Chinese Immigrants and the Border: A Preliminary Report
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Table of Contents

1. Project Ottawa in Brief ........................................................................................................................................ 3
2. Immigration and the Border: A Broad Overview ................................................................................................ 4
3. Interviews with Organizational Representatives in Ottawa .................................................................................. 6
4. Interviews with Organizational Representatives in Gatineau .............................................................................. 9
5. Chinese Immigrants and the Border .................................................................................................................. 11
6. Hypotheses ......................................................................................................................................................... 14
7. Discussions with Chinese Immigrants in Downtown Ottawa .............................................................................. 14
8. Discussions with Chinese Immigrants in Kanata ............................................................................................... 16
9. Discussions with Chinese Immigrants in Gatineau ............................................................................................. 17
10. Synthesis and Conclusions ............................................................................................................................... 18
11. Appendices ....................................................................................................................................................... 19
1. Project Ottawa in Brief

The Ottawa-Gatineau region is unique. Intersected by the country’s most symbolically charged provincial border, the region is characterized by a particular dynamic influenced by the border that, on several levels, represents a major spatial discontinuity despite the long period it has been in place. Populations, cultures, and practices, along with legislation and law, are different on either side of the border. Yet the border does not present substantial obstacles to the exchanges and interactions of everyday life. In some respects, the activities of individuals in the region limit the risks of Canadian dislocation by fostering a transboundary territoriality both for individuals and groups as the cradle for a new Canadian identity.

Objectives

This research project seeks to shed light on the intrinsically ambiguous and contradictory effects of the border in the region known as the National Capital. Based on the premise that the border modulates the spatial practices of individuals and groups who live in the region, and who have appropriated the border both symbolically and materially, the project aims to reconstruct their everyday experiences of places and spaces that the border separates and brings together. The study examines the practices and representations associated with the border, the unique cultures it helps to create, the collective identities that emanate from its existence, as well as the political actions that fuel it. The study will show how these historically structured border features are taking on a new character in the contemporary context of the relations that develop between the populations of Ottawa and Gatineau under the influence of the larger environment. Inspired by the most recent work on the border concept, we are focusing on the following three dimensions: the border as a barrier, an interface, and a territory. Our analysis of the processes surrounding the construction of the border will be based on the theoretical and methodological propositions involved in the study of everyday spatial practices. Narrative, which asserts not only progression, practices and representations, but also strategies and ploys, will be our material. Our attention will focus on minority populations, who tend to be more vulnerable and prone to putting in place certain strategies for benefiting from the opportunity structure offered by the border. The targeted groups include official language minorities, populations of newcomers, gays and lesbians, single mothers, and street-involved youth. Each of the targeted groups acts according to a different logic in regional space.

Methodology

The Scope

Situated at a practice/theory interface, this project is a deliberate effort to show that the border continually acts as a structuring factor of the region’s social conditions. Whereas globalization, both economic and cultural, has led many to somewhat hastily declare the “end of territory”, one of the goals of the project is to renew interest in one of geography’s key concepts by illustrating its scope in understanding the everyday geography of a number of Ottawa-Gatineau’s more marginal groups. The research is being conducted in three stages, corresponding to the three-year duration of the project.

Stage 1. Establishing the context: the region, its populations (2007-2008). Not much is known about Ottawa-Gatineau’s social space. Different initiatives by public groups have, nevertheless, highlighted certain characteristics of the region’s social space. We seek out these traits and analyze them, paying particular attention to border-related issues. This first stage of research also seeks to build a solid base of information on the target populations through existing data on the groups (census, surveys, etc.), along with their organizations and institutions. It also seeks to conduct deeper analysis of
directly and indirectly related programs and policies, at different levels of government, and the issues they raise regarding the management and delivery of services. Information-gathering will take several forms, including initial document review as well as interviews with representatives of agencies and organizations serving these populations.

Stage 2. Collecting narrative through discussions with individuals and groups (2008-2009). Of all the approaches used to reconstruct the everyday, the interview is the most common. We will focus on this approach to conduct two types of interviews: (1) group interviews (10 to 12 participants) to identify the issues surrounding the border experiences of the different target populations; and (2) individual interviews to deepen our understanding of different aspects of the experience. The goal of these interviews is not only to explicate the realities of the participants with respect to spaces and places in different contexts (living, appropriation, production, consumption, relaxation, management, etc.), but also to reveal the tensions and contradictions that enter into their relationships with social space. Interview themes include issues of difference, belonging, segregation, exclusion, identity, and power in relation to the concept of border.

Stage 3. Analysis and synthesis: the reconstruction of social space and the border effect (2009-2010). The information gathered through the interviews, especially the regional social space constructed through the process, will be analyzed during the third year of the project. In addition to transcribing the proceedings of the interviews, the research team will conduct an in-depth analysis of the content. Initially, the narratives related to each particular group will be studied in detail. A comparative analysis will then be carried out to determine the differences and similarities between the groups’ spheres of reference.

2. Immigration and the Border: A Broad Overview

Project Ottawa focuses on immigrants to Ottawa-Gatineau from Latin America, China, Portugal and the Azores, and French-speaking Africa. Each of these groups encompasses a different spatial, temporal, and linguistic dimension. Latin Americans, for example, are dispersed across both sides of the border. In contrast, the Chinese are largely concentrated on the Ontario side. In contrast to the other groups, the Portuguese have resided in the Ottawa-Gatineau region for an extended period of time. Finally, while there are admittedly issues of language associated with each of the groups under consideration, Francophone immigrants have different experiences of the dominant language of the area.

Newcomers to Canada make settlement choices based on a number of factors including but not limited to available resources, services, knowledge of language and culture, and familiarity with existing communities. The Ottawa-Gatineau region is comprised of one urban region in two provinces with distinct approaches and policies to each of these issues. The region differs in terms of government funding structures, resources, opportunities for advancement, attitudes towards newcomers, and linguistic norms among other things. By choosing to settle in either Ottawa or Gatineau, newcomers make settlement choices that dramatically define their daily lives.

With the exception of Quebéc, immigration policy is under the responsibility of the federal government while settlement is a shared jurisdiction between federal and provincial governments. As a result, Ontario and Québec have different funding allotments, structures, and priorities for immigrant settlement. To understand the resources available to newcomers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, it is therefore imperative to examine separately the structures that govern the provision of services to
Funding Structures and Organizations in Ottawa, Ontario

In 2005, Ontario signed the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA), which increased federal funding to Ontario for settlement related programs to $920 million over five years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). Ontario settlement agencies obtain these funds through Calls for Proposals that are issued through Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

In the Ottawa area, a number of organizations work directly with immigrants and provide a wide range of services, most of which are focused on facilitating settlement, finding employment and learning English. The Catholic Immigration Centre (CIC), Ontario Community Immigrant Services Organization (OCISO) and Ottawa Public Library are the largest organizations that provide such services. The YMCA’s Newcomer Information Centre (NIC), created in 2007, is also a valuable resource.

Other agencies focus on specific services. Hire Immigrants Ottawa (HIO) and LASI (Local Agencies Serving Immigrants) provide support in finding employment. HIO works across the Ottawa-Gatineau region with employers to facilitate access to skills-appropriate employment. LASI is an umbrella organization formed in 1997 through a coalition of local immigrant-serving organizations (The Catholic Immigration Centre, Immigrant Women Services Ottawa, Jewish Family Services, Lebanese and Arab Social Services Agency, Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization, and the Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre) and provides employment-based support services to newcomers.

Other organizations serving newcomers include Jewish Family Services, the Lebanese and Arab Social Services Association (LASSA), the Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre, and the Conseil économique et social d’Ottawa (CÉSOC), each of which target their services to the needs of particular cultural groups. Some organizations, such as Immigrant Women Services Ottawa (IWSO), provide situation-specific services, in this case counseling and support for women that have experienced domestic violence.

In addition to the aforementioned organizations, newcomers also make use of the services offered by local community centers. These include organizations such as the YMCA, United Way, and Community Health Centres. Organizations such as these provide health and social services through a wide range of programming initiatives. For example, the Southeast Ottawa Community Health Centre offers a fitness and multicultural health program for newcomers.

It is important to note that at the municipal level, in contrast to the City of Gatineau, there is no bureau or department at the City of Ottawa that deals directly with immigration issues.

Funding Structures and Organizations in Gatineau, Québec

Under the Canada-Québec Accord of 1991, Québec has the right to determine its own immigration levels, financial criteria for sponsors, and criteria for independent immigrants, including its own “points system” (Canada’s Immigration Program, 2004). The federal government transfers an amount of money to the province annually, currently set using a formula, though not less than $90 million (Canada’s Immigration Program, 2004). Annual funding for organizations is available through the Support Program for the Integration of New Arrivals (PANA), the Regional Integration Program (PRI), and the Support Program for Intercultural Relations (PARI) (Immigration Québec 2008).

Compared to Ottawa, there are relatively few settlement agencies that operate in Gatineau. At the
municipal level, the City of Gatineau has a division which supports “Cultural Communities, Arts, and Letters”. Through the City, immigrants have access to French courses and a variety of workshops, as well as personalized assistance. Non-governmental organizations providing settlement services include the APO (Accueil-Parrainage Outaouais), Dépanneur Sylvestre, Réseau Outaouais, SITO (Service Intégration Travail Outaouais), and the Association des Femmes Immigrantes d’Ottawa.

Funding restrictions and eligibility criteria limit the degree to which newcomers residing in Gatineau may access services available in Ottawa and vice versa. There are also other differences between the two sides, including (among others) taxation levels, language of instruction in schools, attitudes towards immigrants, and language of daily life. This portion of Project Ottawa attempts to identify how the different realities of Ottawa-Gatineau influence immigrants’ everyday geographies: How do different cultural norms inform the settlement patterns of these individuals? How do settlement patterns inform access to resources? How, and for what purposes, do immigrants strategically use the spaces of Ottawa-Gatineau to organize their daily lives? What are some effects of these strategies in informing identities?

3. Interviews with Organizational Representatives in Ottawa

Given the important differences in the structure and organization of immigrant services on each side of the border, we conducted two separate focus group interviews with representatives of agencies serving immigrants in Ottawa and in Gatineau. The Ottawa group convened at the University of Ottawa on May 29, 2009, from 14:00-16:00. The roles and mandates of the organizations represented varied: a number of them provided settlement services to newcomers (CIC, OCISO, and the Somali Centre for Family Services); others worked in the areas of employment counseling (HIRE Immigrants Ottawa); health and community resources (South East Ottawa Community Health Centre); and community capacity building (United Way). Recruitment was done via email and telephone, sometimes through personal contacts within organizations. Dr’s Luisa Veronis and Caroline Andrew facilitated the session in English, while Brie McAloney took notes and undertook transcription.

The interviews focused on various issues relating to the agencies: their missions and objectives, the resources available to them, their geographic opportunities and constraints, partnerships, and clientele. The following paragraphs summarize the comments made by the representatives from the Ottawa organizations:

Resources
All participants agreed that the overall funding and resources are relatively good. They explained that the government has put a lot of money into settlement programs in the past few years. However, they agreed that even though funding and resources are reasonable, they are not adequate and a number of gaps exist.

- **Gaps and needs in immigrant services**
  - Participants mentioned the problem of eligibility for settlement services: refugees and those who are Canadian citizens are not eligible for settlement programs.
  - There is an issue in terms of access to services, particularly for newcomers who live in outlying areas of the city (but services are located in some parts of the city only).
  - Gaps in services exist for francophone immigrants.
Francophone immigrants in Ottawa

Participants noted that francophone immigrants in Ottawa face more challenges than those who are “more Anglophone.” Anglophone immigrants have more resources generally. For francophone immigrants:

- There is a lack of knowledge of services
- They do not feel welcome in an English environment
- The network of services is smaller, there are fewer services, they are not well developed
- Francophone immigrants are not as well connected (there is a problem of the lack of a network)

Collaborations with other organizations in Ottawa (and Gatineau)

Collaborations between immigrant-serving agencies in Ottawa (Ontario only) are significant. They play an important role to avoid duplication of services while improving provision by complementing existing services. Before the creation of LASI, agencies were competing, but they now work together. The creation of LASI seems to have been an important turning point in terms of service provision to immigrants in Ottawa. Participants noted that the fact that they work together makes a huge difference especially when looking at the existence of Hire Immigrants Ottawa (which was the outcome of the creation of LASI).

- LASI World Skills
  A coalition of local organizations founded by the Catholic Immigration Centre, Immigrant Women Services Ottawa, Jewish Family Services, Lebanese and Arab Social Services Agency, Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization, and the Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre in 1997. HIRE Immigrants Ottawa is the product of this coalition.

- HIRE Immigrants Ottawa works with employers in the region. It also works with other organizations across the city.

- Participants explained that there is a lot of collaboration between immigrant-serving agencies and community health centres in Ottawa; the latter collaborate amongst themselves through the Coalition of Community Health and Resource Centres of Ottawa (www.coalitionottawa.ca).

- The United Way also plays a role: it is a funder for many NGOs in the city. As a funder, UW has noted a strong gap or need in terms of capacity building among immigrant-serving agencies beyond service provision. The main challenges NGOs face are: (1) coordination of programs/services, (2) evaluation of programs/services (an area where the UW tries to help, but has met limited success due to lack of funding), and (3) capacity building. The representative of the UW believes that a project is needed to do research in this area but that funding is a major issue.

Profile of clients

- Ottawa has the largest rate of skilled migrants per capita in Canada. Although Canada’s migrants fall under the following categories: 60% skilled migrants, under 20% of refugees, and the rest made up of family reunification, students, temporary workers, etc.; the categories served by CIC are proportionally reversed: over 60% of refugees, 15-20% of skilled migrants, and the rest.
Clients come from all over the world, with dominant group being migrants from China, followed by India and the rest of the South Asian continent; the diversity of immigrants has increased in the past few years.

Participants suggested that clients shop around for services. Some even go to several immigrant serving agencies without disclosing the information that they receive services from more than one (they should receive services from one agency only according to provincial legislation). But service workers attend to their needs nonetheless.

**Differences in services on each side of the river**
Participants generally agreed that immigrant services are better developed in Ottawa than in Gatineau and that this difference is significant – i.e., services for immigrants in Gatineau are generally lacking and not well-developed/structured. They suggested that in Ottawa services are better developed as a result of collaborations (e.g. LASI World Skills) amongst immigrant serving agencies and sustained efforts to build a strong network of support for immigrants while complementing existing services (rather than duplicating).

**The border as barrier**
- Overall, it seems that the border acts like a barrier when it comes to immigrant services. This is mostly due to the existence of jurisdictional regulations and provincial legislations regarding the provision of settlement services: these services are only for those who reside in the province, whether Ontario or Québec.
- Participants acknowledged that they do not know one another (those in Gatineau) and that interaction is limited (they search information on the web only when they need it).
- Participants insisted that they "do not have the mandate to serve" immigrants from the other side of the river. Nevertheless, they confirmed that their organizations serve immigrants who live in Gatineau ("secret services" or unrecorded, undisclosed services). Similarly, they explained that they also provide ongoing attention and services to immigrants regardless of their status, including refugees and refugee claimants (who are not entitled to "settlement services") and those who have been in Canada for a long time and are no longer eligible for newcomer/settlement services (again, a form of "secret services"). In these cases, participants said they provide these "secret services" on the basis of humanitarian and compassionate principles.
- They strongly argued for the "need to combine the two units" (meaning the two sides of the border) and the "need to coordinate [services on] both sides" of the river.
- In particular, representatives of Hire Immigrants Ottawa stressed that the border complicates their work in finding employment for newcomers. This is especially the case given that the Federal Government is the largest employer in the region and is located on both sides of the river. They suggested that the area of employment would benefit most if the region became one jurisdiction.

**The border in migrants’ everyday lives**
- There was a certain level of debate with regard to the effects of the border on migrants’ everyday lives (and mobility).
According to some, there is a strong/clear, one-way movement from Gatineau to Ottawa. The major factors attracting immigrants to the Ottawa/ON side include: jobs/employment, (settlement) services, language (including for children’s education), and generally a better sense of inclusion (anecdotally).

Others, however, disagreed and argued that there also is a movement from Ottawa to Gatineau; in this case, the strongest factor of attraction is lower housing costs (both rental and ownership) and to a lesser extent cheaper groceries (this was a factor in everyday movement across the border).

Towards the end, it was suggested that many immigrants work in Ottawa but buy houses in Gatineau.

Immigrant geographies of settlement
- At the end of the focus group, it was suggested that there is no strong geographical pattern when it comes to immigrants’ distribution in Ottawa (and Gatineau); rather, immigrants seem to tend to be dispersed throughout the city. There was mention of the distribution of social housing being a factor in shaping immigrants’ distribution in Ottawa. Based on their own personal experiences (2 participants arrived in Montreal before coming to Ottawa), participants mentioned that some immigrants who arrive in Montreal decide to move to Ottawa (sometimes within a few months) mostly for linguistic reasons. Participants suggested that migrants who come to the National Capital Region have Ottawa as their destination, and not Gatineau.

4. Interviews with Organizational Representatives in Gatineau

Organizational representatives from Gatineau convened at the Université du Québec en Outaouais on June 5, 2009, from 14:00-16:00. Seven participants attended, including representatives from APO (Accueil-Parrainage Outaouais), L’Association de Colombians en Gatineau, Dépanneur Sylvestre, SITO (Service Integration Travail Outaouais), and la Ville de Gatineau. Dr’s. Luisa Veronis and Anne Gilbert facilitated the session in French, while Christine Mousseau took notes and undertook transcription. The following paragraphs summarize the comments made by representatives of organizations in Gatineau:

Services available to immigrants
Local organizations offer a wide range of services. These services are largely funded by Immigration Québec, and include reception on arrival, aid in finding employment, francization, etc. Service organizations often work in isolation; they are not networked with each other. Further, there is no one portal through which an immigrant may obtain information and orientation on arrival.

Collaborations with Ottawa
- Little collaboration exists, largely due to differences in service organization between Ontario and Québec. Those interviewed do not have counterparts in Ottawa with whom it is possible to develop partnerships.
- Some links exist with federal institutions, particularly in the field of employment.

Profile of immigrants
The number of immigrants who arrive in the region each year is rising sharply: from 1000 per year in
2001 to nearly 1,500 now. While in 2001, two thirds were refugees, this number has declined. Immigrants are educated (70% have a university degree), they find employment easily, and many disagree with the label “vulnerable population”.

The attraction of Ontario immigrants
It is believed that Gatineau attracts some immigrants who settled in Ontario, including the French, who had been misinformed about the role of French in the province.

Immigrant retention
- The Outaouais boasts a very high retention rate of immigrants compared to other regions of Québec. Organizations in Gatineau make every effort to encourage settlement and employment in Québec, though it does not actively prevent crossing over to Ottawa.

- Whether or not a group lives on both sides of the border is a factor in determining residential choice. For example, the high concentration of Somalis in Ottawa facilitates their settlement there.

- Those immigrants that do settle in the Outaouais mainly locate in Hull. Others locate in Gatineau. Recent immigrants to Aylmer are noticeably absent.

Issues of language
- New immigrants are obliged to learn French. However, there is a gap between immigrants who attend French classes and others (those who already know French on arrival), as regards to their capacity for integration. French classes offer more than language courses: they increase the capacity to communicate by sharing cultural codes and social mores.

- The need for knowledge of English to access employment was discussed: participants stressed the challenge of learning English, which is often difficult. Others disagreed, emphasizing that English classes are available when required.

The Québec model of integration
The Québécois philosophy supports integration through an intercultural as opposed to multicultural approach. This philosophy plays itself out through a number of practical avenues, including the desire to avoid the ghettoization of immigrant settlements (for example, the City will not support cooperative housing for Colombians). While some representatives perceive this approach to be much different than the one undertaken in Ontario, others insist that the two provinces share the same general objectives (such as economic participation). Québécois organizations try to avoid a certain vocabulary, such as “host society”, which encourages division and reinforces hierarchies.

The "mental map" of immigrants
- For the immigrants in the region, the border does not exist. They came to Canada without knowledge of inter-provincial divisions, and do not understand the provincial and municipal restraints placed on them. For them, Ottawa is a part of their living space: the border is both more porous and more artificial than for the native-born.

- The size of the metropolitan area and the fact that Ottawa is the capital of the country was a source of attraction for many. Many aspire to governmental work.

- The use of an address in Ontario is common in some contexts. The reverse is also true.
5. Chinese Immigrants and the Border

This section of the report provides a preliminary account and analysis of the everyday practices of Chinese immigrants in relation to the border. The Chinese are a recently established community in the capital region of Ottawa-Gatineau compared to other immigrant groups. A significant majority of the Chinese population resides in the Ontario side of the border, whereas only a small fraction (5%) lives on the Quebec side. Unlike other migrants to the region, many Chinese immigrated under the Skilled Worker category and often came with high levels of education and English proficiency.

As a relatively young and highly skilled immigrant community, the Chinese population offers an opportunity to better understand the everyday practices of newcomers who are professionals in this border region. Below, we briefly discuss the demographic characteristics of the Chinese population in the region, followed by a presentation of our hypotheses regarding how the border affects the group’s daily activities. The next section provides a synopsis of our findings from the focus group discussions conducted with Chinese immigrants living in Ottawa and Gatineau.

Population Characteristics of Chinese immigrants in Ottawa-Gatineau

Chinese immigrants are geographically concentrated on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River. According to the 2006 Census, about 95% of Chinese immigrants reside in Ottawa compared to 5% in Gatineau (see Table 5.1; see also map 5.1). On the Ottawa side, the Chinese population tends to concentrate predominantly in two distinct parts of the city: Chinatown, which is centrally located along Somerset Street West, and the suburb of Kanata.

Table 5.1: Population of Chinese Immigrants in Ottawa-Gatineau by region, Census 2006 (20% Sample)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ottawa-Gatineau</th>
<th>Ottawa</th>
<th>Gatineau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Chinese Immigrants over 15-years-old</td>
<td>13,410</td>
<td>12,740 (95.0%)</td>
<td>665 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period of Immigration</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2006</td>
<td>3580 (26.7%)</td>
<td>3190 (25.0%)</td>
<td>385 (57.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-2000</td>
<td>4565 (34.0%)</td>
<td>4460 (35.0%)</td>
<td>110 (16.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-1995</td>
<td>2225 (16.6%)</td>
<td>2140 (16.8%)</td>
<td>80 (12.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1991</td>
<td>3040 (22.7%)</td>
<td>2950 (23.2%)</td>
<td>85 (12.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor degree and above</td>
<td>7550 (56.3%)</td>
<td>7135 (56.0%)</td>
<td>415 (62.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location of study inside Canada</td>
<td>3285 (24.5%)</td>
<td>3125 (24.5%)</td>
<td>160 (24.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Knowledge of Official Languages</strong></td>
<td>(15235)</td>
<td>(14485)</td>
<td>(755)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>11535 (75.7%)</td>
<td>11080 (76.5%)</td>
<td>450 (59.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French only</td>
<td>100 (0.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>95 (12.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English and French</td>
<td>1605 (10.5%)</td>
<td>1495 (10.3%)</td>
<td>110 (14.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither English nor French</td>
<td>1995 (13.1%)</td>
<td>1900 (13.1%)</td>
<td>95 (12.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Rate</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td>59.7%</td>
<td>60.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average employment income</td>
<td>$37,926</td>
<td>$38,913</td>
<td>$20,728</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over 60% of the Chinese population immigrated after 1996 (see table 5.1) with another quarter arriving after 2001. This pattern is true for the Chinese population throughout the region as well as those residing on the Ottawa side. The pattern, however, is somewhat different for the 5% Chinese
immigrants who live in Gatineau side: the population is even more recent with almost 60% of them landing after 2001.

The socioeconomic conditions of Chinese immigrants vary between one side of the river and the other, but more so for a number of characteristics than others. In general, Chinese individuals who live in the capital region have relatively high levels of education – over 56% have at least a bachelor degree. This rate is only slightly higher (by 6%) for the Chinese on the Gatineau side compared to the Ottawa side. The proportion of Chinese who graduated from Canadian institutes is also similar at 24.5% and 24% for Ottawa and Gatineau respectively. Thus when it comes to education, location of study does not seem to make a significant difference among Chinese immigrants on either side of the river. Differences, however, are more significant when it comes to knowledge of official languages and employment status. There are more Chinese who speak English only in Ottawa (76.5%) than in Gatineau (59.6%); and while there are no Chinese who speak French only in Ottawa, the proportion of French only speaking Chinese is over 12% in Gatineau. Although in absolute numbers there are significantly more Chinese immigrants who speak both English and French on the Ottawa side, the proportion of the Chinese population that is bilingual is higher in Gatineau (14.6%) than in Ottawa (10.3%).

Next, interesting patterns emerge when looking at employment information. While the employment rate is comparable at 60.2% for the Chinese who live in Gatineau and 59.7% for those in Ottawa, there is a significant disparity in the group’s income across the border. Average employment income is about $20,000 for Chinese immigrants in Gatineau, and almost doubles that amount, just under $38,000, for the Chinese who live in Ottawa. These data indicate that in spite of similar levels of education the Chinese in Gatineau are less well off than those in Ottawa, a situation that may be related to the more significant
proportion of newcomers on the Quebec side of the border.

Local Chinese Institutions

The Chinese in Ottawa-Gatineau are supported by a wide variety of institutions including local media, social groups, educational organizations, and businesses. However, most of these institutions are located in Ottawa and are concentrated in the Chinatown area.

Local Chinese media, including various newspapers and an online community website, provide social and cultural information to the Chinese population in the area. There are five Chinese newspapers that serve the region weekly (*Canada China News, Health Times, Seven Days News, Chinese Canadian Community News,* and *Ottawa Weekend*). However, only one of them, *Health Times,* is distributed on both sides of the river. Beside newspapers, the most influential source of local Chinese media is the Ottawa Chinese Community website (CFC). The CFC is a private company started in 2000 that provides a wide range of information to residents including community news, social events, and employment information. The site received over 11,500 visitors daily in 2009: one in three Chinese in Ottawa-Gatineau visit this site daily.

There are also a variety of Chinese social organizations that service Chinese immigrants and support Chinese culture throughout the region. These groups include various religious organizations (The International Buddhist Progress Society of Ottawa, Yuanheng Tibetan Buddhist Group, The Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa, etc), as well as traditional dancing schools. All of these social groups and organizations are located in Ottawa.

Educational organizations, often among the most important social institutions for Chinese immigrants, are very active in promoting Chinese traditions and culture throughout the region. There are over 30 different educational organizations in Ottawa-Gatineau, including eight Mandarin daycares (mostly located in Barrhaven and Kanata areas), sixteen arts and music schools (teaching courses including traditional calligraphy, Chinese water color painting, lion dance, and Chinese ancient musical instruments such as koto and cymbalo), and some other cultural institutions (such as the Daido Institute and George Education). Almost all of these institutions are located in Ottawa. Only one music school, *Music Lessons,* presents in Gatineau.

Chinese immigrants also benefit from the large number of Chinese businesses in the region. These include restaurants, grocery stores, Chinese book stores, traditional Chinese herbal medicine stores and health care services and travel agencies (see Appendix 11-C). These businesses and services are predominantly located in the ‘Chinatown’ area of Ottawa along the Somerset St. West.

A number of festivals and community events also increase the visibility of Chinese community in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. The most prominent among these is the Chinese Dragon Boat Race Festival, held every June at Mooney’s Bay in Ottawa. Other cultural festivals include the Chinese New Year Parade (in January or February), and the Chinese parade during the Asian Festival in Chinatown (in October). All of these public festivals are held in Ottawa.

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2 A list of local Chinese institutions is available online at www.comefromchina.com/yp.
3 Website: www.comefromchina.com
4 Personal telephone contact with Riven Zhang, the webmaster of CFC, on Nov. 18th, 2009.
6. Hypotheses

We have identified five key factors that influence the settlement patterns of recently arrived Chinese immigrants in the Ottawa-Gatineau region.

**Hypothesis 1: Availability of services**
Recent Chinese newcomers are more likely to settle in Ottawa due to the existence of a wide range of services, including settlement services, LINC (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada) and ESL (English as Second Language) classes, as well as a variety of local Chinese institutions, organizations and community services, and businesses.

**Hypothesis 2: Knowledge of official languages**
Recent Chinese immigrants are more likely to settle in Ottawa given that English usually is their second language. However, some Chinese immigrants prefer having their children learn French and become bilingual in both official languages, in which case they settle on the Gatineau side.

**Hypothesis 3: Employment opportunities**
Employment opportunities play an important role in attracting recently arrived Chinese immigrants. Ottawa provides more employment opportunities for newcomers, including both highly skilled professional jobs (high-tech and government positions) and lower-skilled, service oriented jobs.

**Hypothesis 4: Housing affordability**
Recent Chinese immigrants’ settlement patterns on the Gatineau side can be explained by housing affordability and type.

**Hypothesis 5: Life-stages**
We have identified changing needs depending on the life stage as an important factor to explain the settlement decisions and everyday practices of the Chinese population in relation to the border. Unlike Canadians who are born in the region, Chinese newcomers have less of a sense of belonging to either side of the border and therefore may be more willing to move across the border to accommodate their needs during different stages of their lives. We found that Chinese immigrants are taking full advantage of living in the region of the National Capital region by moving across the border depending on their family structures and economic conditions at different stages of their lives and thus benefit from the distinct social policies and systems offered on each side of the river.

- **Advantages of living in Gatineau:** better social welfare system and income tax for families with children under 5-years old, cheaper daycare cost, affordable rental housing for university and college students, more spacious housing for larger families, and lower real estate value.
- **Advantages of living in Ottawa:** relative low income tax (especially for high income class), more educational institutions (universities) for immigrant children, more employment opportunities for graduates

7. Discussions with Chinese Immigrants in Downtown Ottawa

On August 6, 2009 (from 7 pm to 9 pm), we held a group discussion with Chinese currently living in downtown Ottawa. This discussion took place at the University of Ottawa. It was facilitated in Mandarin by Jing Feng who have transcribed and translated the interviews. Dr. Brian Ray, a professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa, also attended the discussion.
Individuals were recruited through ads put up on the local Chinese community website CFC and through personal contacts. Eleven participants attended this discussion. Four of them worked for the federal government; they lived downtown Ottawa and worked in Gatineau. Most of the participants have been in Ottawa for over five years, with the exception of a couple who had moved from Toronto last year. One woman had experiences of living on both sides of the border. All participants in this group are in their 30s and 40s.

One or two cities, the border, and differences
More than half of the participants thought that Ottawa and Gatineau constitute two cities, mainly due to differences in language, culture (French Canadian vs. English Canadian), natural environment (e.g. Gatineau park, ‘Ottawa is more flat, and Gatineau is more hilly’), and public transportation (e.g. different bus system, lack of bridges between two regions).

Affinity with individuals from one side or the other
At the beginning of the discussion, participants felt a greater affinity with people from Ottawa due to language (English) convenience. However, some participants pointed out that French culture is more similar to Chinese culture; French Canadians are more “open”. Participants eventually concluded that English Canadians are nice and polite, but that it is easier to develop long-term friendships with French Canadians.

Differences between the two sides
In general, participants agreed that there are some differences between their neighborhoods and other parts of the city. Compared to Ottawa, participants felt that Gatineau looks more like the countryside with less commercial development (except for a few government buildings along the river). Most participants live downtown, which they felt was the most convenient location for their purposes. They mentioned that most workplaces, stores, and recreational spaces can be accessed within a ten-minute drive.

Everyday needs and the neighbourhood
Participants found their neighborhoods very convenient in terms of employment, shopping, community activities, and recreational space. However, they found health care services difficult to access. The main reasons for participants to cross the river included employment (with the federal government), to enjoy recreational activities (e.g. Gatineau Park, Lac Leamy Casino), and to shop for beer and wine.

Transportation
Participants stated that if there were more bridges access the river or a subway under the river, they might think of moving to the other side. Although most of the participants have their own cars, a general agreement was formed: ‘it would be more convenient for people who live in Ottawa and work in Gatineau if public transportation was improved.’

Social connections
Most participants had more Chinese friends than Canadian friends. Understandably, married individuals with families had fewer friends and social connections. Others said that it is difficult to make friends (even among Chinese) in Ottawa compared to their experiences in China.
Identity and belonging
Participants expressed a great sense of belonging among the Chinese. They identified themselves by the common culture they share and the language they use (this opinion was also shared by the one Cantonese-speaking participant). Generally, participants were familiar with some Chinese people in Gatineau, and did not perceive differences between them and Chinese living in Ottawa. The opinion expressed was, “we are all Chinese from China; we have no differences”. One third of participants did not feel as though they were in either minority or majority positions as compared to “mainstream society”.

8. Discussions with Chinese Immigrants in Kanata
On August 14th, 2009 (from 7 pm to 9:30pm), we held a discussion with Chinese immigrants who currently live in the Kanata area of Ottawa. This discussion took place at Councillor Feltmate's Ward Office in Kanata. It was facilitated in Mandarin by Jing Feng who have transcribed and translated the interviews. Dr. Brian Ray, a professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa, also attended the discussion.

Individuals were recruited through ads put up on the local Chinese community website CFC, through an advertisement in Health Times (a Chinese newspaper) and through personal contacts. Eight participants attended this discussion. Half of the participants had been living in Ottawa for more than five years; the other half were recent immigrants who settled in Kanata immediately after they arrived. Three of these individuals worked in the high-tech sector in Kanata. Two participants worked for the federal government, living in Kanata and commuting to downtown Ottawa. Most participants are in this group are in their 30s and 40s, except two of them are recent graduates from universities.

One or two cities and the border
Participants expressed the idea that Ottawa and Gatineau constitute two separate cities. They noted that linguistic and cultural differences are the major distinctions between the two regions. Moreover, participants mentioned the fact of minimal physical connections between the two sides of the river, which makes them feel the two regions are completely separate.

Differences between the two sides
The discussion highlighted linguistic, cultural, and geographical differences between the two sides of the river. Traffic signs were a main distinction to participants, who noted that this is the first linguistic difference that they visibly approach on crossing the river. They also noted that it is difficult to communicate in English on the other side of the border. Unlike participants in the first discussion group, these individuals felt that French Canadians are more reserved than the English. They believed that this difference generally reflected cultural distinctions between French and English. Lastly, participants noted that physically, Gatineau looks different from Ottawa. Participants perceived that more significant green spaces and less urbanized areas in Gatineau were the main differences.

Everyday needs and the neighbourhood
Participants found that it is fairly convenient to live in the Kanata area, since shopping areas and schools are moderately concentrated and well distributed. In particular, two families were attracted to a high school in the area. However, participants brought up the difficulties in finding Chinese grocery stores and restaurants in Kanata; they have to travel the long distance to the downtown area for
Chinese food. Moreover, participants found a great degree of difficulty in accessing hospitals. The only reason given for participants to cross the river was for recreational purposes; Gatineau Park and the Casino were the main attractions.

**Social connections**
Participants expressed the idea that they do not have many social connections in Ottawa. Since these participants seldom joined social groups, their friends were mostly made through connections with Chinese colleagues and were mainly concentrated in the Kanata and Barrhaven areas. Very few of them, who had lived in downtown Ottawa before moved to Kanata, have social connections with their old neighbor and friend in the downtown area. Only two participants identified colleagues or relatives living in Gatineau.

**Identity and belonging**
Participants expressed a strong identity as Chinese individuals who belonged to the Chinese community in Kanata. Perhaps due to the density of highly skilled Chinese immigrants who work in the IT industry in Kanata, participants felt a high degree of economic superiority to the Chinese in other areas of the National Capital Region. Participants expressed the perception that rich Chinese immigrants live on the Ottawa side, particularly in the Kanata and Barrhaven areas, whereas relatively poorer Chinese immigrants live in Gatineau. One woman mentioned that Chinese immigrants are very smart: moving back and forth across the river and taking advantage of the opportunities on both sides.

9. **Discussions with Chinese Immigrants in Gatineau**

On August 27, 2009 (from 7 pm to 10:20 pm), we held a focus group discussion with Chinese immigrants currently living in Gatineau. This discussion took place at the University of Ottawa. It was facilitated in Mandarin by Jing Feng who have transcribed and translated the interviews. Dr. Brian Ray, a professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa, also attended the discussion.

Individuals were recruited through ads put up on the local Chinese community website CFC and an advertisement in *Health Times*, a local Chinese paper. Eight participants attended this discussion. Most of them had been living in Gatineau for less than five years. Six participants worked on the Ottawa side. One participant was self-employed and one was unemployed. Only one participant could speak French, the rest of the participants could not. All of them had lived in Ottawa for varying periods of time before moving to Gatineau.

**One or two cities and the border**
Participants generally felt that Ottawa and Gatineau constitute one entire city. They expressed the opinion that levels of bilingualism are quite high among French Canadians living in Hull. Participants generally felt comfortable communicating in English on the Gatineau side. Moreover, they did not feel that the border impacted much on their daily activities. They found it very convenient to cross the river, since most of them lived in Hull, close to the river, and worked in downtown Ottawa. To them, Gatineau and Ottawa were more like two districts in one city.

**Differences between the two sides**
Although most of the participants felt that Gatineau and Ottawa constitute one city, they still identified some differences that distinguished the two. The most notable among these are the natural green
spaces in Quebec. Participants mentioned not only Gatineau Park, but also the spacious lots they had around their houses, which they felt made their lives in Gatineau more enjoyable. They also pointed out some of the advantages of living in Gatineau. These included cheaper housing and better educational opportunities for their children. However, participants also mentioned high taxes, which was one factor many seriously considered before deciding to move.

**Everyday needs and the neighbourhood**
Participants noted that there are more job opportunities for Chinese immigrants who only speak English in Ottawa; many participants need to travel across the border for employment purposes. In addition, participants expressed the concern that there is no Chinese grocery store in Gatineau; they have to go to Chinatown for shopping. Some participants also mentioned that they prefer Ontario healthcare services to Quebec ones and actually use healthcare facilities in the Ottawa side for meeting their needs. These individuals noted that this is largely a reflection of preference of language.

**Social connections**
Participants’ social connections covered both side of the river. Although the majority of participants’ friends were Chinese, many also enjoyed friendships with French and Latin American neighbors. In general, participants' social networks were more diverse than those of their Ontarian counterparts.

**Identity and belonging**
Participants strongly identified themselves as ‘Chinese’ and expressed the opinion that there are no differences between Chinese immigrants living on either side of the border. However, they also mentioned their awareness of rich high-tech Chinese immigrants living in Kanata and recent Chinese immigrants and students living in Gatineau.

**10. Synthesis and Conclusions**
For Chinese immigrants in Ottawa-Gatineau, the border not only divides the region of the National Capital into two distinct culture and language systems, but also brings these two different systems together into one metropolitan area. Participants stressed their preference for living on the border region and their willingness to move back and forth depending on their socioeconomic conditions. Chinese newcomers take advantage of living on both sides of the river and seek maximum benefits of living in the National Capital.

Individuals from each of the three focus groups brought up the fact that they enjoy better the settlement services available on the Ontario side; they also find it more convenient to settle and begin their new lives in Ottawa because of the existence of a well-established Chinese community. However, settlement decisions may change among Chinese individuals due to changes in family structures, employment arrangements, and housing affordability.

In general, participants strongly identified as “Chinese.” Nevertheless, clear class distinctions are evident across the border with a divide described as “rich high-tech Chinese immigrants living in Kanata, and newcomers and students living in Gatineau.” In other words, the border also functions as a class barrier when it comes to the Chinese community in the region of the National Capital.
11. Appendices

A. Recruitment Material

Individuals were recruited through an ad which was posted up on the local Chinese community website CFC, through an advertisement in *Health Times* (a Chinese newspaper), through personal contacts, and posters placed in public locations including community library in Kanata and grocery stores in Chinatown.

Poster (in Chinese):
B. Interview Guide

An interview guide was used during the focus groups in order to structure the discussions. It was divided into three themes: "Imagining the City", "Meeting Everyday Needs", and "Social Connections". Each group was asked the same general questions; whether or not and which "additional" questions were asked varied according to the topics individuals within the groups discussed. It is included below.

Table B: Interview Guide for Discussions with Community Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme: Imagining the City:城市印象</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5 minutes | I'd like to invite each of you to introduce yourselves, and share with others why you were interested in participating in this Focus Group.  
首先我想先请大家做一下自我介绍，您叫什么名字，什么时候来到渥太华的，您的工作是什么？您有家人也住在渥太华么？在现在住的地方居住了多久？有没有车？如果没有车，主要的交通工具是什么？ 还有就是您为什么对此次活动感兴趣。 |
### Chinese Immigrants and the Border

| 10 minutes | 第一个题目：城市印象  
Now, I'd like us to each reflect a little. Do you feel that Ottawa and Gatineau constitute one or two cities?  
在开始我们今天的讨论之前，我想先问问大家是如何看待Ottawa和Gatineau地区的？在你看来，它们是同一个城市，还是两个城市？  

**Additional另外：**  
- In general, do you feel a greater affinity with individuals from one side or the other?  
总体上说，你觉得您和哪边的人更容易沟通/更相像，或者说是那边的人对你更有吸引力？

| 30 minutes | Do you experience any differences, or perceive of differences, when you are walking or driving down a street in your neighbourhood compared to others in Ottawa (or in Gatineau / Western Quebec), or others on the opposite side of the River?  
您感觉渥太华的其他街区, 或河的另一边（包括Gatineau）与您所居住的街区有什么不同呢? 或有什么感觉上的差别?  

**Additional另外：**  
- Do you experience a greater sense of ease or unease from one neighbourhood to another? Where? 您有没有觉得在这座城市的某个地方感觉特别方便，或特别不方便么？在哪里呢？  
- Do you feel more 'in place' or 'out of place' from one location to another? 您有没有感觉在哪里居住的更舒服，或是在有些地方居住的不舒服/不习惯  
- Do you feel 'at home' on either side of the river? 您在渥太华河的两岸都有家的感觉么？

| 15 minutes | I'd like each of us to imagine for a moment that Ottawa and Gatineau constitute only one city – and that the entire city is located in one province. What would be the implications of this?  
我让在座的各位都想象一下，如果Ottawa和Gatineau是在同一个省的一个城市，这样对您的生活会有什么样的影响呢？  

**Additional另外：**  
- Implications for your sense of identity….对您对自我的认同有什么影响？

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### Theme: Meeting Everyday Needs 每日生活所需

| 15 minutes | Where you live, do you have access to what you need or want? More specifically, are the services, jobs, shopping, community groups, churches, or other components of your everyday life available in your neighbourhood? Or, do you generally find these things elsewhere in the city or on the other side of the River?  
您在哪里住？您通常在您居住的地方可以获得您每日的生活所需么？更具体地说，在您居住的地区是否有您日常所需的服务、工作、购物场所、社区团体、教堂等设施？换一种说法，是否有些生活所需要在城市的其他地方，或是河的另一岸才能得到？  

**Additional另外：**  
- Are these provisions similar from one side of the river to the other? 您觉得河两岸的
**Chinese Immigrants and the Border**

| 15 minutes | Individuals may cross the border for different purposes, such as to: go to work, to visit friends, to access community or social services, to pursue recreational opportunities, to go shopping, for entertainment, for other reasons. What are some reasons you cross the border? Why do you cross the river for these things?  
  
  5 minutes | Are there advantages or disadvantages arising from living on the side that you do? 和河的另一岸相比较，在您所居住的这一带，您觉得有什么优势或劣势么？  
  
  5 minutes | You have children? Have you considered to two education system the distinction to children’s influence?  
  
  5 minutes | What keeps you on the side you live on now?  
  
  5 minutes | Before moving on, are there any additional thoughts you really need or want to get out around these issues? In your view, why would someone move from one side of the river to the other? In your view, why would someone move from one side of the river to the other?  
  
**Theme: Social Connections 社会关系**

| 15 minutes | I'd like you to talk a little bit about where your social ties are predominantly located. I'm thinking about relationships with friends, community groups, church groups, book clubs, fitness groups, etc. 我想请您聊一聊您的社会关系网主要在哪里？像是朋友圈、社区团体，教会团体，图书俱乐部，健身团体等。  
  
  15 minutes | Are these ties stronger in one part of the city than another? These social relationships in one part of the city stronger than another?  
  
  15 minutes | Are these ties stronger on one side of the border? These social relationships on one side of the border stronger than the other side?  
  
  15 minutes | Before moving on, are there any additional thoughts you really need or want to get out around these issues? In your view, why would someone move from one side of the river to the other?
Chinese Immigrants and the Border

- If you were to draw a map of your various connections within the Region overall, where would you place the most dots? If you were to draw a map of your various connections within the Region overall, where would you place the most dots? If you were to draw a map of your various connections within the Region overall, where would you place the most dots? If you were to draw a map of your various connections within the Region overall, where would you place the most dots? If you were to draw a map of your various connections within the Region overall, where would you place the most dots? If you were to draw a map of your various connections within the Region overall, where would you place the most dots? If you were to draw a map of your various connections within the Region overall, where would you place the most dots? If you were to draw a map of your various connections within the Region overall, where would you place the most dots?

15 minutes

I'd like to talk a bit about who you are, how you identify yourself, and how you identify the group to which you feel a 'sense of belonging.' What would be this/these identity/identities?

Additional:
- Do you feel these identity groups are coherent throughout the region of the national capital? Do you feel these identity groups are coherent throughout the region of the national capital? Do you feel these identity groups are coherent throughout the region of the national capital? Do you feel these identity groups are coherent throughout the region of the national capital? Do you feel these identity groups are coherent throughout the region of the national capital? Do you feel these identity groups are coherent throughout the region of the national capital? Do you feel these identity groups are coherent throughout the region of the national capital? Do you feel these identity groups are coherent throughout the region of the national capital?
- Do you feel some identity groups are dominant on one side of the river or the other? Do you feel some identity groups are dominant on one side of the river or the other? Do you feel some identity groups are dominant on one side of the river or the other? Do you feel some identity groups are dominant on one side of the river or the other? Do you feel some identity groups are dominant on one side of the river or the other? Do you feel some identity groups are dominant on one side of the river or the other? Do you feel some identity groups are dominant on one side of the river or the other? Do you feel some identity groups are dominant on one side of the river or the other?
- Does this have an impact on your choice of place of residence or on what you think about the other side of the river? Does this have an impact on your choice of place of residence or on what you think about the other side of the river? Does this have an impact on your choice of place of residence or on what you think about the other side of the river? Does this have an impact on your choice of place of residence or on what you think about the other side of the river? Does this have an impact on your choice of place of residence or on what you think about the other side of the river? Does this have an impact on your choice of place of residence or on what you think about the other side of the river? Does this have an impact on your choice of place of residence or on what you think about the other side of the river? Does this have an impact on your choice of place of residence or on what you think about the other side of the river?
- You recognize居住在 Gatineau 的中国朋友么？
- Are there parts of the city where you feel in a more minority position? In a majority position? Does the border have an impact on your feeling in a position of majority or minority? Are there parts of the city where you feel in a more minority position? In a majority position? Does the border have an impact on your feeling in a position of majority or minority? Are there parts of the city where you feel in a more minority position? In a majority position? Does the border have an impact on your feeling in a position of majority or minority? Are there parts of the city where you feel in a more minority position? In a majority position? Does the border have an impact on your feeling in a position of majority or minority?
- Are there ways, on a daily basis, in which you are made aware of living on the border? Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent. Are there ways, on a daily basis, in which you are made aware of living on the border? Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent. Are there ways, on a daily basis, in which you are made aware of living on the border? Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent. Are there ways, on a daily basis, in which you are made aware of living on the border? Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent. Are there ways, on a daily basis, in which you are made aware of living on the border? Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent. Are there ways, on a daily basis, in which you are made aware of living on the border? Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent. Are there ways, on a daily basis, in which you are made aware of living on the border? Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent. Are there ways, on a daily basis, in which you are made aware of living on the border? Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent.
- What in your everyday landscape / travels confirms your identity?

C. List of Chinese Businesses in the Ottawa-Gatineau Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Restaurants</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Phone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>哈哈卡拉OK娱乐城</td>
<td>Haha Karaoke, 1220 Old Innes Rd.</td>
<td>(613)746-8181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>梅园酒家</td>
<td>May’s Garden, 122 Preston St.</td>
<td>(613)234-6437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>聚香园</td>
<td>Ju Xiang Yuan, 641 Somerset St W</td>
<td>(613)321-3669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>海皇鱼翅海鲜家</td>
<td>Haihuang Restaurant, 1558 Merivale Rd</td>
<td>(613)228-8819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>小肥羊</td>
<td>Little Fat Sheep, 1344 Bank St.</td>
<td>(613)248-3388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>皇朝酒楼</td>
<td>Huangchao Restaurant, 1947 Bank St.</td>
<td>(613)521-3868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>遠百利自助餐</td>
<td>Jade Buffet, 33 Selkirk St.</td>
<td>(613)749-2088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>珍宝餐馆</td>
<td>Zhenbao Restaurant, 2668 Innes Road</td>
<td>(613)837-3650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>永丰鼎盛冻点心厂</td>
<td>Dingfeng Dimsun, 628 somerset St. W</td>
<td>(613)233-0660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bubblicity Tea Shop</td>
<td>Bubblicity Tea Shop, 730 somerset St. W</td>
<td>(613)230-8833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>千岛料理</td>
<td>1000 Sushi, 1696 Carling Ave</td>
<td>(613)722-3803</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chinese Immigrants and the Border

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Restaurant</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Phone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yangtze Restaurant</td>
<td>700 Somerset St. W</td>
<td>(613)236-0555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Ming Lou</td>
<td>1547 Merivale Road</td>
<td>(613)228-0840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jing Sheng</td>
<td>939 Somerset St W</td>
<td>(613)236-1118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu Cheng</td>
<td>678 Somerset St. W</td>
<td>(613)233-8818</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Grocery stores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Phone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kowloon Market</td>
<td>712 Somerset St. W</td>
<td>(613)233-1108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168 Market</td>
<td>1050 Somerset St. W</td>
<td>(613)729-8895</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chinese book store

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Phone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. P. Capital Book Store</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Traditional Chinese herbal medicine stores and health care services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clinic/Doctor</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Phone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>华夏中医医疗中心</td>
<td>286 Woodfield Dr. Nepean</td>
<td>(613)727-3666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>润京中医药中心</td>
<td>50 Mattamy Place, Nepean</td>
<td>(613)225-1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AADC中医针灸诊所</td>
<td>1332 Cahill Dr. South keys</td>
<td>(613)797-8383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>李群牙医</td>
<td>62-E Stonehaven Dr. Bridlewood, Kanata</td>
<td>(613)270-0006</td>
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<tr>
<td>真光眼镜</td>
<td>752 Somerset St. West</td>
<td>(613)234-8188</td>
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<td>郑四勤牙医</td>
<td>824 Torsa CRT.Ottawa</td>
<td>(613)596-6494</td>
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<td>冷晓春中医针灸诊所</td>
<td>780 Baseline Rd</td>
<td>(613)225-3564</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Ben Fong 牙医</td>
<td>308 Palladium Drive, Suite 101</td>
<td>(613)592-8838</td>
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<tr>
<td>中医针灸推拿</td>
<td>1670 Heron Rd. Unit 41</td>
<td>(613)737-7321</td>
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<td>中医针灸推拿</td>
<td>48 Centrepointe Drive</td>
<td>(613)224-3300</td>
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<tr>
<td>安信药房</td>
<td>89 Richmond Road</td>
<td>(613)729-9023</td>
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<tr>
<td>康宁药房</td>
<td>71 Willow Street</td>
<td>(613)230-4866</td>
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<td>王悦怡牙科医生</td>
<td>708A Somerset St.W</td>
<td>(613)234-7011</td>
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<td>神农参茸药行</td>
<td>1897 Baseline Rd</td>
<td>(613)723-7872</td>
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<td>Natural Path Health Clinic(新医诊所)</td>
<td>883 Somerset St.W</td>
<td>(613)233-1098</td>
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<td>刘惠针灸推拿诊所</td>
<td>1370 Laurier St</td>
<td>(613)446-0871</td>
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<td>平发利参茸中药店</td>
<td>1534 Baseline Rd</td>
<td>(613)228-8764</td>
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<td>京都国医馆</td>
<td>719 Somerset St W</td>
<td>(613)237-2719</td>
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<td>李天耀假牙诊所</td>
<td>62 Adeline St</td>
<td>(613)862-6651</td>
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<td>Asian Health Centre (亚洲健康中心)</td>
<td>1175 Wellington St.</td>
<td>(613)722-5962</td>
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<td>亚洲自然疗法中心</td>
<td>256 Bank/Gloucester</td>
<td>(613)236-7587</td>
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<tr>
<td>康颜中医美容</td>
<td>31 Thornbury Cres</td>
<td>(613)225-1666</td>
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### Travel agencies

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<th>Agency</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mid Earth Travel</td>
<td>738 Bronson Ave</td>
<td>(613)234-7072</td>
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<td>Sunny Views Holiday</td>
<td>708 Somerset St.</td>
<td>(613)237-8688</td>
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<td>Tinbo Holidays</td>
<td>725 Somerset St. W</td>
<td>(613)238-7093</td>
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References


Census Canada, 2006. Place of Birth (33), Period of Immigration (9), Sex (3) and Age Groups (10) for the Immigrant Population Data (table). Topic-based Tabulations: Immigration and Citizenship. Ottawa.


