and cultural groups in political, economic, and social communities” (2009: 6). In examining responsiveness to diversity, Good (2009) found that municipalities could be categorized as being “responsive, unresponsive, or somewhat responsive”, and that these categorizations were largely dependent on structural factors, such as: demographic context, civil resources, the city’s political economy, and intergovernmental systems (xiv). Cities, she states (2009), are limited by institutional, economic, and social contexts.

Similar to Good, Richard Day takes a critical look at multiculturalism, its origins, its relation to notions of diversity, and the political, historical, and economic factors which contribute to its formation and implementation, noting that multicultural policy was developed to address issues of diversity (2000). He suggests that the goal of multiculturalism regarding diversity, involves the unification of citizens of the nation. According to Day, Canadian diversity is problematic because it “involved state-



sponsored attempts to define, know, and structure the actions of a problematic Other who have been distinguished from unproblematic selves” (2000: 5). Its discursive nature is evident in that diversity acts upon certain bodies (the Other) in an attempt to form them into “Canadians.” As Good (2009) found, multicultural regimes are directed towards immigrant populations.

Contemporary multicultural discourse links diversity to unity, states Day; multiculturalism is a “reproduction of an ethnocultural economy which takes the objective contents of diversity and attempts to produce a simulacrum of unity” (2000: 9). The reality is that diversity is symbolically dependent upon the notion of unity. Maintaining this unity in the discourse of diversity reproduces continually repressed Other. Day suggests that multiculturalism was produced as a protection for the Other; however it also assures that these “Others would become Selves” under multicultural policies (2000: 184). These policies are strategic assimilations of the Other. So long as the Other become Selves – as individuals who adhere to national norms, then the idea of a multicultural “one” nation is deemed appropriate. In this sense, individuals who are considered minorities must assume some characteristics of the majority in order to belong to the multicultural state (Day, 2000). In a similar vein, Bonifacio and Angeles (2010a) found that Canada’s program of integration is enshrined in the policy of multiculturalism, which, according to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, “encourages all Canadians to integrate into society and take an active part in its social, cultural, economic, and political affairs”.

These intentions of multicultural policies are to be directive in that they tend to inform citizens how they should act. As Day notes, the Others are to become Selves, and thus while multiculturalism intends to celebrate difference, in actuality, it also means for different bodies to become incorporated into the state. This incorporation tends to be left to individual initiative, which leads to my next theme, neoliberalism. As will be addressed, multicultural policies tend to be neoliberal in nature, in that they are instructive rather than active in facilitating belonging amongst residents.

Catherine Kingfisher found that a key feature of economic and cultural globalization involves the spread of neoliberal forms of governance (2002:4). Citing Gil (1995) and Mishra (1999), Kingfisher found that neoliberal forms of governance were characterized by “a shift in the direction of increased marketization; a redrawing of the public-private distinction; valorization of possessive individualism; and shifts in state expenditure in social areas” (2002: 4). Glick-Schiller and Caglar (2011) in their exploration of the relationship between migrant incorporation and scalar dimensions suggest that localities have employed a neoliberal agenda in order to compete globally, and to respond to global institutional forces as well as state policies. On their description, the neoliberal agenda involves:

reduction in state services and benefits; the disinvestment of states in urban economies; the division of public monies and resources to develop private service-oriented industries (sometimes referred to as public-private partnership) and the push towards global production through the elimination of state intervention in a host of economic issues (2011: 4).

As Kingfisher describes, “neoliberal policy is theorized as inherently cultural: it is based on culturally and historically specific discourses on gender, divisions of labour, the public

and the private, and other locally relevant phenomena” (2002: 5). Welfare state interventions are not identical from place to place, nor are they uniform in their application. Each organization, state, municipality, and individual will establish and/or present such intervention in accordance to their own context. Kingfisher suggests that factors such as gender, class, ethnicity and age all play a role in the formation and implementation of neoliberal policies (2002: 9). In sum, despite the commonalities in global neoliberal policy, it is enacted in different ways depending on the context and how the locality adopts said policies.

Multiculturalism and neoliberalism are congruous terms. Charles Hale (2006) on neoliberal multiculturalism in Guatemala found that “the key defining feature of neoliberals is not strict, market-oriented individualism. Rather, the restructuring of society such that people come to govern themselves in accordance with the tenets of global capitalism. Compliance with the discipline of the capitalist market can be individual, but may be equally effective as a collective response” (2006:75). He suggests that, “as long as cultural rights remain within these basic parameters, they contribute directly to the goal of neoliberal self-governance; they reinforce its ideological tenets while meeting deeply felt needs; they register dissent, while directing these collective political energies toward unthreatening ends” (Hale, 2006: 75). By this, he is referring to the notion that under neoliberal policy, difference is acceptable so long as it falls within the realm of the state’s ideology.

According to Hale, neoliberal multiculturalism has come about, in part, as a response to the demand for rights for the culturally oppressed and excluded peoples

(2002: 490). Similar to Day's multiculturalism in Canada, Hale states that neoliberal multiculturalism employs "notions of citizenship, nation-building and societal developments predicated on the image of a culturally homogenous political subject to embrace previously denied or suppressed rights of recognition" (2002: 490). From these rights of recognition, other rights (which he refers to as "cultural rights") then become addressed. These rights include: "language reforms; educational policy reforms; anti-discrimination legislation; a transfer of accountability for governance to local institutions; and measures to end indigenous peoples' exclusion" (2002: 490). Despite the act to address cultural rights, Hale found that these initiatives come with limits, which serve to define a distinction between acceptable rights and those of which are not acceptable (Hale, 2002). This distinction of acceptability relates back to the idea of control: the state works to regulate who, and what enters its borders, as well as what happens when those are within their borders. The state will readily uphold "rights" when they refer to capitalist and economic pursuits, the structuring of economic livelihoods and material rights (Hale, 2002). It also refers to way in which the state approaches multiculturalism as a celebration, without actually acknowledging the role the state has to play in the production and reproduction of inequality.

Glick-Schiller and Caglar (2011) address the influence of neoliberalism on incorporation. Neoliberalism, they note, impacts urban areas, but it also affects the relationship between migrants and their settlement cities (2011: 4). Glick-Schiller and Caglar (2011) argue that migrants are involved in urban restructuring. They found that migrant labour is strategically positioned so that in some cases, it enables the state to

cease providing public services. In this sense, migrants contribute to neoliberal governance by encouraging a form of subjectivity that “enforces the ethos of the self-reliant, enterprising individual” (2011: 16). Migrants, suggest Glick-Schiller and Caglar (2011), may also facilitate neoliberal restructuring through their support of localities or institutions in their country of origin. Neoliberal policies, the authors suggest, “aim to foster self-enterprising, and self-managing subjects who rely on their own efforts to replace activities and services formerly understood to be public and social responsibilities” (2011: 16). In addition to this, communitarian thinking and voluntary networks of trust have become part of the governmental technologies that help to construct neoliberal subjectivities (2011: 17). The idea of self-managing subjects is key to neoliberal policies, since neoliberalism depends on the actions of its citizens to proliferate the policies in the absence of state intervention. In terms of implementation, Hale (2002) suggests that the neoliberal state transfers the responsibility to resolve struggles to its citizens. As the citizens “assume this responsibility, they become susceptible to the state’s initiatives which shape and define the ends to which their participation will serve” (2002: 496). How the state’s policies inform upon individuals at the local level is revealed through how municipalities and individuals act in their everyday lives as they settle and form social networks and communities, which I will now turn to.

## **The Concept of Community**

According to Delanty, in a broad review of the concept, “community has a contemporary significance in current social and political situations, which have produced a global search for roots, identity, and belonging” (2010: x). The search for belonging is essential to the idea of community in his discussion. In general, community “has traditionally designated a particular form of social organization, which was based on small groups, such as neighbourhoods, the small town, or a spatially-bounded locality” (Delanty: xi).

A major shift in the study of community came with Benedict Anderson’s notion of “imagined communities”, which suggested that nations are “imagined” because the nation represents a connectedness with a population of fellow members a person may not know (1991: 6). He found that the nation is always conceived of as a deep, horizontal comradeship (1991: 7). Delanty (2010: xii) notes that this model was meant to demonstrate how community is shaped by cognitive and symbolic structures, suggesting that this turn to symbolic dimensions, away from social dimensions has occasioned criticism (considered below). Delanty (2010: xii) suggests that different uses of the term community are predictable, as it designates “both an idea as well as a particular social phenomenon, such as expressions of belonging, the search for meaning and solidarity, recognition, and collective identities.”

Others have been more precise, however. In *Realizing Community*, Vered Amit calls for a reconceptualization of community, as a “conceptual medium” to examine the interactions between modernity and social solidarity (2002a: 2). According to Amit, community can be considered “an idea or quality of sociality, rather than as an actualized

social form” (2002a: 3). She suggests that as it has been addressed, community has become the “nexus of a convergence between culture, place, intricate social relations, and collective identity” (2002a: 5). Examining community through sociality, Amit suggests, will reveal the ways in which belonging is felt. Community “does not need to be all-encompassing or instructive in order to provide satisfying forms of social connection and belonging” (2002a: 16).

Amit (2010) notes that “typical definitions of community tend to classify using notions of ‘commonality’”, which ignores how and whether community is realized through sociation (2010: 358). Amit suggests that there are situations in which people may hold similar expectations or meanings, which do not result in the establishment of social ties (2010: 358). Rather than classifying “what is community”, Amit suggests focusing on the “uncertainties which arise in the intersection between the idea and actualization of sociation” (2010: 358). She identifies three intersecting points at which ‘ambiguities’ arise: joint commitment; affect or belonging; and forms of association (358). The first, joint commitment, refers to projects whose success depends upon each person’s individual commitments (2010: 359). According to Amit, joint commitments do not necessarily generate consensus or collegiality, and thus, they cannot always be easily sustained or mobilized (2010: 360). The concept of joint commitment shifts focus away from “sameness” and more towards the significance of interdependence (2010: 360). Joint commitment is not tied to any specific form of association, and this, explains Amit, brings attention to “the ambiguity involved in which forms of sociation enable or require interdependent coordination, and which do not” (Amit, 2010: 360). By this, she is

referring back to her point that individual commitment does not equal social ties, which brings us to her second point of focus on “affect-belonging.”

Amit notes that “explicit or strong assertions of belonging are more likely to occur when people are responding to unusual or extreme circumstances”, and this is why much of the literature on community has focused on these types of circumstances (2010: 360). She argues that community does not only exist at these exceptional times, and thus to frame it in this way may be unrepresentative. Rather, she suggests using a notion of “distributed affect-belonging”, which addresses “how belonging may or may not be recognized, interpreted, responded to and felt” (Amit, 2010: 361). In relation to joint commitment, which ‘intersects’ with notions of distributed affect-belonging, the combination of the terms produces a wide range of points of belonging, meaning, and emotion (2010: 361). According to Amit “while forms of joint commitment can, and do, overlap with senses of belonging, the two are not coterminous” (361). Thus, she asserts that sense of belonging and/or sense of connection are not necessarily tied to notions of collectivity or interdependence (2010: 361).

In terms of the third component of her analytical model of community, focusing on forms of association, Amit (2010) reiterates that neither joint commitment nor affect-belonging are associated with any particular form of association, concluding that forms of associations are wide-ranging. The examination of a variety of associations argues Amit, “enables the study of community in terms of sociation, across a variety of circumstances and qualities rather than to be prematurely delivered through definition” (2010: 362). She



proposes that coordination, interdependence and affect are key points to consider in terms of social relations (2010: 362).

Multiculturalism relies on a notion of a “common” community. As noted above, the notion of commonality as the defining factor of community fails to recognize the intricacies involved in social interactions amongst group members. Thus, multiculturalism and community are seemingly incomparable terms. Multiculturalism tends to be a policy about societies on an ideal level, whereas neoliberalism is a regime that works directly with society, and acts upon citizens. Neoliberalism dictates what kind of and how much services individuals receive, how much the government will do in terms of facilitating goals of its citizens, what kinds of incentives are available for those who achieve that goal, in this instance inclusion and belonging. When you take neoliberal policies as an approach to applying multiculturalism, it is evident how integration and inclusion of those who are “different” are meant to be achieved: through individual initiative.

Examining how neoliberalism acts upon communities – and how the restructuring so that people are ‘self-governing’ in accordance to capitalist approaches, with a reduction of state services and an over-arching emphasis on individual initiatives – it would follow that the way in which sense of community is felt is influenced directly by the actions of individual. With this in mind, Amit’s model of community relates to neoliberalism in that “community” is experienced, felt, and constructed in accordance to the social networks and interactions of individuals. In this sense, WIC policy is in-and-of-itself contradictory: it is prescribing a vision of ‘community’ which residents are

intended to carry out via individual efforts – efforts which produce varying levels of commitment, belonging and association, all resulting in constructions of community which may not be similar to those described in municipal policy.

The theories presented here suggest how this notion of shared common cause actually relates to the individualism inherent in neoliberal policy. The tension between “multiculturalism” as a kind of imagined community (and nationalism) for Canadians which can generate conflict with concrete forms of sociation (living face to face with non-Canadians or those which marked difference) who struggle over the “joint commitment” about what “Brooks” actually “is” and what their role in it is supposed to be.

The last chapter began with an anecdote about how “community” (and in this sense, “Canada”) does not always mean including “Others.” An individual’s notion of community may involve the cowboy-culture or it may refer to the French-English colonial settlers. In terms of a sense of affect-belonging, notions of community can be where individuals find meaning, and what they choose to use as a means of establishing connections to their surroundings and to others. My acquaintance’s feelings are of note, since she is committed to Brooks, and to her country, and sees this commitment as a struggle: she is obliged to deal with and respond to other representations of “Canada”, such as “Africa”. Community is not without these types of struggle, and as will be revealed, actually demonstrates how struggle is inherent to constructions of community and social networks.

## **Methods**

The research on which this thesis is based involved five months of fieldwork in Brooks, Alberta, from May to October of 2012. Participant observation was conducted along with 20 semi-formal and informal interviews. Fieldwork was not ethnographic in the sense that I lived closely with one particular group, rather, for the purpose of this study I focused on key events. Interview participants included longstanding residents (the settler population), temporary foreign workers, permanent residents and Canadian Citizens from the migrant population, and City of Brooks and other service organization employees (including individuals from both settler and migrant populations). Sample questionnaires including further information on interview numbers and questions are included in appendix A. In accordance to University policy regarding research ethics, the proposal for research was submitted to and approved by the Human Subject Research Committee at the University of Lethbridge. Participants were over 18 years of age, included both males and females, who had some level of English-language proficiency. Use of names was discussed with each participant. In what follows, I have not used pseudonyms, unless specified. As the American Anthropological Association states, “Anthropological researchers must determine in advance whether providers of information wish to remain anonymous, or receive recognition, and make every effort to comply with those wishes. Researchers must present to their research participants the possible impacts of the choices and make clear that despite best efforts, anonymity may be compromised, or recognition fail to materialize” (American Anthropological Association, 1998).

After discussing the project and its aims, some research participants chose to remain anonymous while others recognized their visibility and chose to be recognized, while others were indifferent. The latter category was given pseudonyms along with those requesting anonymity. A few participants had previous experience with research in the community and were familiar with the process of research and interviewing. Likewise, some participants spoke to me in an official capacity, “on the record” as representatives of their organizations, and were comfortable being named in this capacity.

Participants were recruited mostly through word-of-mouth and snowball sampling. Much of this was facilitated by use of key informants, as well as my positioning as a former resident of Brooks. My residency and familiarity with the city proved beneficial, as many individuals were intrigued that someone from “their city” was doing the research. In her work, Marin Oleschuk (2012: 60) mentioned how Brooks was “over-researched” and those participants’ prior bad experiences caused her difficulties securing interviews. This did not seem to be the case with most of those I met, particularly those who were involved in organizations or in leadership positions. However some of less “visible” migrants, who were not involved in some form of leadership position, were less willing to be interviewed (for example, the Sudanese women Oleschuk interviewed). As Oleschuk suggests, some of the wariness regarding being interviewed may have been due to their histories of mistrust of researchers or outsiders (2012: 61).

Other challenges in recruitment were due to time constraints, particularly because of work. In the summer, the Lakeside plant runs a 6-day workweek, and for many of the

individuals who worked at Lakeside, free time was limited. Additionally, in September, towards the end of fieldwork, there was an E. coli crisis at Lakeside, which resulted in the plant being closed down for an extended period of time. Many families were in a state of crisis, as they faced an uncertain future for their livelihood. Therefore most interviews and meetings which dealt with my research had to be postponed indefinitely, as everyone's focus shifted to dealing with the closure of the plant. I empathized with those who were under duress and offered to assist in any way I could, including after I left the field. I followed the events closely, maintaining my connections to those I had met during research and those I knew beforehand due to my vested interest in the city and the lives of those who reside and work there.

Approximately 12 of the 20 semi-formal interviews were recorded. The decision to record/not record was based on formality of the interview (for example meetings of a short duration, or informal meetings such as a visit to an individual's house), and participants' willingness to be recorded. All recorded interviews were transcribed using FastFox transcription software. For interviews, both recorded and un-recorded, and participant observation, I took handwritten field notes during and as soon as possible afterwards. While writing up field notes, and while transcribing, I reflected upon what I saw, what I did, and made initial interpretations. In doing so, I developed a familiarity with the content, and began observing themes which were emerging. Interview and fieldwork data were analyzed using NVivo software program, which involved coding. I coded based on themes which emerged both out of interpretation and coding.

As I was a resident of this community for approximately 15 years, my insider status contributed to my role as a researcher and how I approached the data. E. L. Cerroni-Long (1995) states that insider anthropology has the capacity to facilitate a unique anthropological analysis. Cerroni-Long (1995: 10) suggests an incorporation of “native” and “non-native” research to better grasp the culture-specific knowledge and biases that affect both insiders and outsiders. With this in mind my research incorporated my dual role as both an insider (as a Brooks native) and an outsider (as a non-immigrant citizen). As a former resident, I recognized that I too held assumptions about ‘what Brooks is’ or what it may be, and I endeavored to keep in mind these assumptions to ensure that they did not unduly steer me away from the sort of information that might challenge those assumptions I held going into fieldwork.

In exiting research, I have maintained contact with the field site as well as some individuals I worked on this project. As mentioned, my connections are due to my positioning as a former resident, as well as my continued interest in the city and the lives of those who reside there. Throughout research, I worked to build rapport with participants, and part of maintaining these relationships is continued contact with those who assisted with this project and including them in the process.

### **Reflexivity: Querying my positioning, labels and whiteness**

My residency and connection to the city have embedded me in this project. My own experiences contributed to the inspiration for and interest in the topic. I spent a significant period of time there: attending grade school, then working in the summers and visiting on weekends during post-secondary, and later lamenting the loss of my “home-

base” when my parents decided to move in 2011. I witnessed first-hand a lot of the changes in the city over the years. From when my family moved there in 1995, we observed the town grow and develop, encountered many new migrants, and experienced our own reactions and the reactions of others to all the seemingly sudden changes. We saw the struggles, the conflicts, as well as the successes which emerge when people from different backgrounds and places come together (whether by choice or not).

I experienced first-hand what difference meant – as I met others, as well as when others met me. As I was not the born-and-raised, generations-of-ancestors-type of resident I felt like an outsider at times. Often, I would (and still do) get asked by someone who my parents were. Once I stated my mother and father’s names, and the questioner did not know them, I was quickly dismissed. The implication was that “Oh, you’re not from around here. You aren’t one of us” because my family had not been around for years and years. Notions of community are related to sense of belonging (albeit distributed). The idea is that if you do not belong, you are not a part of the community. There is a separation between those who are a part of a community, and those who are not. The people who would ask me that question and I may look like we are both similar in that we are Canadian-born, Caucasian, Westerners; but we were different – I was marked as different based on a perceived notion that I was an outsider.

This brings me to my next point, on labelling. As mentioned in Chapter 1, I employ the term “settler resident” to represent those long-standing residents, who for the most part are visibly marked from their counter-part, the migrants. Since the modes of immigration in Brooks are so broad, this work uses, as Glick-Schiller and Caglar (2011)

suggest, the term “migrants” to identify the many individuals who have arrived in the city as immigrants, temporary foreign workers, refugees, or secondary migrants, which refers to those who are one of the aforementioned status, but who first arrived in another part of Canada, which is a common path for many migrants in Brooks (Bonifacio, 2009). Glick-Schiller and Caglar (2011: 10) mention that the use of “migrants” in their book is to situate these groups of participants in the daily activities and legitimization processes that are restructuring and reimagining cities all over the world.

As was noted, there is a marked racial difference between the long-term residents, and the new residents. This label serves to represent the heterogeneous group of immigrants and refugees, which are visibly marked and identified as different, and “new.” My choice to use the terms “settler resident” and “migrant” is not wholly descriptive, in the sense that there is a wide array of difference amongst individuals who are within these groups. I am examining culture, discourse and understanding difference and thus I recognize that labels such as these can be problematic. The use of these terms is not specific, rather I am attempting to create an heuristic category in order to describe the two groups which emerge from fieldwork. I chose these terms over more “emic” terms which arose out of fieldwork—‘mainstream Canadians’ versus ‘Newcomers’—since I wanted to take an analytical approach to the distinction of difference between those who belonged (the settlers) and those who should be trying to belong (the migrants). The distinction emerged most clearly through analysis of WIC policy, since the policy clearly is directed at “new” migrant residents, rather than the long-standing settler residents.



The fact that race is a means to identify difference does not negate the presence of other “diverse” attributes such as gender, religion, political affiliation, age, socio-economic status, place of birth, and so on. Race is something that people do not like to talk about, however it persists as a significant marker of difference. I may be different from the born-and-raised residents, however when it comes to racial difference I am considered the same. By approaching difference in this manner, I am attempting to be analytical and address these problematic concerns. To reiterate, WIC policy focuses on the Other, and thus this is how I chose to focus this study. This work is exploratory, in that I sought to get a sense of what the Other is experiencing in Brooks, before exploring more specifically one group, or by including an analysis of ‘community’ for the settler residents. Once there is a clearer picture of what this marked difference implies, through the voice of the migrants, then we are in a position to query whiteness. The rich history of immigration in the area, the multiple layers of difference, and the ways in which these factors relate to notions of community contribute to the complexity of the case of Brooks, and suggest that there is a need for further study.

### **Chapter 3: The Welcoming and Inclusive Community**

“Welcome to our community...where we’re *all* ‘not from around here’”

- Mayor Martin Shields

It was a bright and sunny morning in May, just a regular working day in the city of Brooks, Alberta. That morning there was a welcoming breakfast being hosted by City Hall staff, specifically the Sustainability and Inclusive Community departments. This breakfast coincided with the arrival of a new group of employees to Lakeside, XL Foods and was aimed at welcoming them to the community of Brooks. The event was significant: these newcomers had signed on with Lakeside as temporary foreign workers, and although they held the label of “temporary”, these individuals understood themselves to be on their way to becoming citizens of the community, and of Canada.

This chapter will examine the formation and implementation of Brooks’ Welcoming and Inclusive Community (WIC) Plan. Beginning with the “official” voice of the City of Brooks, this chapter will describe the “Welcoming and Inclusive” community and what this idea entails, and it will consider how the City of Brooks plans on instilling these ideas in the community. This will be followed by an analysis of what Welcoming and Inclusive policies represent. Evidence I present includes interview data with city employees, as well as a description of a key event, the Welcoming Breakfast, which demonstrates some processes through which meanings of “diversity” emerge, and the points in which alternate visions of migrant participation appear, and/or rejection of these initiatives are revealed. This chapter will examine the implementation of WIC strategy, the implications of this policy, and how this plan is informed by the global economic

context and by federal multicultural policy. The global context of migration and multiculturalism will demonstrate how a rural municipality attempts to construct notions of community through addressing growing diversity. Multicultural policy can be contradictory, the resultant action is often different than the intended focus, and therefore I suggest that the acceptance of Welcoming and Inclusive policy may not necessarily produce the outcomes it seeks to create. I begin by examining how this plan came about.

### **Official Welcoming and Inclusive Strategies**

The City of Brooks' plan to deal with a multicultural environment emerged from a lengthy process which started as a brain-child of an organization: the Newell Regional Expo Society, a non-profit organization focused on community sustainability, which was formed in 2007. According to official literature, this group was involved in a generating discussion around building a healthy, inclusive, and sustainable community (City of Brooks, 2012). Through collaboration with the City of Brooks, The Newell Regional Expo Society was also involved in the creation of a 6-month contract position for an Inclusion Coordinator at the City of Brooks (starting in 2011), a position which became full-time in the spring of 2012. The Newell Regional Expo Society and the City of Brooks then began work on a Welcoming and Inclusive Community plan, which was adopted by the City of Brooks in 2010, in response to the Alberta Urban Municipalities Association (AUMA)'s provincial network of "Welcoming and Inclusive Communities" (City of Brooks 2012: 6-7). Through efforts of the City's Sustainability Department a three year plan emerged called the "Welcoming and Inclusive Communities Partnership Plan 2012-2014," subtitled "Building a Welcoming and Inclusive Brooks: A strategy for

CMARD and WIC.” As noted in the introduction, the City of Brooks has partnered with both AUMA and CMARD (Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination), and signed the latter organization’s declaration against racism and discrimination on June 1, 2007. The Welcoming and Inclusive Community plan includes a specific action plan to address CMARD’s “Ten Common Commitments”, outlined in the Declaration Against Racism and Discrimination. According to their official summary, the plan is:

Based on a shared community vision to develop strategies to encourage welcoming and inclusive communities within healthy economic and social systems by promoting, honouring, and increasing community involvement and awareness in all sectors in our community. Community engagement is vital to creating successful relationships between the city and its residents. The WIC plan involves a three year strategic focus on: how to promote and build a more welcoming and inclusive Brooks, identifying workplace and community needs, and looking at how to address and sustain a safe and vibrant environment that is diversity-friendly and welcoming (City of Brooks, 2012: 3).

The report states that the City of Brooks, as a municipality, can be defined as a “diversity-friendly community” if it can meet a list of criteria including, but not limited to:

respect for diversity; accessible public services; availability of a wide range of educational opportunities, including English as a second language courses; promotion of health and wellness for all citizens; acknowledgment of faith and spirituality; and inviting newcomers to actively participate in city events and meetings (City of Brooks, 2012: 4).

The WIC report serves to outline the intended focus on the role of the city as a whole, as well as the municipal government’s role in establishing this diversity-friendly

environment. The plan also frames the municipality as an equal opportunity employer that hires “the most qualified person for the right position.” As the report suggests, the job candidate pool should be broadened to obtain a larger and more diverse group of candidates whereby the “positive effects of diversity are utilized” (City of Brooks, 2012).

The plan focuses on how the community as a whole can help foster equity, and reduce racism and discrimination (2012: 4). The policy was also informed by dialogue which came out of discussion groups involving residents. A key suggestion which arose suggested to the city that there was “a need to work ‘with’ diverse populations and not ‘for’ them,” stating “oftentimes, events, programs and services are created for racialized groups without taking into account their suggestions and needs” (City of Brooks, 10).

The WIC plan defines diversity as “all of the ways we are unique and different from others” (2012: 3). The report proceeds to describe “dimensions of diversity” for the population as a whole, which include:

“ethnicity, religion and spiritual beliefs, cultural orientation, colour, physical appearance, gender, sexual orientation, ability, education, age, ancestry, place of origin, marital status, socio-economic circumstance, profession, language, health status, geographic location, group history, upbringing, and life experiences” (Alberta Health services, 2010, as cited by City of Brooks, 2012: 3).

### **Brooks the “Poster Child”: Carrying out a WIC plan**

In terms of carrying out the policy, the WIC plan does not specifically state *how* to make a community inclusive, and thus most of the information I received concerning how the city goes about its work was through city employees involved in implementation.

Prior to the welcoming breakfast, I met with Jeff, the city's Inclusion Coordinator for an interview, and we were joined by Lisa, the Sustainability Coordinator and overseer of the Inclusion Coordinator position. During this meeting, they both explained some of the activities and initiatives which were undertaken as part of the Welcoming and Inclusive Community plan. Some of the initiatives that had been completed, prior to our meeting, included: the Inclusion Coordinator (Jeff) serving on the Hate Crimes Awareness Committee; the organization of a few Lakeside Partnership Lunches (the "Welcoming Lunches"); the development of a Business Recognition plan (for businesses which promote diversity in the workplace); creation and distribution of Welcoming Packages; and the addition of a translator toolbar on the City's website. Lisa described this last feature as an attempt at "making the City of Brooks *accessible* to all."

Lisa and Jeff also discussed less successful events which had been developed, including a planned set of "diversity days", which were meant to highlight some of the cultural diversity in the city. They ran one event, a cultural dance day, which was held at the dance studio at the recreation center (Lakeside Leisure Center). The instructor taught "a sort of Zumba-type dance class" (which apparently was not what any of them had in mind when imagining "cultural dance"). The session likewise had low turnout, with attendees reportedly consisting of the "regulars" at the dance class. A somewhat more successful event was a celebration for Chinese New Year. Jeff noted that although this was meant to be a small, casual gathering for city employees at City Hall, the invitation was extended to the rest of the community, and about 100 people showed up.

Moderately successful events included those planned for Hate Crimes Awareness Day, which is recognized in accordance with the City of Brooks' commitment to CMARD and Safe Harbour initiatives. Events such as this were meant to showcase a commitment to establishing a safe, diversity-friendly community by attempting to teach locals about hate crimes and work towards reducing their occurrence in the community. In a report prepared by Jeff (Gerestein, 2011) at the conclusion of the initial 6-month Inclusion Coordinator contract, he noted that "a large portion of people who were just passing by stopped in for the free food and then realized that the BBQ was for Hate Crime Awareness Day...There was a sign at the BBQ table informing people of the special day and brochures were handed out" (Gerestein, 2011: 2). City of Brooks' staff diversity training sessions were also moderately successful. Jeff mentioned that some individuals who attended the session appreciated them, while others were averse to the concept of being "welcoming", wondering why it was "them, and not the newcomers" who had to adapt.

Summarizing their experiences, Lisa noted, "We are learning as we go... We are in a unique position." The WIC plan is in its preliminary stages, and as Lisa suggested, there is something of a trial-and-error attitude towards the project. Since historically, most municipalities that experience high levels of immigration are much larger in scale (Good, 2009), Brooks has no other municipality to look towards in terms of planning events for a smaller city. "[Brooks] is seen as a 'poster child'" added Jeff, "Other communities are calling us up for information (on how things are going, what they are

doing).” The City of Brooks staff were optimistic about their plans for a welcoming and inclusive community and took any setbacks in stride.

As Hale (2005) found, multiculturalism is grounded in addressing diversity and inequality by celebrating diversity, rather than addressing the needs of citizens. The WIC document is informed by initiatives aimed at reducing discrimination, providing equal opportunity employment (at the city itself, not specifically for all employers in the city), however when it comes to practice of the plan, activities seem centered on celebration and public presentation of difference. It is suggested that the responsibility of inclusion, is the responsibility of both migrants and the municipality (and the current residents), however, in actuality, the focus tends to be on the individual (and the migrant residents). It is apparent that there are some contradictions involved in multicultural policy, most apparent in the shift from the plan as policy to the plan in action. Some of these themes emerged during the Welcoming Breakfast mentioned above. This event presents how the city and other organizations come together to “welcome” newcomers to the city.

### **The Welcoming Breakfast**

I walked up to the front doors of City Hall expecting there to be a buzz of people around, but it was completely quiet. The front desk was closed, as services are not available until 8:30. I awkwardly milled around the reception area and was joined by another attendee from the *Brooks Bulletin*, one of the local newspapers, who wondered out loud why “no one’s here.” Several minutes later the mayor, Martin Shields, emerged from a back corridor. I said hello to him, and he too wondered when they were to begin,



“Where’s Jeff?!” he inquired. Soon, an exhausted looking group arrived: the Lakeside representatives and the new workers who had just arrived from Mexico.

We were filed into a formal public meeting room, where city council meetings are held, and sat in rows of chairs, facing a head table. This was the second of what was planned to be a recurrent event, held for each new group of arrivals. The Mayor decided to start off without Jeff, who was running late due to a delay in getting breakfast for the twenty-two new migrants, as well as Lakeside and city staff. As I was informed in an earlier meeting with Jeff and Lisa, meals for these events were intended to be culturally specific. The inaugural Welcoming Meeting was a lunch featuring “authentic tacos”, prepared by a man from Mexico who had migrated to the city in the past. Jeff raved, “They were the best tacos! He said he wanted to open up a taquería soon.” Since this meeting took place in the morning, the breakfast was limited to “Mexican” breakfast burritos from Tim Horton’s.

The mayor’s speech was translated by Maria, from Human Resources, who chuckled as she translated about Jeff running late. Mayor Shields then took his turn, and started off on a jovial note: “Cerveza, Cerveza! ...that’s all I know.” With an air of relaxed, good-humour, he continued, “Welcome to our community!” he proclaimed. In an attempt to make the workers feel less out of place, he addressed the fact that migration to Brooks has been ongoing for a long time, stating: “We’re *all* ‘not from around here.’” To demonstrate this point, he proceeded to question various attendees he knew:

Q: “Where are you from?”

A: “Nova Scotia.”

Q: “Where are you from?”

A: “Up north.”, “Ontario,” and so on.

Mayor Shields worked through this dialogue to demonstrate the idea that Brooks’ residents were not simply born-and-raised there, but were themselves once “migrants.” This suggested that these newcomers could likewise soon become a part of the city’s diverse population. The speech ended with an introduction of the attendees who work in various roles for the city and those from other community organizations. The meeting concluded with a photo of all the new workers arranged at the city hall head table, after which they were filed into another room for breakfast. Here information was given by Beth, from Recreation Services, and newly arrived Jeff, who talked about facilities (such as the recreation center) and services (such as police and hospital) with more information available in the ‘Welcoming Packages’ which were distributed. Beth’s presentation was in English, and Jeff spoke a little in both English and Spanish. I stood in the corner of the room, which was small for the thirty people present, alongside various others. Since this was the first time I had attended an event of this type, I took advantage of the gathering to introduce myself to those around me, including two women from Lakeside Human Resources, the bus driver, a Lakeside recruitment/welcoming officer, and Laura from Brooks and County Immigration Services (BCIS). Mayor Shields and Jeff were both festively dressed in “Mexico” golf-style shirts which seemed to represent Brooks business casual with an attempt to honour the home country of these newcomers.

As the welcoming breakfast wound down Carla the bus driver, with whom I had been discussing my project, invited me to come along with them for the rest of the day. Carla regularly drives the bus for Lakeside, which serves employees who do not have another mode of transportation (the plant is 5 km outside of the city). She also picked up groups of new temporary foreign workers from the airport and ushered them from place-to-place to perform the tasks required for them to begin work immediately. The Lakeside group said goodbye to the City of Brooks staff, and we got on the bus. The workers, who had arrived at 1:00am that morning, were expected to begin work the next day, with several tasks remaining. On the bus, I met Alberto, a permanent resident originally from Mexico City, who was once a temporary foreign worker and now works as a Recruitment Assistant. As we walked into the first stop, Service Canada, Alberto asked me if I spoke Spanish: “it is good to know Spanish, in order to talk to these guys.” I replied that I know very little, and offered few phrases: “hola”, and “no hablo español.” He laughed and said, “Oh! You sound just like Dora [the explorer]!”

Although the Service Canada office in Brooks has regular employees, a few staff members from the Medicine Hat office had been called in for that day to provide services in Spanish. The new Lakeside workers were given Social Insurance Number (SIN) card applications and assistance filling them out. The Brooks office is relatively new, albeit much needed. Before Service Canada opened this office, new Lakeside workers had to drive to Medicine Hat (approximately 100 km away) to get their SIN cards. This day the process went much faster than usual and everyone present appeared relaxed and at ease. Indeed, the day’s activities appeared to be rather routine for this group. While we waited,

Alberto told me about his job which involves going to Mexico to hold interviews for prospective employees. For Lakeside, Mexico was the current country of focus, but it had previously held recruitment campaigns in the Philippines, Colombia, China and the Ukraine. Alberto stated that he and his colleagues were going back to Mexico in a few weeks to recruit more workers since they had more LMOs (Labour Market Opinions) to use up. He informed me that the company applies for a certain number of LMOs, and then recruits until they reach that limit. If they do not manage to use them all, they are obliged to return the remainder. The procedure to apply for LMOs is extensive: the employer must have advertised the job locally for a period of time and demonstrate that there is a need to hire abroad, demonstrate that they will cover the cost of recruitment, and find accommodation suitable for the workers. After this, the employer must apply and pay a non-refundable processing fee for each application, and wait for their application to be processed (Employment and Social Development Canada, n.d.). Considering the work put into procuring a favorable LMO, the company wants to ensure that all the LMOs they receive are used and therefore recruitment is quite vigorous.

The group waited in an adjacent conference room, while taking turns with the Service Canada employees. Most of the group were seated at the table with their forms waiting to be called, or milling around, or outside smoking and hanging about. At one point, one of the new workers, Manuel, sat down beside me in Alberto's vacant seat and said, "Hello" in English, and asked if I worked at Lakeside. I replied, "No I'm a student," and then attempted to explain my project. A confused expression appeared on his face, and I realized he did not understand much of what I was saying. I stopped and asked if he

knew English. He responded, “un poquito” and laughed. With his fellow workers teasing him in Spanish, Manuel attempted once more: “I am trying to practice my English [by speaking to you].” I replied that was a good way to learn. Laughing at our awkward attempt at conversation, I noted that these types of interactions were going to be common in the majority English-speaking city.

After the visit to Service Canada, we re-boarded the school bus. It was an unseasonably warm day for early May, 27 degrees Celsius. In a later meeting with Carla, she remarked to me that, “It’s always really hot when the Mexicans come!” In the rising heat, the bus was stifling, with the passengers opening the windows to let in a cool breeze. That time of the year, the poplar trees were releasing pollen, which resembles little tufts of cotton batting. That day, the cotton was falling thick like snow. The newly arrived workers were laughing, amazed by the sight which seemed to foreshadow the snow they would eventually experience.

After a quick stop to see the local library, where a few workers took the opportunity to use the computers to send a quick message back home, we stopped at one of the city’s many local parks, Lake Stafford, for a pizza lunch. One worker exclaimed, “Incredible!”, as he looked out onto the lake, which featured a decorative lighthouse, a fountain, and several Canadian Geese on the lake. In 2010, Brooks, in an attempt to rescale, made the move to gain city status in conjunction with the province of Alberta’s Centennial. The city branded itself as Alberta’s Centennial City, which appears in all official documentation and advertisement for the city. The fountain was placed in Lake Stafford to celebrate this change in official status and new image. The location was

chosen as part of an initiative to further develop the Lake Stafford park area, due to high user rates, and based on its proximity to the TransCanada Highway. One edge of the lake borders the highway, and thus the fountain can be seen by people as they drive to, and past, the city.

The two other recruitment assistants who were with us that day, Miguel and Ada, arrived in a car, bearing pizza and a jar of banana peppers, which all the Mexican workers put on the pizza, some pouring the juice on too. Referring to the peppers, Ada commented to Miguel, "I'm glad I remembered them!" Upon hearing this remark, Carla asked, "Why do they like such hot food?" "Oh, they're not hot, just flavour", replied Ada, inviting Carla to try a pepper. "Oh yeah," she responded, "They're not hot."

After lunch, we went to the Bank of Montreal (BMO) where Associate Branch Manager, Jean gave information in Spanish. This stop was for setting up accounts and for obtaining Canadian dollars. Ada informed me that that they use BMO because they provide "the best customer service and give free extra debit cards so that the workers can use them [for family members]." Ada was collecting extra debit cards to bring back to family members when the recruiters went down to Mexico for the next recruitment campaign. Ada noted that it costs twenty-five (Canadian) dollars, plus possible additional costs on the other end, to wire money. Therefore, sending debit cards is a cheaper and more convenient way to ensure families back home receive funds.

As we waited again for everyone, Alberto gave me more information on how he understood the temporary foreign worker program: contracts were for one year and could be renewed right away without the worker having to return to their sending country.

According to Alberto, Lakeside only takes workers with at least a high school diploma, apparently so that they can become Canadian citizens more easily. As mentioned, Ada and Alberto were going to Mexico in two weeks for a week to recruit and hold interviews. After the recruitment session, they would return home and wait for visas to be prepared. Visas, Alberto explained, take about four months, while some (for workers from the Philippines, I was told) take from 14 to 16 months to be processed. Once the visas are acquired, Ada, Miguel and Alberto would go down to Mexico to pick up the new workers and start the process over again.

Many people in the group that day had families in Brooks already, since a few other groups had already arrived from Mexico. Carla pointed out to me three brothers: the oldest and youngest had arrived with the current group, while the middle brother had arrived with a previous group. Dressed distinctively in urban-style clothing, the middle brother had arrived at the bank to pick up his two brothers and take them to their new home. Alberto seemed fine with these new migrants leaving the group early, noting that since the middle brother was familiar with the process, he could assist them.

The next stop, a fairly quick one, was Brooks and County Immigrant Services (BCIS), where the group was given a PowerPoint presentation in Spanish, after which the newcomers filled out intake forms. BCIS staff, Miguel, Ada, and Alberto were constantly helping to translate. By that time of the day, everyone was getting weary from the day's busy schedule: as Carla kept noting, "They haven't even been in the country 24 hours yet!" Despite, and perhaps because of, the exhaustion everyone was at ease and in good spirits. The Lakeside recruiters and workers were making jokes and teasing one another.

The last stop was for groceries, but again, because so many had friends and family already in the city, the workers were given a choice to go to the IGA (grocery store) to shop or to be dropped off at home.

I rode along for the drop offs since Carla offered to take me to my car, which was still at City Hall. As we rode around town, I started to feel like a stranger in my own hometown. Staring out the bus window looking at signs on gas stations, listening to the constant dialogue and the information in Spanish, I began to feel as though I too was someplace new. Things seemed different and “foreign”, as though I too was about to start off on a new adventure in this city.

### **Discussion: The global and local effects of economic and cultural globalization**

This group of new workers for Lakeside represents only one type of migrant pathway which highlights how the experiences and expectations of different migrants are often dependent on a variety of factors, including the specific context of migration. These workers were those who the City of Brooks desired to address with their Welcoming and Inclusive Community plan; however, it is unclear whether the plans of the city are congruent with either the plans of the temporary foreign worker migrants or Lakeside. Lakeside, which operates as a local operation of a national company responds to global trade demand and flows. The forces of economic globalization have been introduced to Brooks by Lakeside, and the city is attempting to negotiate the local effects of this global system. Without Lakeside, there would be no global demand for migrants to supply labour to satisfy the global demand for beef exports. As Appadurai noted, the global flow of people, technology and money each act as a constraint and a parameter for the



movement of each scape he identifies (1996). More than just affecting the livelihood of workers, economic factors define the way Brooks imagines itself in terms of diversity. Like Lakeside, the city responds to the flow of capital and people by establishing a policy of multiculturalism and diversity. Transnationalism, states Kearney, is ideological, political, and institutionalized (1995:549). While the state is in control of defining who, what, and when can enter and exit the state, municipalities are also involved in the process.

Multicultural policies inform how cities address ‘culture’ within their boundaries. Glick-Schiller, Caglar, and Guldbrandsen (2006) examined two cities: Halle in Germany, and Manchester, New Hampshire, United States, both somewhat marginalized, industrial cities, attempting to increase their scalar positioning. Both centers have received significant migrant populations and approach these populations in their midst in competing fashions. On one hand, foreigners were seen as “a new criminal factor of urban life, as well as one that drains social services” (2006: 618). But the cities also on occasion celebrate the new migrants. For example, Halle’s new slogan is “the city of change”, which represents the city leaders’ ambitions to repackage the city as a means of attracting new capital (618). By funding events and celebrations, Halle and Manchester both endorse celebrating diversity, embracing the transitions of newcomers. But despite public representations, neither city offers to migrants any sort of incorporative opportunities with much social mobility or prosperity (2006: 619). The authors (2006) however found that that the cities lacked sufficient resources to fund ongoing activities

and social services, which were organized to assist, highlight or market specific ethnicities.

With this in mind, the different approaches taken by City of Brooks staff and the Lakeside group in framing the Welcoming Breakfast are worth noting. To Lakeside, the meeting at city hall was merely the first stop on a list of tasks to complete in order to steer workers into the workforce. For the City of Brooks, it was a part of an effort to demonstrate their ‘commitment’ to multiculturalism by making these newcomers feel welcome. Like Halle and Manchester, Brooks’ events were aimed at “culture” and celebrating the city’s diversity. The intention was to make the new workers feel ‘at home’, but also to reinforce their own good feelings as a city. It reinforces their idea of a community, and represents a way of imagining that the workers are not deterritorialized workers but of “different” cultures, and who are cosmopolitan and global, but also are a little ‘like the rest of us’. As will be addressed later on, the city’s contribution to these feelings are less substantive, as the work is often left to the cultural groups themselves to perform diversity. For the Lakeside group, the concern was getting the workers through the process to start work as quickly as possible, rather than addressing diversity.

As mentioned by Ong (2000), states develop regimes to control global flows, as well as to accommodate and react to them. State multiculturalism is one way for states to appeal to new arrivals as well as to address the changes which accompany loose borders. Katharyne Mitchell (2004) breaks down current critiques of multicultural policy, stating that multiculturalism is reconstructive rather than additive. She suggests that multiculturalism reworks “the embodied cultural criteria” which are involved in what she

refers to as “civic competence”: an understanding and desire to participate and be an active member of society (2004: 642). Mitchell states that, in opposition to assimilationist models (which intend for immigrants to conform to the norms publicly and practice “culture” privately, in their own homes), multiculturalism reconstitutes private culture, and brings it into the public sphere (2004: 642).

As noted by Frideres (2008, as cited in Bonifacio and Angeles, 2010), integration is multidimensional, including social, cultural, political, identity and economic factors. These dimensions, Bonifacio and Angeles add, require newcomers to absorb certain expected concessions in their personal and public lives, leading them to question whether integration is merely a more politically correct term for assimilation (2010:8). The Welcoming and Inclusive ideology suggests that individuals attend events, activities, and so on, and thus participate and engage, and have an active community life: a characteristic trait of “good” citizens. When individuals adopt these good citizen traits, they become, as Day (1999) suggests, “selves” as a part of the community. If migrants do not assume this ideal, then the implication is that they would remain as the Other. It is noteworthy that the suggestion of being active in community life seems to be aimed more towards “newcomers” rather than the long-standing settler residents, who were absent from the events described thus far. In this context, it seems that multicultural policy is not intended to address the problems of the settler citizens, but of those who are different, and perhaps have different ideas regarding participation. In examining multicultural policy, I will now turn to a deconstruction of WIC policy.

Mitchell (2004) found that multicultural policies place emphasis on “choice” regarding integration, in that it is in the migrant’s responsibility to choose whether or not to become a part of the nation (or community). Migrants may attain civic competence through “participation” in the community and the nation (Mitchell, 2004: 648). However, those who ‘choose’ not to, are considered to be unwilling to participate in civic life, and therefore can be excluded from society without incurring damage to the ideals of a universalist, neoliberal project (Mitchell, 2004: 645). The idea is that some sort of ‘effort’ (no matter how small) has been made by the governing body, and the rest is left up to the decisions of the individual, which will be examined further in subsequent chapters.

The discrepancy between the intentions of policy and the actualization of policy may be found in structural factors. Returning to policy, Good (2009) found that municipalities could be categorized as being “responsive, unresponsive, or somewhat responsive”, and that these categorizations were largely dependent on structural factors, such as: demographic context, civil resources, the city’s political economy, and intergovernmental systems (xiv). Cities, she states, are limited by institutional, economic, and social contexts (2009: xiv). Due to these limits, it may be that a policy, like WIC, may not create what it seeks. There are many limits to the availability of resources, as well as the requisite joint commitment, with which to carry out such wide-scale initiatives.

In terms of the City of Brooks’ three year budget for 2012-2014, it is evident that there is a lack of funding made available for the WIC program. The budget mentions that along with other “key focuses”, Welcoming and Inclusive initiatives would be carried

out, but unlike other projects included in the Recreation and Culture division, such as the new baseball quads (\$3 million), or the golf course (\$37,500/year), there was no specific budgetary amount specified (City of Brooks, 2012). Further, the document does not explain from where any funds for the project will be drawn (City of Brooks, 2012). Another limit on WIC is the position of Inclusion Coordinator, which was created out of the diversity initiatives. Jeff's position at the City of Brooks is split between the "inclusion coordinator" responsibilities, as well as with human resources. The document states that it is a full-time position; however, Jeff only works on diversity-related services part of the time. While Jeff and Lisa did not explain the reasoning for this shared-duties position, it demonstrates the limited resources which are available for the inclusion programming.

It seems that beyond construction of the policy, thus far there is little by way of actual work or funding involved on the part of the City of Brooks. Once the plan was developed, it appears as though specific citizens (particularly those deemed to reflect diversity) are responsible for its implementation. These specific citizens appear to be the migrant residents rather than the settler residents. The events and activities served to highlight culture and difference, as a way to address the diversity present in the city, rather than to include or educate those who were not a part of the particular group being 'celebrated' or as a way to demand rights for these individuals. These events did not seem to be aimed at getting settler residents, or residents from other categories (such as youths/elderly) to attend. Rather, diversity events were aimed directly towards accommodating a target group. As will be seen in the following chapters, cultural events

were aimed at specific cultural groups, whereas other diversity events, such as Senior Citizens Day, were held solely for those senior citizens. Diversity policy seems to be encouraging migrants to celebrate their diversity, meanwhile making accommodations to accept the city's way of being a citizen of the 'Brooks' community.

The activities of the day were symptomatic of how the various organizations are dealing with the current situation in Brooks. For the Lakeside organization, the day was routine. They are used to the scenario of continuous recruitment and mobilization of new members of the company's work force. For the City of Brooks, the day was a little more awkward and forced. The city officials are getting accustomed to the procedures for planning for the steady arrival of migrants into the community. Although the increase in migration to the city had been ongoing for several years, the implementation of official policy in response to increased migration and diversity is relatively new. The way in which the City constructs inclusion demonstrates what notions of belonging, incorporation, and diversity mean from their standpoint. As noted, these constructions are influenced by cultural and economic globalization and multiculturalism.

This demonstrates how global flows impact state policy, but it also demonstrates how difference is approached. Gunew presents an analysis of multiculturalism in Australia and Canada and how post-colonial sentiments are evident in multicultural regimes (1997). She notes that multiculturalism invokes a relationship between minorities and a majority group, and that these categories are defined and utilized in relation to one another. Multiculturalism, Gunew suggests, involves a covert means of indicating racialized differences (1997: 49). The tools the City uses to be culturally inclusive,

assume that culture is tied into specific, visible traits, such as cuisine, and dress (Gunew: 53). While the food chosen was not quite “Mexican”, nor were the shirts worn by city staffers, there seemed to be an assumption that these “familiar” items would signal welcome and respect for the migrant’s country. For their part, the Lakeside group was not as concerned with establishing “authentic” meals, ordering pizza which was spiced up with jarred peppers. In both cases, the new migrants—mere hours into their stay in the country - did not seem terribly interested, nor was it clear that they understood their fate in terms of actively contributing to the cultural diversity of Brooks. For its part, the City of Brooks chose to focus on stereotyped cultural symbols as reflecting diversity, and these were judged in terms of their “authenticity.” Just as the planned Diversity Days were thus aborted because Zumba dance did not fit the vision of a “cultural dance”, the Tim Horton’s breakfast burritos were deemed inferior to the homemade Mexican tacos, though in each case it seemed that an effort had to be made in order to acknowledge that something called “diversity” was at stake. The objective then, seems to be to highlight visible difference as a means of identifying those who are in the minority and need to be included, irrespective of the opinions or experience of those targeted.

As Good (2009) notes, often the first step toward integration involves offering something familiar to migrants. This was the city’s intention with the Welcoming Breakfast: to slowly introduce the newcomers into the community. If visible ethnic markers are the only factor recognized, other factors which contribute to individual identities and localities may be ignored. Still, the WIC document recognizes how diverse factors contribute to a municipality’s population. However, when it comes to practice, it

seems that, as Good found, recognition of ethnic diversity is the most important of these “diverse factors” which make up individual experiences (2009: 23). In Brooks, municipal policy focuses on highlighting and celebrating diversity as representative of the city as a whole. However, the limited activities and events they have sponsored to this end, such as celebrating ethnic holidays for cultural diversity, or planning a senior citizens breakfast to address age diversity, tend to compartmentalize each ‘type’ of diversity without recognizing more complex interactions between citizens, such as when Manuel and I attempted to converse in different languages, and when Carla tried the “hot” peppers. These interactions represent two instances where individuals from different backgrounds interacted with one another in daily life. Manuel, Carla, and myself all had our own assumptions, skills (particularly my and Manuel’s lack of language skills), ideas, and goals, but we all were together that day, attempting to understand one another and function beyond our situated experiences. These moments are where diversity is witnessed, is overcome, creates barriers, and creates learning experiences; and these moments occur separately than the prescribed vision of a policy-based document.

The question then becomes whether these more complex and quotidian interactions actually occur on a regular basis, or whether aside from these times when interactions are more deliberately organized, settler citizens tend to remain with other settler residents, and migrants with other migrants. The city’s efforts at producing a “Welcoming and Inclusive Community” plan represent efforts to re-brand the city as an ideal site for migrants. The discourse is, however, contradictory. They are simultaneously emphasizing and downplaying difference. In the mayor’s speech to the temporary foreign



worker group, he minimizes diversity by suggesting that the community is already diverse. He highlights how various individuals have internally migrated to Brooks from various other parts of the country. This notion that migration is not new coincides with the notion that Canada is a settler society: everyone is a migrant if you go back far enough (Day, 2000: 215). This viewpoint suggest that “we are all the same” in that ‘we’ have all come from diverse backgrounds, to form a “we”, a cohesive community. This point is of note, since it seems to suggest that the migrant should not nor cannot expect anything particularly special, above and beyond celebration from the city. The idea is that ‘we all are like you, so do not expect anything too special as we all had to go through the same thing when we first arrived’. There is, however a visible difference ascribed between the settler population and the migrant population. Despite assertions of oneness, there are identifiers placed upon residents of the city, whereby the migrants are expected to carry the messages of diversity, however these are defined. The message the city is attempting to create and project is predictably contradictory.

The WIC plan prescribes a city which includes all its members into a community, regardless of any diverse identifiers. Multicultural policies, as Hale (2006; 2004) and Day (2000) have suggested, tend to focus on celebrating diversity rather than reducing inequalities, and addressing the needs of the so-called diverse citizens of the state (or in this instance, the city). The City of Brooks has constructed a Welcoming and Inclusive Community plan which seeks to address an emergent diversity within the city, which has, however, been determined by global economic influences of a multinational corporation. The Welcoming and Inclusive plan is informed by neoliberal multiculturalism which

leaves the creation of multicultural strategies to independent organizations such as AUMA and CMARD. These organizations then inform municipal policy, leaving implementation up to localities, which tend to leave the real work to residents who are considered ‘diverse’, as I consider in subsequent chapters. Still, these residents may not share notions of diversity or accept what inclusion requires of them, as will be presented in chapter 4 and 5. Nor does the global driving force, Lakeside, necessarily share in the notions of diversity and incorporation. The Lakeside group had their own priorities regarding the workers. As noted in Chapter 1, Lakeside’s turn to temporary foreign workers was triggered by the labour strike, as the company sought out ‘good workers’ who do not cause trouble by challenging the logic of global neoliberalism by demanding the establishment of a union. For Lakeside, diversity means only a certain kind of individual is included. While Jeff and Lisa were optimistic about the WIC plan, it remains to be seen just how much of an effect it will have on the daily lives of citizens, especially from the settler population, who do not face the same pressures to actualize it.

Along with official policy, the city has reacted to the influx of immigration in various ways. Numerous service organizations have emerged in response to the influx of migrants to the community. In the following chapter, the efforts of some of these organizations will be explored, in relation to, and in the context of, the welcoming and inclusive community. I will expand my examination of neoliberal processes of recognizing and addressing diversity as the efforts of the many service organizations are introduced.

## **Chapter 4: Welcoming and Inclusive Services**

“I feel what you feel” - Diana

In Chapter 3 the construction of a municipal policy on inclusion and diversity was presented. As was revealed, the city developed a plan which was to ideally involve the whole city through a declared shared interest in developing a diversity-friendly community full of engaged citizens. This chapter draws upon the concepts of neoliberal multiculturalism introduced in Chapter 3 by presenting the experiences of those who are often involved in carrying out policy: the workers in various service organizations. This chapter presents data from interviews with service workers from various organizations, of varying degrees of official status, and service range. The service workers' points of view will demonstrate how they address notions of inclusion, diversity management, and incorporation. This chapter will examine theories of policy and their actualization. The overarching theme is that neoliberal multicultural strategies rely on the work of private organizations to disseminate services and assist migrants. There has been an increase in the type and availability of services, but there is still a lack of more specific secondary services, which address concerns beyond basic settlement-type services. This chapter will shed light on the experiences of those who work in service organizations including how they conceptualize their work and notions of inclusion more generally. Policy, and the set-up and dissemination of services, involve a narrative which defines, as Pozniak (2010) found, a “good” migrant and a “bad” migrant.

Prior to the establishment of municipal policy regarding diversity, there had been efforts to develop settlement and related service organizations in Brooks. As noted, some

form of settlement service has been present since the onset of the Lakeside expansion, but these preliminary programs have been quite basic. Broadway (2007) suggests that this is a part of the natural process of immigration into cities whereby there is first an influx of migrants, followed by an initial period of struggle when settlement services and existing ethnic communities are scarce or non-existent. This is followed by the emergence of ethnic businesses and development of organizations and service centers (Broadway, 2007:569). This process has occurred in Brooks, which now maintains at least a dozen ethnic stores and restaurants, grassroots ethnic community organizations, and an increase in service organizations. The mandates of many settlement service organizations are rather similar to the diversity-friendly definition outlined in the WIC manual, in that the focus is on early economic and social integration.

Glenda Bonifacio in her (2008) research on Filipino live-in caregivers and services in Southern Alberta, notes that there are four main types of service programs offered: Settlement and Adaptation, Language Instruction, the Host Program, and the Resettlement Assistance program for refugees (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004). These types of services are considered to be essential for migrant Incorporation. She notes that Brooks, Alberta is a secondary site for former live-in caregivers and suggests that there is a need to examine the community services available for immigrants in Canada, and the access migrants may or may not have to these services (2008: 36). Since Brooks is a site for various types of immigrants, examination of how these services are utilized or not, and the aims of intentions of service organizations provides insight

into how the rest of the community, particularly those who work with migrants, understand “inclusion.”

### **Settlement Services in Brooks**

Due to the context within which most cities are affected by globalization, most municipalities, at a basic level, will have established some form of settlement service to accommodate flows of people. As noted in the introduction, an organization from the nearby city of Medicine Hat, Saamis Immigration Services, established a small offshoot office in Brooks when the expanded Lakeside packing plant opened. The need for migrant workers was immediate, and so were the services to assist the movement of workers. The Saamis immigration service in Brooks was very limited, with one settlement worker coming to Brooks only once per week. At that time, many migrants used more informal methods for assistance, such as consulting with other migrants in their own ethnic group, or other individuals within the city who were not affiliated with any immigrant service organization. Social networks were formed through these methods, and incorporation was achieved through these social fields.

As migrants continued to arrive in Brooks, the demand outweighed the small Saamis Immigration offering, and a new organization, Global Friendship Immigration Centre, was created in 2003 to handle the increasing need for services. This independent organization was present for the arrival of the first major group of migrants from Sudan and operated for several years. Global Friendship faced many difficulties, as it was a small, independent non-profit organization, and it eventually closed down in 2010, following the dissolution of the organization’s board of governors. Shortly thereafter,

another organization, BCIS (Brooks and County Immigration Services), an affiliate of CCIS (Calgary Catholic Immigration Society) was established in Brooks. With each new service association, the level of service and organization has increased. Starting from the external one-day-a-week Saamis immigration service, to BCIS's multiple service divisions, there have been substantial improvements to the types and level of services available.

According to Mohammed, the manager at BCIS, this organization is under the general mandate of CCIS, but has its own, separate division and board. The affiliation with CCIS is beneficial for BCIS, and for the stability of settlement services in the city. BCIS offers a variety of standard settlement services.<sup>2</sup> In reference to their services, Laura stated, "If we see a barrier, we will provide services, even if they are permanent residents." BCIS states that they will give assistance to all migrants, in various stages, from newly arrived to permanent residents who have lived in the city for a while. Laura added, "We will only not help born and raised Canadians. BCIS is funded for the first three years in which clients arrive, but we will still provide services after that period, if they need them."

Everyone I spoke to at BCIS reiterated that BCIS offers a broad assortment of services, which they refer to as an ISP (integrated services program). Mohammed, a self-

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<sup>2</sup> These include: orientation; daycare referrals; assistance with various forms and documentation; assistance with citizenship applications; information on public services; employment services (employment readiness, resumes, job search); assorted assistance such as help with sponsorship applications (according to Laura, an employment councillor, this is not mandated, but they help with this process anyways); translators; and what they refer to as "ethnocultural collaboration"

described “global citizen” who has lived in five different countries, stated that BCIS is the only settlement service agency in Brooks. Service organizations and the government, which provides funding to these agencies, do not want to duplicate services. Mohammed stated that they are the first contact for newcomers, explaining that other (immigration) service organizations offer more specific services, such as health services, and family support services.

When looking at their clients, Laura explained that BCIS sees more ‘secondary migration’ clients, coming from larger centres like Calgary. She noted that BCIS only sees about a quarter of the migrants who come to Brooks, and that most of the individuals who seek their services are the families of migrants who have already arrived. Thus, the most frequent clients include those she referred to as secondary groups: wives, parents, and other family members of a primary migrant. Often, BCIS will not see most of the migrants who have been sponsored, unless there is some kind of crisis. Laura noted that there is also a difference between the uses of BCIS’s services amongst various migrant groups, suggesting that those who tend to use their services are: “the Filipinos, the ‘Spanish’ groups - because, they look to any resources, and are more social. The Ethiopian, Somali, Sudanese, and Chinese tend to stick together more and therefore use the services less.”

In conversations during my fieldwork, many individuals, including those in service positions, tended to group migrants by ethnic, national or racial markers. Statements were commonly made reflecting assumptions that all individuals from a particular country behave the same way. Such compartmentalization can be considered a

form of sense-making. As noted in the introduction, the settler residents struggled to understand the changes going on around them in ‘their’ community, and thus sought ways to rationalize and/or overcome their curiosity, fears, and notions of what their community is. Over-categorization was a way in which residents could attempt to address the change in demographics, and perhaps was also an attempt to be “politically-correct”, as they attempted to “appropriately” label those whom they have marked as different from themselves (meanwhile mislabelling individuals in the process). Kosic and Phalet surveyed perceptions of race, culture, and ethnicity and found that often, a lack of knowledge of people from other backgrounds, and the physical and cultural characteristics of ethnic groups, as well as prejudice leads to the ethnic over-categorization of immigrants (2006: 779). Visibility, related to the size of the group, and assumptions about a group’s desires for cultural maintenance were also factors in this sort of assessment (2006: 781). Lack of knowledge and prejudice are not mutually exclusive; an individual may over-categorize for one reason, or the other, or both, often without conscious recognition (Kosic and Phalet, 2006: 781). Visible and racialized difference is everywhere in this context, from division of labour in the stages of arrival (since more recently, sending location is dependent on where Lakeside currently recruits), to the positions of service organizations. The over-categorization of migrants also contributes to the good versus bad migrant narrative, considered below.

As noted in the last chapter, when the Lakeside group stopped at BCIS, a presentation was given by one of their employees, Diana. Diana came to Brooks from Bogota to live with her husband, who had arrived as a temporary foreign worker with



Lakeside. Diana worked at Lakeside when she first arrived, but was working as a client intake councillor at BCIS when we spoke. She noted that services at BCIS are individualized, meaning that each staff member performs a different role, something clients, she said, needed to understand. When individuals go to BCIS, sometimes they will have to see more than one person for different reasons and at different times in their residency. According to Diana, many clients find this confusing. She offered this example: “when they come to BCIS, they want to keep seeing Criselda, who works with temporary foreign workers. But once their status changes to permanent resident, they would have to see another person.”

In her position in employment counselling, Laura has witnessed the effects of an increased use of temporary foreign workers. These workers, she explained, are brought in mostly by one company, but are able to stay on after their contract expires. Laura added that the process of staying in the country is facilitated fairly easily for them. The problem arises when these individuals want to find a different job, or one that is not with Lakeside. Laura explained:

“People don’t know how to apply elsewhere, how to go on EI, they don’t know the jobs [available]. There is the idea of knowing your community, of networking; the idea that you have to know somebody. For some groups, such as the Filipinos, networking is easier, the group is large enough. But only certain people can get into this network.”

With this in mind, Laura believes that the services offered by BCIS can be helpful for those who have been in the community for longer periods of time, as well.

One of the other prominent service organizations in Brooks is the SPEC association for Children and Families, commonly referred to as SPEC. When I visited SPEC, I spoke with Carol, who came to Brooks along with her husband and two teenage children from Peru in 2008. Carol works as the team leader of the Links Program (a subsection of SPEC, which centers on community connections). She explained that SPEC focuses on increasing awareness and understanding of the services available to migrants, and on assisting the community in coming together to address needs. Carol mentioned that potential clients set up appointments with one of the immigration consultants with Links, and consultants offer assistance according to need. The process involves guiding the clients to some of the various services and programs SPEC has for adults and youth.<sup>3</sup> They also provide translator and interpreter services in seven different languages. Thus, despite statements from both BCIS and SPEC suggesting that each organization is responsible for different services, there is some overlap in the types of services each offer. Oftentimes, as Diana at BCIS mentioned, once migrants utilize a specific service organization, they tend to return to that organization, or individual, and refer friends and family to that organization.

Both Carol and Diana stressed the importance of service organizations in the lives of migrants. “I feel really helpful” stated Diana; who was a lawyer in Colombia and is unable to work as one in Canada because her certification does not transfer. Needless to say, the work she does at BCIS is quite different from the work she did at Lakeside.

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<sup>3</sup> These include: community development activities; educational opportunities; confidential support; referrals; resource information; and direct assistance to families, individuals, agencies and groups

Diana explained that her position allows her to practice her English in a practical way (she hopes to become proficient enough to go to school to get her Canadian law certification), and it also gives her the opportunity to help others whose experiences reflect her own. “Sometimes they are so scared”, she noted, “It is hard when you can’t explain yourself. I think, maybe I help them feel less scared, by saying ‘I feel what you feel.’” Diana sees migrants helping migrants as beneficial because she can empathize with them, because often, she and her husband have had similar challenges.

For her part, Carol valued flexibility in providing assistance, explaining “I can give them the help they need no matter who that person is. It is something that goes around.” She explained that her role is to help the clients understand what they want: “it is not just about client numbers, but about the service.” Carol believes that each case is unique and assesses needs of each individual case before prescribing assistance: “I can see the needs and what and why we need to be different.” In regards to how settlement services work towards inclusion, Carol encourages migrants to be patient, “[Integration] doesn’t happen right away” she stated, “it takes time.”

Despite the good work and intentions of these service organizations, migrants do not always differentiate their individual roles in line with the official mandates. Prior to my meeting with Carol, I spoke to Narel, who initiated PIBA (Filipino Immigrant Basketball Association, considered in the next chapter). Narel’s wife works for SPEC, which provides a link between the two organizations. SPEC and PIBA work together to host end-of-year awards events for PIBA. In return, Narel volunteers at SPEC out of gratitude, because he “owes them a lot.” Narel expressed his excitement to know that

SPEC is there to help out migrants. “It is good for new families. I say to them, ‘you are very lucky to have this help. In our time [when he immigrated to Brooks], back then, we didn’t have help’. They [SPEC] are really helpful. They help with schools, help kids, help register, SIN cards....” Bonifacio found that Filipino live-in caregivers’ perceptions were that settlement services were not directed towards them, due to the high number of refugees supported by settlement service agencies (2008: 36). When I asked about the types of services that SPEC offers compared to BCIS, Narel replied that SPEC is directed more towards “immigrants”, and that BCIS is directed more towards temporary foreign workers. This idea was shared by many migrants I spoke to about perceptions and access to services.

One reason for this disconnect was offered by Mohammed, who suggested that often, organizations tend to work solo and do not interact with one another. He reasoned that if there was more communication between agencies and organizations, this may reduce some of the confusion, misconceptions, and duplication of services, and lead to a more constructive application of services. Another reason for this misconception may be due to the fact that many recent migrants have come to Brooks as temporary foreign workers, and it is through this circumstance where they have first contact and experience with BCIS. For her part, Bonifacio recognizes that settlement services are designed for specific types of migrants, namely immigrants and refugees, and generally not for temporary foreign workers (2009: 136). While BCIS is making an effort towards providing services specifically for temporary foreign workers, it seems that this is only a

recent manifestation of settlement services and not designated in their official mandate, as many migrants assume.

Still, existing research on temporary foreign workers and settlement services (Bonifacio, 2008; 2009; 2010; Foster and Taylor, 2013) suggests this sort of service is not common. It may be that, given the (officially recognized) “temporary status” of these workers, settlement services are often deemed unnecessary. However, many migrants who enter as temporary foreign workers, such as the Lakeside workers, and the live-in caregivers Bonifacio (2008; 2009; 2010) has studied, often use this status as a way towards permanent residency. The service providers I spoke to seem to be recognizing a need for these workers to be included in settlement service programs. A major part of standard settlement and integration services involves language proficiency, which, as Laura suggested, organizations consider vital for migrants. I will now turn to an examination of some of the language training organizations in Brooks.

### **Language Instruction Services in Brooks**

On the day with the Lakeside group, described in Chapter 2, Ada and Alberto were both encouraging the new workers to learn English. Although the positions they would be filling at the plant do not require English language proficiency, the recruiters stressed that it was an essential skill for living in the city, and for moving up into different positions with the company. Laura from BCIS also mentioned that the importance of English-language proficiency is stressed when advising clients. As

Bonifacio notes, language training is one of the key programs aimed towards integration (2008: 37). Laura, along with several others, noted that because Brooks is such a (relatively) small center, the need to use English is greater than if it were a larger center, with large ethnic enclaves and more “Lakeside-type” (low skilled, English-proficiency not required) jobs. In this instance “scale”, in terms of size and availability of resources, is used in two ways: as a justification for encouraging migrants to learn and use English, and to highlight the necessity for available services. For this reason, service agencies tend to refer clients to various organizations where they can learn English, such as churches, the Medicine Hat College (Brooks Campus), and language centers such as Brooks Community Adult Learning Council (BCALC) and the Language Center for Newcomers (LCFN). As the municipality continues to receive migrants, particularly those from non-English-speaking countries, the need for language training services has increased.

One of the larger, independent organizations which offers English-language training is Brooks Community Adult Learning Council (BCALC). BCALC has classes taught by full and part time employees and volunteers. Amanda, a settler resident, teaches classes full-time at BCALC. “There are a lot of wives...a lot of pregnant wives,” she laughed when I ask who attends the classes, later adding “there are people from Sudan, Somalia, China, Colombia, Pakistan, Ethiopia...” Amanda noted that many of the students come to BCALC because they are parents who have children who are more fluent in English than they are: “They are tired of getting their kids to translate all the time, especially when they need to translate ‘adult talk.’”

Amanda taught class twice a day, from 10am to 1pm and from 6pm to 8pm. These times are meant to facilitate access for those who work shift work. This accommodation is common amongst service organizations, since it is widely understood that Lakeside works three shifts: A is day shift, B is the evening, and C consists of the overnight clean-up crew, with A, and B being the most common shifts. BCALC teaches skills such as grammar, reading, writing, speaking and listening, as well as practical application, including going on class field trips. Amanda explained that they try to visit other places in the city (such as the college, the fire hall, and city hall) during regular class hours. When they cannot attend as a class, Amanda mentioned that the center tries to direct the students to events in the community, such as SPEC barbeques and the annual Santa Claus parade and Christmas train. She noted that it is often hard for people to go to events if they do not live in close proximity to the event, or cannot drive, or are working, but she tries nonetheless to encourage students to get out and go to events. This reflects the idea that participation is key to inclusion: ideally, individuals who engage in the community learn English quicker and also gain a sense of inclusion.

Amanda also outlined what she saw as a difference in attitudes towards learning English in class: “For the Chinese, [those from] Colombia, Congo: education is important. For some of the other African cultures, education [is] not as important. They are not serious about learning English...the way we speak about education, as getting ahead, they think differently about it.” Like Laura, such categories are important for Amanda to make sense of the diversity she confronts. Amanda reported that the students usually move through the levels fairly quick, and that it usually takes six months to a year

for students to feel comfortable, at each level. “The African students don’t try as hard, they don’t wanna learn, so they’ll stay at one level for years. Often the African students are a little older, and it’s almost like a social gathering.” After considering her observation, she recognized some larger context:

“Sometimes they are illiterate in their own language, so it is difficult to learn another. I don’t want to generalize though. Sometimes they don’t want to group together, they want to learn, and vice versa, and some Colombians don’t want to learn...you can’t group everybody by their background.”

Similar to Diana and Carol’s comments about connecting with clients, Amanda seemed very empathetic towards students. Amanda said she realizes that the situation can be overwhelming for them. She knows that they have to learn English for quotidian tasks such as being able to attend other schooling (college or university, or any other training program), to facilitate paying bills, and to learn to drive, especially in Brooks where there is no public transit. “I couldn’t move to Africa” Amanda confessed, referring the difficulty many migrants find themselves in, when they are in a different country.

Amanda insisted that “no matter where they are in Canada, there is going to come to a time when non-English speaking migrants are going to need to know some English.” Avoiding fluency was an attitude she had trouble understanding: “I will find out that some students have lived in Canada for eight years, or more, and I wondered ‘well how did you get along so long?’” She saw the lack of integration as the driver here: “Oftentimes, they [migrants] tend to group into ‘same country communities’...One person knows English well, so everybody uses them to translate, and go to doctors, or to



schools with them. If one person drives, they drive everybody. They tend to rely on a few leaders within their own communities.” Amanda mentioned that at first, she was perplexed why after long periods of time migrants would come to language class, or return to class, but reasoned that:

“if you were in another country, you’d seek out others with the same traditions and culture as you. You’d have to seek them out if you didn’t know anything. In a new place, you need to speak the language and if you’re new and you need help, you’d go to people similar to you. But this hinders a lot of learning as well...”

Amanda empathises with the students in her class, and tries to help in different ways. “Sometimes I will try to help them understand by saying the word in their language to try to get them to understand it.” This technique could, however, backfire: “I said a word [in Spanish] for some of the Spanish-speakers, but then the Africans started saying it, thinking it was an English word! ‘No, no!’ I said, don’t say that word, it’s Spanish!” Likewise, puns and jokes were often lost in translation: “they don’t always get them!” In general, Amanda’s approach was to teach migrants English, as a way to facilitate functioning within the city. She believed that English will allow migrants more possibilities, in career and education, and thus facilitate integration. While there are a variety of reasons for non-English speaking migrants to gain proficiency, the overwhelming response is that it is key step towards becoming a part of their new surroundings.

Another organization which focuses on English training is the Language Center for Newcomers (LCFN). LCFN is, headed by founder and executive director Michael,

who is originally from Sudan, but who lived in Winnipeg before settling in Brooks. Michael explained that the LCFN offers many services including various levels of English courses. They also offer a wide range of programs, most of which involve English-training, at some level. In total, the center offers nine programs, focused mostly on language and on youth issues.<sup>4</sup>

Michael stated that the priority of the language classes is to help educate the students with what they need, in terms of language issues. Language is taught through other skills training such as employment skills—to prepare migrants for work in fields other than Lakeside and to learn technological skills that are beneficial for everyday life—and youth English classes—to improve performance at school, and to help deal with gang issues noted in the introduction. Michael had experience working with youths involved in gangs while living in Winnipeg. He suggested that when some migrants who were involved in gangs relocated to Brooks, they brought that life with them. He suggested that while still present, these problems were not as common as they once were, but that it is still important to deter youths away from gang-culture. According to Michael, the center strives to teach youths “that being in a gang is not life, it is a dead end. There are other ways you can find your way, than joining a gang.” He articulates to the youth who have been involved in gang activities, that they too can find a different

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<sup>4</sup> These programs include: youth programs for language; various other skills classes such as computer classes; “immigrants educating immigrants” (a session in which migrant teachers, who are knowledgeable in specific areas, provide information to students on various topics, so that the teacher and student can both participate in certain ways in the community); French language classes; and citizenship courses, to help prepare those for the Canadian citizenship exam

pathway, suggesting that “even though you committed a crime, you can still be accepted.”

Similar to Amanda, Michael stated that English is key to incorporation: “English is a crucial skill. You cannot integrate without it. This is the case not just for Brooks, but for immigrants everywhere. You can’t go to the grocery store, or order a coffee, or say hello to someone without it.” Michael explained that prior to the opening of the LCFN, he met with leaders in the community to inquire about the language-related needs in the city. He found that there were long waiting lists for existing language services and that people were not getting language training in the ways that they wanted. He surveyed individuals in the city, through word-of-mouth and the community leaders, and found that there was a need to “connect with people”, and that many people he spoke to mentioned having significant language barriers present. Michael was surprised, “some people had been in language courses for two, three years and cannot read or write English! That’s the compelling story. So I told them, you can do it, it is possible.”

The organization is volunteer-based, with many settler resident volunteers. Michael stressed that the LCFN is a “bridging point” for settler and migrant residents to come together, to be in the community, and to share ideas and issues. He stated:

It is at the point when we come together, that there becomes a dialogue. Brooks has become a transit, but there are also more people coming in than are leaving. We need to add more resources in the community so that they will remain in the community. People are coming, there is a need, and we are outsourcing. People are leaving to places like Lethbridge, Calgary, because there are resources there.

Michael found that migrants who sought educational training, whether it be advanced English classes (which are not offered in Brooks), or for post-secondary or other job-related training, were required to move out of Brooks. This is common for smaller centers; those who wish to seek advanced educational or career opportunities must leave to larger centers where these facilities are present.

Michael mentioned that the center charges for classes, with the exception of youth programs, but that the cost is fairly low. He believes that “it is worth it” to charge students because, “if it is free, you aren’t going to pay attention to it. If you pay, well, then you try to get what it is worth. Your fifty dollars is not enough to cover the cost, but it is enough to get people to get in their car and come here rather than [stay] sleeping. At the end of the day, they have to participate.” Michael recognized that different people have different approaches to services. He understood that some individuals need different kinds of incentives (such as getting your money’s worth) in order for them to give it attention. While he does not directly frame it in this way, cultural competency is important to consider, when attempting to reach individuals who may approach situations in a different way. As providers of language service, both Michael and Amanda attempted to accommodate students, in their own ways. Although the workers in this chapter work for various different organizations, they all are involved in settlement and integration services, and are involved in the process of working with clients under a mandate which dictates how, why, when and to whom they can provide services. As will be addressed, the ways in which the processes of service providing are informed by neoliberal strategies.

## **Discussion: Settlement organizations, integration and policy**

The organizations considered above, while working in various ways, share the assumption that through use of their services, migrants will be enabled to become citizens, of the nation, and of the city community. This sentiment echoes the City of Brooks' Welcoming and Inclusive strategy, in that all organizations are working towards shaping migrants into active community participants. Services and WIC plans all intend to aid migrants in their pathway to incorporation, from arrival through their continued residence in the city, and also focus on attracting and retaining migrants in Brooks. Service agencies offer a strong narrative on how to integrate into the community, which defines the migrant's own responsibilities to this end. Glenda Bonifacio's (2008; 2009) research on immigrant services for Filipina live-in caregivers in Southern Alberta found that standard settlement and integration services do not meet the needs of former caregivers. She suggests that the use of the services provided by settlement organizations is affected by a variety of factors such as the location and types of services offered (2009: 137). Personal agency and the use of social networks were also factors in how migrants utilized services as tools towards incorporation (2009:139). Bonifacio (2008) demonstrates how the presence of settlement services in a locality does not imply that the services will be utilized, that they will be effective, or that they are accessible to all migrants (particularly those under programs such as the live-in caregiver program).

As was found in this research, most of the service organizations in Brooks offer standard services, which are limited. Regardless of assertions that service providers will "assist everybody" there is evidence that this is not the case. Standard settlement services

are often aimed at specific types of migrants and cannot address all the needs of migrants from differing backgrounds (Bonifacio and Angeles, 2010: 264). In her analysis of live-in caregivers, Bonifacio demonstrated how settlement services agencies are often irrelevant for certain migrant types. She notes that programs and services construct a specific type of migrant, who has little to no knowledge of the Canadian system (2008:41). There are many misconceptions surrounding settlement services available in Brooks, such as: the confusion over which organization serves what types of migrants (such as Narel's comment that BCIS only assists temporary foreign workers and not permanent residents); the division of roles within settlement services agencies; and confusion surrounding the overlap of services between different organizations. The language used in constructing specific mandates and organizational structures (such as the complicated over-use of acronyms used by service organizations) can often be confusing for those unfamiliar with service agencies who are attempting to navigate where to find assistance. Issues such as these may create barriers to access to these services.

In addition to the misunderstanding of service agencies, barriers also come from the structure of settlement services. Most of the settlement-type services which are presently available in Brooks, have only developed within the last few years, leaving several years and waves of migrants without any type of assistance. In addition to the slow establishment of services, as Laura at BCIS noted, providers do not see many of the migrants in the city, especially those who have resided in the city, or elsewhere in Canada, for several years previous. Bonifacio (2008) notes that service providers encounter a number of challenges which impact their delivery of services. Lack of

financial resources, lack of policy and program coordination, as well as restricted service mandates all limit their ability to provide services (2008: 29). Many migrants also face language barriers, cultural insensitivity in the delivery of services, lack of information, and financial constraints (31). BCIS is making an attempt to provide increased service type and access, through their integrated services program, which targets different types of migrants in different positions of settlement, although this plan may reflect the influence of Lakeside, rather than government mandates. As noted in Chapter 1, part of Lakeside's preliminary settlement process involved bringing new temporary foreign workers directly to BCIS, though it is unclear how often these workers are assisted beyond this initial contact.

Neoliberal multiculturalism, suggests Hale, brings forward policies which emphasize the development of civil society and social capital, as well as an attempt at cultural recognition (2002:12). These policies rely on the self-governance of citizens to respond to state initiatives (Hale 2005: 496). Policies such as the Welcoming and Inclusive Community (WIC) plan address these issues through its aims of respecting and celebrating diversity, and encouraging citizens to contribute to the community as a means of gaining social capital. Though inclusive policy works to develop equality amongst citizens, Kingfisher notes that welfare state interventions are not uniform, but are varied along lines of class, ethnicity, age and gender (Kingfisher 2002: 8). Each organization, state, municipality, and individual will establish such intervention in accordance to their own context. The two settlement agencies, SPEC and BCIS, and the two language centers, BCALC and the LCFN, all provide service in a way which reflects their own

organizations, and the individuals who work there. While the data presented in this work do not compare different individuals within one organization, they do highlight how different organizations, which offer similar services, approach client-service. Carol, from SPEC, states that each worker provides service on a client-by-client basis, while BCIS uses a more structured, individualized approach to service in that different workers address different needs. Beyond how organizations construct policy, the interviews from this chapter demonstrate how service workers are involved in production of policy, through their interactions with clients.

### **The construction of services by service workers**

Kingfisher's (1998) study of providers in a welfare office presents a case in which the difference between policy formation and implementation is illustrated. She found that policy implementation involves "co-productivity", between the in-office service workers and the agency they represent, which refers to how providers produce interpretations, categorizations, and classifications that serve as major resources for the policy decisions they make in their actual face-to-face interactions with recipients (1998: 120). Kingfisher found "the division of labour which characterizes providers' place in the welfare bureaucracy, creates an environment conducive to control-oriented, rather than service-oriented provision, effectively precluding the establishment of a positive co-productive relationship between providers and recipients" (1998: 119). In terms of policy-in-practice, according to Kingfisher (1998), providers filled the position of boundary workers, between the agency and the public, in that they are required to navigate the space between the competing, and often conflicting, interests and needs of the two sides.



As Kingfisher (1998) found, service providers played a key role in how services were access and administered. The comments of service workers from the different organizations presented in this chapter bring to light the way in which service provision is tied up in various constructions of need, accommodation, and integration. These themes relate to the desire to provide services to individuals who are identified as lacking something which would enable them to integrate, and find a sense of belonging in the community of Brooks. The level of the service provider is a key site where policy is practiced.

The service organizations in Brooks are informed by state and municipal policies regarding diversity. Hale found that powerful political and economic actors use neoliberal multiculturalism to affirm cultural difference, while retaining the prerogative to discern between rights consistent with state ideals, and those which do not fit (2002:491). WIC policy, as suggested, is involved in recognition of difference, as a means of demonstrating equality. In addition to narratives on work ethic, adaptability, and dedication, the research on Brooks identifies narratives on community engagement and over-categorized ethnic markers. A good migrant maintains an active role in community life, which is tied to the ideal of engagement in the Canadian political sphere. Once migrants become Canadian citizens it is further supposed that they will employ their “right” to vote, and/or run in government elections, volunteer, and participate in local events. Pozniak (2010) identified that the Colombian migrants she interviewed often had ideals similar to those of Canada: hard-working, independent, adaptable and persevering, which makes them considered “good” migrants. In terms of ethnicity, there can be some

over-categorization in this context, as residents (both settler, and migrant) attempt to label one another, particularly those from ethnicities which are unfamiliar, and/or subject to prejudice. Tropes such as “the Africans”, for example, (which includes migrants identified and misidentified as coming from countries in Africa) and “the Spanish groups” (which includes migrants from Latin American countries) are utilized to generalize members (or assumed members) of certain ethnic groups as having similar characteristics. This narrative for the Colombian migrants (and by extension the “Spanish” group) is similar in Brooks, whereas “African” migrants are often constructed as “bad” migrants. This over-generalization can be problematic since it implies that ethnicity is a sort of “catch-all” for behaviours and their expected treatment.

In some circumstances, the service providers used these narratives when describing clients, with “good” migrants identified by these ethnic categories. In Kingfisher’s study of welfare office workers, she found that the categories of “client” and “criminal” overlapped, and the behaviour of several people were generalized to encompass an entire group (1998: 131). In interviews with service providers, categories such as “The Africans” were used as a frame to represent clients and non-clients. In one instance, Amanda corrected her generalization on students’ approaches to learning, but for the most part, these ethnic narratives continue to be drawn from as a form of sense-making. The processes involved in this narrative are tied to, as Pozniak (2010) notes, dominant hegemonic narratives of the good/bad migrant, notions of the Other (Gunew, 1997), and of belonging. Difference exists: as noted, it is highlighted by multicultural policies, as well as through constructions of everyday life. Difference is used a means of

marginalizing the Other (Gunew, 1997: 231), but it also is a means of representing a multicultural community. It is both a topic of contention and a topic of unification, and the results are messy constructions of similarity/difference and good/bad.

The ways in which service providers discuss English training present a key example of policy production. A key part of WIC policy details the onus placed on the individual to learn English. In Pozniak's (2010) study, the participants viewed English proficiency as an asset, in that it was considered a form of symbolic capital, not only for well-paid employment, but for social status and quality of life. Pozniak (2010) noted that attitudes toward learning English are shaped by the "immigrant ethic narrative." She outlines the immigrant ethic, which involves notions of the dichotomy between the "good/deserving" immigrant and the "bad" "undeserving" immigrant, based on whether they possess the "right" values and the "right" attitude to living in Canada (2010: 178). The principal tenet of this narrative is that "good immigrants" should be hardworking, dedicated, and persevering. They should work hard, make sacrifices, learn English as fast and as well as possible, adapt to Canadian culture and the Canadian way of life, and strive to be independent and not rely on the social support system (Pozniak, 2010). Conversely, immigrants who do not learn English, who rely on the welfare system or who refuse to accept low-paying jobs are viewed as "bad, ungrateful, or unwilling" to adapt to Canadian norms (2010: 179). As per the "immigrant ethic" narrative, the foil to the "good immigrant" is a "bad immigrant", one who does not try hard enough to integrate into Canadian society, who does not learn English, and who cheats and abuses the system. Pozniak (2010) describes how discourses on immigration serve as templates for thinking

about immigration and immigrants, and notes that newcomers quickly draw upon dominant narratives to construct their experiences and self-representations as immigrants or refugees. She notes that they may accept, reproduce, negotiate, subvert, or outwardly reject narratives, and/or elements of these narratives, all of which are based upon circumstances and goals at the time.

English language learning is related to the notion of the good/bad migrant. As Amanda described, the migrant groups who were more focused on learning English were considered desirable, whereas those who ‘got along [in Brooks] so long’ without learning English, or saw the classes as a social gathering, were considered less desirable. The good migrant works hard to learn English (Pozniak, 2010). Thus if students appear less than focused on language classes, their reasoning is misunderstood, as evident by Amanda’s confusion about how they ‘manage’ living in Brooks without learning English. She knows the answer to her query, by acknowledging that many migrant groups have ‘leaders’ and social networks in which non-English speakers call upon to assist them. Despite this, what persists is the idea that this is not how migrants should approach English-proficiency.

Pozniak (2010) found that learning English was viewed in economic terms, as it is seen as a prerequisite for gainful employment. For the settlement agencies, however, the importance of language courses for broader imperatives of settlement and incorporation were continually stressed. For many migrants, the question of whether to enrol and remain in an ESL program is a cost-benefit assessment, where the time and financial obligations were weighed against the ability to improve their English skills as a way to

gain citizenship, an education, and better careers (Pozniak, 2010: 180). The sentiment that English is important for finding gainful employment is similar to Laura's assertion that English is key for migrants who wish to find employment in sectors other than in low-skilled positions at Lakeside. Both Amanda and Michael suggested that English is needed to complete basic daily tasks such as attending appointments, and obtaining basic needs such as food and transportation. They felt that quality of life would increase for those individuals who are able to perform tasks on their own, without need of a translator.

Beyond basic needs, English-classes were described as a means to a better, more productive life. While Lakeside is a job most migrants take when they first arrive, many individuals and service providers recognize the temporality of these jobs, citing how Lakeside is a 'hard' place to work. The discourse is that "good" migrants will eventually work hard to learn English and obtain the required education in order to find better jobs. The notion that learning English is a stepping stone to a comfortable lifestyle informs people's subjectivities even before they leave their home countries. English is viewed as a tool to achieving the lifestyle they had back home, or for achieving a new life in an inclusive, diversity-friendly community. The "good" migrant must learn English to obtain these other jobs, or attend school, which is why language classes such as the ones at the LCFN utilize English-learning through other courses such as their computer-skills classes. The good migrant works hard to achieve the comfortable lifestyle, through their individual efforts at increasing their English-skills, failure to do so is seen as undesirable, since many view Lakeside as undesirable and a good migrant will want to find something better.

Despite these ambitious views of language learning, English-proficiency does not reduce other barriers to access these better jobs, lifestyles, or belonging. Bonifacio found that Filipina live-in caregivers actually did not use standard settlement services because they arrived with adequate levels of English, which did not qualify them for assistance (2008: 137). As Citizenship and Immigration Canada (n.d.) outlines, individuals are only eligible for language training if they are permanent residents, and the level of funding is only for levels 1-4. These levels are the only ones currently offered in Brooks, and therefore individuals who wish to advance their English-proficiency beyond this would have to look into options, such as those available in other municipalities. Many Canadian post-secondary institutions and employers requiring applicants to have Canadian Benchmark Levels well beyond level 4 (Centre for Language Benchmarks, 2002). Thus, the language training they receive from standard settlement and language programs in Brooks would not enable migrants to obtain some of the jobs they may seek.

As Michael suggested, English is an important skill for migrants, because it enables them to participate in the community and lead “fuller” lives. The LCFN taught a variety of classes, which all involved use of English language, the reasoning being that English is a significant skill required to obtain job skills training, and to acquire different jobs, to stay away from gangs and get involved in community life by volunteering and participating in community activities. This notion also lends itself to the “good migrant” narrative, specifically the mention of LCFN’s classes which attempt to deter youths from getting involved with gangs. Michael stated that youths were taught that even if they had participated in ‘deviant’ gang behaviour, if they worked hard they could be “accepted.”

The clear implication is that good migrants are accepted and follow a certain guideline of behaviour. From the standpoint of the individual, the benefits of encouraging youths away from gang life are imperative. The community also benefits, since in the past, Brooks has had issues with crime, as well as a negative image based on reports that the city home to “violent, migrant gangs” (Broadway, 2000). In terms of the immigrant ethic, an “acceptable”, hard-working, English-speaking migrant, would also be “law-abiding.”

The City of Brooks, and its service organizations, create a narrative about what a Welcoming and Inclusive Community means, and how “good”, “engaged” residents of such a community act. This narrative operates on the assumption that all migrants will accept and reproduce this narrative in the way that they suggest. This assumption denies the possibility and existence of other modes of incorporation which may be occurring. As Pozniak suggests, some will instead negotiate, subvert or completely reject this narrative, or parts of this narrative (2010:181). Amanda noted her surprise that some migrants have lived in Brooks for over ten years and do not speak any English. She also mentioned that some groups are quite organized and use their own “community leaders” to navigate the city. Alberto noted that more and more new Lakeside workers are getting picked up at the airport by friends and family, and therefore do not need the services they provided that first day.

The official assumptions are based on neoliberal policy, which focuses on individualized efforts. The service workers, who implement services based on neoliberal policy in turn are surprised and concerned when migrants do not use their services and thereby conform to the model of enterprising individuals as dictated by neoliberal

multicultural policies which define how “good” migrants behave. If policy, in its actualization, is in the hands of both the individual clients and private organizations, then it would follow that there will be some variance in its production on the level of the service provider and the individual. The question which arises, according to Kingfisher (2002) is whether individualization results in an equalization of social rights, or the elimination of them. It would appear that policies informed by neoliberal strategies focusing on individual efforts do not result in equality or reduced barriers, since it effectively creates a system in which organizations are interpreting policy based on individuals who may not or cannot access these services.

The City of Brooks and the service agencies located within the city construct a pathway towards incorporation and inclusion. Identifying a specific pathway ignores the possibility that there are other modes of incorporation (Glick-Schiller and Caglar, 2011). In the next chapter I consider organizations in Brooks created by and for migrants, which address issues concerning settlement and fostering a sense of belonging. I assess the degree to which the construction of “inclusion” and belonging in this context compares with the efforts of settlement agencies and municipal discourse. Examining these organizations will identify whether the notions of what constitutes a “good” migrant and a “diversity-friendly” city are shared by all citizens. It will also demonstrate, why or why not these notions are shared.



## **Chapter 5: Community**

“I am someone who likes communities” – Christian

The City of Brooks is endeavoring to foster sentiments of a welcoming and inclusive community for all its residents, and for potential residents. Design and promotion of official policy is initiated by the municipal government, but the production of policy is left to private organizations and individuals. When the analysis of the effects of public policy shifts to the level of the citizens the question arises: how, if at all, do the citizens interpret and produce, or reject, policy? This chapter will begin to explore the lived experience of migrants in the city, how residents are organizing themselves, and what their focus, goals, priorities, and/or intentions are. Ethnographic and interview data including a key event and interviews with two community leaders will be used to present some examples of organizations which have emerged in Brooks, both official and unofficial, and the activities of these organizations. The experiences of migrants in the city in relation to notions of inclusion, “participation”, and community will also be highlighted. Using Amit’s work on community and sociation, this chapter will explore how the data lend themselves to a nuanced way of thinking of “community”, how it has different meanings, manifestations, associations and understandings. The way in which migrants navigate the city and notions of community reveals the extent to which they produce notions of inclusion, if they choose to at all.

### **Congolese Political and Cultural Activity in Brooks**

Another hot summer day in Brooks and the city was bustling. It was a typical Saturday of a long weekend: people were out running errands, preparing to get out of town for the weekend. Large trucks were abundant, towing boats and other recreational vehicles. This activity, banal and generally unremarkable in Southern Alberta, occurred around a troop of marchers, bearing signs and banners: the Congolese community in Brooks was having a march for awareness of the silent genocide and violence in their home country, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo).

The march proceeded down 2<sup>nd</sup> Avenue: referred to as the “main drag”, one of the major streets in Brooks. 2<sup>nd</sup> Avenue stretches the length of the city from the north end, where the march began, to the south end of downtown, where the march ended at City Hall, and the adjacent Veterans’ Park. One man, at the front of the procession, held a megaphone and shouted out slogans as he walked. His repeated message was about the negative consequences of cell phones and the Western contribution to the plight of their home nation. Riders in vehicles accompanied the procession. Drivers honked and the passengers held signs out the windows, as the cars, decorated in signs, drove onward down the street. Other traffic on the street slowed down to yield to the march, which progressed down the dual turning lane in the middle of the street. A few people in their vehicles pulled over to watch the spectacle. I noticed a reporter from the Brooks Bulletin pull up into the parking lot of the IGA grocery store, adjacent to the street. He got out of his worn looking truck, took a few photographs as the march passed by, and then got back into his truck and drove off. Workers from Subway came out of their store to watch as the group moved by. Several people in vehicles honked as they passed by to show

solidarity, while others merely gazed on with curiosity at the spectacle, novel for a place like Brooks.

The procession marched on, noisy and proud, down to the end of 2<sup>nd</sup> Avenue towards City Hall. Arriving at their destination, it was apparent that more vehicles had joined the procession as it moved through the city. Individuals climbed out of the vehicles and greeted each other as they joined up with the mass of marchers. The group stood directly in front of City Hall holding signs out for those passing by to see. Desire, a Francophone Association executive, came out of a vehicle with even more signs. We had met at a previous event, and when he noticed me and a companion, he offered a sign to each of us. At that moment I realized we were the only settler residents in attendance. My companion, upon taking the sign, held it self-consciously at first, and glanced over at me. When I asked him later, he confided that he felt nervous: he was not sure what to do at first, but he felt honoured to have been included.

At City Hall, speeches were given, including one by the man with the megaphone, who spoke in French. Following this speech came another, in English, by a leader from the Congolese community in Calgary, who was wearing traditional-style burgundy tunic and pants. The speeches were followed by a moment of silence. Following this, a woman came up and thanked me and my companion for coming out and supporting them. She explained to us their message: to bring awareness of the atrocities and human rights violations occurring in the DR Congo. The march was about bringing attention to impact of the mining industry in DR Congo and its relation to cell phone use: the metals used to make electronics stimulates the intensive mining. She emphasized that their country and

people were being ravaged as a result of intensive mining and the resultant corruption and power struggles over control of the industry and capital, with many women and children being killed. The woman stressed to me that Canadian-owned mining companies were present in the DR Congo, and noted that her community was urging Prime Minister Stephen Harper to not go to the Francophonie Summit in her home country later that year (this message was also presented in the signs and speeches). Still, it's unclear how, or if, this message was received by the settler community. While in front of city hall, several vehicles drove by and looked on at the group congregated in front of City Hall. One passerby appeared to be chuckling as he drove past. Another, in an oilfield company truck, stopped in the middle of the street to inquire about the significance of the gathering.

After the speeches, the group moved on to the Francophone Association office. The signs were all brought in with the participants, and placed along the wall as they descended the stairs and into the space where the association is located. Large sheets of cardboard lined the back wall of the open room, bearing photos depicting startling and graphic images of the violence endured by those in DR Congo. The room was quiet and subdued as people started to file in. In the far corner of the room, away from the crowd, a group of youths were sitting together on a collection of couches. Many of the youths were also sitting on the steps at the entry. As we approached the back wall to examine some of the images displayed on the cardboard, the community leader from Calgary came over and started to explain some of the pictures, and what was occurring in the Congo. He spoke about external (foreign) influence in the country, and about the natural resources in

the country, and how these relate to the genocide occurring. He mentioned how the general population do not see the benefits of the resource mining, which only go to a few individuals.

Another man from the Francophone Association sat at a table perpendicular to a row of chairs and proceeded to give a solemn speech in French, addressed to the Congolese themselves. The leader from Calgary translated a little of the speech for my companion and I, the only settler residents present, explaining that the speaker was saying that the Congolese are their own biggest enemies, that they should not let foreign mining companies in, and so on. Everyone who spoke that day warned about consumption of electronics particularly in cell phones, iPods, iPads and the like, noting the deleterious effect of mining to produce these items. Once the speech was over some people started to leave. The leader who had provided translations thanked us, shook hands, and informed us that he had to go back to Calgary. Following the speech, films featuring the Congo and the mining industry were played. People dispersed, moving in and out of the building, leaving, and returning.

The march for awareness of the silent genocide and violence in DR Congo demonstrates the connection the Congolese have with their home country and their friends and family who remain there. The approximately 300 Congolese residing in Brooks maintain ties with one another, which facilitate organizing activities such as this march. The Congolese community also works with the Francophone Association, an official community organization serving French-speaking residents of the city. The Congolese march is in many ways emblematic of the fusion of the interests of their

receiving nation with the DR Congo, their sending nation. The ongoing conflict in the Congolese community's home nation is very real and significant for the migrants: it is the reason many reside in Brooks today, and the reason they cannot perhaps return.

I returned to the Francophone Association to talk to one of the organizers, Christian, who noted that groups such as this were created to help the community, not to divide it. When Christian arrived in Brooks in 2005, the Francophone Association was very small and under-organized when he started there. Christian mentioned he was always involved in some form of community organization, in the DR Congo itself and also in Sherbrooke, Quebec, where he lived before coming to Brooks. He described how he started up a youth organization in the DR Congo which is still running. Christian has always been involved in community organizations and was eager to continue when he moved to Brooks. "I am someone who likes communities" he stated. When Christian saw how small the Francophone Association was when he arrived, he asserted, "I have to be involved, because I can help. I can help the association grow." He added, "growth and help, that is what community organizations are [about]." Christian wanted to make a difference, for the association, and for all citizens of the city.

As noted in previous chapters, English is the primary language spoken in Brooks, and service availability in other languages is still uncommon. "French speaking people in the community need the same rights as everyone else" Christian offered, adding:

In Canada, we have two official languages. So, our mission was to help the French-speakers get help in a language they understand, so they can get resources and assistance in French, because Brooks is mostly English. They [the French-speaking residents] should have the same rights because it is an official language. Canada promotes multiculturalism, so as a

francophone [country], they have different cultures and identities. They need to feel they are a part of the country, and they need to be heard, in language they understand.

In this context, Christian was eager to draw on the Canadian model of multiculturalism, particularly the biculturalism of French and English settler cultures on which it is based (Day, 2000). While started by migrants with no direct ties to Canada or Quebec, the Francophone Association freely draws on existing policies and national sentiments in order to create a space for themselves. Beyond language, Christian stressed that the focus is on human rights: “My motivation is to help human beings, not just because they are Congolese. Human rights are for everybody.”

The association’s biggest project is its youth program. Christian noted some of the problems which migrant youths face, including the fact that their parents usually work at Lakeside, which is labour intensive shift-work, which can include evening shifts. As a consequence, parents are either at work when the children are out of school, or if they are at home, they are tired and need sleep, making active childcare difficult. For this reason, in 2009, the association started a youth center for those aged 7 to 17. Christian explained that the center exists to give young people a place to study, to play, and to get help if they need it. While it is a part of the Francophone Association, the youth program is not only for French-speaking youths, as all immigrant youths are welcome, and attend. The focus, stated Christian, is on integration: “The immigrant (and second generation) youths, are the ones who have challenges in the community. We have homework time, we focus on education, how to be involved in the community, how to be a good citizen. We teach them to give back to the community, and teach the importance of volunteering.” The

youth group have worked at the hospital, city hall, the food bank, and are involved in a regular street-cleaning program. Christian explained that these projects help the youth to build a Brooks identity:

Everybody wants to be a part of the community. Immigrants need to be involved in the community, but there isn't time. Lakeside is hard work; it is hard to be able to do it, they don't have that time. But for the youth, they are growing here. They need to be educated and need to understand what the community is, and what they can bring to the community through their efforts at becoming a strong community of Brooks.

When I asked Christian about the tendencies of people regarding community participation, he remarked that it depends on the different backgrounds of people. He believes that people want to participate, but if they are not educated in a certain way, it is difficult to get involved: "You can't offer something you don't have ... If you don't have experiences or anything to share, that's the problem." Christian noted that his background working with various organizations led him to seek similar involvement when he moved to Brooks. Imagining a different migrant experience, he speculated: "Maybe he came from a closed place, to a [refugee] camp, also closed, and then came to Brooks and started working at Lakeside right away. So for him, the history is closed, closed, closed. And what does that person bring?" Christian noted that the Francophone Association teaches migrants the importance of doing something for the community, apart from a focus on work. "I tell them, it is not the job which is important. Some people think: money, money, money. But when you are too focused on money, you miss a lot of other stuff." Christian believes that not being closed-off, and engaging in some form of community life contributes to the growth and health of the community, something he tries



to teach to the youths and other migrants who come to the association. I will now present another community organization, PIBA, which also brings members together, but this time is based on mutual interest in the sport of basketball.

### **Multiple modes of incorporation: Non-ethnic communities**

As noted in the introduction, Glick-Schiller, Caglar, and Guldbrandsen (2006: 616) note that there are multiple “pathways” of migrant settlement and that there are “multiple modes of incorporation” beyond affiliation with ethnic groups. One way migrants in Brooks have created a space for their ‘integration’ of sorts, is through sports. One organization is a basketball league, known as PIBA (Filipino Immigrant Basketball Association). While on the surface, this would appear to be a typical ethnic association, it has transformed its mission and reach in recent years.

The PIBA league started in 2007-2008 as a basketball league for migrants, specifically Filipinos. After the first year of the league, the organization of the league was taken over by Narel, a Filipino migrant who works at Lakeside. I met with Narel at the Lakeside Leisure Center to talk about the creation of PIBA, prior to a preliminary meeting with team managers. Narel recalled that the league came about indirectly. When Narel and his friends first arrived as temporary foreign worker to Brooks, they often went to the Lakeside Leisure Center on their days off to relax and swim. When they went to the center, some people noticed that there was a basketball league offered through the City and the Leisure Center. Many of them were interested in joining the league, but due to the fact that most of them were working shift work at Lakeside, they could not make the weekday night times on which the league was held. It was for this reason that the

group started up their own basketball league. “I do it for the love of basketball” stated Narel, “It is our national sport [in the Philippines].”

PIBA typically runs a winter and a summer league, with all the games played on Sundays, Lakeside’s regular day off. The league rents gym space from the Leisure Center, and from the Brooks Junior High School to play their games. Since all games are played on Sundays, back-to-back, the events usually take up the whole day. Space is limited, and sometimes cost is an issue. Narel mentioned that PIBA tries to work with the city in terms of space. Sometimes, he noted, the games run overtime and they need to book the gymnasium for another hour. Often, the Leisure Center will have other bookings right after PIBA’s, and they cannot finish all their scheduled games, and booking this facility could get expensive: The league gets no special rates as regular users, and has to pay the standard rental rate (\$53/hour) for the approximately three hour (or longer) rental.

Aside from the facility, Narel explained that some players exacerbated cost issues, when they did not show up for games or were late: “Sometimes people don’t come, they are passive”, he lamented. “We pay for the time, so if people don’t show up, it costs us.” As for the Leisure Center, Narel described how he wrote a letter to the city, to try and see if the city could give them a different rate as regular users. The city informed him they would not give discounts, because “it would open the floodgates”, a perspective that Narel understood. In 2011, the league began renting space from the Brooks Junior High School for 100 dollars per day. The league still occasionally rents from the Leisure Center, when required, but Narel prefers the Junior High gym, since it is cheaper, and has a viewing area for the many families and friends who frequently attend the games.

Despite these set-backs, the league is extremely popular and successful in the new venue, with the viewing area always full of friends and families watching and cheering the players on. Narel recalled sporting events back home in the Philippines, where the streets were closed off for the events, and watching was almost the bigger spectacle than the game itself. In Brooks, basketball is almost as popular as in the Philippines, and quite a large group of fans gather to watch the Sunday matches, which include players from the settler community: “This Canadian guy was so happy. When he shoots the ball, people cheer!” laughed Narel.

Narel described the league in terms of its players, highlighting its diversity. Despite its name, the league drew exclusively on Filipino migrants only for its first year. In the second year, they invited “everybody” (the league is men-only, and therefore “everybody” refers specifically to ethnicity, and not gender) to play. Still, although it is open to all men, predictably most of PIBA’s players are from the Philippines, though the participants are becoming more varied with each season. Narel emphasized the mixture of players in the league: “we have people from Africa, Belize...it makes it more competitive.” Narel suggested that different types of players contribute different skills and assets to the league: “Canadians in the league are tall, but [they] can’t jump! Filipinos are short, but they jump high!” and, “the Belize team used to bring drums to gym when they played. One guy [from this team] got drunk, [and was] suspended from the league! They like to drink.”

For the 2012 summer season, a particular group caught Narel’s interest: “This season there’s going to be a Mexico team! I’m excited about this. There’s a boxing

rivalry between Mexico and the Philippines, so we have a rivalry with them.” Later on that day, when PIBA held a league meeting with the managers, Narel gleefully pointed their team managers out to me. During the meeting, the teams were submitting rosters and uniform colours (to ensure that there were no problems telling teams apart). When it was the Mexican team’s turn to provide their team colours—which were blue and white—Narel immediately questioned, “why not red, white, and green? For Mexico!?” Unfortunately for him, the manager responded that it was a Latino team, consisting of players from various countries, not just Mexico. He seemed disappointed that the boxing rivalry which helped him frame transnational relationships as a Filipino would not carry over to the basketball league, at least for this season.

In general, Narel was proud of the league, especially what he understood to be its openness. He described an instance where a co-worker (labelled simply as “a Muslim guy”) asked about helping out with the league: “When I accepted his offer, he was very happy to be able to help out, he brought medals! He said to me, ‘I like your association’ and he wanted to help. He thought PIBA was so exclusive, but I told him it wasn’t.” Thus, this group has opened itself up to the larger community and thrives on the mix of participants, though the official interaction with the city itself is limited to renting space when needed, at the same rates as any other group. In addition, for some years now they have held a cross-league tournament with the Leisure Center’s men’s league. The league is also integrated into the Lakeside workplace: a key site to advertise the games, which are scheduled to accommodate work obligations. PIBA also works with SPEC, which

hosts the season-end awards ceremonies. As noted in Chapter 2, Narel's wife works at SPEC, so he often directs people to the organization.

In short, PIBA appears to be a well accepted organization in the city, though it has faced some criticism, from an unlikely source, due to its association with a specific national group. Narel explained that he used to advertise for the league by posting signs in the locker rooms at Lakeside. One day, he noticed that there was writing on one of the signs, which said: "This is racist." Narel was surprised:

I'm quite friendly at Lakeside, and I know everybody, so I wondered who did it. It [the sign] was by a locker, so I asked the guy who had that locker who wrote it, and he told me, "it was this Somali guy." I didn't know him, so I went and got a leader to interpret [one of the leaders of the Somali community] to talk to the guy.

Narel was bothered by the man's actions, so he explained: "I tried to talk to him, I said, 'you do not know what you're doing. Do not instigate.'" Narel then made sure that the Somali men were aware of PIBA's inclusivity:

I informed the leader that everyone is welcome. I said that the guy [who wrote on the sign] should ask before he does such a thing. [The leader] said that the guy said, "No no, I play soccer not basketball." So I asked "Why did you make that comment?! See in the picture [on the sign]? There are Canadians and Africans!" So he [the man who wrote on the sign] apologized. And now when PIBA posts in the locker room, nobody touches it.

This interaction presents how misconceptions arise out of community organizing. Similar to the assumptions placed upon some service organizations in chapter 3, assumptions arise regarding community organizations and their membership and inclusion. The Somali man, who felt himself to be an outsider, assumed that there were

boundaries to membership based on Filipino heritage, and rejected this form of association (despite his disinterest in basketball). Just as service workers used race to categorize clients, residents often employ racial markers to define group membership. Since the title of the organization was PIBA, the Somali man assumed that the group was exclusive to Filipino members only and felt that there was racialized boundary-making. While PIBA refers to the Philippines, which is not a racial category, for migrants, as well as settler residents, nations are often racialized as well. As Kosic and Phalet (2006) found of their study of Albanian and Moroccan migrants in Europe, individuals often ascribed racial categorizations to countries of origin. Despite Narel's protestations that PIBA was not only for Filipinos, the name still carries the designation otherwise and will most likely receive this type of misunderstanding so long as it remains titled as such.

Narel believed that different types of community organizations are essential for a city, especially one which receives so many migrants. "People don't know how organizations can help them" stated Narel, "When I first arrived, I didn't at first make efforts to get involved in the community...These new guys [the more recent migrants], they have it easy now. They have these places, like SPEC available to them." In addition, Narel felt that he had earned respect in the broader settler community by running the league, chiding those migrants who are not doing much in community and insisting that everyone should be able to be involved in some way. The Congolese community, the Francophone Association, and PIBA represent various ways that residents have organized themselves based on some form of common interest, expectation, or commitment. These groups represent how residents view, and enact, community and social networks.

Furthermore, the way these individuals speak about community demonstrates their understanding and values concerning belonging (and by extension, who may not belong). I turn now to a discussion of this concept, and an analysis of how the materials presented here help complicate commonsense ideas about “community.”

### **Discussion: the concept and practice of community in Brooks**

This chapter presented how some residents approach “community”, and community engagement through organizations separate from those which officially take on the project of migrant settlement. Amit states that “community” has become the link between convergences between culture, place, intricate social relations, and collective identity (2002b: 5). The way in which the city of Brooks attempts to link these points together is through, as Amit suggests, as sense of “affect-belonging”. Affect-belonging deals with the ways in which sense of community is responded to, felt, recognized and interpreted (Amit, 2010: 360). The city of Brooks has developed a policy which, whether directly intended to be or not, serves to create a category of community and define its membership by making assumptions regarding affect-belonging. Affect-belonging involves the various ways individuals direct their sense of belonging. This may include national attachments such as Benedict Anderson’s imagined community, nostalgia for homelands, or more localized group identities (Amit, 2010: 362). In some sense, there is an “imagined” Brooks community created in order to bring together a population, which has undergone rapid change and has struggled to deal with the challenges, and crises, collisions of different cultures, points of view, priorities, and different visions for the

community. The community imagined by city officials hopes to breakdown differences and ease tensions, by bringing together all citizens and promoting a shared sense of belonging to make migrants feel welcome and recognize that Brooks is, and can be their home, and so settler citizens feel like their home is still their home.

As noted above, Christian spoke of his view that community, in regards to the Brooks community, as well as the Francophone community, is about human rights: everyone should have access to resources, and everyone should have some place where they can come together with other group members. He viewed having a sense of community and belonging as key factors to well-being. He also believed that volunteerism is about community, reflecting the WIC stance that being an active participant in community life is good, though he realized that not everyone will do so. His statements are based on the assumption that particular activities will lead to a sense of belonging, though whether or not this occurs is open to question. Amit states that belonging is felt through various means and the degree to which belonging is felt is not always the same amongst all individuals (2010: 362). Volunteering, according to Christian will result in belonging; however this is not always the case. Individuals may volunteer and not feel a sense of belonging, or conversely, they may not volunteer and feel a sense of belonging to a community. This is particularly so for the community of Brooks as a whole. City officials, and community organizers, such as Christian, argue that volunteerism is key to a sense of community, but do not explain how they envision the former causing the latter. The WIC plan constructs community based on a specific vision of what community means, however, as authors such as Amit (2002; 2010; 2012)



and Delanty (2010) have found, “community” involves complex forms of interaction or coordination. It is not clear how volunteerism and participation equal belonging, and that being the case, the point which then must be raised is: what are the other ways in which citizens demonstrate affect-belonging?

While the intentions of WIC community policy are to unite an apparently fragmented community, consisting of smaller social groups, it is a difficult task to force shared interest and belonging, especially when citizens are perhaps, in their own ways, already creating social connections with varying types of sociation and commitment. As Amit (2010) suggests, community should be looked at in terms of factors of sociation regarding joint commitment, affect-belonging, and degree of association (as defined in Chapter 1). Amit (2010) found that joint commitment is involved in bringing individuals together, but it may not necessarily result in belonging. Degree of association varies between individuals within a group, and therefore members of a “community” may feel belonging and commitment in varying degrees. What this implies is that community membership may mean different things to different individuals, even within a given group. The Congolese community, the Francophone Association, and PIBA all are various permutations of community which provide social networks, belonging, and commitments, to varying degrees, but do not necessarily extend easily to embrace the “community of Brooks” more generally.

Amit suggests that there are degrees of “sociality” which contribute to community, including common knowledge, mutual expectation, and plural subject matter (2010: 359). As was demonstrated by the organizations in this chapter, there are strong

attachments formed to groups based on these factors. The participants of the Congolese march came together that day with the shared interest and knowledge of events which have impacted their lives, and the lives of those who remain back home, and with the goal of spreading this message to the greater community of Brooks. The march also represented the members' shared experience of the two different pulls of community: Canada, and their home nation. As mentioned, nostalgia is a part of affect-belonging, in that many migrants' attachment to their home nation informs their associations and sense of belonging (Amit, 2010). Nostalgia is a way in which community associations can span across borders (2010: 362). For some of the residents, these ties have migrated along with them, across various borders before continuing on in Brooks. The Congolese march demonstrates how the group members created their own way of navigating their transnational ties to form a sense of belonging in their new residence. Their ability to do so does not necessarily depend upon the acceptance or participation of the settler population, or other migrants. The settler community, and additionally, the international community, may very well be addressed through this demonstration, as seen in their call to the prime minister of Canada and to the international humanitarian community, but they are not the main target of the march. The participants wanted to raise 'awareness' through the march, but when they moved over to the Francophone Association, the speakers addressed their concerns more poignantly to the Congolese themselves, to understand their own responsibility. The commitment to the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo was why people gathered together in Brooks that day, but these issues are also of concern to others globally as well. As Amit found, commitment is related to common knowledge and mutual expectation (2010: 360). It cannot be assumed

that this issue brought these individuals together because they were in Brooks, since they may have come together in other locations, and have a common interest, which may be shared with others, across borders. The fact that the man from Calgary attended based on a joint commitment would suggest that there are others in other locales that are united by this cause.

The Congolese have forged their space and time in Brooks in order to create a community (Amit, 2012). But by examining the factors of association which are involved within this group, it was apparent that joint commitment and sense of belonging are high, but not necessarily dependent upon residents of Brooks more generally, nor was their own network limited to Congolese migrants in Brooks. Despite this presence of notions of community in Brooks, this community, and its attachments, are not located there. The organizers, the man from Calgary, the woman at city hall, and many other participants I spoke to that day expressed their deep-seated connection to their message and the important of getting together to bring awareness to the issue, which holds value on a global level. If not for the commitment to this transnational issue, all those who joined in the march, the event would not have occurred, or been so fervent. The issue at hand however, seemed to be of more importance to those within the Congolese community than for the casual observer. It is here where commitment and belonging represent, but also do not represent, community. As for residents of Brooks more generally, my companion and I were the only settler residents who attended the events of the day. The participants were almost entirely from the local Congolese Community, or from the Brooks Francophone Association. Some on-lookers honked and waved in solidarity, or

paused in curiosity, but such reactions were fleeting and unclear in terms of their consequences, especially as concerns any potential for concrete forms of sociation between these individuals. In the march, as a community activity, mutual expectation may not have been felt by all residents of Brooks in that for those who did not participate in the events, as was observed, they at most only mildly expressed interest in the issue so strongly felt by the Congolese. The event had been advertised in local media, and the procession was quite visible, but aside from the casual curiosity, engagement from the settler population, or other migrant groups was minimal.

As Amit suggests, community groups cannot be solely considered to be based on mutual interest, or consensus (2010: 360). Joint commitment does not equal belonging or association, and therefore there are other factors at work (Amit, 2010: 360). In some circumstances there is shared interest, but there are not always mutual expectations, or commitment which goes along with common values. While Christian understood that Francophone affiliations are a part of Canada, these ideals are not shared by all Canadians, particularly in Southern Alberta. The lack of French services in Brooks, and thus the lack of joint commitment to maintaining French language, is arguably a reason for the establishment of a Francophone Association. The Francophone attachment may have brought together the participants in the association, and the march, but it is a global ideal, which does not speak to all the citizens of Canada, let alone Brooks.

Joint commitment does not always equal consensus: individuals may, for example, feel that volunteerism is of value, but as Christian noted, if they are not familiar with it, or have other commitments, they will not think that they themselves are able to

contribute in that way. As Amit suggests, joint commitments do not necessarily generate consensus or collegiality, and thus, they cannot always be sustained. Within PIBA, Narel lamented how players were often late, passive, or partook in behaviours that he did not necessarily agree with. In this case, however, the possibility of realizing community was dependent on the participation of these players, and Narel was obliged to deal with this reality. Opening participation to non-Filipinos may be seen as a consequence of the inability to create community in this way exclusively within this national group, whose ‘joint commitment’ to games was not consistent. When commitments are realized, a sense of community, social relationships, and belonging are experienced, despite differing approaches of members.

Alternatively, a sense of “belonging” does not necessarily mean there are concrete forms of sociation (Amit, 2010: 361). Although commitment and expectations may vary, this does not mean that social networks are not present, and that belonging is not felt. As Amit suggests, community does not need to be all-encompassing to provide satisfying forms of social connection and belonging (2002: 16). For those who are a part of the organizations in this chapter, belonging is instilled through their social interactions, though these may not always reflect the same sense of “affect-belonging.” Players in the PIBA league may consider themselves to “belong” to that league, but they may not actively do anything to produce or sustain this collectivity. The Filipino players who Narel identified as being late or absent consistently may have a sense of belonging to the league, but clearly do not share the commitment to sustain the league. In fact, their lack of commitment actually contributed to some of the troubles the league faced. A notable

example was the Canadian player who was happy to hear cheers when he scored for his team. According to Narel, this player felt a sense of satisfaction from membership in PIBA, which had better crowd support than the city's recreational leagues. This, of course, is Narel's interpretation. The enjoyment from participation may not mean that he enrolls the next season, or is particularly committed to the prolonged presence of the league, or contributing in ways other than showing up to play basketball. It is not immediately evident that this "Canadian" player saw his participation as somehow resulting in a broader sense of "affect-belonging" with the Filipino community in particular or migrants, more generally. It may be perhaps, that his belonging was actually contributed to broader, more diverse factors. Along with the presence of fans, the competitiveness, the end of season awards barbeque, and attention to team uniforms, the league provides a community environment which makes players want to play. The social aspects of PIBA are what made the league successful, and what demonstrates that there are shared feelings of belonging and inclusion which can go beyond migrant community itself, however that is defined and differentiated internally.

Amit found that in terms of sociality, there are varying forms of association, referring to the notion that there are various circumstances and qualities in which sociation occurs (2010:362). Community in Brooks is demonstrated by the organizations presented in this chapter, and the way in which these groups present community may not easily translate some of these expectations to the larger community. Community takes on various attributes in situations in which people may hold similar expectations, meanings, or symbols without necessarily being socially linked (Amit, 2010). It may not be

established in the way in which WIC envisions it: community may be established in smaller groups, it may be fleeting, or it may even be that there is a “Brooks” community, which is obscured by traditional definitions of what community means. Amit states that once expectations and meanings are no longer shared, or sought, community attachments, and/or communities as a whole may break down (2010: 359). This notion ties into the idea that Brooks is transient (Broadway, 2013), and how community is not always enduring. Perhaps, despite the strength of connections which were revealed by their members, some of the associations presented in this chapter may not exist in the future.

### **The Concept of Community: how struggle and disjuncture are key components of community**

Some of the cases presented in this chapter demonstrate that in terms of the notion of community, it is sometimes difficult to organize people within a group. How “community” attachments can create tension was also revealed. There are instances where there is conflict and times where members may disagree with the ideas of their community, but this conflict can be productive not necessarily destructive. Amit notes that people care because they associate the idea of community with people they know, with whom they have shared experiences, activities, places, and/or histories (2002b: 18). They use these relations to interpret their relationship to more extended social categories. Community can therefore be formed or reinforced through struggle or conflict.

Such struggles are highlighted in the discussion of PIBA above. From difficulties with finances, space, commitment, and external opposition, this group faced many conflicts, but still continues to evolve and to be a space for individuals to come together.

One of the struggles this group faces relates to the fact that PIBA consists primarily of Filipinos, and so long as the league remains titled Filipino, the members of the league, including Narel, will continue to deal with these types of confusions. This is especially important to note since one of the reasons for them to expand beyond Filipino players was rooted in the lack of ‘joint commitment’ by members of their own community. However the “multicultural” aspect has not resulted in a name change which might actually reflect this multicultural identity that Narel stressed, at times at least, was a part of the league. In other contexts, he was happy to promote its association with his home nation, as in the anticipated rivalry with Mexico. Amit, in her assessment of disjuncture, suggests that it, like ‘community’, can be productive in that it demonstrates how people respond to adverse situations, and how people seek to form, or re-work social relationships (2012:33). Faced with difficulties with space and cost did not seem to pose a problem for Narel, as he worked around barriers, using social networks. For example, the use of the Junior High gymnasium was facilitated by a co-organizer’s wife, who worked at the school, and the need for players to show up on time meant that rules were put in place to enforce punctuality in order to participate. Barriers only demonstrated the ability of PIBA to respond, and reinforce social relations in order to continue to function. Still, it is worth noting in the broader context of the City’s official discourse of support and inclusion for migrant communities, little was done in concrete terms to express a “joint commitment” with PIBA and perhaps facilitate the realization of community. The justification for not supporting PIBA in this way used discourses of “equality” and the need to treat all groups “the same”. When decisions are finally made, these values can conflict with the discourse of supporting diversity and “difference.”



Narel's story of the Somali man who did not like PIBA's sign because he assumed the league was exclusive is another example of struggle, internal to the "migrant community." Although it was a small incident, it can be suggested that it is representative of what happens when a community encounters resistance and misunderstanding which arise out of difference. Amit suggests that disjuncture is something that occurs which may be beneficial to forming, or altering social relationships (2012: 32). Narel wanted to maintain that PIBA was an inclusive group, for all participants, regardless of nationality; though as noted his own discourse on this was inconsistent. While it may not have meant much to the Somali man, who asserted that he liked soccer instead, for Narel it was a "victory" of sorts, in that others understood the context of the group (that, despite the official name, the league was 'for everyone'), and was respected.

Disjuncture is also evident in the Francophone Association and Congolese community's activities. As mentioned, the Francophone-as-Canada ideal as asserted by the Francophone association is not an ideal which is shared in Brooks. Christian utilizes Canadian discourse of bilingualism; however Brooks is not a very bilingual community. As found in the previous chapter, English language training was stressed with virtually no mention of Canada's other official language. The idea that French-speaking migrants should be able to receive service in their officially-recognized language does not correspond with the primarily English-speaking population and the lack of French language services throughout the city. Additionally, the anti-mining stance of the Congolese may not be shared by all residents, as some may rely on, or support Canadian mining interests. This reaffirms how the expectations of the Congolese community align

with a global community, rather than the Brooks community. The desire to make changes to the Canadian mining industry and mining companies may not be shared by all citizens in Brooks, and may have been why there was limited acknowledgement by the other residents. Amit (2012) found that disjuncture is a key component to community, not just to define the borders of community, but within. While these examples may demonstrate that there are divisions within Brooks, Amit suggests that conflict is not always negative. These ideas will be examined further in Chapter 6, as I address these moments of disjuncture more specifically.

Community, notes Amit, has come to represent a variety of social interactions amongst people who are connected, or not, who are similar, and are not, who share commitment, or do not, and who share a sense of belonging, to varying degrees (2010: 359). By examining community practise in Brooks beyond the official community organizations, the ways in which individuals interact with one another and their surroundings are revealed. Individuals in the city are associated with one another in varying degrees of commitment and belonging, and in varied types of association. Residents in Brooks feel belonging, community, and inclusion in ways which have some form of meaning to them, which may not be similar to the way in which the city policy envisions, which may in turn create disjuncture. Disjuncture—particularly in terms of varying levels and perspectives on ‘joint commitment’ to a particular project/group—is where Amit suggests community and sociation are revealed, transformed and at times strengthened. The effect of disjuncture on community is the subject of the next chapter, where I will present cases in which residents do not feel strong sense of belonging or

inclusion, at least in terms of the common projects to which they are expected to contribute.

## **Chapter 6: Inclusive/non-inclusive:**

“There must be an election coming up” -Ahmed

In the last chapter, representations of community were examined by looking at factors of association. This chapter continues to dissect community, by presenting how inclusive policies, such as WIC, can be contradictory. Here, Amit’s model of community and disjuncture is used to illustrate how official constructions of community and inclusion may not result in a shared sense of belonging and how belonging may arise out of disjuncture. This chapter will utilize theories which deconstruct policy related to belonging and inclusion to revisit community and disjuncture. Notions of neoliberalism and globalization will be addressed in relation to how they contribute to the varying experiences of community, and how inclusive policy might not be supported in a small, rural center. This chapter will consider the ideas of those who do not share the vision of inclusivity, whether this is exhibited actively or passively. For some, the opportunity to remain incorporated or to participate in the way they would like is not available to them. For others there is a more explicit rejection of the greater community. Overall, this chapter will consider how conflict is entrenched in community, and in some circumstances it may divide, while in others, it may demonstrate the strength of a community.

### **Inclusivity and Migrant Ambivalence**

The month of Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, and the month in which Muslims believe the Quran was revealed. Following Ramadan is the month Shawwal. The first three days of Shawwal are spent in celebrations and is observed as the "Festival of Breaking Fast" or Eid el-Fitr. In recognition of the celebrations, the City of Brooks put together an event which began with a prayer service in the Flex Hall, the new gymnasium at the Lakeside Leisure Center. The event was very small and simple. Several long tables were pushed together in long parallel rows and there was one row of tables, filled with food, and beverages, that ran perpendicular at the top of the arena. The space accommodated the large Muslim community. In past years, a space this large had been difficult for them to find, and maintaining an adequate space for a mosque in the city had likewise been challenging. The Flex Hall was split into two halves with a drop-down partition to facilitate a men's and women's side for the prayer service. Following the prayers, many attendees left; some returned later or made their way to the old Centennial arena, also in the Leisure Center.

Many people, including a lot of children, were sitting at the tables. All those in attendance were dressed in their best. Like every other official event the city collaborates on, speeches were given to the crowd. As the mayor was at another event in the county, the speech was given by the deputy mayor. After the speeches, most of the remaining people left or dispersed throughout the center. The children gravitated to the inflatable bouncers located at the far end of the arena.

I walked down to this part of the arena to talk to Jeff, the Inclusion Coordinator, who was surprised at my presence. "Oh! How'd you hear about this? Did I tell you?" he

asked. I replied no and mentioned a few of the various platforms which advertised the event, including the radio. “Oh?” said Jeff, “It was on the radio? What did it say?” I replied that it was similar to the official release statement on the city website. Jeff nodded, “Oh okay, cool.” He then proceeded to show me pictures he took of the morning’s prayer service from the men’s side. Jeff’s co-worker, Lisa (Sustainability Coordinator), was assisting Jeff in monitoring the play area. She gestured over to a group of men in the far corner of the arena, who had formed together to pray and noted with interest, “Oh look, they’re praying!” This image contrasted with the raucous children running up and down a bouncer with a slide, and seemed amusing: “The children play, while their dads pray,” she chuckled.

After this exchange I went and said hello to Ahmed, who had been standing at the front of the arena, alongside the Deputy Mayor. I had met Ahmed a few times before. A veritable leader, Ahmed works with the safety department at Lakeside and hosts “Global Village”: weekly radio and television (filmed in Medicine Hat) programs which address community and migration-related topics. As Ahmed and I spoke, we were frequently interrupted by people talking business or giving greetings and well wishes. Ahmed obliged each person, giving introductions and addressing their conversations. One particular man, dressed in all white, who was another community leader, discussed the event with Ahmed. “Oh, an election must be coming up,” Ahmed speculated, “because there have been Muslims in town for over 10 years and they haven’t done anything.” He continued, “There is election fever...they’re doing the streets too.” The man in white responded that he thought the celebration was “okay to start”, but that it could maybe be

bigger next year. As the children played in the bouncers and adults strolled by, Ahmed was in his element. A passerby commented to me, “this man does a lot for the community, do you know that? Highly respected.” Ahmed has many connections in the community and is often asked to work with, or speak with, community groups and organizations.

In a previous meeting with Ahmed, I attended a taping of the Global Village radio show, in which he was interviewing a migrant named Francisco. The purpose of the Global Village program is to give a voice to migrants, talk about community events and demonstrate some of the “successful” experiences of migrants in the city of Brooks. Francisco, originally from Colombia, had been in Brooks for several years and had been involved with various organizations through work and volunteering. Thus, Ahmed thought Francisco would be a good interview subject, who would provide insightful information about his experiences in the city. His interview surprised all those at the taping that day as he had some critical opinions about the service organizations and the lack of services for migrants. Ahmed was at first taken aback by Francisco’s negative comments, as he did not expect to hear what Francisco had to say. As stated, the show was meant to celebrate the lives and experiences of migrants in the city, not to criticise.

When he left, co-hosts Ahmed and Steve debriefed. “He was on his soap box” Ahmed commented, and then inquired whether co-host Steve thought they should use Francisco’s sound bites when they aired the program. Steve reasoned that it was important to include everyone’s perspective. “It might spark some things...” Steve guessed, predicting some of the responses the show would garner. Later that day, Ahmed

and I discussed the importance of gaining different perspectives. Keeping with Steve's decision to keep the week's program as was recorded, he agreed that Francisco would be someone I should meet with again. With this decided, Francisco and I set up a time to meet again for coffee, so I could hear a little more from his perspective.

Francisco had been in the army in Colombia before coming to Canada, leaving when he felt his safety was at risk. Initially working at Lakeside, he moved on to a job with the Global Friendship Immigration Center, followed by a few labour-type jobs before starting his own company. In terms of Pozniak's "immigrant ethic" concerning the good/bad migrant, this progression would be considered desirable, as a "good" migrant works hard, and learns skills required to be productive. Such a story is appealing since it demonstrates how migrants can achieve success in their new surroundings. In addition to working in various fields, Francisco had also been involved in the community in multiple other ways, including through volunteer work. Featured in the documentary, "The City of 100 Hellos", Francisco was a part of a group of Colombians who volunteered to clean up the streets of the city in their limited free time. He had also participated in other activities, including in a Colombian dance group and as a volunteer with immigration services. Not unlike many settler residents, Francisco took vacations and partook in popular recreational activities, such as camping and fishing. He expressed his love for spending time in his camper, in the wilderness, taking in the scenery and the relaxed lifestyle.

On the surface, it would appear that Francisco had been well integrated, following the ideal expected of newcomers, and thus felt included in the community. However, summarizing his experience in the city, he simply noted, "It is lonely here." Despite his



involvement in various groups, Francisco did not seem to have developed a strong social network, and he spent a lot of time alone. Aside from volunteering, when Francisco was participating in activities he enjoys, he was often solitary: “I go camping, it is by myself, I live by myself...I don’t see a lot of people.” Francisco wondered if having a companion would make it less difficult for him, “It would be nice to find somebody to spend my time with” he posited, “my family is all back home, I don’t have anyone here.” Francisco admitted he enjoyed the freedom he feels he is allowed in Canada, but he missed Colombia for the human companionship that was lacking in his life.

Francisco felt frustrated about what he saw as a disconnect between the migrant’s needs and the response, and availability of ways to respond, to those needs. At his Global Village interview, and again at our meeting over coffee, Francisco stated his opinions of service agencies, that: “all they do is fill out the paperwork.” He felt that workers did not adequately respond to clients’ needs, and that there were gaps in service. His reason for concern was that he felt that migrants were not integrating, and that there was a lack of resources to facilitate integration. As previous research has found (Bonifacio, 2008; Broadway 2007; 2013) there is a lack of resources for migrants in Brooks, and there has been over many years, despite the steady arrival of newcomers. This lack makes the transition more difficult for migrants, especially as they look for resources beyond basic needs.

Francisco may be settled, but he does not feel a sense of belonging perhaps because he has not found a connection to others in the community. He participates in a

variety of activities, but his commitment to active community life does not contribute to a sense of belonging. He is discouraged by his lack of connections in Brooks, but despite longing for the companionship he had back in Colombia, he stated that he does not want to return home at this point. Francisco seemed to be stuck somewhere between belonging and not. His story of struggle and barriers was similar to several others I spoke with.

After meeting with Francisco, Ahmed introduced me to another migrant, Fang, whom he also characterized as a success. I met with Fang and Ahmed at a coffee shop, where Ahmed was assisting Fang in completing an application for a business licence. After a few failed attempts to start a business in the city, Fang had started to feel frustrated and disappointed with her residency in Brooks. I met again with her later at her house in a coveted, new neighbourhood in the city. Migrating from China a few years ago, Fang, while successful in her homeland, hoped to improve her lot in Canada. “I heard Canada is the best country in world for immigration...but I don’t feel it” she remarked. After working at Lakeside for a year and a half, Fang sought a better opportunity elsewhere. “I didn’t come here to cut meat at Lakeside,” she stated, “I have 20 years of work experience and an education.” Fang had received her Bachelor’s degree in China and worked many years as a teacher. Her husband, currently unemployed, had worked in the business industry back home. Like many others, Fang and her husband found that they could not get their education recognized in Canada. Undaunted, Fang continued her education securing a Business diploma from Medicine Hat College, Brooks Campus. She also took a program on “The Multicultural Workplace” and then upgraded some of her high school courses. Still, none of this training and education helped her to

start a desirable career. Fang felt that it was very difficult for newcomers to start a business due to excessive and unfamiliar paperwork:

They don't give newcomers a chance to get a [business] contract. The newcomers don't get opportunities to get a career. I looked into being [an ESL] teacher, a business owner, getting a building service; but I get nothing, I am still at home... The [Canadian] government wants us to get a better life here. But people look down on us. We are here because we like the surroundings. My husband immigrated; my daughter. We want to enjoy the surroundings. Though it's bad, we can feel it. It is not better.

Fang stressed the difficulties she had faced every step along her path: "Nobody wants to solve the problem with me. They say, 'that's not a part of my job.' There is an employment place here, they are supposed to help find jobs but they don't really help. In China, there are lots of agencies to help. Here – it's 'finish the paperwork'." Similar to Francisco, Fang believes that there is a need for more comprehensive and adequate services. She stated that she thought there needs to be a service to help newcomers build business opportunities. In her case, she was skilled and educated and motivated—again the good migrant—but she too found herself on the periphery.

Frustrated, Fang noted "There is a word in Mandarin, which means 'if you waste somebody's time, you kill them.'" She recalled an attempt at writing a proposal to obtain a labour contract. She asked Immigration Services if they would help her to understand and write the contract, but to no avail. "They just say, no, that's not my job. Why doesn't anybody want to help us? It is hard for me to live here. I go to the bank, I feel so bad... I want to be a manager! We come for a better life."

Although the immigrant service organizations described in Chapter 3 stressed that they continually help migrants along their pathways, it is evident that the types of services available are limited, beyond the standard settlement services (referring to settlement services which attend to basic needs). Fang reiterated that, due to these factors, it is harder for newcomers to get businesses: “The government helps to get preliminary service, but nothing after. For real difficult problems, they don’t help. They need specialist help.” Fang remarked how “bigger cities” have this kind of services, but not Brooks: “They don’t know how to help here. A lot of people will use friends to help. The force is from the people, not the government.”

Fang was disheartened, and felt she had hit a barrier. She was unhappy being unable to create a career for herself and felt her life in Brooks was lacking. Accustomed to a more socially active lifestyle in her home country, she expected the same in Canada, since the message given to migrants is that they will establish a better life: “At home, people eat three meals in restaurants. But here I cry because there are no restaurants. I am 37, I have never cooked before.” She admitted that she did enjoy some aspects of life in Canada, noting that it was peaceful, and that there was not a lot of pollution. Like Francisco, Fang was in a position where she, by governmental and service organization standards, should easily integrate: she was fluent in English, migrated with a sizable group, and was financially stable. She did not need typical settlement services, but faced difficulties many migrants face after primary services have been exhausted. Fang was unfamiliar with the official guidelines, procedures, and standards commonly used in

Canada for businesses, education, and much bureaucracy in general. She was “settled”, but remained limited in her inability to establish herself professionally.

Fang had not yet resigned her drive to establish herself, but instead focused her efforts on the Chinese community in Brooks. One of her goals included teaching Mandarin. Fang felt that this was an important goal: “It is good to have community service; kids can learn words and symbols.” She clearly valued maintaining Chinese traditions with the younger generations, despite the fact that they are living in Canada. She mentioned how the City of Brooks aided the Chinese community in hosting the New Year celebration earlier this year. “The community got funding for New Year’s, I hope maybe to get funding for teaching Mandarin, to celebrate, get a good community.”

Much like the Chinese women in Spitzer’s (2007) study of female migrants’ sense of belonging in Canada, Fang considered returning back to China: “I think about going home, maybe, because it didn’t feel like home here. All of us [here] over 35 are very traditional. If we can get a little bit of celebration, like home, maybe it will be better.” The connection to her home country was where Fang seeks to find a sense of belonging. Fang found difficulty integrating in the way that the city and nation prefers, as well as in the way she prefers. Culturally and socially, she built a sense of community with those of the Chinese community rather than seeking a more thorough integration with Brook’s settler society. Francisco on one hand, was at a loss for where to find the connection he so desired, while Fang turned to nostalgia and other Mandarin-speaking residents to build a network. The next individual I interviewed also struggled with establishing her

pathway, but instead of seeing struggle as a barrier, she utilized her experiences to strengthen her sense of self and her goals.

### **Youth, Race and the Complexity of Belonging**

Kalton, a young migrant originally from South Africa, lives a very active community life. She arrived with her mother arrived four years ago after time in Ottawa where her mother found it difficult to find work. Kalton recalled that the fact that her mother knew people from Brooks influenced their decision. Born in Kenya, she grew up in South Africa, although her mother was originally from Somalia. Despite living in various other countries for several years, she has maintained connections to her fellow Somalis. “Everyone knows everybody,” she explained to me over tea one afternoon. “For the Somalis; you just say a name and you know who they are.” Kalton’s and her mother’s entrance and settlement into Brooks was facilitated by members of their ethnic community. For them, the presence of a tightly-knit group facilitated their passage into community life, and provided the comfort of a strong social system. “At home, it is very social because people are always coming and going on. It has been like this for two or three years now” Kalton remarked.

When she went to high school, in grade 11, Kalton recalled that she began meeting more young people and started becoming more social outside her Somali community. In addition to meeting new friends, school presented Kalton with opportunities for extra-curricular activities: “At the high school, there is a guidance

councillor, Alison. She hooked me up with the Connections Program. It was here that I really met a lot of people, and started being more outgoing.”

After this experience, Kalton began volunteering more generally, with the BCIS youth group for example, and she participated in the City of Brooks’ day against discrimination. She mentioned how she has been a go-to voice to represent youth participation: she was interviewed on the radio about some of the activities she was involved in and gave a speech at a Rodeo banquet about the Connections program and integration. Kalton stated that she appreciates these types of opportunities, as she feels they give her exposure and experience with public speaking. As for the future, she admitted that she is unsure what to choose for university and felt a lot of pressure from her family: “My mom and cousin want me to go straight to school. My mom wants me to become a doctor. She wants the prestige of a child in school.”

Kalton noted how she and her mother have different ways of looking at these situations. For example, she recalled how her mother was constantly tired. Kalton suggested that she should just quit work. Understandably, her mother disagreed, responding “who’s going to feed people back home?” Kalton saw less value to remittances, noting “there are so many people who are starving; it is hard to help them all.” Something of a neoliberal ideology informed her critique: “I told her that people getting sent money are lazy and don’t have to work hard.” While critical of remittances, Kalton stated that she does want to help people and as noted she is very active in her ethnic community, often called upon to translate for community members: “People have kids back home. I know it is hard when they’re not all together in the same country.”

While understanding her ability to assist people in her community, she also admitted that it is a lot of work, leading her to tire of the constant requests:

I grew up doing something for people. I get mad, it's so overwhelming: the pressure, people always calling. One day I unhooked the cable so people don't phone. When my mom asked about why the phone wasn't ringing like normal, I just said, 'oh, business is quiet today, mom'...But my cousin, she said 'that's very strange, *isn't it Kalton!?* And my cousin knows it's unhooked! (laughs) I do so much for them. It gets hard.

Still, she explained that in the future she thought that she may, either professionally or through volunteering, work helping migrants, with the caveat that she wants to “do something for me.”

Kalton appreciated her opportunities to volunteer with various organizations and the experiences she has gained from them. She realized however that volunteering is not for everybody. Kalton understood that not everyone would agree with her activities, and her reasoning for volunteering. In Kalton's case, she felt that she and her mother had differing backgrounds, which resulted in them thinking about priorities in different ways. Kalton outlined her desire to volunteer and have an active community life. Her decisions have not always been met with support from others.

Kalton was an individual who ascribed to plural communities: the Somali community and her school communities, which include fellow youth migrants and settler residents. A recent graduate, Kalton described her experiences as school, where her different statuses collided. She explained how the school is uniquely organized, particularly at lunch-time: “At lunch, in the cafeteria, you can see that there are lots of



different groups: Asians, nerds; everyone has their own cliques. The out groups sit together in their own section.” Ethnicity has its own quarter of the cafeteria, as the migrant youths sit in the “pit”, a sunken section of the cafeteria. Kalton noticed this distinction, and understood where she was “required” to sit. “I have Canadian friends” she noted, “but not at lunch hour. All migrants sit together.” Kalton enjoyed having different groups of friends, for the different perspectives they offer. “You feel alone without a circle of friends.” she commented, “There is a common bond [between migrant youths] because we all have experienced struggle.”

One of Kalton’s struggles however, was that she did not want to be limited because of her background. “I didn’t want to take ESL classes because it would lead to the -2 (lower stream) courses. My mom wanted me to, but there is a good and bad to it.” Kalton remembered when she first arrived, in Grade 9, she struggled with math: “In Brooks I had trouble with the different maths. I didn’t know trig.” Initially, the only people she had regular contact with were those in her Somali community: “It was hard for me because there was no one in my group to help, because no one else went to school.” Kalton struggled academically at this time, remembering that she was “shy” about asking people for help because “of the difference between you and I. I couldn’t ask for help”

Kalton recognized that the different groups she was navigating signalled their boundaries and allegiances through things like dress and appearance. She recalled the importance of jeans in this process. Having never worn jeans until she came to Canada, she encountered resistance from her mother when she adopted this style, explaining: “I

changed my dress, and my prejudice.” She outlined some of the other changes she had made, including expectations about prayer before and after school and criticised her mother’s scepticism concerning immigration and related services. Laughing, Kalton recalled how her mother thought that these service organizations would take her money. “My mom lives in the stone age!” she joked, “I told my mom, ‘they don’t want money, they will help you for free.’ Mom thinks nothing is for free.”

Like others her age, Kalton’s ideas and priorities differed with those of her mother’s. For Kalton, not unexpectedly, “fitting in” with her peers was important. She remembered wanting things her classmates had such as the ubiquitous Lululemon yoga pants. She asked her mother for a pair, but was refused and teased with an alternative: “My mom suggested I go down to Walmart and just stitch the symbol into a pair of Walmart pants. I was like, ‘No, it’s not the same!’” She explained that her mother often would tell her: “if you change so much of who you are, people might ridicule you.” For her part, Kalton believed that jeans (or yoga pants) and the choice to wear them are the norm for youth, countering: “you [her mother] must be able to tolerate wearing them.” She sought to belong in the popular youth culture and lifestyle: “I was envious of the life [of some of her peers]. They are lucky because they always had people to teach them; to help...they always had work and school.” She started working so she could buy the things her mother could not, such as the desired Lululemon pants and a cell phone: “When I got them, I didn’t feel better about it, I just felt like I fit in. In high school, you have to do things to belong.”

Kalton was not entirely swayed by peer pressure, citing how she felt as if she had to “party” all the time. When she did not attend high school parties, she felt ostracized: “people won’t invite me anymore because I won’t go. It hurts. People think you’re boring, that you’re not a party freak.” She sought a sense of group belonging, despite the fact that at times she did not share interests with her potential peers from Brooks’ settler community. She realized that this struggle is similar for many young migrants when they arrive: “There are always new kids every semester. People make fun of them because they wear traditional clothing, call them a FOB.” Asking me if I knew what that term meant and receiving my negative response, she laughed “Fresh off the boat!” She continued, “They always switch after first couple months. They can hear people snickering behind them. Then they wear jeans and feel like nothing happened.”

Kalton had a close relationship with her mom, even though they did not always agree. Despite her own decisions concerning finding ways to fit in, she respected her mother’s opinion that people should have pride, and not change who they are, quoting her mother’s advice: “Clothes won’t change who you are. There is no point in recreating yourself. Be true to yourself, it’s okay if you don’t fit in.” Kalton enjoyed spending time with her peers, but was sensitive to the instances where she felt out of place or different. Still, this feeling of exclusion came at her from both the migrant and settler communities. “People make fun of me, saying I’m too ‘posh-y’ or ambitious for my African friends. ‘Why you so white!?’ they ask. So I say, ‘me and you are different’.”

She suggested that her African migrant friends did not understand why she enjoyed volunteering and being an active youth leader, a sentiment shared by her family

who felt that the volunteer project she was planning to undertake was a waste of time. Kalton had been accepted on an international program, which places youths in volunteer projects abroad. She was eagerly preparing for her departure the next month, much to her mother's displeasure: "My mom says to me, 'oh you're very *Canadian* doing all these programs'." According to Kalton, her traditional-minded mother did not understand her passion for volunteerism and experiences of this type. She sounded similar to many other youth her age as she lamented that she "just wants to travel and do stuff for me." She understood her mother's perspective though, noting "the thought is that you don't do nothing in life for free, it has to benefit you." Her mother and cousin each had their own ideas of what volunteerism means and requires, and did not share the idea that 'experience' (such as travel for enjoyment) is beneficial.

Thinking about how she did not fit in with her "African" friends, Kalton felt that her aims set her apart from this group. "It is hard being in Level 1 classes. I am the only black person and therefore I'm closer to a lot of my white friends" she stated. Despite this closeness, she also felt excluded from this group. Aside from the lunch hour segregation, she recalled a school trip to Italy where "everyone" (locals and other tourists) initially thought she was adopted, and asked her teachers if this was the case. She remarked that this assumption has happened more than once. Her school group laughed it off, and one teacher, Kalton stated, pretended that yes, she was her adopted daughter. Regardless, she felt discouraged. Those outside the school group marked her as someone that did not belong. Another instance where she was in a position where she felt like she was an outsider was a constant point of contention for Kalton: her hijab. While she enjoyed

being able to wear jeans and t-shirts, she still wore a hijab. She explained that it caused some of her friends to think she was “religious, god-oriented, and ‘not a liar’.” “‘You should just skip the hijab’, my friends say. They think it means you’re religious, and you don’t do things you normally do” she commented. “Wearing traditional clothing hinders things, but I still want to wear the hijab” affirmed Kalton. The hijab was important to her, her religion, and her values. Although she liked the freedom to wear jeans, she also believed that this freedom extended to keeping traditional, and religious, clothing. “People don’t like things different” she stated, “people do not like it when people wear traditional clothing. It’s like a factory: if there’s one person out, it makes the cycle seem kinda strange. You just have to wear the same normal stuff.”

As mentioned, another community, which she felt a part of is her Somali community. Although she maintained her role in this community, Kalton at times found it difficult to connect with others. Before arriving in Brooks, she had never lived with other Somalis. She stated that since she “grew up” with non-Somali people, she was inexperienced with the culture. “My mom is always thinking about marriage - they’re so boring!” Kalton laughed, when she discussing how her mother and cousin follow traditional rules. She explained that her mother and cousin hope that she will marry someone from her ethnic background, but Kalton disagreed: “I think I will probably not marry a Somali because I have never spoken to a Somali guy.” Kalton explained that she is not focused on marriage, since she had other goals she wanted to accomplish first, like school. “My mom says ‘marry a Somali because he is your people and he will know you better.’” She did not feel the same way as her mother about future marriage partners, but

again, she reflected upon her assertion, “you always say ‘I’m not gonna do it’ but you end up doing it, so who knows.”

Kalton is a young migrant, caught between communities. She ascribed herself as a Somali-African, and a mainstream Canadian youth, but she also did not fully belong to either. Kalton was conflicted between ties to family -- to follow Somali traditions, to help others in this community and retain connections to a “home nation” that she had never known, let alone set foot in, and her interest in belonging to the “mainstream” community: to the larger group of her peers, to the community of Brooks, and to her desire to volunteer, to be active in the community, and to excel at school. She maintained a strong relationship with her traditional mother and her connections to her Somali community, but she also wanted to be the “included” migrant, who was not confined to an ethnic community. Kalton has eclectic interests, something her ‘African’ and ‘Canadian’ friends both did not understand. She has multiple different groups which she is able to draw upon: her Somali group, and by extension, her African group, her school group, her Canadian group, her migrant group, her volunteer group, and so on. No matter which group she was in, there was always some reason for her to be viewed as “different.”

Kalton was working towards finding her sense of belonging. She enjoyed an active community life, but like Francisco and Fang, this did not necessarily lead to a sense of inclusion. Not all citizens of Brooks share this notion of what it means to be included, as evidenced by Kalton’s mother and cousin’s opposition to her wishes to volunteer, deriding her for being “Canadian.” In her case, being active and visible in a

community that is not ethnically based, and in fact involved in multiple communities, caused perplexed, rather than welcoming sentiments. When she was active in her Somali community, members of the Somali/African group understood, but when she wished to volunteer abroad, these members opposed these activities. She felt a strong connection with her settler resident friends, but when she maintained a connection to her faith and wore her hijab, her settler resident friends questioned her choice, or more obviously, the segregation/marketing of racial differences, which happened in Italy and at lunchtimes.

The experiences of migrants in this chapter demonstrate how official policy, in action, may not translate to an expected set of results. For some migrants, their priorities are different. This may lead to a rejection of set notions of inclusion and membership in a unified Brooks community, or an engagement in different strategies to or meanings of, inclusion. For others, the existence of various goals and affiliations may compound or hinder inclusion and a sense of belonging. For others still, inclusion simply does not happen. Belonging and community take on various meanings which reflect factors such as context, personal attributes, emotion, and location. The individuals in this chapter all have different experiences of community in Brooks. For Francisco, who engaged in the ideal ways for migrants, inclusion was elusive; for Fang, who sought her own way, her needs were not met, and she felt no sense of inclusion; for Kalton, competing memberships at times hindered and strengthened belonging to all her communities.

### **Discussion: the differing notions of belonging**

The cases presented here can be examined by returning to the concept of community. Cohen (2002) states that community may indicate collectivity or communality or similarity of a sort, but these can be experienced at any level from the global to the local. As a member of a community, individuals have a sense that a community is fragile, changing, partial, and only one of a number of competing attachments or alternative possibilities for affiliation means that it can never be all-encompassing (Amit, 2002a: 18). Communities cannot be created by merely imagining or attributing membership, (Amit, 2010). Instead of starting with what individuals think community looks like, the actual situations which individuals encounter in daily life must be considered.

As addressed in the previous chapter, Amit (2010) noted that belonging is not necessarily concomitant with a strong sense of joint commitment or collectivity. Thus, while Francisco expressed commitment and mutual expectations with the greater Brooks population, through volunteering, entrepreneurship, English proficiency, and interest in typical Canadian outdoor pastimes, this did not result in a sense of strong community membership. For Francisco, this problem is not that he does not have the commitment or even the sense of “affect-belonging.” He is connected to communities: he enjoys being in Brooks, though he also longs for Colombia. What is lacking for Francisco are concrete forms of association. Despite his demonstrations of commitment, he feels lonely and opportunities to socialize are limited, or non-existent. The whole idea of ‘community’ begins to seem pointless or inadequate for him. This demonstrates that community isn’t just ‘imagined’, it needs to be reflected in concrete social ties. It seems that the other



residents, settler residents in particular, of Brooks did not seem too concerned about making connections with migrants, such as Francisco.

For her part, Fang does not share joint commitment to Canadian ideals in the same way Francisco and Kalton do. She has her own interests, knowledge, and expectations of life in Canada, which are tied to commitments associated with her life in China. Her understanding of belonging was different than Kalton or Francisco's in that she sought a pathway to her own type of success. She desired to find work which satisfied her wants and what she felt she was supposed to have in Canada. She also sought the ability to maintain her linguistic ties to her homeland. Fang's expectations in Canada are different, and thus she has a sense of belonging located apart from others in the city. In terms of commitment, people may or may not be willing to recognize obligations, might not consider them important enough to set aside other commitments, may have different ideas about who participates, or of the nature and extent of investment required. The key to joint commitment is that it is mutual, which refers not to a sense of actually agreeing with one other, but to the recognition that individuals need the commitment of others in order to comprehend the project at hand.

Amit notes how interdependence can lead to tensions, conflicts, and anxiety (2010: 359). Community associations, religious congregations, and other sorts of organizations are often fractious and divisive, arguably because they are required to associate with each other in order to make the association work. Conflicts, states Amit, must be taken into account and dealt with in some way, in order to sustain the joint commitment (2010:359). In fact, when joint commitment is high, you are more likely to

see individuals cajole, persuade, exhort or pressure one another, which is why joint commitments do not always result in collegiality, or consensus, nor are they always sustained (201: 360). Individuals such as Fang may be realizing that they do not need to be committed to this idealized “Brooks” community, if what this community entails does not actually reflect their ideas of the possibility of a good life, which may be found in a larger center. Her commitment to this community may not have been strong enough to maintain a connection. She is, however, committed more to her own ethnic group, and her nostalgia for certain amenities back home, and relies on this group even though they might not all share ideals about the importance of Mandarin, for example, among the youth. Unlike her rejection of the “Brooks” community, this lack of consensus has not been enough for her to abandon her commitment to this community.

Concepts such as belonging, as Dowding and Razi (2004) suggest, are difficult to measure and therefore it is difficult to translate belonging into a tangible policy. WIC policy seeks to eliminate these instances where individuals are isolated, lack social connections, and/or feel discriminated against. However, as found in Chapter 2, this policy focuses on categorical definitions of community and fails to recognize the varying interests which define this form of organization. Through WIC policy, members of the Brooks community are expected to come together in a specific way. Nandita Sharma (2008) proposed that concepts of national citizenship for members of a multicultural community are employed strategically. State practices, she notes (2008), facilitate the shaping of people’s knowledge of one another. The strategic use of knowledge regarding community diversity is evident in the deployment of inclusion strategies which focus on

recognizing each other's differences. However, common knowledge of the presence of diversity does not imply the formation of a social bond between holders of this knowledge (Amit, 2010). While the Eid-el Fitr celebrations were recognized by the city, Ahmed and others were indifferent to or ambivalent about these efforts. Even though Ahmed assisted the city's celebration, he was skeptical of their intentions. Still, Ahmed was someone who worked as a leader within various communities, encouraging them to integrate and engage in the collective life of Brooks. He also was a part of Newell Regional Expo society and that organization's plans for an Inclusion Coordinator position in the city. However, he and the other man did not feel that this event resulted in an unproblematic incorporation into the broader community.

Like the Congolese march in the previous chapter, settler residents did not attend the Eid-el Fitr event in any significant way, which was directed solely to the Muslim residents. Day (2000) argues that the aim of multiculturalism is an act of reciprocal recognition. The city held an Eid-el Fitr event, but like all the other diversity events, it involved only individuals from that "same group." This is contradictory in that all the various Islamic groups were joined together, in a same community grouping, despite differences in Muslim groups. The Islamic groups were meant to recognize each other as same-group members, but settler residents of other religious backgrounds were not targeted. In order for there to be mutual recognition, one would assume that the broader population would also attend—reflecting the importance of concrete bonds of association stressed by Amit. Rather, the city hosted the event, but settler groups were not expected to participate or acknowledge it. Indeed, as noted above, Jeff seemed surprised to see me

at the event, and was confused to how I may have heard about it. It seemed like the city officials were just ‘going through the motions’ of partnering to plan events, rather than using these events to celebrate the citizens, foster belonging, and coming together, if indeed this is an actual goal for a transformed, inclusive and diverse Brooks.

The notion that there can be plural subjects in a Brooks community is irreconcilable with the experiences of residents, as well as the way in which policy concerning community is set up. It is notable that joint commitment seems to refer more to the migrant citizens’ commitment, rather than the settler residents. It is also noteworthy to consider that WIC seems to be a reflection of the values of the settler residents. If the settler residents do not, and are not expected to, show up to events, then it seems like they do not have the shared commitment to the migrant population. Kalton may have developed associations with the settler community; however these connections are still quite ambivalent. Integration, suggests Dowding and Razi (2004), is only achieved when an individual feels as valued as others. The intention is for migrants to feel this sense of community, and a sense of association to the city of Brooks. This notion of feeling a part of the community of Brooks however, may be considered a reinforcement of the ‘othering’, as described by Day (2000). This feeling of being valued is about migrants being ‘others’ who are accepted and included by the dominant group. Attempts to celebrate cultural events may be a way to make new, potential, community members feel welcome through something familiar, but these efforts may not be strong enough, especially if it is only done on a superficial level and without commitment from the rest of the community.

Dowding and Razi (2004) suggested that integration is a “nested” process: migrants first integrate into a small unit, such as a family group; then into a subgroup, often ethnically based; and then into a broader communal group and into society. Migrant pathways are not the same for every individual, though this is a common trend. For Kalton, her pathway followed this pattern almost identically. Her experience is also common for second-generation migrants, as integration is often reached in the second or third generations, rather than for the first arrivals who often make many sacrifices for their children’s future (Dowding and Razi, 2004). For Francisco, he did not fully integrate at any level. For Fang, the reverse seemed to happen. She started off looking to continue her economic success through a business opportunity as a way to integrate, but was considering a shift to an ethnic-based affiliation, since she had difficulty achieving her goal. The fact that community involves different constructs, and that these constructs may also not result in a felt sense of community or belonging suggests that policies aimed at inclusion may be difficult to implement. Policies are often a means of pursuing a certain aim. In many circumstances, however, these aims are either too abstract or impossible to achieve directly (Khan, 2007).

It may well be that some individuals just do not want to be included or do not desire to belong to the community of Brooks. Their ties may be to some other location or individuals. As Fang mentioned, many migrants struggle so that their children will be able to have a better life. Focus on the trajectory of their children is common amongst first generation migrants (Orellana, Thorne, Chee, and Lam, 2002) who seek to give their children better lives they had, or have. Kalton and her mother provide a contrast of

inclusion based on age. Kalton remarked that her mother and cousin lived in the “Stone age”, however, research by Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer (2006) on migrant youths in Edmonton found that parental assertions of the old ways could be seen as both mechanisms for sustaining tradition as well as efforts to stabilize in a new location. Kalton’s mother’s ties to the Somali community may be similar in that she seeks to maintain a stable community for Kalton to be positively influenced by, and to guide her to the education her mother desires she receives. Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer (2006) found that female youths articulated that their parents envisioned a competition between a traditional culture away from home and the broader immediately present culture. This characteristic dissociation between here and there, according to Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer (2006), is a common feature of immigrant youth’s perceptions of self and society. Kalton just wanted to “fit in”, however she was not the only one who made changes upon their arrival in Canada: Kalton had made a comment about how her mother is very conservative, but now wears a scarf shorter than she used to in South Africa. Kalton laughed thinking about how their friends back in South Africa would react with shock if they saw her mother’s dress now. Tradition and conservativeness are relative: Kalton thought her mother was conservative in Canada, but was also more “Western” than when she was in South Africa; and her own experience of exclusion from her desired settler peer group based in part on her use of the hijab reflected this tension on a personal level.

Like Kalton, the female youth migrants in Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer’s study ascribed to multiple definitions of, and identifications with, community (2006). Also similar was that every participant, including those who were born in Canada, seemed to

have some idea that their parents' own vision of community, associated with back home in Africa, was different in many ways from what one obtains in Canada. Notions of community involve different expectations for the youths and their parents. They seek to form connections in ways different than their parents, and in some circumstances, such as the young women in Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer's study, reject their elder relatives' envisioning of community. Kalton's experience in particular relates to disjuncture, an extension of joint commitment examined by Amit.

This chapter has presented examples where community is not that easily created, and where inclusion and belonging are not the sentiments which arise out of the search for community. In Amit's most recent examination of community, she considers 'disjuncture' in terms of mobilization, and how and when people do not join together (2012). She suggests that disjuncture perhaps should not be considered a failure to achieve community, but rather as processes of sociality itself (2012:28). This idea is examined here, because it contrasts with popular idea of community for city officials, and residents alike, who are quick to suggest that conflict does not occur in Brooks. In reality, conflict does happen, and Amit proposes that this conflict can be productive (2012). She states that community and disjuncture are paired concepts due to the fact that they both deal with social mobilization, as well as social disengagement. By this, Amit refers to the idea that both terms may be temporary, are processes in which events may occur before and after arrival to their new city, and are influenced by various factors, states, spaces and times (2012: 29). Amit notes that community and disjuncture require one another (2012). As she suggested in her 2010 work, the stronger the joint commitment, the more likely

there will be conflict within a community. Thus, conflict and disjuncture is a key component of ‘community’.

Amit suggest that disjuncture arises out of modernity, restructuring, and globalization (2012: 31). Disjuncture is created as people move, as boundaries shift, as neoliberal regimes are put into place, and individual experiences are stressed, and as individuals migrate. She states that disjuncture is a “new global reality” which occurs alongside deterritorialization and cultural change (2012:31). As was found in previous chapters, it is also responsible for what is happening in Brooks. It makes sense that disjuncture is occurring in Brooks and affecting individuals and the sentiments of community.

Kalton found herself in a position in which she had several different social networks, and felt a strong sense of attachment to them, but she also dealt with moments of separation, and struggle with her connections. The moments of separation, in which she felt like she did not belong, were also those moments in which she reinforced that she did belong in another context. In these moments, she did have—or at least stressed and valued—other social connections. When she was in Italy, her classmates and teachers “played along” with the joke that she was adopted, and despite sitting in different places at lunchtime, Kalton interpreted the reactions of her settler friends as meaning that she did belong. It can also be argued that Kalton’s disagreements with her mother serve to demonstrate the strength of their relationship. While her mother may disapprove of her dress, or some of her choices, including warnings about “if you change too much of yourself”, she also supports her, such as when Kalton was allowed to get a job to buy the



items she thought she needed. Of course, she then reflected that once she obtained them, they did not make a difference. Kalton and her mother may have had opposing views on many topics, but I got the impression that their relationship maintained a lot of respect and closeness. Kalton spoke of how it was mostly “just her and her mother” until they came to Brooks and of her mother’s sacrifices to give them both a better life. When I met Kalton’s mother at a later gathering, she told me she was proud of her daughter and was happy to hear I had interviewed Kalton for my “book.” Disjuncture may, Amit suggests, be something that individuals actually seek out, since it results in social transformations which may result in falling apart, or joining together (2012: 32). Kalton’s struggles strengthened some of her relationships, but they also resulted in the formation of new relationships. If she had not made choices, such as to take the higher academic stream courses, she would not have met some of her “Canadian” friends and started partaking in new activities.

Another point on disjuncture relates to how it involves separation and rupture (Amit, 2012). These experiences, according to Amit, are effects of the passage of time, which is related to transition: a term often used to describe Brooks. Brooks is considered a community in transit. People continuously move into, and out of, the city; and current residents, particularly migrants, are often transitioning through different stages of settlement. Amit (2012) suggests that often transnationalism is used to describe labour and capital, and that it tends to emphasize cross-border connections and continuity, rather than disjuncture. In this study, individuals framed their reasoning for migrating, as a positive investment for their families (for those who remained in their home countries, or

for their children). Fang states this as her primary reason for migrating, so her daughter would have a better education. Fang may have been unhappy with her situation in Brooks, but she continued to try to find ways to make it more comfortable for the well-being of her children. In this sense, separation may not be desired, but it is endured as a means of seeking improvement (Amit, 2012: 40).

Amit proposes that disjuncture should be examined as the ways in which individuals seek to modify or transform their social relationships (2012: 43). By this, she refers to the idea that disjuncture impacts social relationships by either breaking them up, or strengthening them. Disjuncture may be desirable, if an individual wishes to end a social connection or begin new ones, and it may also have the (sometimes unintended) consequence of reinforcing existing social bonds (Amit, 2012). Kalton, Fang and Francisco all attempted to change their social relationships. While Francisco, and to some extent, Fang, may have been less successful in establishing enduring social relationships or connections with the settler community, all these individuals were still quite active in their attempts to forge social relationships, the key problem seemed to be a lack of comparable interest or commitment on the other side. At the time of research, Francisco and Fang were not successful in creating the social networks they sought. This is not to say that in the future this will always be the case: it is possible that they are still experiencing disjuncture which may in the future lead to differing social experiences. This statement suggests how disjuncture is worth considering: for all the past experiences Brooks has dealt with, through its seemingly endless transitions as people continue to arrive and contribute to or change the city, or leave and do the same, these experiences

play a role in establishing what Brooks is as a community, and the specific character of the social relationships of its residents.

This chapter presented cases in which inclusion was elusive and disjunctive. Regardless of the reasons that brought them into a new environment, migrants carry their experiences, values, and patterns and contexts into the struggle to establish themselves in a new community and establish social connections. Communities may be cohesive, but they may also be exclusionary and repressive (Khan, 2007). This chapter demonstrates how in some instances, there is disjuncture, and social relations can be severed or built. Disjuncture is constructive, and may contribute to how Brooks presents community, and perhaps also how Brooks discusses how community is realized today, and in the future. The city's policy does not actually seem too interested in really actively encouraging settler participation in migrant lives. Migrants may not be too interested in this either—at least in certain contexts—however the lack of interest on the part of migrants seems to be of greater concern than the former. It is somewhat ironic, in a sense, that all the individuals in this chapter were introduced as being “successful” migrants. Success may be contextual, since in terms of belonging, the only individual who had developed potentially strong forms of association with settler residents is Kalton, who has forged these relationships through school. It may be perhaps that her exposure to the school “community” provides different opportunities, in and of itself. In terms of the city, this chapter demonstrates the points where community is not so simple, and may remain “imagined” when it comes to issues of official policy.

## **Chapter 7: Conclusion—Community in Motion**

On a hot sunny day in August, a large group was gathered at the soccer field at Duke of Southerland Park. Located at one end of the expansive park is a simple, grass playing field area with plain, white soccer nets on both ends and two sets of wooden bleachers to the side of the playing area. Hung across the two bleachers that day was a banner, which announced a soccer tournament. This day was the first Sunday of a six-week “Multicultural Soccer Tournament.” Organized by Juan, a migrant from Peru, and several of his friends, the tournament was created much like PIBA as an opportunity to “get together” in a familiar way. Soccer was chosen for its mass cross-cultural appeal. The tournament had teams from Somalia, Mexico, Ethiopia, and Colombia, a “Brooks United” team, and a Grasslands team (from the local minor soccer leagues).

The tournament began with introductory announcements and the playing of ‘Oh Canada.’ Organizers handed out lyrics printed on sheets of paper for those who did not know the words to the anthem. After this, the announcers were informed that some teams, who were present for the opening ceremonies, wished to sing their home country anthems. The Somali team started after much teasing as to who would be the volunteer. One player eventually volunteered and ran onto the field amid laughs from his team. After his quick performance, the organizers indicated it was Mexico’s turn. One player was volunteered by the others on his team, and he and another player went onto the field to sing the Mexican anthem over the even larger laughter of their teammates. The Colombian team was ready for their turn: one player ran onto the field with a large Colombia flag and another sang the anthem to music. The whole team stood behind him

singing loudly, standing straight organized into two lines, with their hands to their hearts. There was a brief moment where organizers wondered what to sing for the Brooks United team, but it was decided that their anthem was the Canadian one. After the formalities were finished, the first game, Somalia versus Colombia, began. Many young families were there cheering on the players, many were milling around in the trees behind and beside the stands for relief from the sweltering August heat.

At the tournament, I spotted another familiar sight: the presence of the Lakeside team I met back in May. Upon spotting Carla the bus driver on the bleachers, I went and sat down beside her. She mentioned that she had picked up about 12-16 workers the night before, but was not sure of the total number in the new work group. More and more workers were getting picked up at the airport by friends and family, since so many of the more recent arrivals have these connections in Brooks. Carla had brought a bunch of the new arrivals to the soccer match because they wanted to watch friends and family who were playing. As we chatted, one player, who was visibly ready to play, dressed in his Mexico uniform and full equipment, waved to her. "He's been in Canada 16 hours and he's playing soccer" she explained matter-of-factly. Carla pointed out a few more of the new group, many of which were sitting in the shade of the trees. "It's always really hot, whenever the Mexicans arrive." Miguel, one of the recruiters, was standing with them, talking.

I noticed Rhonda's Lakeside bus parked alongside the road, adjacent to the soccer field, and I thought back to the first time I met the Lakeside recruiters. The arrival of migrants to Brooks is a constant process. For the first arrivals, the path is difficult. But as

more and more continue to follow suit, the passage becomes somewhat simpler, particularly when already settled migrants encourage and assist others to migrate to Brooks as they did. As more migrants arrive, the more the fabric of the municipality changes. This eventually prompted municipalities to respond, and some like Brooks implemented strategies which are thought to facilitate and manage these changes. It is here where we find the city working towards a goal of a Welcoming and Inclusive Community, one that is unified in its diversity, and accepting of each other in their differences. This is the discourse, common to multicultural ideologies more generally, though the practice can be much more complex.

### **Querying the Welcoming and Inclusive Community**

This thesis has presented the creation and application of community policy aimed at inclusion. The cases of residents in Brooks, Alberta, illustrate how ambivalent community is and how policy which acts upon an ambiguous notion can be incompatible with the variety of ways in which community and belonging are actually practised. Welcoming and Inclusive Community policy entails “a shared community vision to develop strategies to encourage Welcoming and Inclusive Communities within healthy economic and social systems by promoting, honouring, and increasing community involvement and awareness in all sectors in our community.” This Welcoming and Inclusive plan is informed by neoliberal multiculturalism which leaves the implementation of multicultural strategies to independent individuals and organizations. The residents do not always have the same notions of diversity and what inclusion requires, and thus when they apply their individual efforts and commitments to forming

communities, the results are quite varied. The experiences, backgrounds, intentions, and goals of the citizens of Brooks are undeniably diverse.

Trends towards neoliberal policy are also a response to the denial of the capacity for most residents to participate in the decisions and institutions that shape daily life and the future of the city (Glick-Schiller, Caglar, and Guldbrandsen, 2006). Much of the city of Brooks' rescaling has been due to the presence and activities of its migrant population. Migrants in Brooks undeniably have a significant role in the success of the city to compete on a global scale, as well as the local successes of programs and policies, such as inclusion. They also contribute to the formation, breakdown, and/or continued presence of varying forms of community in the city.

In Chapter 3, I presented the concept of the Welcoming and Inclusive Community (WIC) plan through an examination of the policy document, through interviews with city employees Jeff (Inclusion Coordinator) and Lisa, Sustainability Coordinator, and through the presentation of a key event: the Welcoming Breakfast. These data demonstrate how local policy is impacted by greater factors such as globalization, transnationalism and, more locally, multiculturalism. The processes involved in these three factors act upon municipalities in a direct way, in that they influence the flows of individuals and capital to municipalities. While migrants have tended to locate to larger, global centers, they are starting to arrive in more small-scale and rural centers, such as Brooks.

WIC policy outlines a concept of community, which seeks to be inclusive through incorporating all citizens and fostering a sense of belonging within and between these citizens. This plan was found to be somewhat contradictory, in that it seeks to create a

type of community based on notions which may not be compatible with the wants and needs of the residents of Brooks. The policy tended to reinforce multicultural policies which tend to focus on celebrating culture and addressing its presence, rather than acting to create equality for those 'others' who may face exclusion and discrimination. As evident in the Welcoming Breakfast, the new migrants' first day was focused on getting ready for work rather than thinking about what community and belonging mean. Despite the best intentions of organizers, events such as the Welcoming Breakfast tend to reinforce multicultural policies focused on celebration, which may benefit the city more than the new residents.

Chapter 4 examined the role of service providers in relation to WIC policy, and how policy is enacted on the level of the individual. In this chapter, the data came from interviews with BCIS employees Laura (Employment Counselor), Diana (Intake Counselor), Mohammed (Manager), Spec employee Carol (Settlement Worker), and Amanda (BCALC) and Michael (LCFN) who worked at two different language schools. Service organizations work under neoliberal multicultural policies, which again highlight celebration over addressing equality, and that place the imperative onto the individual. The migrant is the body in which policy is acted upon, as he or she is responsible to work hard to achieve goals which are in-line with the nation they now reside in. The theme of neoliberal policy places the responsibility for goals, such as integration, into the hands of the individuals. Municipalities are the sites which are responsible for the administration of multicultural policy, which is informed by neoliberal strategies, as it too places the work upon the individual. Lastly, these policies are implemented by individuals, who are



expected to carry out these plans as providers and as citizens. As these strategies reach the local level, there is a possibility for discrepancy between policy and action, notions of what constitutes, and results in, inclusion and belonging.

Interviews with service providers demonstrate how these organizations are pertinent in Brooks, but indicated how it is difficult for them to give service under neoliberal policies which leave implementation up to the individual. This results in differences between different service organizations, as well as co-production, which refers to how providers interpret policy. Interviews with language instructors reveals the “good/bad” migrant narrative, in which “good” migrants are seen as hard-working, productive individuals who endeavor to perform in a way which is dictated by the state, such as being independent and learning English. Good migrants worked hard to learn English, and it was understood that English was key to becoming successful and productive contributors to society. These ideas tie back into neoliberal notions of individualized efforts and the focus on being productive members of society. The policies which act upon localities are flawed in their conception, and thus, it is difficult to establish policies on a local level, which are effective and reflect the needs of citizens.

Chapter 5 examined notions of ‘community’ as they are felt in Brooks by examining community in terms of sociation. Community represents sociation amongst people who experience sustained connections, mutual expectations, shared commitment, and/or a sense of belonging, all to varying degrees and in varying contexts. Amit found that community involves “strategic points of ambiguity”, which she states are: joint commitment, affect-belonging, and forms of association (2010: 358). These points are

recognized in how individuals in Brooks consider and act out concepts of community. Examining community demonstrates how the presence of sociation and other concepts of community, such as joint commitment, common knowledge, and plural subjecthood may not always result in a sense of belonging. The data in this chapter demonstrate forms of association (referring to phenomena associated with the notion of community) included a key event, the 'March for Awareness' for the genocide occurring in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as interviews with Christian, from the Francophone Association, and Narel with PIBA (Filipino Immigrant Basketball Association).

The Congolese march, along with the Francophone Association, present how the concept of "community" relates to affect-belonging and joint commitment. While the individuals were at the march as a community in Brooks, joint commitment was actually to a more global 'community' rather than to their association to Brooks. Belonging arose from this transnational tie to the situation in the DR Congo, but it also related to their presence in Brooks, and Canada. Utilizing official language policy, the Francophone Association is committed to their French culture, which is realized in Brooks. However, this commitment to Francophone culture is not shared by all citizens of Brooks. For PIBA, joint commitment and belonging did not necessarily equate to one another, as members of the basketball league had varied levels of commitment, and resultant sense of belonging. This chapter demonstrates how community commitments are varied, and how they are attached to different ideas. This is in opposition to WIC policy, which as mentioned, defines a 'Brooks' community by a certain type of joint commitment.

Chapter 6 examined community through disjuncture, by presenting experiences where belonging and inclusion are not felt. This Chapter presented a key event, Eid el-Fitr, and interviews with Francisco and Fang, migrants who have either rejected or failed to achieve a sense of belonging, in one way or another, and Kalton, a youth migrant who deals with both inclusion and inclusion through her multiple associations. The data illustrate how belonging is dispersed by examining how disjuncture is involved in community, again through varied levels of joint commitment.

The Eid-el Fitr celebration, and the interview with Fang, and to some extent Francisco and Kalton, demonstrate how commitment is not always ‘joint’, which results in a lack of connection and belonging. Oftentimes, commitment to engaging in community life, and in responding to WIC-type policies are directed more towards migrants rather than settler residents, and thus it is difficult to sustain/develop social connections between the two groups. Kalton demonstrates how joint commitment can be attributed to multiple communities, which results in the creation of a sense of belonging in which she is able to draw from multiple social networks. She also demonstrates how disjuncture is involved in a sense of belonging, in that she struggles, within and between, these associations.

Official policy utilizes a strict definition of community, which relies on the notion that residents will all share the same expectations of what a community means and implies. This rigidity is perhaps where some of the dissonance between policy and action occurs. In creating a definition of a Welcoming and Inclusive Community and what is required to become a part of that community, policies run the risk of excluding those who

do not necessarily ascribe to these same notions of community, community engagement and participation. The varied experiences of joint commitment, belonging, mutual expectations, and common knowledge result in associations which are incompatible with traditional definitions of community. As Cohen suggested, previous constructions of community, such as community as imagined and community as symbolic, were merely attempts to capture what it is that people use the word to signify (2002).

Disjuncture is a concept which is illustrated in Brooks, especially throughout its recent history. As addressed, the conflicts, struggles, and separations which individuals experience impact their social relationships and can result in the formation or strengthening of social relationships. Disjuncture is something that can be considered to be productive in that social relationships are affected by it. As Brooks continues to be in transit, how the residents respond to and address disjuncture may reveal the way in which community and belonging are felt in a more concrete way.

Neoliberal policies acting on a local level contribute to the discussion on the concept of community. Constructions of community are a result of neoliberal imperatives. Individuals take upon the varied spaces of interaction they are able to make and make sense of belonging within these spaces. Notions of community represent Brooks as a site for inclusion, a site where people are different, where people are similar, and where they seek social relationships. It is also a site for conflict, struggle and exclusion. The latter do not necessarily mean that there are no experiences of sociality or belonging, rather may suggest that it is difficult to implement policy which does not completely address varying degrees of sociality.

WIC policy may also be difficult to implement in Brooks because of scale. As was found, services and other organizations have had difficulties establishing themselves in the community. The population may not be substantial enough to support this type of policy. Moreover, Brooks is rather transient. Although there are many people coming into the city and many who are staying in the city, many are also leaving. Brooks lacks other opportunities, such as extensive post-secondary education, and this can draw individuals out of the community. The lack of permanence of the population is a reason for WIC policy, but also why it may be difficult to implement. If there is a lack of career and educational options, migrants who have “settled” but who are young, or who seek more opportunities, will continue to leave the city. Despite this, notions of belonging may still exist, as sense of community is not tied to location or a specific time period, just as notions of community can exist without belonging.

### **Future Research**

This thesis presents how notions of community relate to varying experiences of sociation in a rural community. It raises questions about municipal policy in small-scale centers, and contributes to existing literature on the ambiguity of community. Future research considerations include further examination of experiences of migrants in small-scale centers. As was found, migration has become more dispersed, with more migrants arriving more readily to small-scale and rural centers. This research examines the context of one municipality, and thus a comparative analysis of similar cities would contribute to dialogue on migration in small-scale centers. As mentioned in Chapter 2, further research into notions of community, focusing more specifically on the settler residents would

contribute to the understanding of how the residents in Brooks understand “community” and provide insight into the invisibility of whiteness.

There is also a need to examine migrant incorporation related to policy. As AUMA and CMARD initiatives of Welcoming and Inclusive Communities are developed, there will be room for further analysis of these policies in action. At the time of fieldwork, WIC was within its first year. Further research into sustained WIC policy, as well as its implementation in other cities will reveal how policy is put into action and result in more comprehensive data. The global economic factors which act upon policy would also be displayed, as many small-scale cities experiencing migration, such as High River, Alberta, and the Rural Municipality of Wood Buffalo, Alberta, have some sort of manufacturing and/or labour type of work.

Lastly, the topic of youth migrants came up during the course of fieldwork. Due to conceptual and ethical restrictions, the views of youths were not thoroughly addressed. As Baffoe (2011) found, migrant youth’s identity determines their pathways to incorporation and a sense of shared belonging. Youth ultimately have a different experience than first generation migrants, and as this research suggested, they are the population who are considered to be most likely to incorporate in some form or other. This group also faces difficulty establishing identity due to competing group belonging, as well as being susceptible to at-risk behaviour (Baffoe, 2011).

Ultimately, this thesis presented the different constructions of community, and the discrepancy between policy and policy implementation. This thesis identified some divergences between notions of what constitutes inclusion and belonging. Policy which

defines community does not address the various experiences of sociation of migrants in Brooks, and therefore it is difficult to assume that it can unify the varied notions of belonging present in the city. It remains to be seen how WIC and the city will look over time, as it continues to experience being transient, attractive, and welcoming. Brooks has received much attention due to the meat packing plant, its residents, and its politics, and for now, will remain a “poster child.

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## Appendix A

### Preliminary Interview Guide

The following topics served as a guide for initial interviews with migrants. Further questions were developed/expanded in subsequent interviews or as the interview progressed

#### 1. History and background

- How long have you been living in Brooks?
- What have been your experiences in Brooks, while residing here?
- \*Where and when did you migrate to Canada?
- \* How many other people from [country of origin] do you know here?

#### 2. Migration

- \*What sort of processes led you to Brooks, rather than a larger center?
- \*\* what are your impressions of the changes the influx of migrants has brought to the community?
- How do you see the community embracing or rejecting migration and an increasingly diverse population?

#### 3. Community and participation

- What sort of activities do you participate in within the community?  
.....Explain a little about the organization(s) you are involved in

- \*\*what experiences have you had in the community involving members of the immigrant community?
- \*What experiences have you had in the community involving migrants from countries other than your own and/or Brooks natives?
- Do you feel a sense of belonging within the community or do you feel separate from the rest of the residents?
- Do you have a social network in which you rely on?
- What sort of ideas/symbols/thoughts/images comes to mind when you hear the word “community”?

#### 4. Identity

- Do you identify with any one particular cultural or religious group? Are there any other groups you identify with, such as community or social groups or organizations?
- How would you describe your connection to your hometown? Is it as strong or stronger than your connection to other members of these sorts of groups?
- How would you describe the majority of your close friends here in Brooks? What sorts of groups would you say they belong to?
- What are the sorts of ways you can express your identity? Do you use specific language, or dress in particular ways?
- What sorts of images come to mind when you think of the community of Brooks?

Notes:

\* Specific topics for members of the immigrant population

\*\* Specific topics for Brooks 'natives' (including City employees)