

VIETNAMESE REFUGEES' RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES IN
PETERBOROUGH, ONTARIO: INTEGRATION AND MOBILITY

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Michelle Nguyen, BA History and International Development Studies,
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ABSTRACT

Many immigrants and refugees arriving in Canada resettle in the gateway cities, including Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. The Canadian government attempts to redistribute refugees across the country to reduce large metropolitan centers' pressures to provide resources for newcomers and to revitalize small cities' economies. However, there is a lack of literature on refugees' challenges and successes while resettling in small cities. This paper is a historical case study of Vietnamese refugees' resettlement experiences in Peterborough, Ontario. It explores how the Peterborough community responded to the arrival of Vietnamese refugees and analyzes the factors that influenced the participants' decisions to stay in Peterborough or relocate to other cities. The participants' experiences revealed that, the Peterborough community's initial warm reception was important for building social networks, but the availability of employment and the ability to support their families were more significant factors in influencing their decisions to move.

Keywords: Vietnamese refugees, resettlement, integration, reception, Peterborough, redistribution, mobility, community, settlement services

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To Ba Mę:

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-Michelle

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1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the Canadian government's attempt to distribute immigrants and refugees across the country, newcomers continue to concentrate in the gateway cities. From 2011 to 2016, Canada accepted 1,212,075 immigrants for permanent settlement in Canada and over half of all immigrants still reside in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal (Statistics Canada, 2017). In the 20th century, gateway cities traditionally served as entrances to other regions (Burghardt, 1971). However, gateway cities are now the primary destinations for immigrants. Harry Hiller described gateway cities as "...urban centres which serve as magnets for immigrants" (2007, p. 51) and explained that they are also the hubs for trade, finance, and economic globalization. Immigrants and refugees are beneficial to cities because they are an important source of labour, help to sustain the population, and add to the city's cultural diversity. Nonetheless, the large concentration of newcomers in a few cities can also create problems such as a strain on available resources and services and ethnic segregation. Despite many immigrants' popular perceptions of the availability of employment in larger cities (Valade, 2017), some studies note that newcomers in larger cities do financially worse than in smaller cities due to the lack of employment opportunities that match their credentials, insufficient affordable housing, and overall high living costs in metropolitan centres (Haan, 2008; Williams et al., 2015).

Due to low national birth rates and the departure of youth from smaller cities, non-gateway Canadian cities increasingly rely on immigration to support their economies and boost their populations. Furthermore, by increasing their populations, small cities receive provincial government spending on services in education, health, and infrastructure (Valade, 2017). By the end of the 1990s, the Canadian government recognized that smaller cities were experiencing a decline in both their population and labour sources (Valade, 2017). For example, Bourne and

Simmons stated that half of Canadian cities with populations below 250,000 lost residents between 1996 and 2001 (2004, vii).

To address some of the smaller cities' need to attract immigrants, various levels of Canadian government implemented policies and programs to attract and retain newcomers in non-gateway cities. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and other government departments tried to find ways to send more immigrants to second- and third-tier cities (Krahn, Derwing, and Abu-Laban, 2003). Second-tier cities are defined as urban centers with a population between 500,000 and 1,000,000. Second-tier cities have a diversified economy, ethnic and cultural diversity, and a wide range of immigrant services (Williams, 2015). A third-tier city has a population between 100,000 and 500,000. Third-tier cities have less employment opportunities, immigrant services, and diversity (Williams, 2015). Peterborough is considered a third-tier city because in 2016, its census metropolitan area (CMA) population was 121, 721 (Statistics Canada 2017, "Focus on Geography Series"). In 2002, the Minister of CIC, Denis Coderre, proposed a controversial idea to limit skilled workers' freedom of mobility by making it a requirement for them to live in a community identified by the government for at least three years (Krahn et al, 2003). Although this idea was never implemented, other alternatives were put into action. For example, a program called Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) was implemented to allow local stakeholders to coordinate services and strategies that would attract immigrants and help integrate them into local communities.

Immigrants can often decide their location of residence upon arrival in Canada. On the other hand, refugees' initial location of resettlement is often determined by other actors, such as their private sponsors and the Canadian government. While there is extensive literature on the factors influencing immigrants' decisions to move to a Canadian city (Hyndman, Schuurman, and

Fiedler, 2006; Hou, 2007; Derwing and Krahn, 2008) and their integration experiences (Teixeira and Drolet, 2018; Zaami, 2015; Haan, 2008), there is inadequate research on the specific challenges and successes that refugees encounter during their initial resettlement in small cities or the factors influencing their decisions to relocate to larger metropolitan centres.

During the Syrian Refugee Crisis, many Canadians recalled Canada's unprecedented government and private sponsorship of Indochinese refugees. In 1986, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), awarded the Nansen Medal to Canadians, including private citizens, politicians, and organizations, for their resettlement of refugees from the mid-1970s to early 1980s. Maddie Macnab (2018) explained that, in Peterborough, local organizers sometimes drew parallels to the Peterborough community's welcoming response to Indochinese refugees to galvanize support for Syrian refugee resettlement efforts. Another concern regarding the resettlement of Syrian refugees in Canada was their large concentration in the gateway cities and the increasing pressures on those cities to accommodate their needs for housing, employment, and other newcomer support services (Friesen, 2017). Through private sponsorship, some Syrian refugees resettled in smaller, non-gateway cities (Schendruk and Taylor-Vaisey, 2016). Nonetheless, due to their recent settlement, we are still learning about their ongoing integration processes in the small cities. To acquire a more complex and nuanced understanding of some refugees' longitudinal resettlement experiences in smaller, non-gateway Canadian cities and the factors that allow for successful retention and integration, it is necessary to look at historical cases, such as the resettlement experiences of Vietnamese refugees in Peterborough, Ontario.

In some cases, refugees changed the cities and communities, where they resettled, by providing the momentum for the expansion of newcomer services and development of new businesses. While most Vietnamese refugees resettled in the gateway cities, some of them went to

other mid-sized cities like Ottawa, Windsor, and Hamilton and small cities. Most of the literature on Vietnamese refugees focus on their resettlement experiences in Toronto (Phan, 2010; Ngo, 2016), and Montreal (Dorais, 1999). There is little research on their experiences in small non-gateway cities.

This paper seeks to address that knowledge gap by conducting a qualitative historical case study that analyzes the resettlement experiences of Vietnamese refugees who initially resettled in Peterborough, from 1975 to the mid-1990s. Peterborough is a small city in southern Ontario, located 135 kilometers northeast of Toronto. The paper focuses on Vietnamese refugees because they comprise the majority of the Indochinese refugees who resettled in Canada. While the study of other ethnic groups' resettlement experiences is outside the scope of this paper, the author acknowledges that further research on Thai, Cambodian, and Laotian refugees is necessary to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the Indochinese refugee experience. This paper's research questions are how did public officials, community groups, local organizations, and individual residents in Peterborough respond to the arrival of Vietnamese refugees and why; and how did their response affect the refugees' resettlement and integration experiences?

To address these questions, the paper refers to secondary sources, archival material, primary research, and semi-structured interviews from eight participants. Secondary sources included academic articles and chapters in edited books that were accessed through Ryerson University Library and Archives. I relied on secondary sources to understand the historical context of the arrival of Vietnamese refugees in Canada and the theoretical frameworks on refugee resettlement and integration. The archival material consisted of federal government documents such as memorandums to the Immigration Minister and the Peterborough Examiner newspaper articles found at Library and Archives Canada and Peterborough Museum and Archives. These

materials allowed me to understand how the Canadian government responded to the arrival of Vietnamese refugees in Canadian cities and their adaptation experiences in Canada in more detail. Primary research included the interviews that I conducted. The participants in the interview are ethnic Vietnamese refugees that resettled in Peterborough within the period of 1975 to 1990. The interviews were used to provide a new perspective to the existing literature on refugees' resettlement experiences in Canadian cities.

First, the paper will analyze Canada's response to the Indochinese refugees by asking why Canadians responded to the refugees to why refugees primarily resettled in the gateway cities of Toronto and Montreal. I chose to look at these two gateway cities because they have the largest populations of Vietnamese people. Second, the paper will examine the responses of non-gateway cities, such as Ottawa, Hamilton, and Windsor, to the Indochinese refugees, to identify the similarities and differences between the responses of the communities and public officials in gateway and non-gateway cities. I chose these three cities because they have large populations of Vietnamese people and because their resettlement efforts were exemplary for other non-gateway cities (Dam, 2012; Neuwirth and Clark, 1981, and Roma, 2016). Third, the paper will focus on the case of Peterborough and explore its demographics, historical immigration patterns, and the availability of services or institutions serving newcomers before the resettlement of Indochinese refugees. Then, the paper will discuss how public officials, community groups, and individual residents responded to the Indochinese Refugee Crisis. Finally, the paper will look at how the Vietnamese refugees perceived the community's initial approach to their resettlement and will ask why, based on their integration experiences, they decided to stay or move away from Peterborough.

1.1 METHODOLOGY

My paper is a qualitative, historical case study. I chose to do qualitative research because it allows for flexibility and complexity in research. Furthermore, qualitative research is often the best approach for exploring a subject or group that has been inadequately researched (Creswell, 2013, p.20). Creswell stated that, “[t]hose who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation” (2013, p. 4). A qualitative approach allows participants to reflect on their resettlement experiences and the meanings they give to them. It also allows the researcher to ask more open-ended questions that may encourage more complex answers.

1.1.1 Researcher Disclosure

This research is intimately tied to my family history because my parents are Vietnamese refugees and I identify as a second-generation Vietnamese Canadian. In 1982, my father attempted to leave Vietnam by boat twice and was caught by Vietnamese patrol guards. However, in 1984, he was successful in escaping from Vietnam and reached a refugee camp in Singapore (Nguyen, 2012). My mother fled Saigon in 1987 and after two days at sea, she reached Galang, Indonesia (Nguyen, 2012). After two years of waiting in the camp, she was offered permanent asylum in Canada. From hearing my parents’ stories and reading about the plight of the boat people, I learned that the discourses on refugees and the policies responding to their displacement deeply affected people’s lives and outcomes.

My curiosity about the stories of immigrants and refugees continued to grow throughout my undergraduate education. I wrote research papers on the 1954 internal migration movement of Northern Vietnamese to South Vietnam, the fluid cultural identity of second-generation

Vietnamese in the diaspora, and the visual representations of Vietnamese boat people in American dominant media. Through writing these papers, I built a solid foundation of knowledge about the history of the Vietnamese diaspora but more importantly, I gained a stronger sense of my identity and family history. By volunteering for the New Canadians Centre and joining a support group for a Syrian refugee family, I became more interested in learning about refugees' resettlement experiences in Peterborough. Therefore, the analysis of Vietnamese refugees' resettlement experiences in this paper is not conducted by an outsider but by a second-generation Vietnamese Canadian who grew up in Peterborough and has witnessed the growth of the immigrant and refugee population in the city.

1.1.2 Research Design

I recruited the participants through convenience and snowball sampling. I recruited participants who were of Vietnamese ethnic origin, were refugees, and who initially resettled in Peterborough. First, I contacted one of the Vietnamese refugees in Peterborough and asked if he could connect me with other refugees who resettled in Peterborough when they first arrived in Canada. Then, I phoned the refugees to talk about my study. If the participants agreed to participate, I asked to conduct interviews with them in the individual study rooms at the Peterborough Public Library.

In total, I conducted eight semi-structured interviews. Each interview lasted a maximum of one hour. The participants' ages ranged from 36 to 60 years old at the time of interview. At the time of migration, the participants ranged from one to 33 years old. The participants arrived in Canada in the late 1970s and the 1980s. Five of the participants were privately-sponsored while three of the participants were government-sponsored. One of the interview participants was born in Canada. Therefore, based on the UNHCR refugee definition, she is not considered a refugee.

However, I believe that the participant's experience provides important insights into her parents' first years of settlement in Peterborough. It also allows us to understand younger generations' experiences of the resettlement and integration processes. The refugees were given pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality.

It is important to note that the participants in my study belonged to the second and third wave of refugees, known as the boat people, because they fled Vietnam by boat in the late 1970s and the 1980s (Truong, 2001). The first wave of refugees consisted of educated military officials, with ties to the South Vietnamese government, that fled Vietnam before the Fall of Saigon in April 1975. The second and third wave of refugees were often less educated and came from a variety of backgrounds. As a result, their specific resettlement challenges are distinct from those of the first wave. While the Canadian government promotes a narrative of a homogenous and unified Vietnamese refugee community, members of the Vietnamese community are often divided because of their different backgrounds and refugee experiences. Lamba and Krahn argue that government personnel, service providers and researchers also refer to Vietnamese refugees as a homogenous group, thus ignoring their "...distinctive life histories, reasons for escape, personal goals and needs" (2003, p.335). Therefore, it is necessary to recognize that the opinions and experiences of the participants in my study do not reflect the views of the entire Vietnamese community. My research does not outline the larger trends in the resettlement experiences of Vietnamese refugees in small cities. Instead, I am conducting an in-depth analysis of the individual experiences of some members of the Vietnamese community in Peterborough.

I prepared an interview guide asking the participants open-ended questions about their resettlement experiences in Peterborough. To give the participants ample time to review the questions and reflect on their responses, the full interview guide was given to the participants after

they signed the consent form and again before the actual interview. Some of the questions I asked were, did the participants face any challenges or successes during their first few years living in Peterborough and why did they decide to stay or leave Peterborough. The interviews were mostly conducted in Vietnamese. Most of the participants felt more comfortable replying in Vietnamese. My ability to speak Vietnamese was significant to the participants' willingness to share their stories. Some individuals were hesitant to participate because of their lack of time, English fluency, and memory regarding their initial years in Canada. To confirm the details provided by participants, I referred to the Peterborough Examiner articles that discussed the experiences of Indochinese refugees living in Peterborough and their interactions with private sponsors.

1.1.3 Methodology Challenges

The process of recalling historical events is often not linear. Although the participants were given interview guide questions before the interview, sometimes, they expressed difficulty in remembering the dates and details of their experiences. For many of the refugees, approximately three to four decades have passed since their initial resettlement in Peterborough. While this may make it difficult for them to recall the specifics of their experiences, refugees may have been more open to sharing their stories *because* of the amount of time that had passed since their arrival in Canada.

One participant in my study noted that the interview allowed him to reflect on a part of his life that he did not think of often. He was glad to be given the opportunity to share his story. Although the refugees could not always remember the exact dates, names, or places, in their stories, they remembered clearly how they felt during their initial resettlement. Valerie Yow (2015) explained that researchers often try to understand participants' interpretation of events and remembered feelings. She said that participants' feelings are usually consistent even though other

details are not. For example, oral historian, Paul Thompson, discovered that his participant could not clearly remember the details about her father but her feelings for him remained the same across three interviews (Yow, 2015). Thus, in this study, historical narratives are important because they capture the participants' feelings and responses to different events.

According to the participants in this study, most of the refugees that resettled in Peterborough in the late 1970s and 1980s were bachelor men. There were very few Vietnamese female refugees. Although in some cases, the male participants resettled in Canada with their wives and children, the wives were less willing to participate in the interviews. Sometimes, once I explained my research, the women I contacted passed the phone to their husbands. The Vietnamese refugee women's lack of interest in the interviews may be influenced by the traditional gender roles in Vietnamese culture. Vietnamese culture is influenced by Confucian principles and traditions. As a result, women's roles within the family are often guided by the Three Submissions: 1) women must obey their fathers, 2) wives must obey their husbands, and 3) mothers must obey their eldest son (Del Buono, 2008). While women are expected to fulfill their responsibilities as wives and mothers in the domestic sphere, men often must fulfill the role of the breadwinner and family representative in the public sphere. The researcher's recruitment experience suggests that future research requires more understanding of how gendered roles may impact individuals' decisions to participate in research.

My social position as a second-generation Vietnamese Canadian and as a member of the Vietnamese community in Peterborough made it easier for me to recruit participants for my study. The participants were more comfortable participating in the interviews when they realized that the interview could be conducted in Vietnamese. They expressed concerns about having to communicate in English and were afraid that they would not be able to provide sufficient answers

to my questions. The participants' responses to my study suggest that future research on Vietnamese refugees would benefit from having a Vietnamese-speaking interviewer or Vietnamese translator. Although many Vietnamese refugees can speak fluent English, many Vietnamese refugees would be more willing to participate in research if they were given the option of speaking in their mother-tongue.

1.1.4 Coding

To analyze the interviews, I used a three-step manual coding strategy. While I initially planned to use NVivo, a qualitative data analysis program, I decided to code the interviews manually mainly because of the time constraints. Since I only conducted eight interviews, it was not difficult to code them manually. During the interviews, I jotted down the participants' responses. As I relistened to the voice recordings and wrote transcripts, I created categories such as initial welcome, education, employment, discrimination, reasons to move from or stay in Peterborough. This process of finding similarities in the data, labelling phenomena, and creating categories is called "open coding" (Priest, Roberts, and Woods, 2002). Then, I moved onto "axial coding" where I created subcategories and tried find connections between the categories and subcategories. For example, I tried to organize the categories chronologically. I first looked for information about the refugee camps they stayed in before arriving in Canada, the processing centres they went through before resettling in their destination, and the factors that influenced the refugees' decisions to move from or move back to Peterborough. Finally, I conducted "selective coding," as I looked for more evidence from my notes that fit under the codes and reflected the patterns as well as data that contradicted the patterns (Priest, Roberts, and Woods). Following the coding process, I referred to the different categories and dominant themes to analyze the successes and challenges faced by the participants during their resettlement experiences in Peterborough.

2. CANADA'S RESPONSE TO THE INDOCHINESE REFUGEE CRISIS: PRIVATE SPONSORSHIP AND REDISTRIBUTION OF REFUGEES ACROSS CANADA

2.1 Historical Context of the Indochinese Refugee Crisis and Canada's Refugee Policy,

The international refugee regime, created after the First World War, evolved after the Second World War to address the mass displacement and persecution of people. To protect the millions of refugees who were displaced by the violent conflicts, the UNHCR established the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol (Martin, 2010). The Indochinese refugee cause, beginning in 1975 and continuing into the early 1990s, challenged the international community to provide an appropriate response to an unprecedented large-scale flow of asylum seekers. Canada was one of the key players in the international response to the Indochinese refugee crisis. The Indochinese refugee crisis occurred as Canada was liberalizing its immigration policies and opening its borders to people from different source countries. The Indochinese refugee crisis allowed the Canadian government and its citizens to step up as a leader on the international stage through its private sponsorship program and resettlement efforts.

The fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975 facilitated a mass exodus of asylum-seekers from Indochina, a region demarcated by the French colonial powers from the mid-19th to mid-20th century. Today, it includes Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Some scholars critique the use of the terms Indochina and Indochinese, because of its colonial references. However, for the purposes of this paper, the use of the geographical term, Southeast Asia, does not accurately represent the region that produced refugees from the 1970s to early 1990s. Therefore, the terms, Indochina and Indochinese will be used throughout the paper to refer to the region and the refugees in this historical event. After the fall of Saigon, asylum-seekers continued to leave Vietnam when the Socialist Republic of Vietnam implemented re-education camps, New Economic Zones, political persecutions, and restricted people's freedoms and rights. Media representations of the

Indochinese boat people galvanized the international community to respond to the refugee crisis. First asylum countries in Southeast Asia urged western countries to help alleviate the burden of accommodating the refugees through resettlement. Along with the United States, Australia, Hong Kong, and France, Canada made commitments to help resettle Indochinese refugees.

The timing of the Indochinese refugee crisis aligned with changes to Canadian immigration policies. Ron Atkey, the immigration minister in Joe Clark's government, explained that Canada's response to the boat people was influenced by its desire to show the United States and United Kingdom that Canada "...could do better..." (Beiser, 1999, p. 41). The 1976 Immigration Act explicitly outlined the Canadian government's responsibility to welcome Convention refugees and members of a class who were designated by the Cabinet as acceptable for humanitarian reasons (Kelly and Trebilcock, 2010).

In the 1970s, the Canadian economy was characterized by high unemployment and inflation due to the oil crises (Knowles, 2016). Although economic instability usually deters people from welcoming newcomers because of their fears of increasing competition over jobs and resources, the general Canadian response to the Indochinese was positive. In June 1975, a Gallup poll showed that 39 % of respondents in Canada wanted less immigration, 43 % wanted the same amount, 10 % wanted more, and 8 % were unsure (Reitz, 1998). The federal government committed to accepting 3000 refugees, at the request of the United States (Record of Cabinet Decision, 1975). The Department of Manpower and Immigration also allowed Canadian citizens and residents to sponsor South Vietnamese and Cambodian relatives (Ibid). The first wave consisted of high-ranking members of the South Vietnamese government and individuals who held ties with the US government. The first wave refugees were both privately and government sponsored. By 1976, 6500 Vietnamese refugees settled in Canada (Lam, 2008, 2). Most of those

refugees went to Quebec because they knew French or their children were studying in Quebec, prior to their arrival (Ibid). The initial wave of refugees who arrived in Canada were often wealthy and educated. However, the Canadian public interest in the Indochinese refugee crisis and response to the refugees' resettlement in Canada was not widespread until stories of the boat people dominated Canadian media in the late 1970s.

The private sponsorship system, officially implemented in the 1978 Immigration Regulations, was a significant factor in the successful resettlement of Indochinese refugees. This system allowed individual Canadians to form groups of five and pool their resources to provide financial assistance and emotional support to the refugees once they arrived in Canada. It also allowed for churches and national organizations to sponsor refugees. These included the Mennonite Central Committee, the Christian Reform Church, the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Canadian Medical Association (Beiser, 1999). By October 1979, master agreements were signed with the Presbyterian Church of Canada, the Council of Christian Reformed Churches in Canada, World Vision of Canada, the National Council of YMCAs of Canada, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and the United Baptist Convention Council of the Atlantic Provinces (Memorandum to the Minister, "Refugee Sponsorship Program," 1979).

An example of a case that motivated the Canadian public to sponsor more refugees was the Hai Hong incident in November 1978. The Hai Hong was a boat that carried 2500 asylum-seekers from Vietnam. It eventually reached the shores of Malaysia. However, Malaysian officials did not allow the asylum seekers to land because they did not recognize them as refugees. Instead, they recognized them as economic migrants because they had paid Vietnamese officials approximately \$3200 US in gold bars to leave Vietnam. Nonetheless, during the initial movements of the asylum seekers from Vietnam, the international refugee regime recognized the escapees as *prima facie*

refugees, regardless of how they escaped Vietnam. Bud Cullen, the Canadian Immigration Minister, played an influential role in encouraging the Canadian press to feature stories about the Hai Hong. Due to increasing public interest towards the Hai Hong refugees, Quebec offered to accept about 200 people on the Hai Hong and the Canadian government resettled 600 passengers (Marcus, 2013, p.25).

The asylum seekers who left Indochina from 1979 to 1982 were part of the second wave of refugees following the Hai Hong incident (Dorais, 2003). The second wave consisted of a wider range of classes and backgrounds than the first wave of refugees. After 1982, many refugees were sponsored by refugees that were already established in Canada in the late 1970s or were sponsored through the family reunification program. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the refugees that remained in the Southeast Asian first asylum camps relied primarily on sponsorship by family members who had already resettled in Canada. In some cases, the boat people voluntarily repatriated to their home countries or integrated into the local communities in the first-asylum countries.

2.2 REFUGEE REDISTRIBUTION ACROSS CANADA

Significant numbers of refugees moved to the traditional immigrant receiving areas because of the provision of more services and resources for newcomers. Feng Hou (2007) said that Vietnamese refugees who arrived in the late 1970s, quickly moved to Toronto and Vancouver even though they were initially located in non-gateway regions. The largest number of Vietnamese refugees arrived in the Toronto metropolitan area in 1979 and 1980 (Pfeifer, 1999). According to the 1996 census, there were over 130,000 people of Vietnamese ethnic origin in Canada and approximately 25% of them lived in Toronto (Pfeifer, 1999, p.110). Montreal had approximately 25,000 people of Vietnamese ethnic-origin while Vancouver had about 16,000 people. In the west,

Calgary had 10,000 and Edmonton had 7000 (Pfeifer, 1999, p.93). Although non-gateway cities initially received more than 60% of the Vietnamese, five years later, only 47% of the same cohort stayed (Hou, 2007, p. 694). Five years after that, only 40% of the cohort remained (Ibid). Pfeifer (1999) explained that refugees also moved to larger population centers because they believed larger cities offered more employment and training opportunities. Another factor that motivated refugees' decisions to move was the presence of family, friends, co-ethnic services, businesses, and ethnic associations.

Sponsorship efforts in both metropolitan cities and medium-sized cities further distributed refugees across Canada. This was seen through Project 4000 in Ottawa, Operation Lifeline in Toronto, and the Montreal Committee to Save the Boat People (MCSBP). In the late 1970s, various groups in Canadian society responded to the plight of the boat people by starting grassroots programs. In 1979, Marion Dewar, the mayor of Ottawa, initiated Project 4000. This project aimed to resettle 4000 refugees out of the federal government's commitment of 8000 refugees. It became a non-profit organization that was directed by a board of voluntary directors from the community (Molloy, Duschinsky, Jensen, and Shalka, 2016). Another community project was Operation Lifeline, a resettlement initiative by Toronto residents. It was led by Howard Adelman, a York University professor. Operation Lifeline sponsored fifty families eight days after the first meeting and within two weeks, sixty chapters were organized across Canada (Molloy et al., 2016). The MCSBP included a group of thirty-six individuals from Montreal. They petitioned the Joe Clark government to raise its quota for resettling boat people (Molloy, 2016). Flora MacDonald, the minister of external affairs, and Ron Atkey pushed the government to approve the admission of 50,000 refugees to Canada by the end of 1980.

Although there are few official polls detailing small communities' responses to Indochinese refugees, some newspaper articles and personal communications provide examples of those communities' support for the refugees (Cole, 1979; Letter to Mr. Colson, July 21, 1978). In most cases, the residents and community organizations in the non-gateway cities were receptive to the refugees and were active in pushing their communities to fulfill its humanitarian responsibilities. For example, after the Peterborough community received the first refugee family, more church congregations expressed interest in sponsoring families (Cole, 1979). In another case, a school-teacher, Mary Lautard, from Osoyoos, British Columbia, requested for a family from the Department of Immigration (Letter to Mr. Colson, July 21, 1978). When the government gave her an offer to sponsor a Vietnamese family that included a mother and her three children, she rejected the refugees. She claimed that larger city centers, with more Vietnamese people, were more capable of responding to the needs of the refugee family even though public officials believed that the family would have been able to adapt to the small city (Letter to Mr. Colson, July 21, 1978). Thus, the views of Canadian residents and public officials towards the resettlement of refugees in non-gateway cities were divided. Nonetheless, non-gateway cities also contributed to the national efforts to resettle the Indochinese refugees.

3. THE RESPONSE OF NON-GATEWAY CITIES

This chapter will discuss the responses to the Indochinese refugee crisis from the Windsor, Ottawa, and Hamilton communities and explore whether they differed from those of the gateway cities' responses. The non-gateway cities' responses to the Indochinese refugee crisis were similar to gateway cities' responses because the resettlement efforts were often organized in the same way. Although there are little differences in their responses, it is necessary to recognize that non-gateway cities play an important role in resettling refugees and that, sometimes, the individuals in non-gateway cities spearhead the resettlement efforts earlier than the gateway cities.

Usually one individual would connect with other influential community leaders to set up committees and provide information to the general public about the plight of the boat people and the sponsorship process. Within the sponsorship groups, there were often groups of individuals who were university-educated, had traveled to other countries, and had combined family incomes of over \$25, 000 (Fine-Meyer, 2002, p. 57). Both non-gateway and gateway cities relied on the assistance of churches, local organizations, the federal government, and the media to gather the appropriate resources and volunteers to resettle Indochinese refugees in their respective communities. The differences between the gateway cities and non-gateway cities' responses were often based on the scale of resettlement efforts. Scale refers to the number of refugees resettled, the number of organizations and institutions involved, the sustainability of the resettlement initiatives, and the resettlement project's impact on other cities' efforts. However, the initial reception and resettlement initiatives of the gateway and non-gateway cities were often not significant factors influencing refugees' decisions to stay or relocate (Hyndman. Schuurman, Fiedler, 2006). In that case, scale is important because refugees often decided to move to gateway cities because they perceived those cities as being more capable of accommodating refugees'

needs, for example, with the availability of ethnic retail and the presence of family (“Refugee Family off to new life in big city”, 1980; MacNab, 2018).

Southeast Asian refugees were more evenly distributed across the country than other newcomers due to the federal government’s strategy of regionalization and the contributions of private sponsors. For example, the destination of 93% of the 1976 to 1980 cohort of refugees was determined by government agents or private sponsors (Hou, 2007, p. 689). To distribute government sponsored refugees across Canada, the federal government assigned a quota of refugees to each province and territory, based on their total population of Canada (Hou, 2017). To make their decisions, immigration officers considered the regional quota and whether refugees had relatives or friends in specific cities. In 1981, Vietnamese refugees were sent to 171 census metropolitan areas (CMAs) (Ibid, p. 5). Approximately 37% of Vietnamese refugees were sent to Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Ibid, 2017, p.6). Thus, more than 60% of the 1976 to 1980 cohort of Vietnamese refugees were initially sent to non-gateway cities (Hou, 2007, p. 694). In 1981, 13,000 refugees of the 1976 to 1980 cohort settled in Ottawa, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Calgary, and Edmonton (Ibid, p. 695). Twenty years later, 9000 Vietnamese refugees remained in those cities (Ibid). These statistics suggest that the government’s efforts to redistribute refugees to non-gateway cities were successful.

3.1 WINDSOR

The Windsor case is one of the earlier cases of mass sponsorship to a non-gateway Canadian city. Giovana Roma (2016) argues that the Windsor community’s initiatives to sponsor refugees in late 1977 were at least one year ahead of Operation Lifeline in Toronto, Project 4000 in Ottawa, and other Canadian cities’ efforts. She explained that the Windsor community began to sponsor refugees before the federal government officially introduced the private sponsorship

program in July 1978. Prior to the establishment of the private sponsorship program, the Windsor community did not have to sign formal agreements to get government approval for refugee sponsorship (Roma, 2016).

The process of creating a committee on Indochinese refugees in Windsor was similar to the beginnings of other committees in different Canadian cities. Individual leaders tried to bring together various people in the local community to create information pamphlets, pool money, and make commitments to sponsor Indochinese refugees. In late 1977, the Mayor of Windsor, Bert Weeks, set up an ad-hoc committee to respond to the Indochinese refugee crisis. To recruit more members, he reached out to Father Robert Walden, a priest at St. Joseph's Catholic Church, to gain wider public support and cooperation from the Catholic faith community. Walden traveled to various parishes to explain how Windsor was providing aid to the boat people (Caton, 2015). The committee consisted of city councilors, members from the University of Windsor, members of public school boards, local representatives from the Canadian government, and volunteers from faith groups and non-governmental organizations (Roma, 2016). Between 1978 and 1993, over 1900 government-sponsored Indochinese refugees were resettled in Windsor (Ibid, p.83).

The Indochinese refugee committee in Windsor started the Friendship Families Program (FFP) to help welcome the Indochinese refugees and integrate them into Canadian society. The FFP included volunteer families from ten different religious congregations, non-governmental organizations, and the public. The volunteers greeted the refugees at the airport, provided orientation sessions on life in Canada, helped the refugees find employment, and registered the children in school (Roma, 2016). Ralph Talbot, the counsellor at Canada Employment Centre's Windsor branch, stated that the program did not rely on pre-existing models. Other local communities, such as Edmonton, Alberta, became interested in replicating the Windsor program

(Roma, 2016). Talbot responded to that interest by attending various conferences in late 1979 and the early 1980s to promote the Windsor experience.

Community leaders in Windsor also tried to assist Indochinese refugees by addressing the general public's concerns and hostile attitudes towards the newcomers. The wider Windsor community was initially apprehensive about the resettlement of a large group of visible minorities and their integration into the local workforce (Roma, 2016). In one case, a refugee hired by the local Canada Employment Centre quit his job because of his co-workers' social slurs (Ibid). In addition, some people in Windsor believed that the municipal government was providing disproportionate support to refugees at the expense of native residents. Talbot tried to address the problem by working with church leaders to boost political and social support. The case of Windsor shows that the successful initial resettlement of Vietnamese refugees required cooperation between influential individuals, community leaders, the public, and the municipal and federal governments. Today, 2,475 ethnic Vietnamese people live in Windsor (Statistics Canada Census, Windsor, 2017).

3.2 OTTAWA

The Ottawa community's efforts to sponsor Indochinese refugees was channeled predominantly through Project 4000, a non-profit organization that tried to sponsor 4000 refugees in 1979. Marion Dewar, the mayor of Ottawa in the late 1970s, gathered several community, church, and business leaders together after she saw photos of the refugee crisis on television news reports. Dewar learned that Immigration Canada set a quota of 8000 Southeast Asian refugees and had already processed 4000 (Ward, 2008). Dewar proposed to the federal government that Ottawa could sponsor the remaining 4000. The City of Ottawa gave \$25, 000 to the organization to begin the project (p.17). It officially launched in 1980 and continued until spring 1984. Officials from

the Ottawa Canada Immigration Centre and representatives from Project 4000 worked together to match the refugees to group sponsors (Memorandum to the Minister, July 20, 1979, Indochinese Refugee Program “Project 4000). An Ottawa Citizen article noted that, “The people of Ottawa, Western Quebec, and the Ottawa Valley gathered together in 298 community, faith or business groups, each committing to care for a family...” (2015, p.2). The project committee was responsible for finding the refugees housing, enrolling the children in school, providing language training, and helping them adjust to Canadian society.

Project 4000 was successful because of its high resettlement numbers, rate of retention, and influence over other sponsorship groups in Canada. While the project did not reach its initial goal of 4000, it resettled approximately 2000 refugees overall (Molloy et al., 2016). A member of the Ottawa-Carleton Immigration Services Organization, Nguyen Vu, observed that the refugees sponsored through Project 4000 were more likely than other immigrants to stay in Ottawa (Thompson and Mullington, 1986). On the other hand, approximately 1/3 of the refugees sponsored by Project 4000 eventually moved to Toronto, Montreal, or Calgary to look for other jobs (Ibid). The initiative served as an example for other groups throughout Canada. More than 7000 private sponsorship groups were formed across the country (Carriere, 2016, p.17). While the refugee resettlement quota was initially 8000, the success of Project 4000 encouraged the government to raise it to 60,000. Today, there are 8,795 people who identify as ethnic Vietnamese in Ottawa (Statistics Canada Census, Ottawa, 2017).

3.3 HAMILTON

Like Windsor and Ottawa, the start of Hamilton’s mass sponsorship initiative depended on an individual with a humanitarian spirit and strong ties to the local community. The MSBP was established by John Smith, an alderman for the City of Hamilton. John Smith and his wife Judy

felt compelled to help after watching a CBC documentary on the refugee crisis. They were particularly moved by the footage of a toddler falling overboard from a crowded boat (Fragomeni, 2009). Smith tried to gather volunteers and donations for the organization. After a few days, he collected \$1500 and recruited 20 people (Ibid). The Mountain Fund's mandate was to sponsor as many refugees as possible and to operate for as long as the funds could support them (Dam, 2009). Out of the three organizations in the non-gateway cities, Hamilton's Mountain Fund operated the longest and sponsored the most refugees. The Mountain Fund operated for fourteen years, from 1979 to 1994, and helped over 3000 refugees during their resettlement and relocation (Dam, 2009, p. 5). Some of the organization's tasks were to write requests for sponsorship to officials in refugee camps, pick up refugees from the airport, provide temporary accommodation, find permanent housing, and advocate for more services and resources for the refugees (Ibid).

Not only did the Mountain Fund allow Hamilton to contribute to Canada's resettlement commitments, it also helped the refugees integrate into the community and feel a sense of "home". Hoan, a refugee sponsored by the Mountain Fund, remembered learning, from the volunteers, how to use appliances (Dam, 2009). Many of the refugees decided to stay in Hamilton because of its peacefulness, proximity to family and friends, and the attachments they made to the city (Ibid). Furthermore, some refugees felt that, in comparison to Toronto, Hamilton was less crowded, safer, and a better place to raise a family (Ibid).

The success of Hamilton's resettlement efforts is demonstrated most clearly by the Vietnamese refugees' ability to find employment in Hamilton and the members who relocated to Hamilton after their initial settlement in other cities. Employers in Hamilton were usually eager to offer jobs to the refugees, so they had access to employment opportunities upon their arrival. For example, seven teenagers became vegetable pickers on a farm and four individuals became

engineers (Fragomeni, 2009). One of those engineers was Trieu Nguyen. His family escaped Saigon in 1981, was rescued by a German merchant ship, and was sponsored by the Ryerson United Church in Hamilton. His father was persecuted by the Communists for having ties with the South Vietnamese government and the American military (Wells, 2015). Following their arrival in Hamilton, Trieu's parents worked multiple jobs. Trieu and his three brothers all received engineering degrees (Wells, 2015). Many Vietnamese refugees relocated to Hamilton because of the growing Vietnamese community and the existence of a network of family and friends (Dam, 2012). For example, Vinh moved to Hamilton only after few days of living in Regina, Saskatchewan, because Regina was too cold and alienating (Dam, 2009). Vinh's family felt that Hamilton would be a good place to raise a family. Today, there are 4,795 people of Vietnamese ethnic-origin living in Hamilton (Statistics Canada Census, Hamilton, 2017).

The responses of the non-gateway cities to the Indochinese Refugee crisis suggest that mid-sized cities made significant contributions to the overall Canadian effort to resettle and integrate Indochinese refugees into their new homes. Furthermore, the increase in the population of ethnic Vietnamese living in Windsor, Ottawa, and Hamilton, from their initial settlement to today, suggests that many Vietnamese refugees decided to stay in those cities and raise families there. The successful resettlement initiatives and retention rates of refugees in the non-gateway cities demonstrates that the federal government's regionalization strategies were effective and that Canadian humanitarian values were widespread among the general public. Individual organizations, community and religious groups, and the municipal government often decided to sponsor refugees because it allowed them to demonstrate their humanitarian values. Furthermore, many of those individuals were immigrants or refugees after the Second World War. They sympathized with Indochinese refugees. The private sponsorship system, master agreements, and

mass media coverage were some of the factors that encouraged them to sponsor Indochinese refugees (Macnab, 2018).

3. PETERBOROUGH'S IMMIGRATION HISTORY AND FACTORS FACILITATING INTEGRATION

Although Peterborough is not as ethnically diverse as gateway cities, the pattern of immigrant settlement reflects the pattern of settlement throughout Canada's immigration history. The earliest immigrants came primarily from Ireland, Scotland, and England. Following the Second World War, Peterborough received immigrants from more countries, including Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Russia, and China. The pattern of settlement in Peterborough reveals that earlier settlers had access to resources, such as land, that allowed them to build the infrastructure necessary to support themselves. Once the earlier settlers became more established, they built institutions and aid organizations. However, these were not focused on providing immigrant services. During the Industrial revolution, Peterborough's manufacturing industry developed and was a main source of employment opportunities for later waves of immigrants and refugees. As Peterborough's population grew through the increasing arrival of immigrants and refugees, more specific services for newcomers were developed.

The various immigrant waves to Peterborough transformed the city by opening their own businesses, giving back to community organizations, increasing its cultural diversity, challenging racist institutions, and establishing the need for newcomer services. This chapter will identify, from the early 19th century to the late 20th century, the historical immigration patterns to Peterborough, the immigrants' impact on the transformation of the city, and the evolution of the city's response to newcomers, and the factors that helped newcomers adapt to urban life in Peterborough. By analyzing Peterborough's early immigrant history, we can begin to explore whether and if so, to what extent, the city changed with the arrival of Indochinese refugees in the late 1970s.

Peterborough was originally known as Nogojiwanong, which means “place at the end of rapids” (Welcome Peterborough website, “Diversity in Peterborough”). It is the homeland territory of the Mississauga Anishinabek. The territory served as a gathering place for First Nations leaders and families to share their knowledge and ideas with one another (Ibid). In 1818, the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg signed a treaty with the Crown. Following the treaty, small groups of European settlers began to arrive in the Peterborough area. In response to the settlement of Peterborough, the members of the Mississauga Anishinaabeg, Michi Saggig Elder and Knowledge Keeper Gitiga Migizi (Doug Williams), stated that, “...we are the original people of the Kawarthas. We are the people that were here before, during, and after the settlement and colonization of Peterborough and the surrounding area” (as cited in McNab, 2018). Although the focus of this chapter is on the history of immigrant settlement in Peterborough, this paper acknowledges that the land on which Peterborough is situated belonged to the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg.

In the early 19th century, Peterborough’s earliest English, Irish, and Scottish immigrants helped to clear the land and establish settler communities. The early European settlers were often farmers and agricultural workers who were drawn to land grants in North America (Meskis, 2012). Following the signing of the treaty, Peterborough and the surrounding area were divided into several townships. The Smith Township saw the arrival of two dozen families from northern England. The migrants were farmers and miners. In exchange for free passage and land, the migrants had to pay a 10 £ deposit that would be refunded when they completed their settlement duties. Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the British government promoted emigration more strongly to address the increasing surplus population and threat of an American invasion (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). To encourage immigration, the British government offered land grants to those willing to move to Upper Canada (Aoki, 2011). Upper-class Irish

families such as the Stewarts and Reids also wanted large land holdings in British North America (Carter-Edwards, 2009). The Stewarts used their social network to obtain 1200-acre grants on un-surveyed land (Ibid). While the early settlers had diverse backgrounds, they shared the desire for land ownership and better economic opportunities. Despite the land grants and provisions given to the settlers, the Peterborough area was an inconvenient place to live in because it was far from the markets (Meskis, 2012). The settlers' lives were made more difficult because of the lack of nearby goods and services (Ibid). Nonetheless, this would change with the mass settlement of Irish immigrants.

The mass Irish immigrant settlement in 1825 spurred rapid development and growth of the Peterborough area by increasing its numbers. Stanley Meskis said that, "The slow rate of settlement and the dim view of the area's success changed dramatically with the assisted immigration of a group of Irish immigrants in 1825" (2012, 16). Peter Robinson, a commissioner of crown lands, led the movement of 2024 Irish working-class immigrants to Peterborough. The British government stated that suitable Irish immigrants were males above 18 and under 45 years old, possessing good characters and some experience working on farms (Carter-Edwards). This wave of Irish migrants wanted to leave Ireland because their ability to sustain their livelihoods was threatened by the dropping wheat prices and widespread mechanization of the agricultural industry. The pull-factors to Upper Canada included the promise of material goods, land grants, medical assistance, and food provisions. Each of the heads of households received one hundred-acre lots, a twenty by twelve-foot shanty, seeds, rations, and other tools (Carter-Edwards).

The combination of Peterborough's natural resources and human labour helped to develop the need for more infrastructure, social services, and community organizations. While Peterborough County was located beside the Otonabee River, the river did little to bring prosperity

to the region or its residents. Rather, Peterborough County was able to profit more from its abundant natural wood resources. Peterborough became a leading exporter of square cut timber and sawn lumber to Britain and America (Meskis, 2012). Irish immigrants served as the primary laborers for the lumber industry. Mills, stores, smithies, and schools were built to accommodate the new Irish settler population (as cited in Meskis, 2012). Between 1900 and 1980, there were several societies and clubs for Irish immigrants in Peterborough, such as the Black Knights of Ireland, Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), the Diamond Lodge, and the Royal Scarlet Chapters (Taylor and Murray, 2014). The AOH first established to protect Catholic churches from anti-Catholic groups and to assist Irish Catholic immigrants against discrimination and dangerous work conditions in coal mines. The Diamond Lodge served as a social organization for Protestant Irish to help ease feelings of isolation and dislocation (Trent University Library and Archives). In that way, Irish immigrants were able to integrate economically and socially into Peterborough and create their own community.

Another immigrant group that contributed to Peterborough's economic and infrastructure growth was Italians. Peterborough saw many Italians arrive between the late 1800s and the 1920s (Taylor and Murray, 2014, p. 64). In the 1870s, Italians left their country because of the decline of the economy, destruction of land, and inability of the Church and landowners to create job opportunities, following Italian reunification in the 1860s (Pepe, 2016). Peterborough County benefited from the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, the creation of the General Electric power station in 1890, and the construction of the Peterborough Lift Lock in 1896. Italian immigrants served as a dominant labour force for many of the national construction projects as well as for local projects such as the Trent Canal, City Waterworks, and the Grand Trunk railway. Some Italian immigrants also worked as grocers. Many families kept gardens to grow their own

fruits and vegetables. Italian immigrants also worked at factories such as Canadian General Electric and Quaker Oats Mill (Pepe, 2016). Immigrant labour was a significant factor in the strengthening of Peterborough's manufacturing industry. This would provide employment for future waves of immigrants. By 1921, 345 Italians had settled in Peterborough (Pepe, p. 4).

Although Italian settlement in Peterborough was long-standing, during the Second World War, their loyalty to Canada and contributions to the country were questioned. Italians in Canada were labeled enemy aliens because Italy was one of the Axis powers. As a result, Italians in Peterborough had to report to the local police station, where they were asked for their fingerprints and photographs each month (Pepe). Despite Canada's suspicions of the Italians, many young Italian men in Peterborough voluntarily enlisted in the armed services (Ibid). Beginning in 1950, there was a larger Italian immigrant movement to Canada because the government lifted the enemy alien status and actively recruited Italian immigrants. This was reflected in the population of Italians in Peterborough following the Second World War. For example, while there were only 449 Italian immigrants in Peterborough in 1941, there were 1175 Italians in 1961 and 1180 migrants in 1971 (Taylor and Murray, 2014, p. 60). Today, there is an active Italian club in Peterborough and the city recognizes June as Italian Heritage Month.

Chinese immigrants contributed to the city's ethnic diversity and helped to create a more inclusive environment by opening their own businesses and challenging everyday racism. Similar to the Italians, the Canadian government considered the Chinese as some of the least desirable immigrants. Under the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885, each Chinese person had to pay a \$50 head tax. The head tax was raised to \$100 in 1900 and then \$500 in 1903 (Chen, 2004). Despite the restrictive head tax policy, the Chinese still established their presence in the Peterborough area and made an impact on the city's retail landscape and socio-cultural fabric. Most of the immigrants

were bachelors and sojourners since their families and spouses were prohibited from entering Canada. In 1892, Chinese immigrants began to arrive in Peterborough from the Taishan, Kaiping, and Xinhui counties near Canton (Chen, 2004). These early migrants came to Canada because they were attracted by employment opportunities available in gold mining and because they knew relatives or friends who had already immigrated to North America to work in the mines (Chen, 2004, “Building the Chinese Diaspora across Canada). The first Chinese immigrants to Peterborough were Lee Kam, Hum Jim, and Hum Sing (Ibid).

To support themselves in their new homes, Chinese immigrants often opened their own businesses and worked for other Chinese immigrants in hand laundries. For example, Lee Kam opened a hand laundry in November of that same year. Between 1892 and 1951, the Lee family opened nine of the fifteen Chinese hand laundries in Peterborough (Chen 2004, “Building the Chinese Diaspora across Canada”). Compared to the other ethnic groups, the Chinese received the lowest wages as laundrymen and were often unemployed. Zhongping Chen (2004) argued that the Chinese were subject to everyday racism because of their economic marginalization in the local Peterborough economy. They were marginalized because they only had access to subordinate jobs and low wages. Hand laundries were the main source of ethnic employment for the Chinese until 1906 when Tom Him established the first Chinese restaurant in the city (Chen, 2004).

From 1906 to 1951, the Chinese migrants opened twelve more restaurants, most of which were operated or owned by the Tom or Hum families from Kaiping county (Chen, 2004). By 1961, Peterborough had 107 Chinese people (Taylor and Murray, 2014, p. 61). Out of all the restaurants, the most well-known and longest running one was the Hi Tops Chinese restaurant, which opened in 1908 and closed in 2012 (Taylor and Murray, 2014). The Chinese restaurant owners were often the more affluent immigrants with fluent English-speaking abilities. Those owners usually served

as spokespersons for the other local Chinese. They also occasionally engaged in philanthropy. For example, Cheu Charles owned two restaurants and often donated to charities (Ibid). Although some Chinese immigrants were acknowledged for their contributions to the Peterborough community, the Chinese population in Peterborough overall still experienced racism and discrimination.

Zhongping Chen argues that the experiences of the Chinese in Peterborough were different than the larger Chinese communities on the west coast of Canada because the Chinese in smaller cities often defended their rights against the institutional racism practiced by the churches, courts, and local media. Discrimination against the Chinese was influenced by the stereotypical and negative media representations of them as unhygienic, impoverished and opium smugglers (Chen, 2004). In one case, on May 26, 1912, nine Chinese were accused by the Peterborough police for gambling and smoking opium on the Lord's Day. Fortunately, with the assistance of two white lawyers, the Chinese challenged the charges and they were quickly withdrawn (Chen, 2004, "Chinese Minority and Everyday Racism"). The defense lawyers found that the police did not have a search warrant when they confiscated the gambling equipment. Therefore, the evidence could not be used in court (Ibid). The case demonstrated that Chinese immigrants in Peterborough were able to defend their rights using Canadian legal institutions.

To counter the racism by the dominant white population in Peterborough and to provide a space for Chinese migrants to meet, in 1947, the Chinese Club was established (Chen, 2004). The Club served as a recreational meeting spot for older migrants and occasionally provided temporary housing for laundrymen. The Chinese were able to preserve some of their culture but also adapted to Canadian society by adopting western names, cutting their hair, and serving "Canadian-style" food at their restaurants (Chen, 2004). In 1947, the repeal of the anti-Chinese immigration law allowed the Chinese migrants in Peterborough to bring their remaining family over to Canada

through the family reunion category. Between the 1950s and 1970s, Chinese immigrants came primarily from Hong Kong and Macau. They were more educated and wealthier than the earlier Chinese arrivals. In 1971, Peterborough had 195 Chinese (Taylor and Murray, 2014, p.61). In 2016, 1215 people identified as being ethnic Chinese (Statistics Canada, Peterborough Census, 2017). Despite the discriminatory policies and practices, over time, the Chinese were able to create spaces for social interactions and support themselves.

The English, Irish, Italian, and Chinese were among some of the first immigrants to settle in Peterborough. Following the Second World War and the implementation of the points system, immigrants' source countries became more diverse. Furthermore, the opening of Trent University in 1964 and the arrival of international students contributed to Peterborough's ethnic diversity (Taylor and Murray, 2014). Under a special admission policy, Czechoslovakians could immigrate to Canada. Forty of the Czechoslovakian immigrants were sent to Peterborough (Findlay, 1969). In addition, by 1981, following the end of the Vietnam War, Peterborough County had received over 150 Indochinese refugees (McNab, 2018, p. 92). The New Canadians Centre, the only immigrant-serving organization in the city, served people from over 95 countries in 2015 and 2016 (Welcome Peterborough, Diversity of Peterborough). In 2016, the population of the Peterborough Census Metropolitan area was 121,721 (Statistics Canada, Peterborough Census, 2017). Although Peterborough's ethnic population is smaller than gateway cities, the immigrants that did settle in Peterborough significantly transformed the city's infrastructure, landscape, and social fabric.

While the immigration patterns to Peterborough often mirrored immigrant movements to other Canadian cities, Peterborough has historically not been recognized for its ethnic diversity nor its attractiveness to immigrants like the larger gateway cities. This may be due to the small number of immigrants who settle there. Instead, Peterborough was dubbed the "Electric City"

because of its strong industrial base and its General Electric factory. In looking back at the development and decline of Peterborough's manufacturing industry, the New York Times noted that, "For most of Canada's history, Peterborough manufactured much of what Canada bought or used, including chain saws, outboard motors, boats, refrigerators, alarm clocks, locks, oatmeal and electrical motors and generators" (Austen, 2018). It is important to note that immigrants comprised a significant part of the labor force that produced those goods. Through their efforts to support their livelihoods and give back to their communities, immigrants helped to build Peterborough's economy, infrastructure, and cultural diversity. Not only did immigrants contribute to Peterborough's growth and development, they also established organizations and societies that would later assist immigrants and their integration into Peterborough's urban life. While there is extensive coverage of the contributions of immigrants to Peterborough prior to the Second World War, there is limited research on the impact of subsequent immigrant groups to Peterborough and their resettlement experiences.

5. PETERBOROUGH'S RESPONSE TO THE INDOCHINESE REFUGEE CRISIS: SPONSORSHIP AND RESETTLEMENT ASSISTANCE

Two prominent migration scholars, Ayse Caglar and Nina Glick-Schiller argue that, “Despite the vast migration scholarship on what are labeled ethnic, transnational, or diasporic communities in specific cities, we still know very little about how migrants actively contribute to the restructuring and repositioning of either their cities of settlement...” (2011, 1). This chapter aims to understand how the Indochinese refugee crisis served as a catalyst for the Peterborough community to act on its humanitarian values and respond to its increasingly diverse newcomer population. It will first explore how churches, public officials, individual residents, and community groups responded to the Indochinese Refugee Crisis. Then, it will consider how the resettlement of Indochinese refugees helped to change the city’s immigrant and settlement services in the 1970s and 1980s.

Canadians’ interest in responding to the boat people exodus on the South China Sea reached a high in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Peterborough’s first responses to the Indochinese refugees were made by some local churches in 1979 following the federal government’s announcement of their resettlement commitments. Pierre Trudeau’s Liberal government made the original pledge to accept 5000 refugees and in May 1979, the Conservative government under Joe Clark, increased the number to 8000 (Labman, 2016, 74). To encourage churches across Canada to participate in Canada’s resettlement efforts, the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) also made an appeal to Canadian dioceses and parishes to actively participate in refugees’ reception and integration (ICMC, 1979, 4).

Throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, the Peterborough community resettled hundreds of Indochinese Refugees (Macnab, 2018, 2). The Peterborough community’s response to the

Indochinese refugee crisis mirrored the numerous efforts of municipalities across Canada where local churches set up refugee coordinating committees and organizations were created to address the newcomers' more specific resettlement needs. Compared to the efforts of other municipalities, Peterborough's resettlement numbers were significantly smaller. However, the resettlement of Indochinese refugees provided the momentum for the Peterborough community to address its lack of immigration and settlement services.

Peterborough's local churches played a significant role in organizing community efforts to sponsor and assist Indochinese refugees. Congregations that were interested in sponsoring refugees set up refugee coordinating committees to help process sponsorship applications and communicate with the immigration department. In early July 1979, the Cephas Christian Reformed Church processed an application to sponsor the first Indochinese family in Peterborough. They were matched with the Huynh family by the end of the month (Cole, 1979). The collective efforts of 115 families helped to raise \$1750 on one Sunday. The Huynh family consisted of To, Tho, their five children, and a grandmother (Cole, 1979). Volunteers assisted the family by helping them fill out applications for driving and ESL lessons, providing temporary housing, finding long-term housing, and looking for clothing and furniture (Ibid). Furthermore, the Huynhs received \$75 a week from the Church (Stuart, 1980).

Trinity Church also established a coordinating committee to raise money and organize efforts. The congregation raised \$6,684.40 ("Refugee Coordinating Committee", A. Douglas Vaisey frond). Some of the boat people who had arrived in Peterborough contributed \$2,147.85 to take care of the incoming refugees. In late February of 1980, Trinity Church sponsored seven refugees from three separate families, ranging from 18 to 24 years old ("Refugee Coordinating Committee," A. Douglas Vaisey frond). The sponsoring group looked after the refugees' medical

and dental needs. The sponsors also taught them about Canadian food, the climate, clothing, and banking. After a few months, some of the refugees were able to look after their own food bills and returned some of the money they were given to the general fund each week. The sponsors ensured that the refugees' basic needs were met but, they also recognized that refugees wanted to be independent: "Our family delighted us all with their ready humour, their earnestness to learn English and their eagerness to accept any work that was offered. Their desire to become self-sufficient as soon as possible was evident." Thus, sponsors assisted refugees when necessary, but also encouraged them to be independent.

In another case of private sponsorship, the sponsors provided necessities but also served as mentors to the refugees. Katie, one of the participants in my study, was born a few years after her family resettled in Peterborough. In 2012, she revisited Peterborough and interviewed one of her family's sponsors. Katie remembered that Isabelle Heine, Mr. Heine, and other church members came together to sponsor her family in 1980. Her family included her father, mother, and older sister. Her father, Thuan, is also one of the participants in my study. The sponsors took turns visiting the family each week. Isabelle noted that her husband passed along some advice to Katie's father. Mr. Heine was a Dutch refugee who had wanted to study medicine in Canada (Maureen Vo, personal communication, July 9, 2018). Mr. Heine told Katie's father that, "If you want to succeed in this country, whatever you're going to do, whatever your job is, whatever your profession will be, you have to be better than every Canadian who does that particular job and you have to work very hard." The sponsor served as a mentor because he passed on the knowledge and wisdom that he had acquired after his initial arrival in Peterborough. According to the Heines, the refugee couple was very independent and adjusted well to Canadian society. Isabelle stated that, within a few years, the family quickly found jobs, opened a business, and taught taekwondo.

The Peterborough Boat People Committee (PBPC), a more formal organization that dealt with local-wide efforts to sponsor Indochinese refugees, evolved from a religious group. The PBPC began as a Christian prayer group. The group consisted of local businessmen, politicians, civil servants, the mayor and county sheriff, and local residents. A lawyer named John Corkery chaired the committee and the Peterborough mayor, Cameron Wasson, was actively involved. They were both members of the Catholic Church (Macnab, 2018). Most of the committee's volunteers were women. The committee's duties included raising money, organizing meetings of local sponsorship groups, completing federal sponsorship applications, and communicating with the local Refugee Liaison officer, a representative of the federal government, watching over local resettlement efforts (Macnab, 2018). Officers were stationed at the various Canada Employment and Immigration Commission branch offices across Canada to provide support for the local resettlement initiatives. The PBPC provided significant support for sponsorship groups. By December 1979, it raised over \$12,000 (MacNab, 2018) for sponsorship groups to use while assisting newcomers. Through the efforts of the refugee coordinating committees, sponsoring groups, and the PBPC, by June 1980, 179 refugees were registered at Manpower in Peterborough County. The refugees consisted of 120 adults over 16 years old and 59 children (Ibid).

Some prominent individuals in the Peterborough community also made efforts to urge the government to accept more refugees across Canada. Cameron Wasson, the mayor of Peterborough and a member of the Boat People Committee, tried to get Peterborough to play a significant role in national resettlement initiatives. He started a local petition to demand that the federal government increase its intake of refugees. He also investigated the costs of privately chartering a plane to give relief supplies to refugees from Southeast Asia. Wasson's most ambitious initiative

was reaching out to other municipalities to form a national organization to help “God’s poor” (MacNab, 2018). However, these efforts waned in 1980 when Wasson’s term as mayor ended.

An analysis of interviews with refugees and research on Peterborough suggests that the city experienced some change in its ethnic diversity and provision of newcomer services, but it was not significant. If change is calculated by the number of refugees who remained in Peterborough or the amount of services provided to newcomers, then the change brought by the Indochinese refugees was minimal. However, the resettlement process often had a major impact on the individuals involved in the resettlement process, such as the private sponsors, community members, and refugees, themselves. When asked to comment on his sponsorship experience, one sponsor shared that, “It has been a lot of hardt work, but I expected that. I wouldn’t hesitate to do it again” (Carley, 1980).

The Peterborough Social Planning Council (1981) observed that volunteering is often a personal act that is not only significant for the volunteers themselves but reflects the character of the organization and the entire community as well. The council is a nonprofit organization, established in 1977, that tries to improve the quality of life for residents in Peterborough City and County by producing unbiased research on issues important to the local community such as poverty, access to food, and community economic development (Peterborough Social Planning Council Website). The council explained that the volunteer’s sense of belonging to the community differed from volunteers in larger cities like Toronto, Chicago, and Cleveland because individuals there rarely felt a sense of belonging to the whole (1981). For example, Isabelle Heine, one of the participants’ sponsors, said that the refugees enriched sponsors’ lives by introducing them to a new culture. She also stated that the refugees were a bonus to Canada. Thus, the personal benefits that Isabelle and the other sponsors received are also applied Canada to as a whole. The refugees had

a positive impact on both the individual sponsoring group and Canada because of their ability to quickly and support themselves, with little assistance.

In addition to the various groups' sponsorship efforts, some members of the Peterborough community, such as ESL teachers, quickly realized that appropriate settlement services needed to be established to address the newcomers' diverse needs and to help mitigate the structural barriers they faced in the Canadian labour market. The Indochinese refugees often did not have relevant education or Canadian work experience. Their employment options were often limited to labour intensive and low-paying jobs. While the federal government provided funding for a six-month ESL course, a living allowance, and training, not all refugees could access these resources. For example, in theory, the ESL classes were available to refugees, but only one head of household, per landed immigrant family, could enroll in the classes (Macnab, 2018). Carol Northcott, the coordinator of the ESL program at Sir Sandford Fleming College remarked that 119 refugees were taking ESL at the beginning of November 1979 (Irwin, 1981). The intention of the classes was to prepare the refugees for labour market integration. That meant that usually young and middle-aged men learned English while women stayed home to take care of the children (Hou and Beiser, 2006). Some adult refugees were also sent to grade nine at Kenner Collegiate School where they took English lessons but also took regular grade nine classes (Irwin, 1981).

Peterborough's local efforts to get more funding for culturally appropriate settlement services reflected efforts of immigrant communities and voluntary organizations across the country. The Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee (PNLOC) was set up to help refugees deal with structural barriers to education and training. The PNLOC was made of refugee sponsors, the local refugee liaison officer, and ESL teachers from Fleming College (Macnab, 2018). In addition to assisting Indochinese refugees, from 1981 to 1986, the PNLOC continued to

serve newcomers coming from Poland and Iran. The PNLOC set up a series of ongoing classes at Central School for immigrant and refugee women and provided daycare (Macnab, 2018).

Besides the PNLOC, some members of the PBPC also tried to address unequal access to services by setting up their own classes for Indochinese women refugees. The two-hour classes were offered for 24 weeks and three mornings each week at United Church (Ibid). To enable women to attend, childcare services were provided. The refugee students ranged from 24 to 30 years old. Anna May Wong, Irene Beer, Helen Wright, and Peggy Kruger volunteered to teach Indochinese women English, Canadian housewives' skills, conversational skills, and how to use public transportation. Some housewives' skills included knowing how to shop and budget for food. The volunteers were sympathetic to the women's adjustment difficulties because of their prior experiences as immigrants or newcomers learning different languages (Lough, 1980). For example, Anna May Young was an immigrant from Hong Kong (Carley, 1980). These classes empowered Indochinese refugee women because they taught important skills that enabled the women to become independent and provided opportunities for them to socialize.

By 1986, the PNLOC was incorporated as a charitable organization and became the New Canadians Centre (NCC). The NCC was established to meet the increasing demands for diverse immigrant services. Their mission was to "...strive to empower immigrants and refugees to become full and equal members of Canadian society, and to provide community leadership to ensure cultural integration in a welcoming community" (New Canadians Centre, "About Us"). The New Canadians Centre continues to serve immigrants arriving to Peterborough. It is the only agency that provides immigrant services in the city today.

Refugees' initial resettlement experiences are critical because those experiences often shape their understanding of Canadian people and society. Peterborough's response to the

Indochinese refugees involved the creation of refugee coordinating committees, the Boat People Committee, the PNLOC, and the New Canadians Centre. While these groups and organizations were initially established to address the Indochinese refugee crisis, they evolved into institutions that served a wider immigrant community in Peterborough. Although the resettlement of Vietnamese refugees in Peterborough did not significantly increase the city's population, it did contribute to the city's ethnic diversity. The Indochinese refugee resettlement in Peterborough united different groups in the city to provide an appropriate response to the humanitarian crisis and demonstrated that the city was equipped to welcome more newcomers to the city. Local politicians such as the mayor spearheaded resettlement efforts in Peterborough (Macnab, 2018). Individual Peterborough residents worked with churches to assist the refugees upon their arrival (Cole, 1979; Stuart, 1980). ESL teachers and the local refugee liaison collaborated to develop programs that would allow refugees to learn English.

6. THE RESETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION EXPERIENCES OF VIETNAMESE REFUGEES IN PETERBOROUGH

6.1 WELCOMING VIETNAMESE REFUGEES TO PETERBOROUGH

This study aims to analyze how Vietnamese refugees perceived the Peterborough community's initial approach to their resettlement and considers why they decided to, based on their integration experiences, stay or leave Peterborough. Overall, the participants recalled receiving a warm welcome from their sponsors, government representatives, community members, and other refugees. The Peterborough community's personalized approach to the refugees' resettlement process provided them with the necessities to help them adjust to urban life in Peterborough.

Nonetheless, while the Peterborough community's resettlement approach was successful in making the refugees feel like they were accepted in the city ("Painter thanks Knox United," 1981; "Safe in Canada: Vietnamese refugees cable," 1979; Stuart, 1980), it was less effective in mitigating the long-term negative impact of structural changes in the economy, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, that hampered the refugees' ability to obtain secure employment. Most of the participants cited unemployment as the main challenge to long-term residence in Peterborough.

The participants emphasized that the most significant aspects to promote integration into Peterborough were the refugees' attainment of employment, fluency in English, access to social networks that included volunteers, other refugees, employers, and sponsors. If they participants felt that they could not support themselves in Peterborough, they emphasized the ability to move to another city as a way to find other employment opportunities. In this paper, social capital is defined as, "...the social networks and relations among people who are tied together by shared norms, which then fosters co-operation and trust within a group" (Jurkova, 2014, 27). In other

words, participants' access to social networks is important because those ties and relations allow them to develop the social capital necessary to adapt to Canadian society. To understand how refugees perceived the Peterborough community's support for their resettlement, I will analyze the impact of services and assistance, provided by private sponsors and the government, on the refugees. I will also look at their experience with English as a Secondary Language (ESL) program, and their interactions with the immigrant and refugee community in Peterborough.

6.1.1 The Impact of Private Sponsors and Government Services on Refugees

The participants explained that private sponsorship groups in Peterborough provided a welcoming environment for the Vietnamese refugees, regardless of whether they were sponsored by the group or the government. Due to the small Vietnamese refugee community in Peterborough and the tight-knit community of volunteers, many Vietnamese refugees received a warm reception because of the generosity and kindness of the Peterborough residents. The sponsors introduced the refugees to Canadian society and helped to ease their sense of loneliness upon their arrival in the city. For example, volunteers and ESL teachers invited Vietnamese refugees to their houses to celebrate Christmas ("Christmas in a new country," 1979).

Private sponsors were responsible for picking up refugees at the Toronto International Airport and for coordinating their accommodations, prior to their arrival. Thuận and his family lived in a one-bedroom apartment that had been rented by their sponsors. The sponsors helped his family pay rent and had already set up all the furniture. Thuận recalled that the sponsors bought items that they thought the refugees would need. These items included a bottle of fish sauce, chopsticks, bowls, and a Vietnamese-Canadian dictionary. He was very touched by their thoughtful and considerate gifts because they tried to make their apartment feel like home. He exclaimed that he will never forget their warm welcome. The sponsors often drove the refugees to

appointments or to go grocery shopping. Thuận's family received a bi-weekly cheque to cover rent, purchase food, and buy miscellaneous items. He stated that, "It wasn't a lot, but it was enough to survive." His case demonstrates that sponsors provided the basic necessities and tried to find familiar items for the refugees to build a stronger sense of home.

Occasionally, sponsors became surrogate family members to the refugees and remained an important social network throughout the rest of their lives. Thuận explained that his private sponsors changed his and his family's life. They were a group of 7 people, all members of St. Peter's Church. There were some professionals in the group, such as a doctor who took care of their medical needs, and a lawyer. He said that the sponsors were important because they taught him how to deal with his adaptation to Canadian society and helped him develop skills to be independent. Katie and Jennifer, Thuan's daughters, referred to two of their sponsors as grandma and grandpa. They recalled going on trips with them to the cottage each summer. Thuan's family's interactions with their private sponsors demonstrates that, in some cases, sponsors are a vital long-term social support system for the refugees.

While some privately-sponsored refugees received warm welcomes during their arrival, the reception for government sponsored refugees were not as well coordinated or attentive to the refugees' needs. By 1980, 27 of the 179 Indochinese refugees registered at Manpower in Peterborough County were government sponsored and the rest were privately sponsored (Carley, 1980). Government-sponsored refugees were first screened by immigration officials at the refugee camps. Then, they were issued documentation that allowed them to leave their country of asylum to become legal residents in their country of resettlement (Nourpanah, 2014). Some government sponsored refugees in Peterborough explained that the government paid for their housing expenses for a year and provided them with bi-weekly allowances. Normally, refugee liaison coordinators

would often pick up refugees from the airport, unless the refugees had family members living in Canada.

Huy was a 21-year-old government sponsored refugee who arrived in Peterborough in November 1979, from Pulau Bidong Refugee Camp, Malaysia. When Huy and his brother arrived at the Toronto airport, they were not greeted by a contact person and later found out that the government representative who was supposed to pick them up went on vacation and did not inform anyone. He explained that,

“In November, it was really cold and we weren’t used to it. We arrived at eleven in the morning and waited for the bus to come and pick us up. We didn’t know English, didn’t know anything and we were hungry too. There were five to six people waiting, with only their documents stating the city they were being resettled in.”

Eventually, a lady who was picking up different refugees heard about Huy and the other refugees’ situation. She brought them to the immigration office to figure out their transportation. When Huy arrived in Peterborough, an interpreter helped him rent hotel rooms at the Empress Hotel, where Huy and his brother lived for a month. Huy explained that there was no kitchen in the hotel room, so they were not able to cook anything. Compared to Thuận’s experience, Huy’s initial welcome to Peterborough was poorly prepared and lacked services that would have helped create a better sense of home for the newly arrived refugees.

Huy’s reception improved when he met other Vietnamese refugees who introduced him to their private sponsors, the Fitzgeralds. Private sponsors in Peterborough not only assisted the refugees they sponsored but also worked with community members to help government-sponsored refugees. Volunteer community members helped them find housing, drove them to appointments, and helped them fill out applications for driving licenses and jobs. The sponsors invited him and his brother to their house for dinners and advised him about jobs in the city. Thus, the sponsors’

assistance helped to ease Huy's sense of loneliness and mitigated the shortcomings of the government's immigrant services.

One of Huy's most memorable moments during his first years in Peterborough was receiving a Christmas hamper that included cans of food and a turkey. Huy and his brother celebrated Christmas with the Fitzgerald family, Phuong Duc Tan and Vinh Bing Tran, their sponsored refugees ("Christmas in a new country", 1979). Community members and ESL teachers, Anne Raper and Carol Northcott, did not want the students to spend Christmas alone so they invited the federally sponsored refugees, from their classes, to their house. Essentially, the government services provided the basic necessities but did not address the refugees' specific settlement needs. Private sponsors and community members in the Peterborough community supplemented the government services by creating a welcoming environment and offering more personalized assistance.

6.1.2 Education and English as a Second Language Classes

According to Neuwirth, linguistic adaptation is "fluency in the language of the host society" (1989, p. 1). Despite many Vietnamese refugees' lack of English education and the significant differences between the English and Vietnamese languages, Hou and Beiser (2006) noted that most Southeast Asian refugees achieved fluency in English after 10 years in Canada. All the male participants in my study enrolled in the six-month, federally-funded, ESL program at Fleming College. These ESL classes were part of a national initiative to provide language education for newcomers. The federal government provided classes in French to refugees that resettled in Quebec and English in the rest of the provinces. The classes were directed towards people who were most likely to enter the labor force. Thuận arrived in Peterborough in 1980 with

his wife and daughter. He was 22 years old. Thuận explained that, prior to arriving in Canada, he was in his second year studying law in Vietnam and knew very little English. He said that, even though he did not become fluent after completing the program, he learned enough English to interact with others and earn money. He studied English during the day and worked different jobs in the evening.

Hung was 16 years old when he arrived in Peterborough in 1984 and was one of the youngest participants. He was sent to Fleming College to study for one to two weeks before his schooling at St. Peters Catholic Elementary school was arranged. He was able to learn more English as he spent time with his tutor, Sister Ruth. She was a nun who helped refugees and was a part-time English teacher. While Hung received more education because of his young age, after two years of schooling, he decided not to continue because he felt that he was not good at studying. He also wanted to quickly find work. This suggests that, although the English lessons did not always inspire the refugees to advance their education, they became fluent enough to begin working. Many Vietnamese refugees, like Thuận and Hung, were eager to learn English, find jobs, and earn money to support their families.

Beyond the ESL program, it was usually difficult for refugees to expand their knowledge of English because of their long hours of work (Neuwirth and Clark, 1981). Even if refugees did not continue with their English or become fluent after the 6-month program, they expressed gratitude for the experience. They did not blame the program for their lack of English fluency but instead, placed emphasis on their lack of studiousness, poor learning skills, or urgent desire to work, instead of continuing their studies. Huy tried to work part-time while he studied. His first job was loading trucks for a food company. His shifts were from eleven in the evening to seven in the morning. When his teacher found out, she scolded him and told him to focus on his studies

rather than divide his time between school and work. Both Thuận and Huy's willingness to work while studying suggests that some Vietnamese refugees in Peterborough wanted to speed up the integration process by learning the language of their new country, trying to support themselves, and becoming productive members of Canadian society.

In addition to their ESL classes, refugees usually tried to improve their language skills by pursuing further education, watching dominant media, and studying with a private language tutor. Song arrived in Peterborough in 1981 at 21 years old. Song found watching television, especially comedy shows, helpful in learning about everyday Canadian social customs and ways of speech. To improve his pronunciation, he would listen carefully to the way people talked during conversations. At every chance, Song would try to practice his English by conversing with native Peterborough residents. He elaborated on his English learning experience by saying that:

“Just like anything else, you learn every day. You pick up, in a few months, really fast, a lot. It was very tiring because you have to work really hard and you have to listen to people all the time. So the opportunity for learning was there. The government offered free ESL classes so that was great. There's also an opportunity to meet other Vietnamese that go to the same classes or other immigrants, for that matter. People come from different places. And that was very good. That's where I get to know a lot of people...”

The ESL classes not only allowed Song to learn English but also helped him strengthen his learning and social skills. He also explained that he was young and was able to pick up English quickly, but other individuals struggled and continue to struggle, even after twenty years.

Most of the participants were grateful for the federally-funded ESL program and thought that it was adequate for teaching them English and prepare for the Canadian labour market. Nonetheless, advanced English speaking and writing abilities would have allowed them to continue with higher education and eventually find better paying jobs. This will be further discussed in the employment section. Even though most of the participants could speak some English by the end of the ESL program, during the interviews, they also often expressed relief that

they were able to communicate with other Vietnamese refugees in their mother-tongue, during their first years in Peterborough.

6.1.3 The Immigrant and Refugee Community in Peterborough

In addition to the provision of federally funded services and initiatives by private sponsors and volunteer community members to welcome the refugees, the participants in my study also noted that older groups of refugees and immigrants helped them to integrate into urban life in Peterborough. Huy said that elderly people in Peterborough were especially empathetic and friendly because their ancestors had been, or they, themselves, were refugees from Europe. Some of the private sponsors in Peterborough, such as one of Thuan's sponsors, was a refugee who came to Canada after the Second World War.

In the late 1970s, when Vietnamese refugees first arrived in Peterborough, they tried to organize community events like Lunar New Year (Tet) celebrations in one of the cafeterias at Sir Sandford Fleming College. Huy recalled creating a booklet for Canadians to explain the Lunar New Year customs such as the distribution of lucky money envelopes. Attendees prepared and ate Vietnamese food, which included spring rolls, fried rice, noodles, and fish sauce. To replicate the Tet environment in Vietnam, Huy tried to assemble branches together and spray it with varnish to recreate the *Ochna integerrima*, a plant often displayed in Vietnam during Tet. The Vietnamese refugees' Tet event shows that refugees had access to spaces to celebrate their culture. This made it easier for the refugees to feel at home in Peterborough.

Sometimes, refugees who had arrived earlier were able to use their knowledge and experiences to empower other newcomers. Since Huy was part of one of the earlier arrivals of refugees, he tried to share his experiences of discrimination and racism with later refugee arrivals. He was also asked to help as an interpreter for the Knox Presbyterian Church. Refugees who came

earlier also introduced later arrivals to contacts in their wide social networks. Thus, their ability to help other refugees suggests that they had reached a level of adaptation and integration that allowed them to share their knowledge, gathered from their experiences, with others. Jennifer, a privately sponsored refugee, was only a baby when she arrived in Peterborough with her family in 1980. However, growing up in Peterborough, she remembered that her parents were comforted by the presence of other Vietnamese families in Peterborough and that they enjoyed the weekend get-togethers at various people's houses. The refugees that could help others were the ones who were fluent in English, had a stable job, had a solid understanding of Canadian laws and social customs, and had connections with prominent individuals in the Peterborough community.

6.2 REFUGEES' DECISIONS TO MOVE OR STAY

In a study about Salvadoran refugees' resettlement experiences in Ottawa and Toronto, Neuwirth (1989) argued that the refugees' perceptions about Canada were influenced by their refugee experience. They appreciated the "freedom, peace and security" that Canada offered because it was absent in their home country (Neuwirth, 1989, p. 6). Similarly, I argue that Vietnamese refugees' decisions to stay in Peterborough or relocate to other cities was influenced by their refugee experience. While searching for a permanent home in Canada, refugees placed importance on the availability of stable employment, a good environment to raise children, and proximity to family. Poor prospects of finding secure employment in Vietnam and a restrictive political environment often fueled the refugees' decisions to flee Vietnam. Refugees were often separated from their families during their journeys to find asylum. Thus, to create a sense of home and rebuild their lives in Canada, refugees hoped to live in a city that allowed them to work and live with their family. Essentially, refugees' decisions of where to settle were often predicated on their refugee experiences. The following section will discuss several themes that influenced the

refugees' decisions to stay in Peterborough, move to another city, or return to Peterborough after moving around. These themes include families in small cities, employment, and refugees' mobility.

6.2.1 Families in Small Cities

The existing immigration literature states that the presence of family and friends was one of the most important factors in their decision to stay or leave Peterborough (Hyndman, Schuurman, and Fiedler, 2006). In Chan and Dorais' study (1998), the participants' decisions to relocate from their initial place of settlement were heavily influenced by the presence of family. The participants who were distributed to smaller cities in Quebec often decided to move to Montreal immediately after their sponsorship because they had family members living there. Chan and Dorais explained that, in the first five to ten years of resettlement, the Vietnamese refugees wanted to move close to their families to form a "...loosely structured familial system that enabled the pooling and sharing of resources—a necessary collective survival strategy" (p.293).

However, the location of family members was not a major factor in the Vietnamese refugees' decision to stay in Peterborough or relocate to another city. This may be because most of the participants in the study were relatively young single men who were more interested in moving to cities with more employment opportunities rather than staying near their family members. Furthermore, some of the participants were the only individuals from their family to resettle in Canada.

Although the refugees interviewed in my study did not feel compelled to move to reunite with their family in other cities, some of the participants who moved to a different city returned to Peterborough when they had wives and children. They decided to move back to Peterborough because they considered small cities a better place to raise their children than larger cities. Hung

explained that he liked Peterborough because it was quiet, safe, and children could receive a good education there. Loc, another participant who had arrived in Peterborough in 1987 as a government-sponsored refugee, said that people in Peterborough were nicer and the housing and living expenses were more affordable. Hung moved to Toronto two years after his arrival in Peterborough. He lived in Toronto for about ten years. Within that decade, he moved around to ten different places, such as Downsview, East Chinatown, Jane, and Finch, and Mississauga. He moved a lot because he often had short leases and it was easy for him to move because he was single. However, in 2006, he decided to move back to Peterborough with his wife and two children because he was able to find a job and thought that the environment there was safer for his children.

Binh arrived in Peterborough in 1989, the latest date of all the participants. He was 33 years old at the time. Although his first choice of country was the United States, the immigration officers sent him to Canada because his sister and brother in law lived there. Binh stated that his adaptation to the new city was made easier because he had his family as a support system and could communicate with them in Vietnamese. However, despite having family in Peterborough, Binh decided to move to Toronto for two years to find employment. Nonetheless, with a child on the way, he decided to return to Peterborough to find work that provided benefits. He asked a community member who often helped refugees, Gordon, to refer him to jobs. Binh also found it easier to save money to buy a house and car in Peterborough. The desire to improve their family's quality of life encouraged them to move back to Peterborough, where they could more easily connect with their local social networks and find jobs to support themselves.

6.2.2 Employment

Frideres argues that the distribution of immigrants to different regions allows immigrants to get better jobs, reduces inequality between immigrants and the Canadian born, and improves

the integration of immigrants into Canadian society (as cited in Brown, 2017). However, the larger economic context in Canada and Peterborough must be considered. Many of the second wave Vietnamese refugees concentrated in low-growth manufacturing jobs because they were sponsored as refugees and did not enter through the economic or business immigrant classes. During the 1980s and 1990s, the Canadian economy was transforming from a traditional industrial based economy to an economy based on services and information technology (Preston, Lo, and Wang, 2003). The Vietnamese refugees arrived during a period when there was a loss of manufacturing jobs. From 1990 to 1992, 60,000 manufacturing jobs were lost in the Toronto region (Pfeifer, 1999, p. 277). Southeast Asian workers tended to be the first people to be laid-off because they lacked seniority in the workplace (Stephens, 1982).

During the 1980s and 1990s, visible minorities had higher rates of unemployment (Preston et al., 2003). Even when Vietnamese refugees found employment, the jobs were primarily in the secondary sector. While the primary sector is capital intensive and uses high levels of technology, the secondary sector is labour intensive and does not invest a lot of capital into machinery or technology (Bauder, 2006). The refugees had limited access to jobs in the primary sector such as finance, insurance, real estate, business services, education, and social services. Instead, most of the participants in my study did manual labour in factories. In addition, many Vietnamese refugees could not afford to spend the time or money to take training programs to improve their skills or earn trade certification because their priority was to earn money to support their families (Stephens, 1982).

When more of the refugees arrived, Peterborough was undergoing a shift from a manufacturing to service-oriented industry jobs. Up until the 1980s, Peterborough was known as a typical Canadian town and a good place to test market products. Peterborough's economy

consisted of mixed farming, mines, manufacturing, service industries and tourism. It had its own newspaper, radio stations, and was close to major highways (Adams, 2011). Despite its diverse economy, it relied primarily on its manufacturing companies which were going through shut downs and were laying off their employees (Economic Development Branch Office of Economic Policy, 1978). Thus, some Vietnamese refugees in Peterborough decided to move because of the difficulty in obtaining work. Carol Northcott, an ESL coordinator at Fleming College, recalled that, of 119 refugees who had enrolled in ESL classes in November 1979, 39 were working in Peterborough, 2 in Campbellford, 32 in Toronto, 5 in Calgary and 2 in Edmonton (Hendry, 1983). While many refugees found employment in Peterborough, most of them had to move elsewhere to work.

Most of the participants in my study were able to find jobs after finishing their ESL courses. Their increasing access to social networks were significant factors contributing to their success in finding work. Social networks for immigrants usually consists of ethnic community networks, friends, and family. The participants' reliance on their friends and family to recommend them to employers was common among other refugees. Neuwirth (1989) discovered that refugee respondents often found their employment through their friends, family members, and relatives. Nonetheless, Neuwirth argued that the refugees' social networks may perpetuate the refugees' concentration in low-paying jobs (Ibid). Kazemipur (2006) suggests that there are three elements that influence the impact of social networks for immigrants. The elements include the size or density of a social network, the potential resources provided by the networks, and the extent that people are willing to share their resources with others. The author argues that, while some social networks can allow individuals to reap many benefits, co-ethnic immigrant social networks are limited in the opportunities that they provide for newcomers. He explained that immigrants' social

networks are usually inferior to those of the native-born because there are smaller returns. My participants' stories challenge the literature on co-ethnic social networks. Many of them were able to find employment through their Vietnamese refugee friends. Song explained that employers had a good impression of refugees because of the impressive work ethic of Indochinese refugees. In that way, earlier waves of refugees set a good reputation for later waves of refugees and made it easier for them to find employment.

Sponsors were also a significant resource that the refugees could rely on for work. One of Thuan's sponsors helped him land a full-time job at a land-surveying company. On top of that job, Thuan also taught taekwondo and picked worms at a farm. Thuan said that his work was labour-intensive, but he enjoyed it. After five years of working those various jobs, Thuan opened a laundromat in Peterborough and then was able to open another one in Toronto. Thuan lived in Peterborough for ten years with his family. He decided to leave Peterborough because he received an opportunity to start a different business in San Jose with his brother. At first, he opened a restaurant and then converted it to a movie rental store. Thuan explained that he was attracted to the abundance of entrepreneurial and business opportunities offered in bigger cities. He clarified that small cities did not have the business climate that suited him. His resettlement experience in Peterborough provided him with a solid foundation, in terms of giving him a social network, professional skills, and economic capital for him to move to a bigger city. Thus, his experience in Peterborough was a pivotal part of his early integration into Canadian society.

However, many refugees only found work for a few months or years before they were laid off. Then, they often had limited options and decided to move to Toronto to find work. They both found work at Royal Vinyl but did not enjoy the long shifts or living conditions in bigger cities. One of the participants tried to work in Toronto while living in Peterborough but did not like the

commute. Two of the participants, Hung and Binh, eventually moved back to Peterborough to find different jobs because their lives were more secure and comfortable in the small city than in Toronto.

Most of the refugees' experiences were similar during the first six months when they were studying ESL. However, refugees who pursued higher education, attained a high level of English fluency, and learned a skilled trade, were able to increase their chances of finding better paid jobs. For example, Song upgraded his English to a grade 12 level. Then, he attended Fleming College to study electrical work for three years. After that, he studied at Trent University. He paid for his education through the \$70 weekly government funding and other loans. He explained that he worked at Siemens during the day and then attended classes in the evening. At first, with his limited language skills, status, and experience, Song had to do factory work at Ventra Plastics. However, after gaining some work experience, he was hired at Siemens to work in the production department. Eventually, "by working hard and getting things done", he was promoted to the research and development department. While most of the participants did not continue their education, they were still able to find jobs through their contacts and work ethic. Nonetheless, higher education and fluency in English would have provided them with more opportunities for work with better pay and conditions.

6.2.3 Refugees' Proximity to Larger Metropolitan Centres and Mobility

One characteristic about Peterborough that made it easier for the participants to move to a bigger city is that Toronto is only about an hour and thirty-minute drive away. Adams explained that, Peterborough was an attractive city to some people because of its proximity to Ottawa, Toronto, and Oshawa. This gave some of the participants flexibility to move to Toronto to find work temporarily and gave them the option of returning to Peterborough when Toronto's labour

market no longer met their needs. In that way, Vietnamese refugees in Peterborough demonstrate that they have gained more knowledge about Canadian society through their mobility. Some might argue that the refugees moved out of necessity, but refugees had to first acquire some knowledge and social and economic capital to make informed decisions to leave Peterborough. In the case of Vietnamese refugees, their decisions to move to Toronto or back to Peterborough reflect the individual volunteers, sponsors, and employers' abilities to provide them with secure employment and address their specific settlement needs.

While Vietnamese refugees faced barriers during their attempts to find secure employment in Peterborough, they were not passive victims during the integration process. Rather, they actively supplemented the Peterborough community's resettlement efforts by drawing on their social networks to find employment opportunities. They also made decisions to move to other cities, or return to Peterborough, when it fitted their needs. The refugees' needs changed depending on whether they were supporting themselves or their families. Sometimes, moving to a different city, after living in Peterborough, gave them a point of comparison. Some of the refugees preferred to live in Peterborough after experiencing urban life in a metropolitan city. Recognizing refugees' agency during the resettlement process is important because it challenges the socially constructed representations of refugees as dependent victims.

7. CONCLUSION

The historical case study of Vietnamese refugees in Peterborough reveals that refugees can successfully integrate in small cities if they receive a warm reception, can rely on sponsors and other refugees for assistance, have steady employment, and are able to move to other cities if they could not find employment in Peterborough. The private sponsors, individual volunteers, ESL teachers, and other Vietnamese refugees helped to create a more inclusive environment and allows the refugees to feel at home. The participants formed life-long friendships, found jobs, built a sense of community, and gained confidence in their ability to adapt to Canadian society. They benefited from the personalized services, provided by the sponsors and volunteers, such as the weekend trips to Toronto to buy groceries, daycare for refugee women studying English, and trips to cottages. However, the community's initial welcome does not guarantee long-term integration. Refugees must have access to steady employment to adapt to life in urban Canada.

When refugees have limited access to jobs, it is necessary for them to have mobility. Although the participants in my study could initially find various jobs in Peterborough, the decline of Peterborough's manufacturing industry led to many layoffs. As a result, the participants decided to move to Toronto because they believed bigger cities offered more employment opportunities. In some cases, the participants found that their quality of live in Toronto was unsatisfactory in the big city and no longer fitted their needs. Some of the participants in my study returned to Peterborough because they enjoyed having a tight-knit community and preferred the quietness and peacefulness of small cities. The participants' age and family situation were also significant factors influencing the refugees' decisions to relocate. Young bachelor men were more flexible and willing to relocate for employment opportunities. However, when some participants had children,

they wanted to move back to Peterborough because the small city environment was better for raising children.

Although gateway cities often have more employment opportunities and newcomer services than small cities, non-gateway cities are still capable of facilitating successful social and economic integration. Small cities, like Peterborough, help refugees transition to urban life in Canada by connecting them with private sponsors and community organizations, offering ESL classes, providing space for cultural events, and giving them the necessary support to move to larger cities. Most of the participants in my study continued to stay in Peterborough after their initial resettlement or moved back to Peterborough after living in Toronto. The participants' ability to learn English, gain secure employment, raise families, and maintain social ties with their sponsors and other refugees suggest that they successfully integrated in Canadian society and adapted to life in Peterborough. While some participants moved to larger metropolitan centres, they still credit their experience in Peterborough for providing them with the necessary skills and knowledge, such as fluency in English and work experience, to rebuild their lives in the bigger cities.

In 2016 and 2017, Peterborough received 350 Syrian refugees (Kovach, 2018). To increase the levels of refugee retention in Peterborough, it is necessary to learn from the resettlement experiences of Indochinese refugees, address the shortcomings, and reinforce effective approaches. To facilitate successful integration in small cities, Syrian refugees must have access to secure employment and culturally appropriate settlement services. Further areas of research can include studies of Indochinese refugees' role in welcoming Syrian refugees and international students to Canada and small cities' strategies to attract immigrants.

APPENDIX I



Ryerson University Consent Agreement

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Please read this consent form so that you understand what your participation will involve. Before you consent to participate, please ask any questions to be sure you understand what your participation will involve.

[THE RESETTLEMENT OF VIETNAMESE REFUGEES IN PETERBOROUGH: A HISTORICAL CASE STUDY, 1975-1995]

INVESTIGATORS: This research study is being conducted by Michelle Nguyen (M.A. Candidate) from the Department of Immigration and Settlement Studies.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

Michelle Nguyen
M.A. Candidate
Immigration and Settlement Studies
Ryerson University
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Email: m14nguyen@ryerson.ca

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:

This study will look at the experiences of Vietnamese refugees who first moved to Peterborough. The study will also explore how the city of Peterborough and community organizations helped the refugees settle into their new homes. The researcher will need a maximum of 8 participants of Vietnamese background who were sponsored to Peterborough by individuals or groups, between 1975 and 1995. The researcher will not be recruiting participants who are not Vietnamese, who did not first resettle in Peterborough, who was not a refugee, and who was not sponsored from 1975 to 1995. This research is being completed by a graduate student in partial completion of a Master's program in Immigration and Settlement Studies at Ryerson University. The research will contribute to the Major Research Paper.

WHAT YOU WILL BE ASKED TO DO:

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to do the following things:

CONSENT AND STRUCTURE OF INTERVIEWS

- Provide voluntary and informed consent to participate in the interviews
- Participate in one semi-structured interview that will take a maximum of one hour, at a private room in the Peterborough Public Library at 345 Aylmer St. N.
- The interviewer will ask a series of questions and the participants can provide as little or as many details as they would like
- The interview will be audio recorded
- Participants will be asked to answer demographic questions and questions about their life experience as a refugee in Peterborough

PARTICIPATION IN INTERVIEWS

- Provide demographic information
 - Age
 - Gender
 - Education
 - Employment
- Share your experiences of resettling in Peterborough, from 1975 to 1995
- Answer questions about the challenges or opportunities you experienced while resettling in Peterborough
 - Example: How do you think your resettlement experience could have been improved? And, how do you think other newcomers' experiences can be improved?

DISSEMINATION

- Upon request, research findings such as interview transcripts and excerpts from the paper will be available to participants during the interview process
- Upon request, the researcher can provide the final major research paper to the participants in hard copy

POTENTIAL BENEFITS:

The participants benefit by:

- receiving an opportunity to talk about their resettlement experiences in Peterborough
- sharing stories with a second generation-Vietnamese person
- offering ideas on how to improve settlement services and programs for future refugees, based on their experiences.
- share an experience from their history that is not often mentioned in dominant media or academia
- feeling empowered from providing knowledge on their experiences resettling in a small city, which is not often discussed in the existing literature

Community organizations and the city of Peterborough benefit from the research because:

- they can enhance their understanding of the strengths and shortcomings of the resettlement initiatives

- they can learn about what factors influence the attraction and attainment of newcomers to various cities across the country

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL RISKS TO YOU AS A PARTICIPANT:

- Low psychological risks:
 - You may not want to revisit the memories of being a refugee in a new country
 - To minimize the risk, the researcher will allow you to pause the interview if you need to recollect your thoughts
 - If you continue to feel uncomfortable and require professional counseling services, the researcher can provide suggestions of community service providers.
- Risks of personal identity being revealed:
 - Due to the small population of Vietnamese refugees in Peterborough, you may be easily identifiable through some characteristics such as your job, ethnicity, and year of arrival
 - This risk can be minimized through using pseudonyms, assigned to you by the researcher.
- Dual-Risk Role:
 - You may feel obligated to participate in the interviews because of your relationship with the researcher
 - To minimize this risk, the researcher will explain to you that participation is strictly voluntary and at any given point during the process, you can withdraw if you feel the need to. The interviews are strictly for the purposes of research. You are not required to participate in the interviews. Our relationship should not influence your decision. Your decision to participate is completely voluntary. Regardless of your decision to participate or not, our relationship will not be affected.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

Due to the small size of the Vietnamese community in Peterborough, participants may be more easily identifiable. However, the risks of being identified can be mitigated using pseudonyms assigned by the researcher.

The data will be kept until the researcher has received the credit for her Major Research Paper and the degree for the Master's program. Although the raw information will not be released to any other party, the research findings will be disseminated at conference presentations and through publication on the Ryerson Digital Repository. The researcher will not disclose any information without the consent of the participants.

The researcher will provide participants with access to the audio-recordings automatically and transcripts of the interviews upon request. The participants can change or provide different responses to the interview questions by letting the researcher know of their requests. The recordings and transcripts will be stored on the researcher's laptop and will be destroyed when the researcher has received her credit for the Major Research Paper and degree for the Master's program.

DATA DISSEMINATION

- The data will be used in the Major Research Paper (MRP). The MRP will be published on the Ryerson Digital Repository.
- The data presented in the MRP will be disseminated at conference presentations
- Participants can find the results using this link: <http://digital.library.ryerson.ca/>

DATA STORAGE

- the physical data will be stored in a locked cabinet
- the digital data, including the audio files, will be stored on a computer with a password lock to both the computer and the research specific data, only the researcher will have access to the data
- the data set will be kept until the researcher has received her credit for the Major Research Paper and degree for the Master's program

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL:

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you are uncomfortable answering a question, you can choose to not respond or participate in any aspect of the research. Participants can stop participating at any time.

If you choose to stop participating, you may also choose to not have your data included in the study. However, you must inform the researcher of your decision to exclude the data by July 15th, 2018. Your choice of whether to participate will not influence your future relations with the researcher or Ryerson University.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY:

If you have any questions about the research now, please ask. If you have questions later about the research, you may contact.

Michelle Nguyen
M.A. Candidate
Immigration and Settlement Studies
Ryerson University
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Email: m14nguyen@ryerson.ca

Dr. Arthur Ross
Supervisor
Department of Politics and Public Administration
Ryerson University
Telephone:(416) 979-5000 x 6184
Email Address: aross@politics.ryerson.ca

This study has been reviewed by the Ryerson University Research Ethics Board. If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant in this study please contact:

Research Ethics Board
c/o Office of the Vice President, Research and Innovation
Ryerson University
350 Victoria Street
Toronto, ON M5B 2K3
416-979-5042
rebchair@ryerson.ca

**THE RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES OF VIETNAMESE REFUGEES IN
PETERBOROUGH, 1975-1995: A HISTORICAL CASE STUDY**

CONFIRMATION OF AGREEMENT:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information in this agreement and have had a chance to ask any questions you have about the study. Your signature also indicates that you agree to participate in the study and have been told that you can change your mind and withdraw your consent to participate at any time. Should you choose to withdraw from the study, you agree to inform the researcher before Sunday, July 15, 2018. You have been given a copy of this agreement. You have been told that by signing this consent agreement you are not giving up any of your legal rights.

Name of Participant (please print)

Signature of Participant

Date

Your signature below indicates that you consent to being audio-recorded during the interview. I agree to be audio-recorded for the purposes of this study. I understand how these recordings will be stored and destroyed

Signature of Participant

Date

APPENDIX II

Interview Guide

Please provide the following demographic information:

- Age
- Gender
- Education

What was your experience living in Peterborough like in the first few years of arrival? (i.e. sponsors, settlement services, sense of belonging)

Kinh nghiệm của bác sống ở Peterborough như thế nào trong vài năm đầu tiên đến? (tức là nhà tài trợ, dịch vụ thanh toán, ý thức thuộc sở hữu)

What were some opportunities as well as challenges you experienced while resettling in Peterborough? (i.e. education, employment, health, social assistance, social isolation, lack of language skills)

Một số cơ hội cũng như những thách thức bác gặp phải khi tái định cư ở Peterborough là gì? (ví dụ: giáo dục, việc làm, y tế, trợ giúp xã hội, cách ly xã hội, ngôn ngữ)

Some people moved to other cities after their initial resettlement. Why did you stay/leave?

Một số người chuyển đến các thành phố khác sau khi tái định cư ban đầu. Tại sao bác ở lại / dọn đi?

Do you think Vietnamese refugees' resettlement in Peterborough helped to change the city? If so, how? If not, why not?

Bác có nghĩ rằng việc tái định cư của người tị nạn Việt Nam tại Peterborough đã giúp thay đổi thành phố? Nếu vậy, làm thế nào? Nếu không, tại sao không?

How do you think your resettlement experience could have been improved? And, how do you think other newcomers' experiences can be improved?

Làm thế nào để bác nghĩ rằng kinh nghiệm tái định cư của bác có thể đã được cải thiện? Và, bác nghĩ thế nào về trải nghiệm của những người mới đến khác có thể được cải thiện?

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