

The role of local immigration partnerships in Syrian refugee resettlement in Waterloo Region, Ontario

Blair T. Cullen

Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, School of International Policy and Governance, Wilfrid Laurier University

Margaret Walton-Roberts

Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, School of International Policy and Governance, Wilfrid Laurier University

Key Messages

- Waterloo Region's Local Immigration Partnership (WRIP) played a critical role in Waterloo Region's Syrian Refugee Resettlement Initiative.
- WRIP's autonomy, coupled with a strong sense of place-identity, meant it was an active partner in all stages of this resettlement initiative.
- Participants saw the WRIP as a local resource that maximized efficient communication and responsiveness.

As of January 29, 2017 Canada had received 40,081 Syrian refugees. The scale and scope of this resettlement is historic, with the only comparable event being the arrival of 60,000 Indo-Chinese refugees in the late 1970s. Since that time, much has changed in local resettlement policy. This research focuses on one component of these changes—the role of Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) in Syrian refugee resettlement—through a case study of an official refugee reception centre in the Waterloo Region of Ontario and a series of interviews with key informants from multiple sectors involved in resettlement. Results indicate Waterloo's LIP playing a sizable role, but not acting as the sole response body to refugee resettlement. Nevertheless, participants saw the LIP as a crucial part of Waterloo's resettlement efforts. Despite being a product of a tri-level intergovernmental agreement, the LIP played a central role in shaping a local strategy by using local solutions. LIPs represent an example of place-based policy that worked well during the Syrian Refugee Resettlement Initiative, but LIPs' success may set a challenging precedent for future mass refugee resettlement events.

Keywords: local immigration partnerships, refugee resettlement, place-based policy

Le rôle des partenariats locaux en matière d'accueil des réfugiés syriens dans la région de Waterloo, en Ontario

En date du 29 janvier 2017, le Canada avait reçu 40 081 réfugiés syriens fuyant la guerre civile déclenchée en 2011. L'échelle et la portée de cette vague migratoire sont historiques, le seul événement comparable étant l'arrivée de 60 000 réfugiés indochinois à la fin des années 1970. Depuis ce temps, beaucoup de choses ont changé sur le plan des politiques d'accueil des immigrants. Cette étude met l'accent sur un des éléments de ces changements, à savoir le rôle des partenariats locaux en matière d'immigration (PLI) par le truchement d'une étude de cas d'un centre d'accueil de réfugiés dans la région de Waterloo, en Ontario, lequel centre a été impliqué dans l'insertion des réfugiés syriens. La méthodologie de recherche se fonde sur une série d'entrevues avec des répondants clés ayant participé à cette démarche. Ceux-ci proviennent de divers secteurs d'activité. Les résultats indiquent que le PLI de Waterloo a certes joué un rôle appréciable, mais qu'il n'a pas été le seul

Correspondence to / Adresse de correspondance: Blair Cullen, PhD Candidate, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, 75 University Avenue W, Waterloo, ON N2L 3C5. Email/Courriel: cull1210@mylaurier.ca

organisme intervenant dans l'accueil des réfugiés. Néanmoins, les participants ont perçu le PLI comme un élément essentiel des efforts d'insertion mis en branle à Waterloo. Malgré le fait qu'il résulte d'un accord entre trois ordres de gouvernements, le PLI a joué un rôle central dans l'élaboration d'une stratégie en utilisant des solutions adaptées au milieu. Les PLI constituent donc un exemple de politique adaptée à la sphère locale qui a bien fonctionné, à la lumière du projet d'accueil des réfugiés syriens de Waterloo. Cependant, le cas du PLI de Waterloo peut aussi être vu comme une réussite difficile à reproduire en cas d'arrivée massive de réfugiés dans le futur.

Mots clés : Partenariats locaux en matière d'immigration, accueil des réfugiés, politiques adaptées au milieu

Introduction

Between December 2015 and February 2017, Canada resettled 40,081 Syrian refugees (IRCC 2017). Such swift action in a short period marks a remarkable shift in Canada's refugee intake. While Canada has a history of accepting refugees, the only comparable intake was in the late 1970s, when Canada resettled 60,000 Indo-Chinese refugees within a similar timeframe (Besier 1999). Since then, refugee resettlement policy has changed.

The timing of the Syrian Refugee Resettlement Initiative (SRRI) mirrors substantial change in local resettlement policy, highlighted by local immigration partnerships (LIPs). Introduced in 2008 as part of the *Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement*, LIPs are community-based councils whose main goal is to develop and implement a local resettlement strategy to produce a more welcoming community. Equipped with upper-level government funding, municipal government participation, and an Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) mandate, LIPs are IRCC's first attempt at coordinated local resettlement policy—signifying a substantial shift in the philosophy and policy make-up of local resettlement policy (Bradford and Andrew 2010).

Despite Canada's history and the development of LIPs, research on refugee resettlement is limited, particularly with a local lens (Yu et al. 2007). As refugees represent one of the federal government's few migration streams with a geographical dispersion policy (McDonald et al. 2008), and key factors in resettlement such as the presence of ethnic communities and host society reception are locally dependent, this is a notable research gap. In an attempt to build understanding of the role of place and place-based policy in refugee resettlement, we used the unique circumstances of the SRRI to examine how effective LIPs could be in coordinating resettlement efforts. As the majority of the

federal government's Resettlement Assistance Centres are in second-tier cities and the bulk of refugee research is in first-tier cities (McDonald et al. 2008), we conducted this research in a case study of the former, in Waterloo Region, a second-tier city in southwestern Ontario.

To explore the role of Waterloo Region's LIP in the SRRI, we begin with a review of the relevant literature on the role of place in refugee resettlement and emerging forms of place-based policy in refugee resettlement. Next, we provide a breakdown of our methodology. The paper then details primary findings, focused on the history of immigration-based cross-sectoral bodies in Waterloo Region, the evolution of Waterloo Region's LIP during the SRRI, and the central role of place in Waterloo Region's response to the SRRI. The paper concludes with a discussion of the intersection of Waterloo Region's SRRI response within the tri-level intergovernmental environment.

Refugee resettlement and local immigration partnerships: Integrating the local into local resettlement policy

For immigrants, place dictates quality of and access to housing (Francis and Hiebert 2014), reception (Rose 2001), type and quantity of settlement services (Truelove 2000), likelihood of encountering exclusion or discrimination (Bauder and Sharpe 2002), and employment prospects (Waters 2003). Yet, as much research as there is demonstrating the importance of place in immigrant settlement, the research remains confined to looking at elements of immigrant settlement within certain places. Rarely is immigrant settlement examined through an explicit place-based lens, particularly in terms of how the character of individual places informs processes and practices

of immigrant settlement. As Canada's immigrant settlement model is place-dependent, this is important.

Although IRCC funds settlement services across Canada, it outsources the delivery of services to non-governmental organizations and institutions like social service agencies or school boards. Hence, different organizations provide the same IRCC services in different communities (Richmond and Shields 2005). Furthermore, there is great variability in the quality and quantity of services (Leitner and Preston 2012), with the bulk concentrated in first-tier cities (Preston et al. 2009). A newcomer's class of entry determines what services they can access and how they access them, and thus influences their integration process. For example, if an immigrant enters Canada through the federal government's economic stream, they can choose their settlement destination (Waters 2003). Conversely, for refugees who enter through government or privately sponsored categories, the destination decision-making process is limited (Newbold 2007). Government-assisted refugees (GARs) are resettled in one of 23 official reception centres, the majority of which are second-tier cities.

GARs are the highest-needs refugees Canada accepts. Alboim (2016) found that Syrian refugees tended to have lower levels of education and health issues: many had also experienced some form of trauma and 60% were under the age of 15. In the case of the Syrian refugees, they were less educated, in poorer health, many have experienced some form of trauma, and 60% were under the age of 15 (Alboim 2016). Consequently, resettlement required efficient and equitable access to a suite of health, social, language, and employment services, making resettlement a multi-sectoral process in which various sectors must collaborate and coordinate to ensure an effective resettlement process. Most reception centres face this reality, yet, because of minimal data on how places resettle refugees, little is known about how they respond.

The bulk of literature on refugees is on the refugee selection process; research on the dynamics of local resettlement is relatively meagre (Danso 2001; Yu et al. 2007). What research exists is segmented into specific areas such as health (Campbell et al. 2003), language (Hou and Besier 2006), social capital (Lamba and Krahn 2003), social support (Simich et al. 2005; Makwarimba

et al. 2013), and housing (Carter and Osborne 2009). Research has tended to centre on the agency of refugees within the refugee system rather than the structure of the resettlement system itself (Simich 2003). Most studies focus on the experiences of one ethnic community—seldom is the resettlement system examined in a localized holistic manner (Yu et al. 2007).

This gap is somewhat puzzling considering that for years scholars have highlighted the complex local nature of refugee resettlement (Lewis 2010). Perhaps part of the reason for the small number of studies of refugee resettlement systems is that it has only been recently that communities have been encouraged to look at resettlement systematically. In the Indo-Chinese resettlement, the federal government was an active player in resettlement (Alboim 2016); following decades of decentralization, its role has been reduced. With the emergence of LIPs' multi-sectoral makeup, the landscape of resettlement has changed. With community-based councils playing a role in resettlement, resettlement policy is no longer strictly the domain of refugee resettlement agencies but now includes other institutions such as school boards and hospitals as part of a community-wide approach. Given the multi-faceted nature of refugee resettlement (Carter and Vitiello 2012), LIPs are well-equipped to help places resettle refugees, which, therefore, makes studying their effectiveness in doing so worthwhile, adding a layer of understanding to how places resettle refugees.

Waterloo Region: A second-tier city with a history of refugee resettlement

This research employed a case study approach to examine Waterloo Region and its LIP, officially called the Waterloo Region Immigration Partnership (WRIP). We aimed to understand how communities approach refugee resettlement through the work of their LIPs and how these systems might represent a form of place-based policy.

Located in southwestern Ontario, just over an hour from Toronto, in 2016 Waterloo Region had a population of 535,154, of which 23% were foreign-born (Statistics Canada 2016). Administratively, Waterloo Region has two tiers of government: (i) the regional level, referred to as the Regional Municipality of Waterloo which provides planning,

public health, water, and sewage servicing as well as financing for the region: and (ii) the seven municipalities of Cambridge, City of Waterloo, Kitchener, North Dumfries, Wellesley, Wilmot, and Woolwich, which operate local planning, tax collection, and parks and recreation services (Statistics Canada 2016).

As one of the first provinces to begin resettling Syrian refugees, Ontario is a salient study area. Ontario receives the largest share of refugees in Canada and is home to nine official refugee reception centres, the highest number of any province besides Quebec (McGrath and McGrath 2013). While the City of Toronto receives the most refugees on an annual basis (Ray and Preston 2009), the majority of Ontario's reception centres are in second-tier cities.

Waterloo Region had an average annual intake of 280 GARs. As demonstrated in Table 1, this number more than quadrupled during the SRRI, with the majority arriving between December 2015 and April 2016. Waterloo Region's population is only 1.4% of Canada's population, yet, during the surge, it received 4.7% of the total number of Syrians resettled in Canada (IRCC 2017). Overall, compared to gateway cities such as the City of Toronto, the number of refugees Waterloo Region resettled may not seem significant; however, when compared to other reception centres across Canada on a per capita basis, it placed in the top five (Table 2).

In the early 1980s, with the introduction of the federal Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), Kitchener became one of five second-tier cities in Ontario—the others were Ottawa, London, Windsor, and Hamilton—selected to receive a designated amount of GARs on an annual basis. As part of the SRRI, the federal government expanded the number of official reception centres from six to nine in Ontario. As one of the original

Table 1
Number of Syrian refugees in Waterloo Region by category.

Category	Sum
Government-assisted refugees	1,013
Privately sponsored refugees	226
Blended visa office referrals	160
Total	1,399

SOURCE: IRCC 2017.

Table 2
Refugee arrivals per capita.

Place	Refugees per 1,000 population
Trois-Rivières	6.5
Moncton	3.4
Saint John	3.4
London	2.5
Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo	2.3
Windsor	2.2
Halifax	2.2
Regina	1.9
Saskatoon	1.6
Hamilton	1.6

SOURCE: <https://beta.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/syrian-refugees-in-canada-by-the-numbers/article33120934/?ref=http://www.theglobeandmail.com&>

official reception centres and given our research was a case study focusing on a place-based policy, we were interested in discovering what impact, if any, Waterloo Region's history as an official reception centre had on its ability and approach to the SRRI.

In the wake of the Indo-Chinese refugee resettlement, a number of organizations developed in Waterloo Region to meet a growing demand of refugee needs. From the social service sector, the local YMCA started delivering settlement services in 1987 (YMCAs of Cambridge and Kitchener-Waterloo 2018), while in the ethno-cultural sector, the Kitchener-Waterloo Multicultural Centre began putting almost all of its resources into settlement services in 1985, responding to the changing ethnic and racial makeup of the region at large (KWMC 2018). During the same period, Reception House and the Mennonite Coalition for Refugee Support evolved from informal religious community efforts to being formal organizations devoted to refugee support services and advocacy for refugee claimants seeking asylum (MCRS 2018; Reception House Waterloo Region 2018).

As pioneer of and preliminary testing ground for LIPs, Ontario is fertile territory for research. Within Canada, Waterloo Region was one of the first communities granted an LIP in 2009. Since then, IRCC has committed to the LIP model, with 76 IRCC-funded LIPs across Canada. LIPs are emerging as a fundamental part of Canada's resettlement model, identified as a best settlement practice and recently receiving a positive assessment from the

federal government (IRCC 2017). Established in 2009, well before the SRRI, the WRIP is one of the longest-standing LIPs; its lifespan provides a sufficient period to examine the LIP policy.

At the start of the 2000s, with the creation of the Waterloo Region Immigrant Employment Network (WRIEN), Waterloo Region was one of the few places outside of the City of Toronto to construct a multi-sectoral body devoted to migration issues without upper-level government funding. As a result, when building its LIP, Waterloo Region was not starting with a blank slate; it had already built an entity with a different focus but a somewhat similar structure. The local conditions, which gave rise to WRIEN—along with how the development process of WRIEN affected the construction of the WRIP—were carefully considered while conducting the research, as Waterloo Region was an anomaly amongst second-tier cities in this regard.

Methodology

This study is part of a larger comparative research project in three mid-sized Canadian cities including Waterloo Region, Hamilton, and Ottawa, which examined the role of LIPs in the SRRI in 2016–2017 (Dam and Wayland; Veronis 2019). Purposive sampling was utilized in each case study to maintain consistent sample data for comparative analysis. To develop a broad understanding of the WRIP's participation in the SRRI, a mix of primary and secondary data collection methods were utilized.

Primary data collection consisted of key informant interviews, the most effective method for direct access to stakeholders, in order to understand the WRIP's role in the SRRI. Objectives were designed to see how effective the WRIP was in coordinating, mobilizing, communicating, and managing the response to the SRRI, and learning about the strengths and weaknesses of the WRIP's structure. The WRIP is multi-sectoral with networks of organizations in the double-digits and networks of people in the triple-digits, thus, the aim of the interview guide was to give participants the ability to document their various relations with the WRIP and share their impressions of how well the partnership operated during the most intense phases of the SRRI.

Research started following research ethics approval in September 2016.

Interviews began in January 2017 and concluded in June 2017. Cullen (lead author) conducted interviews in participants' workplaces and over the phone. Interviews ranged from 45 minutes to two and a half hours, with average length being an hour and a half.

The sample included eleven interviews with key informants from eight organizations in the following sectors: mental health, settlement services, resettlement services, municipal, upper-level government, community foundations, post-secondary, and general non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Participants consisted of volunteers, front-line workers, program managers, and administrative as well as executive officers. The sample contains representation from eight of the twelve sectors involved in Waterloo Region's Resettlement Steering Committee (Appendix A), and was determined by our condensed timeline and the need to maintain comparable data sets between the three case studies. The research aimed for a rapid-fire evaluation designed to capture the urgency behind Waterloo Region's SRRI efforts. Data collection was completed within one year of the end of Waterloo Region's SRRI operation, thereby capturing the details from the SRRI operation when still fresh in participants' minds, while also allowing time for critical reflection.

Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. As part of their informed consent, participants were assured their participation would be kept confidential; thus, quotes used in this paper are not directly attributed. Interview transcripts and feedback sessions notes were coded using Dedoose, web-based qualitative data analysis software. Employing interpretative and constructivist paradigms (Cloke et al. 2004), a coding tree was crafted using predetermined topics while remaining open to emerging themes. Upon completion of the coding tree, one researcher coded all case study sites.

Secondary data collection comprised retrieval of publicly available primary documents from the WRIP and the Regional Municipality of Waterloo as well as meeting minutes and correspondence from the WRIP and Waterloo Region Resettlement Steering Committee. Initial findings were shared and discussed in March 2017 at the 19th National Metropolis Conference in Montreal and at a feedback session in Waterloo Region in April 2017.

A proactive pioneer: WRIP's role in refugee resettlement

The WRIP's forerunner, WRIEN, originated in 2006 and was modelled along similar lines to the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC). However, although both were bottom-up developments, TRIEC operated on upper-level government funding whereas WRIEN acquired a variety of local funding sources to sustain itself. When IRCC announced a call for applications from communities interested in forming LIPs, WRIEN submitted an application in an attempt to broaden its mandate (for timeline, see Appendix B). With the Regional Municipality of Waterloo as the lead, Waterloo Region applied for and received LIP funding in 2009—one of three communities in Canada to successfully apply for LIP funding in the initial round. In 2011, the WRIP was launched with three pillars, as shown in Figure 1: Settle, Work, Belong—to ensure all aspects of the migration experience were covered. Eventually, WRIEN was

absorbed into the WRIP's work committee (Appendix B).

Work on refugees has been part of the WRIP's mandate from the outset, which contrasts to the focus of the WRIEN forerunner, which was more oriented to labour market issues. The term “refugee” is mentioned alongside the term “immigrant” throughout the WRIP's Community Action Plan and in much of the WRIP's official documentation. Refugees were part of the conversations about the work of the main council and refugee serving and advocacy organizations sit on the WRIP's Settle Steering Committee.

The significance of refugee resettlement was highlighted in 2014, when a group of organizations assembled the Refugee Services Action Group (RSAG), an independent working group devoted to educating, informing, and building public awareness about refugee issues in Waterloo Region. After operating independently for a little over a year, in May 2015, according to participants from the resettlement and municipal sectors, the RSAG

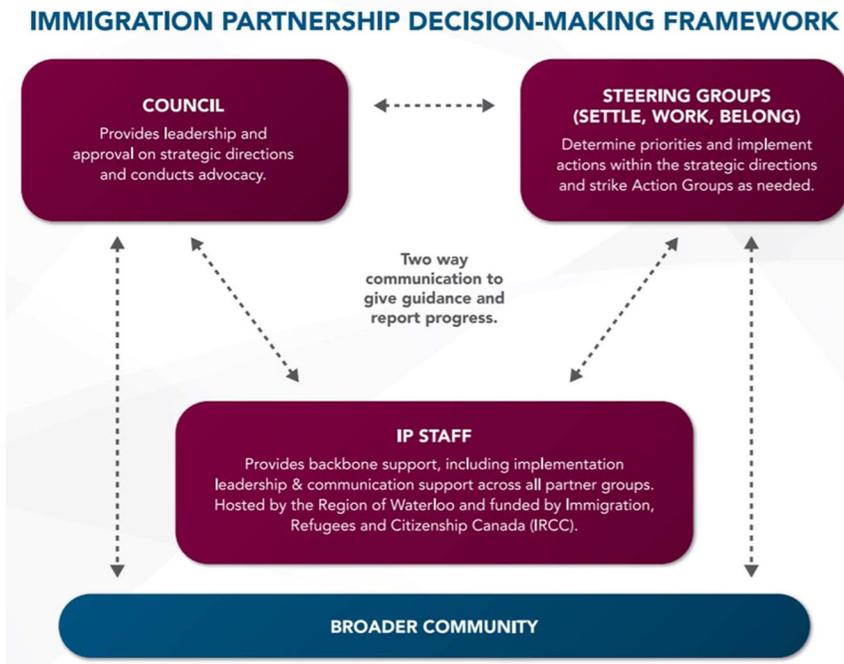


Figure 1 Waterloo Region local immigration partnership structure.
SOURCE: <https://www.immigrationwaterlooregion.ca/en/business-opportunities/about-us.aspx>. [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

discussed becoming a sub-group of the WRIP's Settle Steering Committee. In the words of a participant from the municipal sector:

...it was in response to, again, the awareness that there were some things that were being missed or not looked at in a fuller sense by the larger committee [Settle]. And to be honest, it did not have to be part of immigration partnership, but immigration partnership brought resources and staffing to leadership which, on our own, probably, we wouldn't have gotten so far...

The WRIP's engagement with refugee issues was, therefore, on the agenda prior to the SSRI—however, while the WRIP committees were engaged in refugee issues, participants from the municipal, resettlement, and general NGO sector indicated that some organizations felt their concerns could be higher on the WRIP's agenda.

Refugee resettlement certainly became an issue of greater importance for the WRIP as the Syrian refugee crisis escalated and the tragic images of Alan Kurdi went viral in September 2015. The WRIP played an organizing and communications role as well as co-hosted a community rally on September 15, 2015 called "Waterloo Region Welcomes Refugees." The purpose of the rally was to educate the public and demonstrate Waterloo Region's support for refugees. One participant from the refugee resettlement sector saw the rally as one of the WRIP's most "innovative" practices, since the WRIP was not simply present at the rally but participated as a leading community actor.

All participants confirmed that conversations about refugee resettlement continued into October under the WRIP's guidance. Since Waterloo Region was an official reception site for GARs, it was clear the WRIP needed to play a role. A participant from the municipal sector explains,

In October, we moved into more of a ... starting to bring together our service partners and all these new groups that started to get involved in refugee sponsorship so that they would know about the services that were available in the community if they were going to be hosting families. And then when the election took place, and the commitment was confirmed ... you know, this is a resettlement community for government-assisted refugees, so recognize that this was going to have a huge impact here and all of our services in this community would

be impacted ... [we worked] very fast with our partners, through our council, to put together an information primer in what that 25,000 [national] commitment would mean in very practical terms for Waterloo Region, took it to the regional council, and started taking it out to all of our planning tables to inform them and educate them about the numbers of people who would be coming into the community and the needs that they would have, and how other services would need to prepare, because they would be starting to come and to access those services. From that sprang, very quickly, a service preparedness planning session that we [WRIP] hosted with our community partners...

The WRIP session referred to above occurred in early November 2015. Two weeks later, as verified by all participants, the WRIP hosted another planning session with 120 people from hospitals, community health centres, school boards, mental health agencies, and housing and a variety of other sectors that would have to play some part in the SSRI. As planning sessions intensified and the expected December deadline for Syrian arrivals inched closer, a new reality began unfolding; the WRIP had been taking the initiative on resettlement planning but it was becoming apparent that it may not have the capacity to lead the endeavour.

The surge phase of Syrian refugee resettlement: Sister structures and WRIP's evolution

At the request of stakeholders in the community and around the WRIP's council, the WRIP approached the Regional Municipality of Waterloo about taking the reins of Waterloo Region's SSRI response. After community consultation, the WRIP determined that it was not the body to lead Waterloo Region's SSRI effort. Participants from every sector except mental health, upper-level government, and community foundations stated the WRIP then approached the Regional Municipality of Waterloo and encouraged them to take the lead role, which they did, mainly because they respected the WRIP as a community body as well as the expertise of the WRIP staff and took seriously their assessment of the situation; in the view of a participant from the municipal sector: "But had [WRIP Director] not come to me and said that, I am

not sure it would have been something that I would have even thought about, because it is a federal responsibility.”

Upon taking leadership, the Regional Municipality of Waterloo launched a Resettlement Steering Committee based on Waterloo Region’s pandemic emergency plan (Appendix A). A participant from the municipal sector describes the structure and its purpose:

We pulled out our pandemic plan, so we looked at it and said: “there is no pandemic, but the structure of this would work beautifully for organizing this.” So that’s what we did. We took the pandemic plan, we kept a control group that included the seven mayors and the regional chair, and a number of senior bureaucrats from all of the municipalities and instrumental aid agencies. And we had a Steering Committee which was, probably 15 or 16 folks who could lead the exercise. And it had another co-officer ... it was the chair, Reception House (the executive director was the co-chair), and we had members who represented all of the services that we would need to be able to assist Syrian refugees to settle. And then we had, I think it was ten working groups. One for housing, one for children services, one for donations and volunteers, etc.

From the first arrivals to the remainder of the active phases of the SRR, the Resettlement Steering Committee provided the main management and oversight of Waterloo Region’s operation. It is crucial to clarify that the pandemic plan and structure were not used in the traditional manner they were designed for. A participant from the post-secondary sector elaborates:

What we [WRIP] heard was initially that the region wanted to enact almost like an emergency response for all these refugees that were coming in. And it was very much, very early on, said that this emergency response is not going to work. This is a resettlement community. It’s designated as a resettlement community. We have the infrastructure here for resettlement of refugees. That’s the response that it is going to be. This is not about an emergency response for you to put cots in a gymnasium, and you ... you know, rolling out blankets and all that kind of stuff. It is not like that ... it’s a different approach in settlement. And we have the infrastructure in the region to be able to make that happen. It’s a matter of ... supporting those agencies to be able to do their work.

The role the WRIP played here educating Waterloo Region is important to note. Although Waterloo Region has been an official reception centre for decades, participants from the settlement, upper-level government, and municipal sectors stated that multiple senior personnel of organizations and institutions in Waterloo Region did not know Waterloo Region had a refugee resettlement organization as part of the RAP program. This disconnect became problematic as senior personnel took the lead of many groups of the Resettlement Steering Committee. When complications like these emerged, people migrated towards the WRIP for assistance, as they were, according to one participant from the community foundations sector, “the collection of subject matter experts on resettlement.” The WRIP’s main role evolved to assist with the SRR, by connecting groups, communicating important information, and addressing gaps and needs that arose. A participant from the municipal sector elaborates:

... so, our role as the LIP was working with our community partners and our municipal partners to get that structure in place for their collaboration in working together to manage the resettlement initiative and then as that structure was adopted and populated with all kinds of municipal and community groups working in different areas, staying kind of centrally involved in the Syrian committee supporting and reporting to all the municipal leaders, the mayors and CEOs who were engaging in advocacy with their provincial and federal counterparts on behalf of this community. So, our role was like, we don’t do the service for anybody but we were kind of the glue between all of the different groups and helping with that communication of where needs were arising ... a lot of our work was on the communication and information sharing side to make sure that there was a consistent level of information that was getting out to everybody.

This information sharing included compiling all relevant and necessary details into bi-weekly and eventually monthly briefing notes to keep all ten committees of the Resettlement Steering Committee (Appendix A), as well as the appropriate sectors and organizations in the community, up to date. All participants mentioned receiving these notes. Because of the sheer number of organizations on the ten committees (many who had never

played any role in refugee resettlement before), the WRIP staff helped educate various personnel on how they could contribute to and tailor their services to best help resettlement efforts. As a participant from the mental health sector stated:

So, then [LIP staff member] and her group are able to provide some directions and leadership as a whole around the whole community and say, "okay, so this is what's happening, or this is what is going on in other areas of the province, or this is what other people are doing." So, she kind of gives that contextual picture that we don't have.

The WRIP also help facilitate local capacity building by directing some organizations to specific funding opportunities to assist them in tackling the long-term needs of Syrian refugees. For example, a participant from the mental health sector mentioned that they received a call from WRIP staff, "[WRIP staff member] is the one who called me and said: 'Okay, you need funds. I know that IRCC has additional money that they need to use up. What do you think about doing this?'" Ultimately, the WRIP became what one participant called a "sister" structure.

Aside from its operational role, another contribution from the WRIP was helping Waterloo Region construct the Resettlement Steering Committee (Appendix A); the speed with which this occurred was seen as a testament to the communities' collaborative expertise. Participants from every sector unanimously agreed that having the WRIP as a pre-existing structure made a difference in Waterloo Region's ability to resettle refugees as rapidly as it did. Most participants went so far as to say that the Resettlement Steering Committee would not have happened without the prior existence of the WRIP. As one participant noted, "it was because the immigration partnership was part of the regional structure [Resettlement Steering Committee] that it [Waterloo Region's SRRI response] happened." However, it was not simply that the WRIP existed that helped Waterloo Region's SRRI get off the ground so quickly, it was also the WRIP's legitimacy. A participant from the post-secondary sector explains, "what I observed was the LIP was instrumental because it existed and it was legitimate and trusted and that meant that the community was able to respond in a different way."

How Waterloo Region's Syrian refugee resettlement response influenced WRIP

Because of the multi-sectoral reach of the Resettlement Steering Committee, as well as the participation of the WRIP and WRIP-affiliated organizations, the WRIP's profile was enhanced. Several of the individuals and organizations who sat on the ten sub-committees of the Resettlement Steering Committee (Appendix A) had little previous exposure or experience with the WRIP. As a participant from the mental health sector indicated, "But I knew hardly anything about who were the players that were supporting refugees and new Canadians. I knew nothing about the immigration partnership, hum. I did not know..."

Participants from the mental health, resettlement, and general NGO sectors saw the WRIP and the Resettlement Steering Committee as one entity, not distinct bodies. A participant from the post-secondary sector who had previous experience with another LIP in a different city stated that they could understand why others had difficulty separating the two structures because it was "a blurry line." In the short term, no participants reported this causing any problems; it might, in fact, have helped the WRIP's standing in the community. Nevertheless, as the Resettlement Steering Committee winds down and eventually dissolves, what will community expectations be? Will they expect the WRIP to carry on the work of the Resettlement Steering Committee with the same organizations as part of the WRIP and address similar objectives? Or will they simply expect the WRIP to act as the Resettlement Steering Committee in similar future events?

One area participants expect to be altered is the WRIP's mandate on refugees. When asked whether the WRIP's approach to refugees will change, a participant from the municipal sector replied:

It's definitely changed. I mean, it's true. Our focus has always been on immigrants *and* refugees. You ask our refugee service organization partners ... they were never satisfied with the level of attention that was given to refugee concerns before. It was you know, from their perspective, [WRIP was] heavily favoured to immigrants more broadly. That will not be the case going forward. The conditions in the community have changed. And although I don't think we've ignored refugee concerns before, it's definitely got a different

place now ... the optics, and the perception, even the conversations around our table are very different now.

Discussion: Back to the future for WRIP?

Overall, there was consensus amongst participants that the SRRI renewed the WRIP's purpose. As one participant from the general NGO sector commented, "And also the Syrian refugee crisis, the influx, I think was the other part that helped to um rejuvenate the relevance (laughs) of our LIP. In, in Waterloo Region. (Rejuvenate?) Yeah. At some level. Like, to get people to say, yeah, uh huh this is why we have a LIP." With their purpose renewed, the question is, what path will the WRIP take? The research shows that the WRIP did play a role in Waterloo Region's SRRI response, but it was not the primary body responsible for Waterloo Region's operations, although it could have been. LIPs can be designed to be responsive and are equipped to act in situations like the SRRI. Moreover, the LIP's multi-sectoral, collaborative council is well-suited to the multi-faceted realities of mass refugee resettlement events. As one participant from the settlement sector noted, "There should not have been a need for a parallel process."

Yet, when given the option, Waterloo Region determined it needed a larger, further-reaching structure to respond to Syrian refugee arrivals. The local rationale participants provided for this was twofold. One, not all sectors involved in resettlement are members of the WRIP council, as one participant from the mental health sector pointed out,

Suicide prevention council crosses all sectors, races ... if you look at who sits at that table ... the chief of police, the CEO of Family-Children Services, the boards of education ... they are big players, and those are the ones who sit at that table. Why do they sit at that table, see the importance of it and represent it, but they do not sit at the immigration partnership? Those are the questions I would ask. How do we see that as a specific sector thing, but suicide is a matter that crosses all blocks?

Two, there were not enough senior personnel authorized to make organizational decisions on the WRIP. A participant from the settlement sector describes the predicament this put the WRIP in:

So, if we don't have a senior person from a school-board sitting at that table, we can talk all we want about what needs to happen within the school system, we can be very strategic about that ... But if we don't have the buy-in of the stakeholder who is in a position that they can implement change, then that work is much more difficult.

According to a participant from the general NGO sector, shortly after the WRIP officially launched, there was representation in terms of more sectors and stakeholders present on the WRIP's council; however, they did not last long as they found the regular work of the WRIP to be "irrelevant." Moving forward, the past perception of the WRIP amongst senior personnel of large institutions may change and the WRIP's role in the SRRI may be responsible for that. A participant from the municipal sector explained this change:

It has definitely strengthened relationships with senior community leaders, which are really important when we are talking about the kind of systems, and policy level changes that we think are needed. I think it has shown, at least for the partners that we have that are included in that, that you can be more operationally focused, we can do things differently, and get faster results.

At a national level, there may have been another reason which inhibited the WRIP being the primary response body during the SRRI. LIPs are mainly funded by IRCC. In the case of the SRRI, IRCC did not give any direction for LIP participation. In participating, the WRIP proceeded without direction from IRCC—as a participant stated, "We did not change our budget at all, we just did it." IRCC did not provide additional funds to the WRIP and did not initially give LIPs any indication that they were to be involved. LIPs were designed to eliminate the inter-governmental uncertainty that had long surrounded immigration and refugee resettlement policy (Omidvar and Richmond 2003); however, by not giving any direction to LIPs during the most intense period of the SRRI, federal bureaucrats were leaving one of their main local resources idle. Fortunately, the local actors in Waterloo Region took initiative without explicit federal direction.

Key to the ability of LIPs to act in the absence of federal direction is recognition of the amount of

local autonomy they have been granted. Without IRCC's direction, the WRIP was able to play a meaningful role in a rare development. This autonomy permitted the WRIP to develop a structure not only responsive to but best-suited to local needs.

Practicing place-based policy: The Waterloo way

The WRIP's exercise of autonomy stems from Waterloo Region's strong sense of place. Place-based policy loses its effectiveness when it becomes too fragmented (Bradford 2005). The refugee resettlement service provision landscape is filled with fault lines and is ripe for fragmentation. In the specific sector, organizations providing direct services to refugees are different sizes, are independent or part of larger multi-purpose agencies, have distinct funding sources as well as, often, a history of competition for funding, and have differing jurisdictions. In the non-specific sector, organizations providing indirect services to refugees, such as municipalities or hospitals, also share some of these challenges and in some instances, do not see serving refugees directly as part of their mandate. As the refugee resettlement process is multi-sectoral, collaboration is necessary but can be difficult to achieve, especially between specific and non-specific sectors. In the case of Waterloo Region, many of these challenges are amplified, as its regional scale means there is a single regional government comprised of seven municipalities, including three populous cities.

By building coordination through a multi-sectoral framework, LIPs were designed to address this fragmentation by helping to fit all the pieces of the resettlement puzzle together, while remaining outside of direct service delivery (and therefore not "in competition" with any of its stakeholders). However, as an example of place-based policy, LIPs need to rely on or foster a sense of place in order to effectively integrate into these complex organizational landscapes. Waterloo Region's history of a place-based approach to immigration contributed to a high-functioning LIP and ultimately, put Waterloo Region as a whole in a better position to manage the SRRI (Appendix B).

The WRIP was effectively integrated into the community through a process of local institution

building that started with the formation of WRIEN to address concerns over immigrant inclusion in the local labour market. WRIEN did not wait for upper-level government support to start, since stakeholders realized that a second-tier city could not compete with the resource demands made by Toronto:

In order to run with a three year mandate and recognizing that no senior levels of government ... provincial or federal would fund an immigrant employment network, because TRIEC [Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council] in Toronto was already funded and they were afraid to fund the second one. Cuz a second one means you have to fund everybody. The first one is just a pilot in Toronto, right?

This mindset continued when the opportunity to apply for an LIP emerged. Waterloo Region saw acquiring an LIP not as a starting point but as a way to build on work on immigrant-related issues already happening in the community. A participant elaborates:

The LIP wasn't just for the sake of one organization to get funding from CIC [Citizenship and Immigration Canada; now IRCC]. Um, but hey, our community is on a pathway here, the snowballs rolling down the hill and this immigrant responsiveness thing and hey we're going to get a whole bunch more snow to add to it. Because CIC is now adding more snow.

Ultimately, although primarily IRCC funded, the LIP is not seen as an IRCC body, it is seen as a Waterloo Region body. As a participant mentions, there was a sense of community ownership, "It [WRIP] was in fact not just that entity that the government has set up, but something that really represented the community." Hence, when the SRRI happened, there was little discussion around whether it would be part of Waterloo Region's response; it was looked to immediately as an agent for leadership. In fact, the WRIP took that role upon itself since the organization was seen as the repository for community led immigration and refugee resettlement concerns.

As the WRIP was already established in the community, much of the mobilization required for the SRRI was in place. There were few questions around "who's gonna fit where," because as one participant from the post-secondary sector

describes, “we know what happens in our community, we know who’s here, we know who’s at the table, who’s doing what, who’s able to do what, what are their limitations, what are their concerns.” The WRIP is an illustration of the potential Bradford and Andrew (2010, 6) saw for LIPs, in which “joined-up arrangements enable communities to address shared, complex problems in more responsive ways.”

Activating the WRIP turned out to be only the first step in Waterloo Region’s SRRI response. The next step, the creation of the Resettlement Steering Committee, relied on Waterloo Region’s history, place-based approach, and facilitation by the WRIP. Through its transition from WRIEN to the WRIP, Waterloo Region learned how to merge an existing entity into a more expansive one. While not identical, as the WRIP was not absorbed into the Resettlement Steering Committee, the process of integrating overlapping pieces and personnel into a new body was similar. In addition, the WRIP provided a critical basis for the development of the Resettlement Steering Committee, just like WRIEN did for the WRIP (Appendices A and B). A participant from the general NGO sector notes the importance of this, “if we didn’t have the LIP in all the groundwork that preceded the LIP (yeah), our community’s response would not have been so comprehensive or coherent and successful to the degree that it was.” Consequently, participants saw Waterloo Region’s transition from using the WRIP as its primary response vehicle to the Resettlement Steering Committee, as a “natural evolution.”

Employing a place-based approach to migration issues is not a recent development. Yet, the variations of these approaches—from WRIEN to the Resettlement Steering Committee—have become increasingly complex and vast. Place remains at the centre of Waterloo Region’s strategy and in the view of one participant from the municipal sector, responsible for much of Waterloo Region’s evolution,

But one wonders if any of us would have ever had thought about changing our practices if we hadn’t joined together in a collective, talking about the idiosyncrasies of this population [Syrian refugees] and we then thought about, well, how can we do that more easily—so we changed our rules. If we had been working in our own siloes, would we actually been able to come up with all the things that we did?

Independently? I would argue we probably wouldn’t. The collective nature, the whole community response is what gave rise to the creativity and innovation we saw here. And it’s not earth-shattering innovation, don’t get me wrong. I am not saying this couldn’t have been done anywhere else. It’s the fact that we made a whole community response and said “What’s the best way to deal with it?”

While other communities certainly demonstrate similar success in collaborative approaches to challenges, what was it about Waterloo Region that participants saw manifest in how they approached the SRRI? When asked, participants overwhelmingly cited the influence of Waterloo Region’s Mennonite heritage and in particular, the lore of a barn-raising mentality: when one barn burns down, the entire community participates to rebuild it. Many attributed the Mennonite history in helping develop a collective spirit that addressed specific problems as an expression of social solidarity of the whole community. Besides this example, most respondents seemed to have never given it much consideration; rather they saw collaboration in Waterloo Region as second nature.

Conclusion

Scholars have highlighted the need to understand the local nature of the refugee resettlement process (Lewis 2010). Findings of Waterloo Region’s LIP demonstrate the value of a locally-based and driven approach to mass refugee resettlement. The WRIP played a critical role in Waterloo Region’s successful SRRI operation. In particular, the WRIP identified what the scope of the SRRI would mean in terms of community commitments before political commitments, proactively began the planning process, mobilized organizations, distributed vital information across Waterloo Region, connected organizations, educated personnel unfamiliar with the refugee resettlement process, and used its knowledge and expertise to help construct the Resettlement Steering Committee. As the surge phase of the SRRI intensified and the Resettlement Steering Committee became the principal body for leading Waterloo Region’s SRRI, the WRIP adapted, becoming a sister structure.

The WRIP’s participation in Waterloo Region’s SRRI operation can be attributed to Waterloo

Region's history of place-based policy in immigration and refugee issues. Dating back to the turn of the 21st century, Waterloo Region had been holding events and forums on these issues. The establishment of the WRIP in 2011 marked the culmination of years of conversations and initiatives. At the time of the emergence of the Syrian refugee crisis, the WRIP had long been the primary vehicle for immigration and refugee issues for Waterloo Region. It had, therefore, a strong awareness of the community's capabilities and had already been working at the regional scale needed to respond to the influx of Syrian refugees. Being one of the first LIPs in Canada aided in this regard: the WRIP had the time to complete steps before the Syrian crisis emerged that other communities without an LIP might not have had the opportunity to take. Even without direction from IRCC, Waterloo Region's history of proceeding without upper-level government support—as it had to with the WRIP's predecessor, WRIEN—helped pave the way for the WRIP to proceed on its own terms.

Bradford and Andrew (2010) suggest that LIPs provide a foundation for governance innovation. Based on how the WRIP responded to the SRRI, this proved accurate. However, Waterloo Region felt they needed a larger structure to address the SRRI. This decision highlights the limitations of the LIP model.

What makes this finding unique is that participants did not fault IRCC for the shortcomings of the LIP model. There were no calls for more funding or for a more robust LIP mandate from IRCC. Instead, participants looked locally, opting to create the Resettlement Steering Committee. This was, in part, a consequence of the WRIP's inability to persuade the appropriate organizations and senior personnel to be members of the WRIP, both of which were needed to respond to the demands of the SRRI. This finding illustrates a reoccurring theme from the data: Waterloo Region's ability to seek solutions locally. Repeatedly, Waterloo Region first tried to solve situations locally before expanding their problem-solving lens to other scales. With the lack of direction from IRCC for the SRRI, this approach was useful. However, this approach does warrant a note of caution, expressed by the following remarks from a participant in the municipal sector: "I worry that the fact that we did it and were so successful about it ... that another order of government might think,

well they did it before so they can continue to do it."

This participant's quote speaks to the limitations of this research. While the research has established the impact of upper-level government actions on the ground, what's missing is the perspective of upper-level governments. We did interview a lone participant from the upper-level government sector; based on their response, they still seemed to be learning what their relationship with LIPs should be:

But you know, I think it's an ongoing conversation for the province and the ministry, what about LIPs? What is our view of those? You know we're not the funders, we do fund many of the agency members, the agencies that sit on the LIPs, the ministry often funds them or they're funded by other ministries (within the provincial government) as well, so I think the province does have an interest in making sure those LIPs are effective, making sure those services are coordinated and so on.

The participant continued, "I do think, well the LIPs are of interest to us, the ministry, I'm not sure there is a direct link between the ministry's mandate or even our policy goals, I guess, even, to use your term and that vehicle." This outlook coincides with our findings regarding the inter-governmental uncertainty surrounding immigration and refugee resettlement policy. LIPs were expected to address this decades-old issue; our research demonstrates this has yet to be rectified. More research is required to develop a comprehensive understanding of why this is.

A product of inter-governmental uncertainty in the SRRI was an inadvertent downloading of costs onto local communities, as they were not compensated for the additional expense of resettling Syrian refugees in record numbers. LIPs were not an exception to this. Under these circumstances, examining LIPs is not an entirely fair exercise or accurate account of their capabilities, as they were not properly resourced to take on the tasks they did. Similarly, the exceptional nature of the SRRI, particularly in terms of numbers of refugees and timeline, need to be considered when looking at our research. Although our research makes an important contribution to the literature on LIPs, it was conducted in extraordinary conditions and is not necessarily reflective of standard LIP policy, practices, or goals.

As our research was a rapid-fire evaluation, the relevance of our data is limited to a specific time period of the SRRI. Because of this, there may be opportunities to examine the role of LIPs as it relates to the longer-term resettlement of Syrian refugees. As LIPs are planning bodies, this might be a natural fit. Geographically, we looked at LIPs in second-tier cities in Ontario. However, with 76 LIPs now across Canada, an area for future research would be to see how LIPs with shorter lifespans in other provinces fared in the SRRI, if they participated at all. LIPs across Canada are primarily federally funded. That said, the provincial government in Ontario has a history of minimal activism in advocating for more immigration authority. This may have played a part in the provincial government's restrained role in the SRRI in terms of LIPs. Would provinces with a history of coveting and securing more power in immigration policy be so relaxed about not encouraging or attempting to activate LIPs for their SRRI operations? This would be worthy of further study.

References

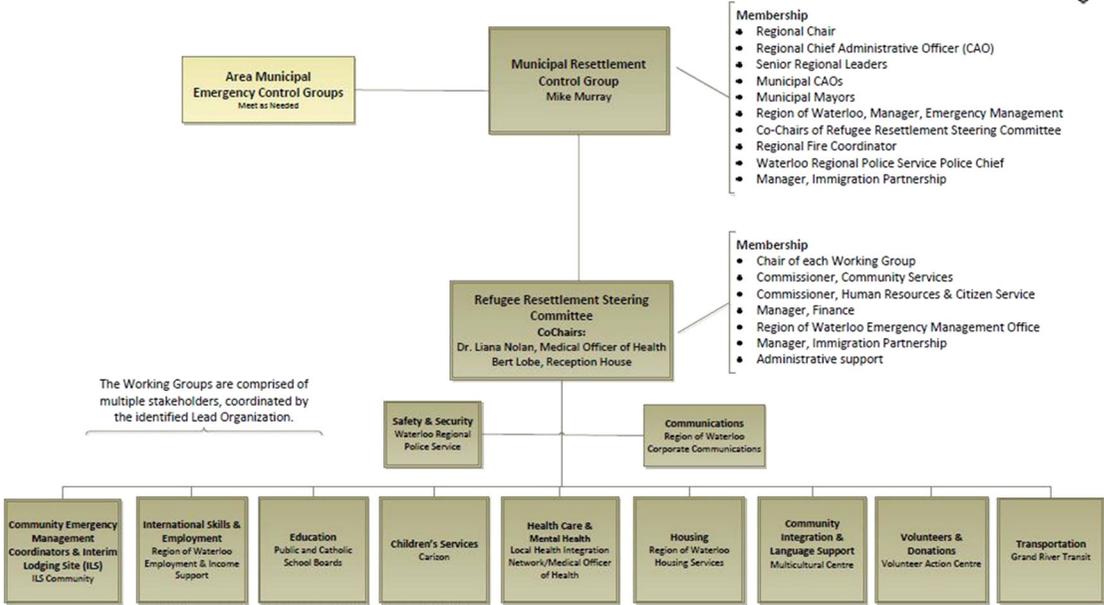
- Alboim, N. 2016. Lessons learned from the Indochinese and Syrian refugee movements. *Policy Options* May 18. <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/may-2016/lessons-learned-from-the-indochinese-and-syrian-refugee-movements/>
- Beiser, M. 1999. *Strangers at the gate: The "boat people's" first ten years in Canada*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Bradford, N. 2005. *Place-based public policy: Towards a new urban and community agenda for Canada*. Research Report. Canadian Policy Research Networks. March. <http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Bradford-2005-Place-based-public-policy-agenda.pdf>
- Bradford, N., and C. Andrew. 2010. *Local immigration partnerships: A promising Canadian innovation*. Research Paper. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. July. <http://p2pcanada.ca/library/local-immigration-partnership-councils-a-promising-innovation/>
- Campbell, L., N. Fowler, J. Kaczorowski, E. Molinaro, S. Robinson, M. Howard, and M. Jafarpour. 2003. How are new refugees doing in Canada? Comparison of the health and settlement of the Kosovars and Czech Roma. *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 94(5): 381-385.
- Carter, T., and J. Osborne. 2009. Housing and neighbourhood challenges of refugee resettlement in declining inner city neighbourhoods: A Winnipeg case study. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 7(3): 308-327.
- Carter, T., and D. Vitiello. 2012. Immigrant, refugees and housing. In *Immigrant geographies of North American cities*, ed. C. Teixeira, W. Li, and A. Kobayashi. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 91-111.
- Cloke, P., I. Cook, P. Crang, M. Goodwin, J. Painter, and C. Philo. 2004. *Practicing human geography*. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Dam, H., and S. Wayland. Syrian refugee resettlement: A case study of local response in Hamilton, Ontario. *The Canadian Geographer* 63(3). doi: 10.1111/cag.12560.
- Danso, R. 2001. From 'There' to 'Here': An investigation of the initial settlement experiences of Ethiopian and Somali refugees in Toronto. *GeoJournal* 56(1): 3-14.
- Francis, J., and D. Hiebert. 2014. Shaky foundations: Refugees in Vancouver's housing market. *The Canadian Geographer* 58(1): 63-78.
- Hou, F., and M. Besier. 2006. Learning the language of a new country: A ten-year study of English acquisition by South-East Asian refugees in Canada. *International Migration* 44(1): 135-165.
- IRCC (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada). 2017. *#WelcomeRefugees: Key figures*. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/welcome-syrian-refugees/key-figures.html>
- KWMC (Kitchener-Waterloo Multicultural Centre). 2018. *What we do*. <https://www.kwmc.on.ca/what-we-do/>
- Lamba, N., and H. Krahn. 2003. Social capital and refugee resettlement: The social networks of refugees in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4(3): 335-360.
- Leitner, H., and V. Preston. 2012. Going local: Canadian and American immigration policy in the new century. In *Immigrant geographies of North American cities*, ed. Teixeira, C., W. Lei, and A. Kobayashi. London, UK: Oxford University Press, 2-22.
- Lewis, N. 2010. A decade later: Assessing successes and challenges in Manitoba's Provincial Immigrant Nominee Program. *Canadian Public Policy* 36(2): 241-264.
- Makwarimba, E., M. Stewart, L. Simich, K. Makumbe, E. Shizha, and S. Anderson. 2013. Sudanese and Somali refugees in Canada: Social support needs and preferences. *International Migration* 51(5): 106-119.
- McDonald, B., Gifford, S., Webster, K., Wiseman, J., and Casey, S. 2008. Refugee resettlement in regional and rural Victoria: Impacts and policy issues. http://library.bsl.org.au/jspui/bitstream/1/977/1/RefugeeResettlement_Report_Mar08.pdf
- McGrath, S., and I. McGrath. 2013. Funding matters: The maze of settlement funding in Canada and the impact of refugee services. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 22(1): 1-20.
- MCRS (Mennonite Coalition for Refugee Support). 2018. *History of MCRS*. <https://www.mcrcs.ca/about-us/history-of-mcrcs/>
- Newbold, B. 2007. Secondary migration of immigrants to Canada: An analysis of LSIC wave 1 data. *The Canadian Geographer* 51(1): 58-71.
- Omidvar, R., and T. Richmond. 2003. *Immigrant settlement and social inclusion in Canada*. Toronto, ON: Laidlaw Foundation. http://laidlawfdn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/wpsosi_2003_jan_immigrant-settlement.pdf
- Preston, V., R. Murdie, J. Wedlock, S. Agrawal, U. Anucha, S. D'Addario, M. Kwak, J. Logan, and A. Murnaghan. 2009. Immigrants and homelessness—At risk in Canada's outer suburbs. *The Canadian Geographer* 53(3): 288-304.
- Ray, B., and V. Preston. 2009. Experiences of discrimination and discomfort: A comparison of metropolitan and non-metropolitan locations. *The Canadian Geographer* 57(2): 233-254.

- Reception House Waterloo Region. 2018. *Our history*. <http://receptionhouse.ca/about-us/our-history/>
- Region of Waterloo. 2015. *Waterloo Region Syrian Refugee Resettlement Preparedness Plan*. <http://www.communitybasedresearch.ca/resources/700/June%2014%20REPORT.pdf>
- Richmond, T., and J. Shields. 2005. NGO-government relations and immigrant services: Contradictions and challenges. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 6(3-4): 513-526.
- Rose, J. 2001. Contexts of interpretation: Assessing immigrant reception in Richmond, Canada. *The Canadian Geographer* 45(4): 474-493.
- Simich, L. 2003. Negotiating boundaries of refugee resettlement: A study of settlement patterns and social support. *Canadian Review of Sociology* 40(5): 575-591.
- Simich, L., M. Beiser, M. Stewart, and E. Mwakarimba. 2005. Providing social support for immigrants and refugees in Canada: Challenges and directions. *Journal of Immigrant Health* 7(4): 259-268.
- Statistics Canada. 2016. *Focus on geography series—Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo (CMA)—Ontario*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-cma-eng.cfm?LANG=Eng&GK=CMA&GC=541&TOPIC=1>.
- Truelove, M. 2000. Services for immigrant women: An evaluation of locations. *The Canadian Geographer* 44(2): 135-151.
- Veronis, L. 2019. Building intersectoral networks as a place-based strategy for immigrant and refugee (re)settlement: The Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership. *The Canadian Geographer* 63(3). doi: 10.1111/cag.12559.
- Waters, J. 2003. Flexible citizens? Transnationalism and citizenship amongst economic immigrants in Vancouver. *The Canadian Geographer* 47(3): 219-234.
- YMCAs of Cambridge and Kitchener-Waterloo. 2018. *Settlement*. <https://www.ymcacambridgekw.ca/en/immigrant-services/Settlement.asp>
- Yu, S., E. Ouellet, and A. Warmington. 2007. Refugee integration in Canada: A survey of empirical evidence and existing services. *Refuge* 24(2): 17-34.

APPENDIX A: Waterloo Region Resettlement Steering Committee



Waterloo Region Syrian Refugee Resettlement Preparedness Plan 12/7/2015



APPENDIX B: Evolution of Waterloo Region's migration bodies

