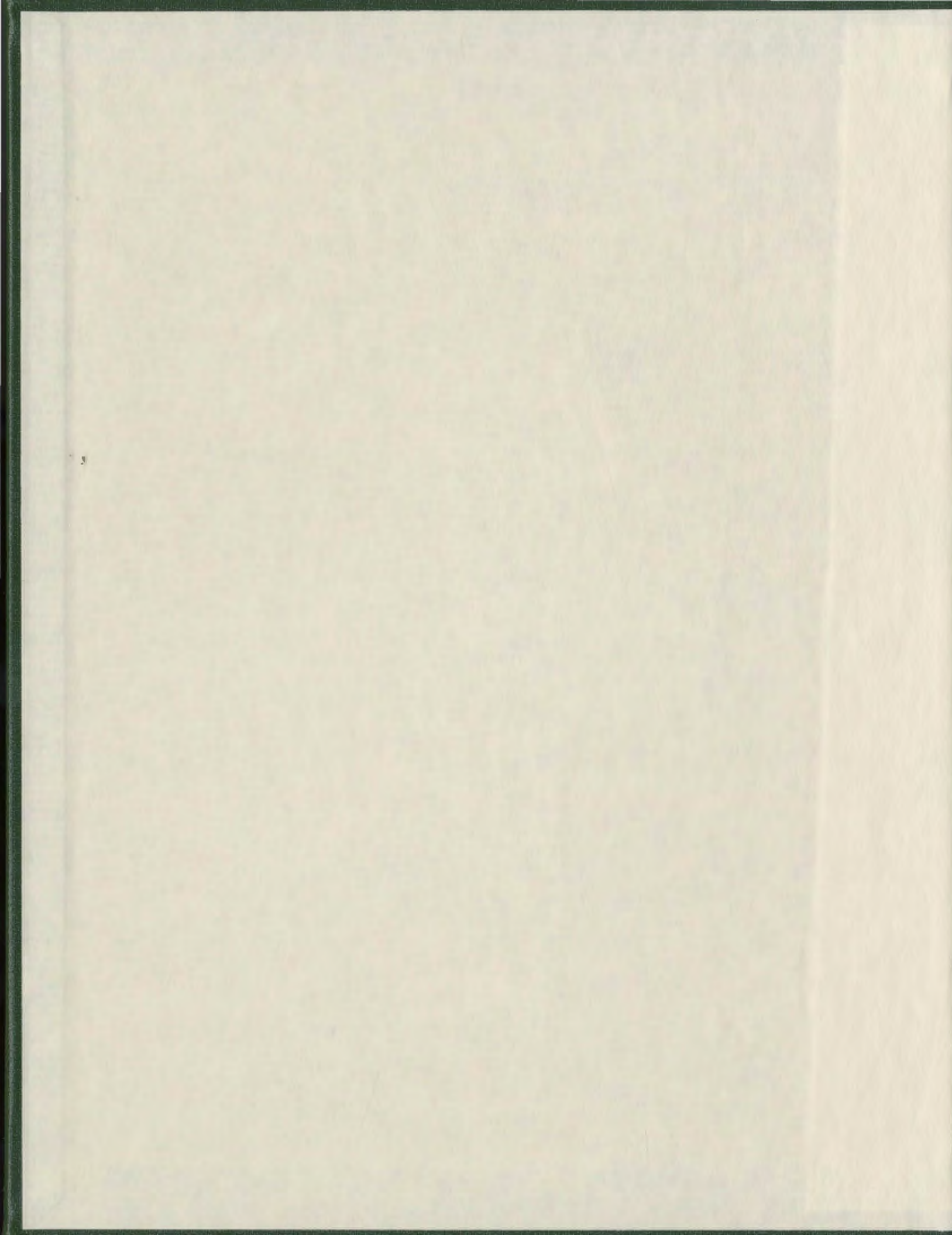


THE EVOLUTION OF SETTLEMENT SERVICES AND
EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS OFFERED BY THE
ASSOCIATION FOR NEW CANADIANS:
1979 TO 2011

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**The Evolution of Settlement Services and Educational Programs
Offered by the Association for New Canadians: 1979 to 2011**

by

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Abstract

Research on immigrants and refugees in Canada has focused mainly on immigration, immigration policy, and settlement sector developments, with a dearth of studies on settlement service agencies. This study focused on the genesis and evolution of one service provider in Newfoundland and Labrador. The purpose of this research was to explore the efforts of this organization to assist with settlement and integration. Three aspects of settlement were explored: settlement services, language education, and labour market integration. This qualitative research used a case study methodology. Data was generated through data analysis and semi-structured interviews. The study provides information about and insight into an organization that has not been previously documented or fully recognized. It also forefronts considerations for the provision of ongoing and future programs and services. This research has important considerations for similar organizations, as well as for policymakers, educators and researchers.

Key Words: Refugees, Immigrants, Settlement Services, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada, Association for New Canadians, Newfoundland and Labrador.

I dedicate this to my son, Eoin, and my daughter, Maria who are an inspiration in all that I do. I love you both dearly.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
Timeline	x
List of Acronyms	xi
Glossary of Terms	xv

Chapter One

Introduction	1
Locating the Author	4
Purpose of Research	4
Significance of the Study	6
Research Questions	7
Significance of the Problem	7
Limitations of the study.....	8
Outline of Chapters	8

Chapter Two

Methodology	10
Introduction.....	10
Researcher Role	12
Ethical Considerations	13
Sample Selection	14
Data collection methods	15

Data Analysis.....	17
Trustworthiness.....	18
Biographical Connection	19
Timeline.....	20

Chapter Three

Historical Context and Overview

Introduction.....	21
Background.....	21
Early Settlement services in Canada.....	22
Newfoundland and Labrador	23
Post World War II: Formal Settlement Services	25
Development of Settlement Services.....	27
Change in Direction of Settlement Services.....	28
Major Changes in the Development of the Settlement Sector.....	29
Immigration Plan: 1991-1995.....	31
Government Involvement: Federal Provincial and Municipal	34
Modernization of Settlement of Sector	35
Conclusion	35

Chapter Four

Settlement

Introduction.....	37
Preamble	38

Historical Background	39
Canada and the Impact of the Vietnam War.....	42
Settlement Services: The Beginning.....	44
Volunteer Organization	46
Change in Direction.....	48
Changing cliental Refugee Claimants	50
Provincial Context: Economic Conditions	55
Economic Migrants or Political Refugees	57
A Different Group.....	59
Expansion of the Organization	61
Volunteers.....	65
Restructuring: Government Assisted Refugees	67
Clientele: 1979-2011.....	73
GARS: a changing population.....	75
Changes in Settlement Services/Settlement Structure.....	77
Programs and Services.....	80
Immigration: Provincial Context	81
Volunteers.....	83

Chapter Five

Language

Introduction.....	85
Federally Funded Language Programs: An Overview	85
LINC Program: Overview.....	89

Language programs in Newfoundland and Labrador	90
Developments in the Field of Second Language Education	93
LINC: Program Development	99
Expansion of the LINC program in Newfoundland and Labrador	102
Formalized Assessment/ Placement.....	105
Additional Language Services	108
Curriculum: adaptations at the local level	109
Language Learning: The Implications.....	117
Conclusion	121

Chapter 6

Employment

Introduction.....	123
Employment Services: The Beginning	123
Expansion of Programs and Services	125
Integrated Service Delivery	133
Conclusion	138

Chapter 7

Recommendations

Introduction.....	139
Immigrants	
Seniors	141
Employment.....	142

Credentials: Recognition/equivalency	143
Education	144
Community involvement	145
Women.....	147
Pre-arrival information	149
Changing Cliental: Different Needs	
Healthcare	150
Mental Health Care	153
Personnel	
LINC resources.....	154
Professional Development	156
Professionalism.....	158
Organization	
Policies and Procedures	161
Future Directions/Considerations	162
Long Term Funding.....	166
Issues for Further Research.....	168
References	170
Appendix A: Letter of Consent-Organization	188
Appendix B: Recruitment Letter - Participants	190
Appendix C: Informed Consent	191

Appendix D: Interview Protocol.....	197
Appendix E: Association for New Canadians: Locations - 1979-2011	199
Appendix F: Infrastructure	200
Appendix G: Multiculturalism Policy: Newfoundland and Labrador	201

Timeline

- 1979:** Founding of Friends of the Refugees in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador.
- 1981:** Name changed to Association for New Canadians (ANC).
- Early-mid-80s:** Increased numbers of refugee claimants defecting in Gander, NL.
- 1986:** Introduction of the pilot program, Settlement Language Training Program (SLTP). The ANC receives funding to offer this program.
- 1986:** Childminding program is created to offer childcare for students enrolled in SLTP.
- 1990:** Numbers of refugee claimants reach "crisis" proportions.
- 1990:** Visa Regulation instituted on flights travelling through Canada.
- 1992:** Full-time temporary worker in Gander to work with refugee claimants.
- Early 90s:** Significant expansion of the organization as a result of the increased numbers of refugee claimants needing service.
- 1990:** SLTP becomes regular program and name is changed to Settlement Language Program (SLP).
- 1992:** Introduction of Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program at levels 1-3. ANC obtains contract to offer LINC classes at three levels.
- 1992:** LINC childminding program provides childminding services for students enrolled in LINC program.
- 1993:** Introduction of Labour Market Language Training (LMLT). Previous to this, small contracts for Job Finding Clubs.
- 1996:** New Employment Initiative to deal with increased numbers of immigrants seeking employment- Pre-Employment Readiness Program.
- 1996:** Introduction of Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB).
- 1997:** Introduction of levels four and five of LINC.

- 1998:** ANC establishes the Coordinating Committee on Newcomer Integration (CCNI)
- 2000:** ANC offers language classes at level four.
- 2000:** ANC offers literacy class.
- 2001:** ANC offers language classes at level five.
- 2004:** AXIS Career Services Divisions of the ANC – a rebranding and new strategic direction.
- 2005:** Consultations began to establish immigration policy for NL.
- 2006:** Provincial Government began publication of *The Newcomer*, a newsletter on immigration.
- 2006:** Establishment of two childcare centres at the ANC. Former LINC childminding centre is divided and International Friends registered daycare is created.
- 2007:** Addition of two more literacy level classes.
- 2007:** Provincial government launched a provincial immigration strategy.
- 2008:** Opening of the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism.

List of Acronyms

AAP	Adjustment Assistance Program
ACSEI	Alliance Canadienne du Sector de l'Établissement
ANC	Association for New Canadians
ARAIISA	Atlantic Region Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies
AXIS	Acquiring Experience Integrating Skills
CAELA	Centre for Adult English Language Acquisition
CALL	Computer Assisted Language Learning
CTF	Canadian Teachers Federation
CCEP	Community Career and Employment Partnership Program
CCLB	Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks
CCNI	Coordinating Committee on Newcomer Integration
CCR	Canadian Council for Refugees
CEIC	Canada Employment and Immigration Commission
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CILT	Citizenship and Language Instruction and Language Textbook Agreement
CISSA	Canadian Immigrant Settlement Sector Alliance
CJS	Canadian Job Strategies Program
CLB	Canadian Language Benchmarks
CLBPT	Canadian Language Benchmarks Placement Test
CLIC	Cours de langue pour les immigrants au Canada
CMAS	Childminding Monitoring Advisory Support
COSTI	Centro Organizaativo Scuole Tecniche Italiane
CSIS	Canadian Security and Intelligence Service

EIC	Employment and Immigration Canada
FCR	Foreign Credential Recognition
FL	Foreign Language
GAR	Government-assisted refugee
HRLE	Human Resources Labour and Employment
HRSDC	Human Resources and Skills Development Canada
IEHP	Internationally Educated Health Professionals
IMG	International Medical Graduate
IPP	Internship Placement Program
IRPA	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
ISAP	Immigration and Settlement Adaptation Program
ITW	Internationally Trained Worker
LINC	Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada
LMDA	Labour Market Development Agreements
LMLT	Labour Market Language Training
L2	Second language
MUN	Memorial University of Newfoundland
M&I	Manpower and Immigration
MHCC	Mental Health Commission of Canada
NCLC	Niveaux de compétence linguistique canadiens
NES	National Employment Service
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NLOC	Newcomer Language Orientation Classes
NLTA	Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers Association

OCASI	Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants
OIM	Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism
ORLAC	Ontario Region LINC Advisory Committee
PR	Permanent Resident
RAP	Resettlement Assistance Program
SIRC	Security Intelligence Review Committee
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SLP	Settlement Language Training Program
SPO	Settlement Workers in the Schools
TESL	Teachers of English as a Second Language
TOEIC	Test of English for International Communication
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Glossary of Terms

Business immigrants: Permanent residents in the economic immigrant category selected on the basis of their ability to establish themselves economically in Canada through entrepreneurial activity, self-employment or direct investment. Business immigrants include entrepreneurs, self-employed people and investors. The spouse or common-law partner and the dependent children of the business immigrant are also included in this category.

Family class: Permanent residents sponsored by a Canadian citizen or a permanent resident living in Canada who is 18 years of age or over. Family class immigrants include spouses and partners (i.e., spouse, common-law partner or conjugal partner); parents and grandparents; and others (i.e., dependent children, children under the age of 18 whom the sponsor intends to adopt in Canada, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, and grandchildren who are orphans under Immigration overview 118 Citizenship and Immigration Canada 18 years of age, or any other relative if the sponsor has no relative as described above, either abroad or in Canada). Fiancés are no longer designated as a component of the family class under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*.

Government-assisted refugees: Permanent residents in the refugee category who are selected abroad for resettlement to Canada as Convention refugees under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* or as members of the Convention Refugees Abroad Class, and who receive resettlement assistance from the federal government. **Government assisted refugees are also referred to as government sponsored.**

Immigrant: An immigrant is a person who chooses to settle permanently in another country; the emphasis is on choice rather than being forced to leave.

Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA): Federal legislation respecting immigration to Canada and the granting of refugee protection to people who are displaced, persecuted or in danger. IRPA received royal assent on November 1, 2001 and came into effect on June 28, 2002. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada(CIC) Website, 2012)

Permanent residents: People who have been granted permanent resident status in Canada. Permanent residents must live in Canada for at least 730 days (two years) within a five-year period or risk losing their status. Permanent residents have all the rights guaranteed under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms such as equality rights, legal rights, and mobility rights, freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom of association. They do not, however, have the right to vote in elections.

Privately sponsored refugees: Permanent residents in the refugee category who are selected for resettlement in the Convention refugees abroad class, the source country class or the country of asylum class and who are privately sponsored by organizations, individuals or groups of individuals.

Provincial or territorial nominees: Economic immigrants selected by a province or territory for specific skills that will contribute to the local economy to meet specific labour market needs. The Regulations establish a provincial or territorial nominee class, allowing provinces and territories that have agreements with Citizenship and Immigration Canada to nominate persons to go to that province. A nominee must meet federal admissibility requirements, such as those related to health and security.

Refugees: Permanent residents in the refugee category include government-assisted refugees, privately sponsored refugees, refugees landed in Canada and refugee dependants (i.e., dependants of refugees landed in Canada, including spouses and partners living abroad or in Canada).

Refugee claimants: Temporary residents in the humanitarian population who request refugee protection upon or after arrival in Canada. A refugee claimant receives Canada's protection when he or she is found to be a Convention refugee as defined by the United Nations 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol, or when found to be a person needing protection based on risk to life, risk of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment, or danger of torture as defined in the Convention Against Torture. A refugee claimant whose claim is accepted may make an application in Canada for permanent residence. The application may include family members in Canada and abroad. **Refugee claimants are also known as asylum seekers.**

Skilled workers: Economic immigrants selected for their ability to participate in the labour market and to establish themselves economically in Canada. Skilled workers are assessed on the basis of selection criteria that stress, for example, education, language ability and skilled work experience.

Source: Research and Evaluation Branch Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2011). *Canada Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview Permanent and Temporary Residents - 2010*. 117-123. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada. Retrieved from: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/research-stats/facts2010.pdf>

Chapter One

Introduction

The Association for New Canadians (ANC) is a non-profit, community-based organization located in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador. It originated as Friends of the Refugees in 1979 and was renamed the Association for New Canadians in 1981. The ANC is a service providing organization (SPO) that provides settlement and integration services for Government Assisted Refugees (GAR), Privately Sponsored Refugees and other Permanent Residents (PR¹). While founded as an agency that essentially offered "settlement" assistance, the ANC has gone through considerable expansion and the programs and services offered currently include settlement information and orientation, language training, skills development and employment readiness. There has been extensive development of the settlement sector in Canada. These developments have been significantly influenced by government policy and decisions with respect to immigration and immigration policies. The increased commitment to immigration by all levels of government has impacted on the development of the settlement sector. Thus, the ANC has developed in conjunction with and in response to developments in the national settlement sector.

The programs and services offered by the ANC are designed to support all aspects of newcomer integration. At the time of this research (2012), the ANC has 60 full-time employees and more than 100 volunteers. Programs and services offered include the

¹ Throughout this thesis I use the term immigrant in the general sense of the word to refer to various groups who emigrate.

following: Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP); Settlement, Orientation and Integration Services, Language Training and Assessment Services;

Distance English as a Second Language (ESL) Programs; Volunteer Connections Programs; Settlement Workers in the Schools Program (SWIS); Acquiring Experience Integrating Skills (AXIS) Career Services; Targeted Programming for Children, Youth, Women and Men; Diversity Training/Public Education Projects; Support Services (Child-minding, Daycare, Toll Free Helpline, Transportation, Interpretation) and Capacity Building Projects (ANC Website, 2010).

The ANC is the only federally funded organization providing integration and settlement services for newcomers in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The range of programs and services provided helps to ease the transition to life in Canada. The ANC has served a continually changing demographic over the past 32 years and has developed new programs, services and initiatives in response to the changing needs of its clientele. This response is an attempt to help newcomers meet the challenges of adapting to life in a new country and a new culture. In recent years the ANC has also offered programs to Canadians to increase cross cultural awareness and understanding.

One of the key aspects of assisting with settlement and integration is language education. The ANC has been offering English as a Second Language (ESL) training to immigrants and refugees since 1986 (Budden, as cited in Bassler, 1990). The Association for New Canadians Adult ESL Language Training Centre offers English classes for immigrants and refugees. The language program offered by the ANC is Language Instruction for

Newcomers to Canada (LINC). This program was created by the former Canada Employment and Immigration Commission² (CEIC) in 1992 and is designed to assist adult learners in acquiring the language skills necessary to settle and integrate into Canadian society. Funding is provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the program is free of charge to adult permanent residents. It is available on both a full and part-time basis. The ANC offers classes that range from levels one to five, according to the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB). The CLBs are a standard for describing, measuring and recognizing proficiency in English of adult immigrants in Canada (Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (CCLB) Website, 2012). As well, classes are offered at the pre-benchmark or literacy level. AXIS, the employment and career services centre of the ANC, also provides preparation classes for individuals who are preparing to write the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). TOEFL is a test that evaluates English language use and understanding in academic settings. In addition to daytime classes there are a range of programs provided for those unable or ineligible to attend at this time. These include the Itinerant Program, Outreach Tutor Program, LINC Home Study, ESL evening classes and evening pronunciation classes (ANC, 2010).

The ANC has a range of clients with various levels of linguistic competencies and a range of needs. They vary from people who have lower levels of literacy in their own language to those who are ready to move into TOEFL preparation classes.

² It is now Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC).

Locating the Author

My involvement with the ANC began as a volunteer. From this unpaid position, I moved into a full time, paid position as a language instructor at the ANC Adult ESL Language Training Centre. I worked with the ANC for ten years and taught various levels of the language program. My work with the ANC has been rewarding and fulfilling and I believe that the organization makes a real difference in peoples' lives. I have firsthand knowledge of many of the difficulties that immigrants and refugees encounter throughout the settlement process. As well, I am aware of the many challenges and frustrations for people who are unable to communicate because of language barriers. My knowledge of the issues and challenges newcomers face has come through my experience working with diverse groups of people. I did not have any prior knowledge as I am a White, Anglo-Saxon, English speaking Canadian woman. I am committed to cross cultural dialogue and have studied in this area. I work to be aware of how social position both enables and inhibits dialogue and insight.

Purpose of Research

This qualitative research used a case study methodology to describe the genesis and evolution of the settlement services and language training programs offered by the ANC. The purpose of settlement programs is to aid in the "successful settlement and integration of immigrants into the social, economic, cultural and political life of Canada" (Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR), 2000, Preamble section, para. 1). While settlement programs are primarily the responsibility of the federal government, local agencies play a

key role in the delivery of settlement services (CCR, 2000, Settlement Organizations section, para. 1). The responsibility for the design and delivery of settlement services lies with the settlement service provider, however CIC is directly responsible for specific services, e.g. information provision and other services are delivered overseas (CIC Website, 2011).

Service provider organizations respond to the individuals they are serving and it is an ever-changing demographic. As Sethi (2009) suggested, a changing demographic requires a re-evaluation of settlement supports and interventions for new groups of immigrants. Consequently, organizations must evolve and adapt and adjustments and changes are often made at the local level.

A key aspect of this research is the LINC program and studies have demonstrated the importance of language skills for settlement and integration (CIC, 2012; Gormley & Gill, 2007). Thus, at the ANC, “the aim of the [language] program is to assist adult learners in acquiring the language skills to settle and integrate into Canadian society” (ANC, 2010). Language is crucial for everything from day to day living to gaining employment. It can be an enormous barrier and certainly an impediment to integration. Kathleen Vance (2011) a veteran ESL teacher, aptly described the importance of language to newcomers. She stated, “and everyone [wants] nothing more than to learn the English they [need] to get on with their varied lives” (p. 6). LINC cannot be studied and discussed without a sense of developments in and overview of other sectors within the organization. These interconnections are part of the inter-agency context that was very clear in the interviews.

This interconnection is reflected in the data and it is necessary to outline all sectors in order to understand one.

Significance of the Study

The paucity of research on the ANC and the provision of settlement services in the local context indicated a need for further research. Although the provision of settlement services for immigrants and refugees is a Federal responsibility, the context in which services are delivered is significant. Thus, a key question in this study is how have programs and services evolved and been adapted in the local context to meet the needs of particular demographics. Vineberg (2012) suggested that a history of services for immigrants had not been published prior to his work. While there has been extensive research on the modern settlement sector in general, investigations into how individual organizations have responded as well as their development are lacking. Vineberg (2012) noted the importance of documenting the past so as not to repeat past mistakes or “[abandon] successful practices due to a simple lack of knowledge of our past” (p. 68). This observation is pertinent to the need for this particular research. The record for the ANC does not exist and in consideration of future directions it is valuable to consider the past. As Tilson (2010) observed, because of Canada’s history of welcoming and providing settlement services for immigrants, there are many “mature and well-established” organizations that can offer insights and “the situation is ripe for learning from best practices from across the country” (p. 15). Hence, this work can be relevant on both a local and national level.

Research Questions

The control question I explored is how programs and services offered by the Association for New Canadians have developed and evolved since its inception in 1979. The following additional research questions were investigated: What programs were offered initially? What was the impetus for these programs? How did these programs evolve and change? What precipitated the change in these programs? How do these changes address the needs of newcomers? What language programs were offered initially? How have current gaps been addressed?

Significance of the Problem

This research is groundbreaking in that it will contribute new and valuable knowledge of the ANC. Furthermore, it will document the history of the organization and recognize the contribution the organization has made in the lives of newcomers to the province. The research will assist people in working for the betterment of this particular group. Potentially, newcomers can be a very vulnerable population and it is essential to ensure the provision of programs and services that adequately and appropriately meet their needs. The provision of proper programs and services is a social justice issue. Programs that better enable immigrants and refugees to adjust, integrate and function in a new society enhances quality of life. A key aspect of this research is the improvement of the quality of life for individuals who are immigrating and adjusting to life in a new country. Programs and services for immigrants that help to ease the transition to life in Canada are

fundamental. This research forefronts some of the issues that may assist in the provision of better programs and services for immigrants.

This research may provide insight and direction for those involved in the delivery of programs and settlement services for immigrants and refugees.

Limitations of the Study

This research was conducted on one organization and in one context and therefore the findings may only be relevant to this particular context. Furthermore, the sample size was relatively small so the findings of this research may not be generalizable. However, the study contributes an understanding of the central phenomenon in this study. Research was conducted with current and former staff members of the organization. Interviews with refugees and immigrants who avail of the services of the organization might ensure more depth and breadth in the research. The perspective of individuals from other cultures and countries would offer a more intimate understanding of the issues and concerns of newcomers. I am limited by my socio-cultural background. Although efforts were taken to control researcher bias and ensure the validity of the research, complete objectivity cannot be achieved.

Outline of Chapters

In chapter two I outline the methodology used to conduct this research and demonstrate why this particular approach was taken. Chapter three provides a historical overview on settlement services, immigration, and immigration policy in Canada. It provides

extensive background knowledge on areas relevant to this study. In chapter four I discuss the inception of the organization and the development of the settlement services sector of the ANC within both a local and national context. Chapter five traces the introduction and development of language programs offered by the ANC. Furthermore, it focuses on the introduction of the LINC program and its expansion and development. Chapter six provides a history of the development of the third sector of growth and development in the organization, the employment division of the ANC. Chapter seven offers recommendations and suggestions that arose from this study.

Chapter Two

Methodology

Introduction

This qualitative research used a case study methodology to describe the genesis and evolution of the Association for New Canadians in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador. One aspect of the research was an examination of the evolution of educational programs and settlement services offered by the organization. Key to this research is the local response to meeting the needs of the immigrants and refugees in Newfoundland and Labrador whom the organization serves and has served. A study is necessary if research is lacking on a particular topic and further investigation is needed and if it provides new knowledge and information in an area that has not been previously studied in detail (Creswell, 2008). This research is groundbreaking as there has been very little in-depth research conducted on the organization since its inception in 1979. It provides valuable information and brings to light an organization that has not been fully recognized. A qualitative research design was most suitable for this study because in qualitative research the researcher is interested in how the participants in the context being studied make meaning of their experiences and thus come to an understanding of these experiences (Paton, 1995 as cited in Merriam, 1998; Whitt, 1991). Understanding is crucial as opposed to generalizations or identification of causes and effects (Merriam, 1988, as cited in Whitt, 1991). Understanding is the end in itself (Paton, 1995 as cited in Merriam, 1998). Qualitative research seeks understanding of "the subjective human

experience” and attempts to “get inside the person to understand from within” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 21). It is considered to be superior to other methods of research for gaining in-depth understanding of complex organizations like colleges and universities as well as complex processes like student learning or change (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Morgan, 1986, as cited in Whitt, 1991).

An important part of qualitative research is “context sensitivity” for essential to understanding is “...a sense of the unique social, temporal, historical, and geographic contexts of the phenomena” (Patton, 1990 as cited in Whitt, 1991, p. 408). Furthermore, the context in which an institution operates has considerable influence on the experience individuals may have in that institution (Whitt, 1991). The key aspect of this research is the organization and the programs and services it offers. Central to the study was how programs are changed or altered within the local context. Furthermore, qualitative research is better suited to studies of change and development over an extended period of time (Patton, 1990 as cited in Whitt, 1991). This research followed the development of the organization over the past thirty-two years.

The case study approach is the best methodology for understanding the phenomena under investigation. This methodology is often used if the researcher is interested in gaining knowledge of individual, group, organizational, political and related phenomenon (Yin, 2003). Furthermore, case studies are favoured if “How” and “Why” questions are being asked (Yin, 2003, p. 7). Using the case study method, I explored and investigated the experiences and perspectives of individuals in the Newfoundland and Labrador context

who are, and were, involved in the implementation and delivery of programs and services for immigrants and refugees to come to an understanding of how and why the organization has evolved and adapted to the needs of a changing clientele.

Researcher Role

I bring significant knowledge and understanding to this research having been an instructor at the Association for New Canadians ESL Adult Training Centre for ten years. My extensive experience working in the field of second language teaching and learning gives me solid background knowledge and an intimate understanding of the organization and the LINC program. This personal knowledge of the organization, staff members and their routines was essential to building trust and rapport (Whitt, 1991). My established relationship with teachers and other staff members of the research site helped to further gain the confidence of participants in this study. However, I took measures to maintain that trust by being respectful and ethical in my research (Creswell, 2008).

As a qualitative researcher, it is necessary to be aware of how one's subjectivity and inherent biases can influence the research and attempts must be made to set these biases aside (Creswell, 2009, p. 196). However, Glesne and Peshkin (1992, as cited in Watt, 2007) suggest subjectivity "is something to 'capitalize' on rather than to 'exorcize' " (p. 82). Furthermore, the researcher as an instrument of data collection is what Eisner (1998) associates with being a "connoisseur" (p. 63) and this concept "accentuates the distinctive function of the researcher's knowledge, perspective, and subjectivity in data acquisition" (Barrett, 2007, p. 418). It does not mean one has to be a "clean slate" but having an

awareness of how “who you are” both shapes and enriches the study (Bogdan and Bilken, 1982; Peshkin, 1998 as cited in Merriam, 2009, p. 15). Researchers must be conscious of how it can both privilege and limit (Russell & Kelly, 2002, as cited in Watt, 2007). Knowledge is an advantage, however, the aim of the researcher is to move beyond one’s own knowledge and what is expressed in the literature and to gain insight from the participants (Creswell, 2009). Thus, it is important to remember that in this situation one is a learner and not the expert.

Ethical Considerations

Upon approval from the Memorial University of Newfoundland Research Ethics Board, permission was obtained from the Executive Director of the Association for New Canadians. A detailed letter of consent (Appendix A) was written which described the purpose, methodology, timeline, how data would be used and benefits of the study, as well as measures to protect anonymity (Creswell, 2008).

Permission was also required from a selection of current and former staff members of the Association for New Canadians. Participants included employees with the language training centre, the settlement agency and the employment centre of the Association for New Canadians. A detailed recruitment letter guaranteeing specific rights was provided (Appendix B). Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at any point. As well, they were informed of the purpose of the study and were told they would have the opportunity to read, and suggest changes to, any material that involved them. Measures were taken to guarantee all materials were

safely stored and pseudonyms were used to help ensure confidentiality. Every reasonable effort was taken to ensure confidentiality and anonymity throughout all phases of the study. This research sheds light on an area that has not been researched in any depth and the findings will be shared with the participants and the organization.

Sample Selection

Participants were recruited through email and by telephone. A detailed description of the study was provided and participants were given the opportunity to seek further clarification through email or in person. They were then asked to respond as to whether or not they wished to participate in the study. Those who responded in the affirmative were given a letter of informed consent (Appendix C). As well, prior to beginning interviews a description of the research was provided and participants had the opportunity to ask questions and seek clarification.

Participants were chosen on the basis of the information they could provide and from whom I could learn the most regarding the research (Merriam, 2009). Participants should be chosen based on their potential to help the researcher gain insight and understand the phenomena (Merriam, 1998, as cited in Whitt, 1991). The selection of participants was through non-probabilistic sampling which is the most suitable in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). Purposive sampling or purposeful selection is one type that has been utilized significantly in qualitative research (Chen, 1981, as cited in Whitt, 1991; Creswell, 1994; Maxwell, 2005; Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002 as cited in Whitt, 1991). Purposeful sampling is ‘a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or activities are

selected deliberately in order to provide information that can't be gotten as well from other choices" (Maxwell, 2005, as cited in Powell, 2008, p. 44).

Purposeful sampling was used to choose specific individuals or sites to learn about and understand a central phenomenon (Creswell, 2008). The focus of this study was one specific organization and the programs offered by the organization with the intention of coming to some understanding of this particular context, an awareness which comes from a detailed understanding of the context (Creswell, 2008).

Participants included staff members whose longevity with the organization allowed them to provide rich and detailed information about the genesis and evolution of the organization. Participants also included instructors who have taught the LINC program, have a long history with the organization and have seen the implementation and change in programming. However, participants were not limited to longtime staff members of the organization. In addition to being a non-random and purposeful sample, the sample was relatively small as is often the case in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009).

Snowball sampling was used whereby other participants were asked to identify individuals who were able to make a significant contribution to the research as needed (Creswell, 2008).

Data Collection Methods

When consent was obtained participants were contacted by telephone, email or in person to arrange interview times. Interviews were conducted in a private and comfortable space that was without distractions. Permission was requested to audio record interviews and

reasonable efforts to assure anonymity were taken through the use of pseudonyms (Creswell, 2008). All interviews were labeled with as much information as possible including, participant's name, time, date, and other relevant information to maintain accurate and detailed files.

Interviews are key to various types of qualitative educational research including oral and life histories, ethnographies and case studies (Dilley, 2004; Merriam, 1998). Twenty individuals were interviewed for this research. Interviews were conducted with staff members after approval from senior administrative personnel. Additionally, former staff members of the organization were interviewed as well as other individuals whose work in provincial and federal government departments and other organizations connected them with the ANC. Six participants were originally from countries other than Canada and two were from other provinces within Canada. The participants represent individuals from various areas and positions within the organization.

To give the interview structure and for note taking purposes an interview protocol (Appendix D) was designed (Creswell, 2008). The interview protocol was guided by the research questions. Interviews were one-on-one using a semi-structured format with open-ended questions (Creswell, 2008). This type of questioning is often used in qualitative interviews as open-ended questions allow for more depth probing (Creswell, 2008). This type of questioning allows for elaboration and clarification. A degree of flexibility is required during interviews so that the interviewee's conversation can be followed and it may take a slightly different direction if appropriate (Creswell, 2008).

One follow-up interview was conducted and all other follow-up questions were answered through email as most participants chose this method of follow up. All interviews were transcribed and given to participants to read to ensure accuracy of recorded information.

Data was also collected through document analysis. Often it is this type of data that provides information or reveals “what people cannot or will not say” (Eisner, 1998, p. 63). Multiple sources of data allowed for thick, rich descriptions. Shank (2002) suggests that provision of a thick description is “an interpretive process that seeks to understand a phenomenon in its fullest meaningful context” (p. 75). Thus, various sources of data allowed for a more in-depth and broader interpretation.

Data Analysis

In qualitative research, organization of the data is critical due to the large amount of information collected during the study (Creswell, 2008). Thus data was carefully labeled, stored and organized according to type. The initial step in case study analysis begins with description (Creswell, 2008). Data analysis may begin during data collection as one gets a general sense of emerging themes and categories. Case study data analysis is iterative and cyclical throughout the process of collecting, analyzing and transcribing the data and allows the researcher to get a general sense of emerging themes and patterns and move on to the specific (Creswell, 1998; Palys, 1997; Silverman, 2000 as cited in Teachers of English to Speakers of other Languages, 2007).

When all written material was gathered, an initial analysis of the data included getting a sense of the material, coding it, and looking at emerging themes (Creswell, 2008). Initial

coding was “low inference coding” which was descriptive and followed by “higher inference pattern coding” (Punch, 2005, p. 200). Memos were used in the initial data analysis (Creswell, 2008; Punch, 2005). Memos were useful to help find new patterns or for finding “higher levels of pattern coding” (Punch, 2005, p. 201).

The text was analyzed by coding the material using “text segment codes” (Creswell, 2008, p. 251). Using the analysis of these codes allowed the researcher to collapse the codes into broad themes (Creswell, 2008). Creswell (2008) suggests using lean coding, which is using a small number of codes and then drawing out themes according to these codes. Analysis was done by hand as this was possible with a relatively small database (Creswell, 2008).

A reflective journal was kept throughout the research process to note ideas and hunches and to get a sense of emerging themes and ideas.

Trustworthiness

Triangulation was achieved by interviewing different individuals, i.e., representatives from all areas of the organization (including administrative and non-administrative personnel), individuals from other countries and provinces, as well as those outside the organization (Creswell, 2008; Glesne, 1999 as cited in Powell, 2008). Triangulation also occurred through the use of different methods of data collection. Member checking occurred by asking participants to ensure descriptions, themes and interpretations are accurate to ensure validity of claims being made (Creswell, 2008; Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2007; Merriam, 1998). Additionally interviews were audio recorded and

verbatim transcriptions were produced to ensure accuracy in the data collection. The database was organized by type, e.g., interviews, observations, documents, and notes (Creswell, 2008).

I am acutely aware that my own subjectivity and involvement with the organization could influence my interpretation of the research. My intimate knowledge and connection to the research site have the potential to prejudice my work. However, I worked to set those biases aside and maintain impartiality. In most case studies findings cannot be generalized because of the small sample size (Teachers of English to speakers of other languages, 2007). This study cannot be generalized but will contribute to the understanding of the principle events under investigation.

Biographical Connection

My experience working with immigrants and refugees at the Association for New Canadians has given me considerable insight and understanding regarding the myriad of issues around the settlement process for immigrants. I have an intimate understanding of the complexity of the issues and concerns regarding this process. Furthermore, I am aware of the need for improved and additional programs and services to better assist immigrants in the settlement process. Enhanced programs will help with settlement and integration.

This research is meaningful to me on a personal level because of the connections I have made with immigrants through my work. It is important that those who have experience speak out and attempt to make a difference for those who are vulnerable and cannot

necessarily speak for themselves. This group of people can be a very vulnerable population and it is essential to ensure the provision of programs and services that adequately and appropriately meet their needs. I have a strong belief in the value and worth of this research and I feel my extensive experience has helped in this research to forefront some of the issues that may assist in the provision of better programs and services for immigrants.

Timeline

The following is the chronology for this study:

November 2011:	Obtained approval from Memorial University Research Ethics Board and the Association for New Canadians
December 2011:	Sought participants
December 2011-January 2012	Conducted interviews
February – April 2012:	Analyzed Data
May 2012 – November 2012:	Wrote Report

Chapter Three

Historical Context and Overview

“...settlement services provide not only for the well-being of immigrants but also contribute to the well-being of the host country” (Vineberg, 2012, p. xi).

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the history of settlement services for immigrants and refugees in Canada. It provides background knowledge of the history and development of the settlement sector in Canada and informs the research that follows. Furthermore, it situates research on the ANC, a local settlement agency, within a broader context. According to Vineberg (2012) there has been much research conducted on the “modern settlement program” (p. xi) as well as the challenges and successes of settlement and integration from a broad perspective. However, within the context of Newfoundland and Labrador, in-depth research on how the ANC, the only federally funded settlement organization for immigrants and refugees, has responded to the settlement needs of its clients is lacking. This research explores the response to challenges at the local level and outlines some of the successes of an individual organization. Although not exhaustive, this overview provides substantial background into the area being researched.

Background

In 2011 Canada accepted 248,748 permanent residents; refugees made up 27,872 of that total. Newfoundland and Labrador received 682 of the total number of permanent residents. For the year 2011, statistics specifically for the refugee class in Newfoundland and Labrador are unavailable. However, the combined statistics for refugees arriving in

Newfoundland and Labrador and Prince Edward Island is 225³ (CIC, 2012). According to research informants⁴, on average, Newfoundland and Labrador would receive about half of that number annually. Cleghorn (2000) commented that, “Canada along with other ‘first world’ nations has played a large role as a refugee receiving nation” (p. 36). The increasing numbers of immigrants and refugees add to the “cultural and linguistic diversity [that] are among the characteristic features describing the Canadian landscape” (Chan, as cited in Flinders and Thornton, 2009, p. 348). A recent Statistics Canada report indicates that 6.4 million people speak an immigrant language, that is, a language other than English, French or an Aboriginal language (Statistics Canada, 2011). With increasing numbers of immigrants arriving in the country come the necessity to provide effective settlement services and measures to ensure successful integration. These services are essential to aid in the difficult process of transitioning into and becoming active members of life in a new society.

Early Settlement Services in Canada

The provision of settlement services for immigrants and refugees in Canada has a long and diverse history. Formal settlement services were not provided for the first immigrants who arrived in Canada. Settlement assistance was provided informally by family or members of various ethnic communities who had arrived previously (CCR, 1998, History section, para. 2; Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector section, para. 1). Organizations were not government sponsored and were

³ The ANC is primarily a refugee serving organization.

⁴ I use the term informant in reference to those individuals who provided primary data for this research.

comprised of volunteers who recognized a need and had a desire to help (CCR, 1998, para. 2). Volunteer organizations included the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, the original and longest continuously running organization, which was formed after World War I (CCR, 1998, History section, no para.; Vineberg, 2012) and the Italian Immigrant Aid Society in Toronto (CCR, 1998, History section, para. 6; Vineberg, 2012). Church organizations often formed to provide support and assist with settlement. One example is the Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council (CCR, 1998, History section, para. 5; Vineberg, 2012). Another was the Centre social d'aide aux immigrants (CSAI), founded in Montreal in 1947 by the religious sisters of Notre Dame du Bon Conseil (CCR, 1998, History section, para. 4). Services provided by these religious organizations included help with housing, employment, and medical and legal assistance, as well as providing loans to help bring other family members (CCR, 1998, History section, para. 4). Volunteer organizations were the primary settlement service providers for immigrants until after World War II. After World War II non-governmental organizations were created to assist with the delivery of settlement services (CCR, 1998, "The Community Response to," para. 3; Vineberg, 2012).

Newfoundland and Labrador

Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation and become a province of Canada in 1949. While Newfoundland and Labrador was developed, in part, by European immigrants, for most of its history, Newfoundland and Labrador has been a place of emigration as people left in search of employment and better economic opportunities

elsewhere. Newfoundland and Labrador was not a destination of choice for significant numbers of immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries perhaps due to its isolation and lack of prosperity. However, those who did arrive included the following: Chinese, Syrian, Assyrian and Maronite nationals (Higgins & Callanan, 2008). The latter three groups of immigrants referred to themselves as Lebanese after the formation of the Republic of Lebanon (Higgins & Callanan, 2008). Wright and Hong (n.d.) suggested that while some members of the community and government supported Chinese immigrants, there were those who were not particularly welcoming of the increasing numbers of Chinese people who continued to arrive. In 1906 Newfoundland imposed a head tax for Chinese people of \$300.00, a tax which was the equivalent of three years' wages at that time (Higgins & Callanan, 2008; Wright & Hong, n.d.). Wright and Hong (n.d.) noted that other ethnic or cultural groups have not had to pay this type of fee. Various newspaper reports of the time indicate violence and anti-racism, especially against Chinese people living in Newfoundland and Labrador. The other group that arrived in NL in the early 20th century was Jewish immigrants. According to The Atlantic Jewish Council (2012) there were 215 Jewish people in NL in 1935 and this increased to 360 in 1971. There were no formal settlement services provided for immigrants arriving in NL and similar to the rest of Canada, services may have been provided by church groups and similar organizations.

Post-World War II: Formal Settlement Services

Significant numbers of displaced people were forced to emigrate from Europe after the war and consequently many new non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were formed to assist the increased numbers of immigrants arriving in Canada (Vineberg, 2012). In response to the large numbers of people arriving, significant changes took place in the development of the settlement sector in Canada immediately following the Second World War. However, according to Kelley and Trebilcock (2010), “immigration policy rarely attracted serious parliamentary debate and did not play an important role in any of the federal elections that occurred” (p. 319) in the post war period, or in fact up to 1962. Many immigrants who arrived at this time were suffering from the traumatic events of war. Significant changes occurred in the types of services provided and how they were delivered (CCR, 1998, “The Community Response to,” para. 3). For the first time professional social workers were hired and specialized social services were provided through the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society (CCR, 1998, “The Community Response to,” para. 3; Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector section, para. 3). In 1948 a Federal Settlement Service initiative was implemented; this was specifically for settlement of Canadian soldiers and war refugees (Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector section, para. 5).

In 1949 formal establishment of settlement services occurred within the Immigration Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources (Vineberg, 2012). However, the degree of importance of this branch is reflected in a description by (2010) where they

suggested it was “a minor backwater of the federal bureaucracy” (p. 319). According to the Canadian Council for Refugees (1998) a Citizenship Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was created which would provide support for government agencies and NGOs interested in supporting immigrants in the settlement and integration process (“The Canadian Government Response to,” para. 1). A positive move was the establishment of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1950 which replaced the Immigration Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources and brought with it a minister whose principle role was immigration (Kelly and Trebilcock, 2010). At this point immigration officers took on the responsibility of settlement (Vineberg, 2012).

Coinciding with the passing of Canada’s first Citizenship Act in 1947 was much more focus on citizenship and integration and in “developing a greater consciousness of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship” (CCR, 1998, “The Canadian Government Response to,” para. 1). Similarly, Vineberg (2012) noted, post-war efforts to help with integration were a contrast to previously where settlement on farms was the norm and immigrants were simply left on their own to make their way in a new country. Kelley and Trebilcock (2010) suggested immigration patterns began to change from agricultural workers to skilled trades people and professionals, most of whom would settle in urban areas as opposed to rural areas. By 1961, only one in twenty was a farmer or agricultural worker as opposed to one in five immediately following the war.

A pivotal point in Canadian immigration history was the acceptance of refugees from Hungary in 1957 (Troper, 2010; Vineberg, 2012). Canada accepted 37,000 refugees from

Hungary (Troper, 2010). Vineberg (2012) suggested that these large numbers resulted in significant changes with the recognition of the need for additional programs and the instigation of new services. Furthermore, Troper (2010) observed it would shape the direction of many refugee programs and services in Canada for the next twenty years.

At this time the Adjustment Assistance Program (AAP) was implemented which provided resettlement assistance for refugees from Hungary for one year after arrival in Canada (Vineberg, 2012). Troper (2010) noted that two key parts of the resettlement program were the “degree of hands-on effort and financial commitment” which the government provided (p. 190). This was a significant addition to the provision of settlement services and continued to be so as the AAP evolved into the present day RAP program. This program will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Development of Settlement Services

A more sophisticated and well developed settlement sector began to emerge in the 1960’s (Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector section, para. 3; Vineberg, 2012). One of the early attempts at assisting with credential recognition was assumed by the Centro Organizzativo Scuole Tecniche Italiane (COSTI) which provided assistance to individuals with skilled trades. This organization was formed to assist those individuals who could not use their skills and provided both training and retraining to people within the Italian community (CCR, 1998, “The Community Response to,” para. 7). In 1981, one of the largest immigrant serving agencies in Canada was created in Toronto with the

combining of COSTI and the Italian Immigrant Aid Society (CCR, 1998, "The Community Response to," para. 7).

Change in Direction of Settlement Services

After a long history of debate about whether or not the Settlement Service branch was necessary or it could be handled under the National Employment Service (NES), the Settlement Service branch came to an end in 1966 when it was moved to Manpower and Immigration (M&I) (Vineberg, 2012). With this change the government withdrew from the provision of direct settlement services and focused on funding immigrant serving agencies to provide initial settlement services (Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector section, para. 6). It was felt that immigrants could access mainstream organizations for settlement needs (Vineberg, 2012). This change was met with some criticism as many people felt strongly about placing immigration under a labour department. This debate lasted only briefly until a division was created and individuals destined for the labour market were provided with economic integration and language training under the M&I department whereas "social, cultural and political integration would be within the department of Secretary of State (Vineberg, 2012, p. 25). Very quickly there was recognition that the "hodgepodge" of settlement services being offered was not a viable option. Eventually, the Secretary of State offered temporary programs through the Local Initiatives Program (LIP) (Vineberg, 2012). According to Vineberg (2012) an official department did not exist for eight years and it was not until 1974 that there was a specific program that provided immigrant services. Worthy of note was

Canada's adoption of an official multiculturalism policy in 1971 which became the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 (Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector section, para. 7).

Major Changes in the Development of the Settlement Sector

In 1974 significant changes took place within the settlement sector. A Cabinet decision in 1974 that resulted in the creation of a Settlement Branch and an accompanying mandate within the Department of Manpower and Immigration was a seminal moment in the evolution of the settlement sector (Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector, para. 6; Vineyard, 2012). Included in the responsibilities for the Department of Manpower were the reception of immigrants as well as help with employment, accommodation, and settlement (Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector, para. 6). Funding was also provided to create the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) (CCR, 1998, "The Canadian Government Response to," para. 2; Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector, para. 6; Vineberg, 2012). Through ISAP all immigrants received initial settlement services including information and orientation sessions as well as referral to mainstream service agencies (Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector section, para. 6). The AAP, which began in 1957, was in place as well at this time and later became the Resettlement Assistance Program in 1998 (Vineberg, 2012, p. 31). RAP provides reception services for GARs at point of entry, temporary accommodation, help to find permanent housing and household items, financial orientation and, income support for 12

to 24 months. Support up to 24 months is usually for refugees with special needs such as those who have experienced high degrees of trauma (CIC Website, 2011). Manpower and Immigration also began working closely with volunteer organizations and NGOs to assist immigrants with settlement and adjustment (Handford & Tan, 2003. *The History of the Settlement Sector*, para. 6; Vineberg, 2012). As Vineberg (2012) noted, this was an important advancement in the revitalization of settlement services for immigrants.

In the early seventies the Government, in a reconsideration of its approach to immigration, initiated the beginning of changes to the Immigration Act with the *Green Paper* entitled, *Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study* (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). As part of the *Immigration Green Paper*, tabled in February, 1975, the services to be provided for settlement were outlined "...in an extensive chapter on 'Services to Immigrants' " (Vineberg, 2012, p. 30). Various factors influenced the gradual development and change of the settlement sector. In the early seventies Canada responded to two groups of refugees in relatively large numbers, these included people of Asian ancestry living in Uganda who were forced out by President Idi Amin and, later, refugees from Chile forced out by President Pinochet (CIC, 2012, Vineberg, 2012). However, the most significant impact in the late seventies and early eighties was a result of the massive numbers of refugees from Vietnam arriving in Canada. Vineberg (2012) suggests this resulted in significant growth in the settlement sector in both "finance and expertise" (p. 32). He further adds that in response to those refugees from Vietnam, "settlement services were established in almost every city of any size throughout Canada" (p. 32). St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador was one of those cities.

Funding was provided through ISAP to assist with settlement services. However, despite the creation of ISAP, funding for the program was limited and larger centres such as Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver received most of the funding. This inequity resulted in inconsistencies across the country in terms of the provision of settlement service and it lasted for a number of years (Vineberg, 2012).

Immigration Plan: 1991-1995

A new Federal Immigration Strategy was launched in 1991. In a report to Parliament in October 1990 then Minister of Employment and Immigration, Barbara McDougall indicated that there was a “significant shift in the government’s approach to immigration planning” (p. 1). In preparation for the new five year plan cross-Canada consultations were held (EIC, 1990). The government believed that the central focus would be immigration levels; however, this was not the case (Vineberg, 2012). According to EIC (1990) throughout the consultation process the number one concern expressed was that settlement and integration services should be a key focus in immigration planning. And rather than labour market integration being the focus of the settlement program, social and cultural integration were deemed just as important (Vineberg, 2012).

Three key aspects of the settlement program are ISAP, LINC and HOST (Tilson, 2010; Vineberg, 2012). It is through these programs that funding for settlement has been directed since their inception (Tilson, 2010). Changes to these three important pieces of the settlement program were made (Vineberg, 2010).

The Host Program that had been implemented in 1984 was made permanent in 1990 and included immigrants as well as refugees. This program matches immigrants and refugees with volunteers who assist with adjusting to life in Canada (CIC, 2012; Tilson, 2010).

The Host Program was seen as an important way to connect immigrants and Canadians and to help learn about each other (EIC, 1990). Part of the new immigration strategy was a change in direction for language training (EIC, 1990). In 1990 the Settlement Language Training Program (SLTP), which had been implemented in 1986, became a permanent program (CCR, 1998, "The Canadian Government Response to," para. 2). In 1992 the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada was implemented (Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector section, para. 8). In the same year a wider spectrum of community organizations and groups was eligible to deliver ISAP in an effort to offer enhanced services to a more diverse group of immigrants (Vineberg, 2012).

The government realized that settlement is short term and transitional while integration is ongoing (CIC, 2011). An increased commitment by the government had resulted in a much more organized and sophisticated approach to settlement and integration. The settlement program was seen as being related to immigration, not labour, with the combining of "various elements of the settlement program within Canadian immigration" (Vineberg, 2012, p. 40). The previous short-sighted approach to integration and adaptation was changing. The government was changing its outlook on the immigration process and was viewing it from a broader perspective. Settlement and integration were about more than providing initial services; it extended to obtaining citizenship (EIC, 1990). Furthermore, integration was not only the responsibility of the immigrant but it

also included Canadian society; it was a “two way street” (EIC, 1990, p. 14). In 1992 settlement programs were moved to the Immigration Sector from the Employment Sector (Vineberg, 2012). In 1993 the Department of Employment and Immigration became known as Citizenship and Immigration (Handford & Tan, 2003, The History of the Settlement Sector section, para. 6).

Change within the settlement sector has also been influenced by people and organizations that are involved and work with immigrants and refugees. One of the obvious advancements since World War II was that organizations and individuals working within those organizations developed an expertise (CCR, 1998, Introduction section, para. 5). Furthermore, they recognized the need to strive to better meet the needs of those individuals being served; they have background knowledge and could offer suggestions to improve the provision of settlement services. A natural development that followed from this extensive experience and understanding was the desire to examine best practices. In 1998 the CCR, after consultations with settlement workers, immigrants and refugees, produced a document entitled, *Best Settlement Practices: Settlement Services for Immigrants and Refugees in Canada*. It was a step towards enhancing service and ensuring some degree of accountability to those being served.

In 2000 the CCR published a document entitled, *Canadian National Settlement Services Standards Framework*. This was the result of consultations with various other organizations with expertise in the area to develop some sort of framework for ensuring a standard of service that would be the same across Canada. As Tam (2003) suggests, “the

programs and operations of settlement service agencies have become increasingly sophisticated over the past few decades as these organizations have accumulated experience and expertise” (What is the Settlement Service Sector section, para. 3).

Government Involvement: Federal, Provincial and Municipal

In ensuring a particular standard of service is the need for a coordinated effort on the part of all levels of government in conjunction with agencies in the local community (CCR, 2000, Preamble section, para. 1). CIC (2011) in the Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration noted that the Government of Canada and the provinces and territories must work together to ensure effective coordination of the immigration program. Similarly there is recognition of the importance of all three levels of government in assisting with successful settlement and integration (Tilson, 2010, p. 1). According to the CCR (2000) all levels of government are accountable for integration and immigrants as members of society are entitled to provincial services such as education and social services (Preamble section, para. 4). These are considered provincial responsibilities. Across Canada there was recognition by many provincial governments of the necessity of specialized services for refugees and immigrants (CCR, 2000, Preamble section, para. 5). Nevertheless, primarily it is the federal government who must ensure the provision of services (CCR, 2000, Preamble section, para. 5).

British Columbia and Manitoba have agreements with the Federal Government that enable these provinces to design, deliver and administer settlement and integration

programs and services. Quebec is responsible for settlement and integration under the Canada-Quebec Accord (Tilson, 2010).

Modernization of the Settlement Sector

CIC (2011) suggested that it has taken a more modernized approach in an attempt to improve the administration and delivery of settlement initiatives. The three key aspects of settlement, LINC, HOST⁵ and ISAP were combined under one single Settlement Program. One of the benefits of the approach is that it is more flexible and responsive to clients' needs (Association for New Canadians, 2012). Informants reiterated this point and indicated this revised approach is a positive step. According to Omidvar (2001) a significant change in attitudes to settlement and integration is that it "should not start and end with immigrants and refugees at all - it should include and involve all Canadians, all our institutions and our public" (p. 4). Wayland (2006) makes a similar observation, "the difficulties newcomers face as part of their settlement experience must be recognized as Canadian problems rather than as 'immigrant problems'; and they must be addressed and eliminated to the greatest extent possible" (p. iv). This belief has been recognized in recent years (Wayland, 2006). Canada actively participates each year in all meetings of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Standing Committee, Executive Committee and Working Group on Resettlement (CIC, 2011).

Conclusion

The evolution of the local organization can be traced within this national context. In many ways the organization has grown and developed in response to these changes.

⁵ Locally the Host Program has transitioned into Volunteer Connections.

However, implementation of programs and services within the local context mean they are achieved differently. This research illustrates the growth and development of one settlement organization within the local context. The research was explored in conjunction with and in response to developments and growth within a national context as outlined in this chapter. Organizations develop in a particular environment and with influences specific to the context. They respond to local need and within the community in which they are situated. Furthermore, they develop in response to the individuals they serve. The next chapter illustrates this response in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Chapter 4

Settlement

“I am a refugee torn from my land, cast off to travel this world to its end. Never to see my proud mountains again but I still remember them” (Earle, 2011, track 10).

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the founding of the Association for New Canadians and the factors that precipitated the inception of the organization from a historical perspective. I discuss the global influences that have resulted in the migration of different peoples to Newfoundland and Labrador and therefore the need for an agency providing settlement services. A constantly changing demographic has significantly influenced the overall direction in which the organization has moved. The ANC’s response to the needs of an ever- changing clientele has had an impact on the diversification and evolution of programs and services. I explore the evolution of programs and services within the context of Newfoundland and Labrador. Additionally, I examine how changing policies on immigration, at both the Federal and Provincial levels has effected change in programming and services. I investigate how increased Government involvement in and commitment to immigration has resulted in the development and professionalization of the settlement sector. While the original mandate of the ANC was the provision of programs and services for refugees⁶, it has provided, and continues to provide, services

⁶ “A refugee is different from an immigrant, in that an immigrant is a person who chooses to settle permanently in another country. Refugees are forced to flee” (CIC, 2012).

for other groups of immigrants. However, primarily, it is a settlement service agency for GARs⁷.

Preamble

The term refugee generally refers to a specific class of immigrants; those who are forced to leave their home country for fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group or political opinions. Immigration is never a choice for refugees; it is a necessity. In the film, *Monsieur Lazhar*, Bashir Lazhar is an asylum seeker⁸ living in Montreal awaiting his refugee hearing. He poignantly remarks that the immigration process “for most immigrants [is] a trip, without papers, uprooted to a culture that is foreign” (Déry & McCraw, 2011). This comment is to a friend who encourages him to share his experience as if it were some sort of romantic adventure. In reality, there is nothing romantic about the plight of the refugee and, if not forced, few refugees would ever choose to emigrate.

Ron Atkey (as cited in Grigsby, 1979), when describing the work being done by the Toronto Mennonite Church to assist refugees from Vietnam who were coming to Canada in 1979, suggested that neither is this work romantic or glorious. As one research informant remarked, often refugees are coming out of very “extreme and horrible situations”. Individuals working in service delivery organizations for refugees and

⁷ Government assisted refugees are “Convention Refugees Abroad whose initial resettlement in Canada is entirely supported by the Government of Canada or Quebec. This support is delivered by CIC-supported non-governmental agencies”. Also included is, the “Country of Asylum Class [which] is for people in refugee-like situations, who do not qualify as Convention Refugees” (CIC, 2012).

⁸ Asylum seekers are individuals who claim to be refugees but who have not been evaluated (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2012).

immigrants⁹ are acutely aware of the difficult and horrific situations most refugees have endured. These individuals are a key part of the successful delivery of settlement services. As well, service delivery organizations are responsible for the administration of effective, accountable and responsive programs (CCR, 2000, Settlement Organizations section, para.1).

Historical Background

Canada became a country in 1867 and, according to Kazimi (as cited in Mann, 2012), for the first hundred years Canada considered itself a white settler society. For a significant part of its history Canada had a very exclusionary immigration policy and was not welcoming of immigrants who were not of European descent (CCR, 1998; Frideres, 2007; Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). William Lyon Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada from 1921 to 1948, was particularly concerned with Canada remaining a white, Anglo-Saxon population. Particular events throughout Canada's history demonstrate racist attitudes and policies. For example, in 1914 the *Komagata Maru*, a Japanese cargo ship, arrived in Vancouver, British Columbia carrying 376 British subjects from India seeking refuge in Canada. They were detained in Vancouver Harbour for two months and refused entry into Canada because they were non-whites and further because of they were of south Asian origin (Kazimi, as cited in Mann, 2012). However, changes towards immigration and immigration policy began to take place in the post World War II years. Kelley and Trebilcock (2010) suggested that "...Canada's wartime policies, ...with

⁹ Although this term refers to a specific group of people, throughout the rest of this thesis I use this term in a general sense to refer to various groups who emigrate.

respect to prospective immigrants and resident aliens...were formalized in statutes that were sweeping in scope, that sanctioned extensive delegation of authority, and that were relatively free from parliamentary or judicial scrutiny" (p. 314). Worthy of mention is that these policies were for the most part supported by the general public (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). However, in post war Canada there was public outcry, including from various ethnic groups, over Canada's exclusionary immigration policies (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010; Knowles, 2007; Omidvar and Richmond, 2003). A significant change involved the veteran community who developed a respect for ethnic communities they had worked beside in the Canadian Forces overseas, as well as from the new immigrant population themselves (Dirks, 2012, "The Post-war Era and," para. 3; Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). Furthermore, the public was highly conscious of Hitler's atrocities and the potential results of the belief in racial superiority; thus people were less accepting of any overt expressions of racism (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010).

However it was not until 1962 that a new period began in Canadian immigration policy when the government put forward new regulations that essentially removed racial discrimination as an explicit aspect of its immigration policy (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010; Knowles, 2007; Makarenko, 2010, "Immigration Policy Following the," para. 3). Furthermore, the demographic profile began to change as source countries changed to those from South and Central Europe, restrictions on Asian immigration were lifted, and British immigration decreased considerably (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010; Omidvar and Richmond, 2003). The primary source of immigrants to Canada from 1900 to 1965 was Europe (mainly Britain) (Makarenko, 2010, Contemporary Canadian Immigration Policy

section, para.6). Notable changes in immigration policy, both in “substance and process” (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010, p. 350) occurred which was a radical departure to what it had been for most of Canada’s history. Community groups became a key part of policy development (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). According to Kelley and Trebilcock (2010) “... the values and the interests that were driving immigration policy had taken on – politically, economically and legally – a much more liberal complexion” (p. 351).

In 1969 Canada signed the *United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* and its 1967 Protocol¹⁰ which stipulated that a person would not be returned to the country of origin if the person had grounds to fear persecution (CIC, 2012). However, the Immigration Act of 1976 was a dramatic shift (Gushulak, 2010; Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010) that was groundbreaking as it explicitly outlined the essential principles and goals of Canadian immigration policy (Knowles, 2007, p. 208). The 1976 Immigration Act came into effect in 1978 and this was the first time that Canada established official measures to determine claims to Convention refugee status (Makarenko, 2010, “Immigration Policy Following the,” para.5). Thus, there was no official recognition of refugees as a legitimate class of immigrants until 1978¹¹ (Makarenko, 2010, Contemporary Canadian Immigration Policy section, para.4).

¹⁰ The 1967 Protocol removed geographical and temporal restrictions from the Convention (UNHCR, 2012).

¹¹ “Since 2002, Canada’s immigration program has been based on the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act and its Regulations*. IRPA changed the focus of refugee selection, placing greater emphasis on the need for protection and less on the ability for a refugee to become established in Canada” (CIC, 2012).

Canada and the impact of the Vietnam War

In 1978 the movement of people from Vietnam had gained momentum. Although the Communist regime had taken control in 1975 it was not until this point that large numbers of people began leaving the country. Those in opposition to the Communist regime or fearing persecution were forced to leave the country. Between 1978 and 1981 the escape route from Vietnam, for over a million people, was via the ocean, thus the moniker "Boat People" (Dugas, 2010). Their journeys were fraught with danger in overcrowded vessels and often they were at risk of losing their lives. By 1979 the Vietnam War had displaced over 290,000 people who were forced into refugee camps while many others died in their attempts to flee the country (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010; Knowles, 2007).

Television broadcasts of the Vietnam War brought a heightened awareness of the reality of this conflict and clearly depicted the atrocities and horrors of war. An increased consciousness of the plight of many people from Vietnam resulted in the realization of the need for other countries to respond (Hawkins, 1988). In Canada, knowledge of the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people and the sub-standard conditions they were forced to live in caused significant public outcry. It was a defining moment in Canada's immigration history as it created awareness and forced people to question what Canada's role should have been. Initially, the Canadian government refused to get involved in a situation that was a direct result of United States involvement, but public

protest by Canadians regarding the plight of refugees from Vietnam forced the government to respond (McNeil, 1979a).

The plight of these displaced people gained international attention that resulted in an international conference with Canada and a number of other resettlement countries meeting to determine what role they would play in this increasing humanitarian crisis (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). This move on the part of the Canadian government demonstrated a movement away from racist policies towards a more humanitarian approach in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Jakobsen, 1997, 1970's Refugees section, para.1). Canada's acceptance of refugees from Vietnam was a humanitarian gesture to save the lives of many who were in danger of drowning in the South China Sea (Atkey, as cited in Grigsby, 1979).

The sheer number of people resulted in a demand for both public and private sponsorship as it was the highest number of immigrants to Canada of any one ethnic group since 1945 (McNeill, 1979a). The Government of Canada hoped that by the end of 1980 a total of 50,000 refugees would be taken from Southeast Asia on a matching basis. The government would sponsor one refugee for every one that was privately sponsored. However, the government could not honour the commitment to match private sponsorships due to the significant numbers of individuals or groups to offer sponsorship (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). However, Canada accepted 60,000 Vietnamese refugees between 1979 and 1980 (CIC, 2012). Previous to this, Canada had taken in 10,000 refugees from Vietnam between 1975 and 1978, which was considered a relatively low

number in relation to the huge numbers of people displaced as a result of the war (McNeill, 1979a).

Settlement Services: The Beginning

Both formal and informal settlement services have been offered in Canada for many years but the development of a specialized settlement sector has been a gradual process (CCR, 2000, Historical Context section, para.1). Various government departments have been responsible for delivering services for immigrants for many years. However, it was not until 1974 that NGOs started to receive funding to provide settlement services for immigrants and refugees (CCR, 2000, Historical Context section, para.1).

In 1979 when refugees arrived from Vietnam, St. John's, like many other Canadian cities, did not have a settlement service organization. A local St. John's paper reported in March of 1980 that "this influx necessitated the establishment of an offshoot of the Department of Employment and Immigration to cope with their assimilation" (Hedderson, 1980, p. 10). An employee of this "temporary operation" was responsible for the settlement of 45 Vietnamese refugees living in the city. His job included finding housing and clothing, dealing with educational issues, and eventually finding employment¹². Three Refugee Liason Officers worked with refugees from Vietnam in St. John's (T. Hawco, personal communication, January 27, 2012). However, one informant commented, while "the Department of Immigration would see to their financial needs and accommodation needs

¹² At this time funding for integration and essential services was provided by Citizenship and Immigration under the Adjustment Assistance Program (CIC, 2012).

...there was no department in charge of the well being of the refugees”, especially with such large numbers of people.

Organizations sprang up all across Canada to assist with the settlement needs of the large numbers of refugees from Vietnam entering the country (McNeill, 1979b). According to informants the organization that responded in St. John’s became known as Friends of the Refugees, which was established in the summer of 1979. According to Vineberg (2012), many of the immigrant serving agencies currently operating, can “trace their roots” (p. 32) to the response to assisting the refugees from Vietnam.

One informant noted that, Friends of the Refugees was a volunteer organization and the founding of it was a human response to helping the “government deliver what it had to deliver”... because “the Department of Immigration... had no [settlement] programs”. Implicit in the name is the fact that it was a response to a particular class of immigrants. As an informant commented, the mandate of the organization was “very much focused on the Vietnamese Boat People”. Another suggested, “[it] was the organization that took care of the well being and the welfare of the refugees that were coming in here”. Several informants suggested the organization was a group of people extending humanitarian service to individuals in need of assistance in a new country and a new culture. One informant recounted an incident that demonstrated the genuine compassion extended to this group of people when a volunteer (a nursing mother) nursed a Vietnamese child because the child’s mother had stopped lactating due to extended travel and extreme fatigue. Likewise, another informant remarked that he “was interested in seeing that

these people were settled in the best manner possible and that [their] situation was stable”.

Volunteer Organization

According to an informant, initially, the organization ran on the efforts of volunteers who, “acted as settlement workers, accompanying refugees to their various appointments, helping them to find lodging, to shop, etcetera”. Another suggested that “the delivery of services that is now the norm...is not how it started”. Many informants indicated there was also a lot of church sponsorship of individual families. One informant noted that despite the financial assistance of the Federal government there was still a large community effort with donations of clothing and various household items to assist with settlement needs. And certainly the Government did not or could not provide the human resources required to adequately assist these large numbers of people in the adjustment and settlement process. As Tom Hawco (2012), a former Refugee Liason Officer with the CEIC suggested, his time was limited as he was one person who had to assist approximately fifty people with various activities and all with a range of needs (personal communication). Vineberg (2012) suggested the situation was the same in many cities across the country. According to a national report on immigration by Manpower and Immigration (1974, as cited in Vineberg, 2012) “even the most dedicated manpower counselors could not provide the intensive and time-consuming counseling required by immigrants...” (p. 33).

Individuals who have limited understanding of the culture and limited ability to communicate in a new language can find daily living quite challenging (Nepal, 2008). Potentially, they can also be very vulnerable. Unfortunately, there were individuals who exploited the situation and took advantage of this vulnerability. Informants suggested some landlords saw the potential to make money without providing adequate housing and living conditions. One informant related a situation where he expressed to a landlord his disgust of the inadequate bathroom facilities for a family from Vietnam and the landlord's response was "oh well, where they come from that's what they do". The informant further remarked, "[he was] very upset about it and right away [he] looked for other places for these people so that they could have conditions that would match [Canadian] conditions. He further added, "after all we need[ed] to give them something that [was] acceptable to us". Another informant suggested there were some "dismal situations" in terms of housing and accommodation that volunteers with the Friends of the Refugees dealt with on behalf of the refugees from Vietnam. She remembered one particular place that "...had four Vietnamese in a room so small that you would hardly put one person there... ". It was very clear that "the Friends of the Refugees were a sounding board not very far in the background" (T. Hawco, personal communication, January 27, 2012), advocating on behalf of the refugees, including keeping an eye on the government bureaucrats who were working with them. Initially, volunteer organizations and individual groups were responsible for taking care of the well being of immigrants and refugees. Despite the advances within the settlement sector, at this point, it was still

developing and individuals who had extensive experience working with immigrants and refugees were in the minority (CCR, 2000, Historical Context section, para.1).

Change in Direction

While the arrival of refugees from Vietnam was the impetus for the founding of the organization, informants noted that these people did not remain in the province. As one informant noted “it was a two year, very intense exercise and then they started leaving”. One informant suggested that around this time the organization changed from “what was a purely volunteer [organization]” for a specific group of people as the name Friends of the Refugees suggested to something different. She further commented that, “...because of the need that kept growing was the desire to organize one’s self better and to become a full-fledged, non-profit organization. So then you could actually set up shop and hire somebody and do work like that”. Many organizations that are a part of the settlement sector network were founded in the 1970s or early 1980s (CCR, 2000, Historical Context section, para.1).

In 1981¹³, the name was changed to the Association for New Canadians because, as one informant suggested, the “original name wasn’t quite reflective of the work [being] done” as the organization was providing service to a more diverse group of people. Therefore, “as the flow of Vietnamese refugees decreased the organization changed its name but continued to help newcomers settle here” (King, 1988, p. 18). At this point it became a

¹³ There is some discrepancy over this date; news reports of the time suggest it was 1981. However, it was in the very early 80’s and an informant stated that records indicate the organization was incorporated in 1984.

non-profit organization and received funding from the Secretary of State (Fraser, 1984)¹⁴. The organization also moved to a new location¹⁵. These changes were in response to the changing clientele the organization was now servicing (King, 1988; Fraser, 1984). While refugees from Vietnam continued to come, they were but one of various other groups of immigrants and refugees who were arriving in Newfoundland and Labrador. As one informant noted, it was obvious that immigrants would continue to arrive in St. John's and there was a need for the organization to continue its work and to expand. The continual arrival of refugees to the province is undoubtedly a reflection of changes in federal government policies with the 1976 Act and the "ongoing commitment to fulfill legal obligations towards refugees" (Challinor, 2011, Refugee and Asylum Policy section, para.1).

The diversity of the population the organization was working with meant that "it had to change its focus to meet the needs of all incoming persons and since more Poles and Cubans rather than Vietnamese were defecting, the ANC had to broaden its scope" (Fraser, 1984, p. 23). Fraser (1984) noted that the objectives of the organization were twofold, and in addition to helping "new Canadians," its other aim was to promote multiculturalism. According to Knowles (2007) multiculturalism was an immigration-related issue that gained prominence in the 1970's. However, it would not be until 1988 that it became law (Comeau, 2007). As one informant remarked, gaining non-profit

¹⁴ Similarly, throughout Canada settlement services are provided through community based, non-profit agencies with volunteer boards of directors. Organizations vary in size and range from primarily volunteer run organization to those with hundreds of paid employees (CCR, 1998, Immigrant and Refugee-Serving Organizations section, para.1).

¹⁵ See Appendix E for different locations of the organization since its inception.

status allowed the organization to receive funding to expand and to increase services. Nevertheless, it still remained a very small organization and according to one informant was "...operating on an absolute shoe-string". As Vineberg (2012) suggested there was an inequality in the provision of funding for settlement organizations in the early years and those outside the larger centres of Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto lacked adequate financial assistance.

Changing Clientele: Refugee Claimants

While initially the organization was dealing with mainly one official class of immigrants, (i.e., Government Assisted Refugees) in the early eighties significant numbers of asylum seekers or refugee claimants¹⁶ were defecting in the town of Gander, in central Newfoundland and Labrador. Informants suggested that the number of Cuban and Polish nationals defecting in Gander resulted in the organization becoming much busier. People have emigrated from Poland to Canada in different phases and the period between 1981 and 1991 is referred to as the sixth major phase of immigration to Canada for this particular group (Radecki, 2012). In 1980, with the birth of *Solidarity*, peaceful resistance and strikes inspired change within Poland (Korab-Karpowicz, 2012). In an effort to suppress the solidarity movement martial law was imposed (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). The resulting economic and political crisis in Poland caused many people to emigrate (Radecki, 2012). *Glasnost* or the period of openness that rose in the late 1980's in the former Soviet Union allowed thousands of Eastern Europeans and

¹⁶ Refugee claimants are those individuals who are making refugee protection claims from within Canada. The organization was still dealing with GARs as well.

Cuban nationals who lived in the former Soviet Union to book Aeroflot flights through Gander (Bailey, 1993).

Changes within the organization were very much contingent on what was happening worldwide and often as a result of international crises; the changing immigrant population arriving in the province was a reflection of these global shifts. Furthermore as Knowles (2010) noted, "improved communications, cheaper transportation, and the growing gulf between rich and poor nations had led to soaring numbers of people seeking to escape overpopulation and a dearth of economic opportunities in their homelands for a better life in developed countries..."(p. 221). The 1980's was a period in Canada's immigration history that was dominated by refugee claimants arriving in Canada seeking asylum (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010; Knowles, 2007; Vineberg, 2012). According to Knowles (2007), in the first six weeks of 1987 more than 6000 claims were made. However, in 1987, in **Newfoundland and Labrador**, acting president of the ANC, Bridget Foster, still described the organization as a "largely-volunteer group"¹⁷ with funding from both the Secretary of State and the Department of Immigration (Guy, 1987, p. 21). Thus, significant expansion of the organization did not occur until sometime later, as according to one informant, "it didn't really explode until 1990".

The number of defections increased so dramatically that a temporary, full-time settlement worker was hired by the ANC to work in Gander¹⁸ (Hebbard, 1993a). Increasingly large

¹⁷ There were 30 volunteers tutoring English and 10 volunteers assisting with driving people to supermarkets, schools and hospitals (Guy, 1987, p. 21).

¹⁸ "The record number of refugees leaving international flights at Gander in one year is 2,894 in 1989. Most of them leave Aeroflot flights" ("Another 80 refugees defect at Gander", 1992, p. 11).

numbers of refugee claimants continued to come to Newfoundland and Labrador into the early 90's. Those who came in the late eighties and early nineties were mainly from Bulgaria and the former Soviet Union. This period of political change and upheaval in Eastern Europe lead to the collapse of the Communist regime in Bulgaria in 1989 and the break-up of the former Soviet Union by 1991 (Dakova, n.d.). Thus restrictions were lifted and people were able to leave more easily.

Godfrey (1990) noted, "the Bulgarians of Newfoundland... [may have represented] the biggest wave of immigration since the Irish potato famine..." (p. C1). The significant numbers of people for which the organization provided services at that time are illustrated in the following descriptions from various informants:

I remember first when I started [in 1989] there were three flights of stairs [in the office] and it seemed like every day...there were people lined up on the stairs.

They were lined up and down the stairs and up and down [Cochrane] Street [where the office was located].

I remember my first six months [in 1992] there were two CN [Canadian National] buses pulled up to the front gates and I remember Barnes Road [where the office was located] from one end to the other, [there was] nothing but luggage. People worked twenty-four hours around the clock to find them places and get them settled in one day. They were all from Bulgaria.

A similar observation was made in a newspaper report of the time. Foster (as cited in White, 1990a) remarked, "I shall never forget. I came back from lunch [when we were on Cochrane Street] and there must have been 400 people in the streets waiting for our help" (p. 8).

The ANC was the only organization providing settlement services in Newfoundland and Labrador¹⁹. Premier Clyde Wells (1990) remarked that there were limitations on what could be done to help such large numbers as "only Gander and St. John's [had] the immigration and interpreting services necessary to properly attend to the needs of the refugees" (p.1). Consequently, while the ANC was still providing settlement services for GARS, they were very involved in the provision of settlement services for refugee claimants. According to an informant, initially, settlement services for the refugee claimants were provided through the Department of Social Services but the ANC eventually took over the provision of all services for refugee claimants on behalf of the Province. She further noted that "the Association approached the Province and they indicated that if [the organization] could provide the same level of service for the same cost then [it] could try a pilot". The organization felt it was better positioned to provide for and to meet their needs. The organization was more attuned to the needs and concerns of immigrants and knew better how to address these issues. As an informant suggested, one concern was that the refugee claimants were being inappropriately housed

¹⁹ It remains the only federally-funded immigrant serving agency in Newfoundland and Labrador. Other agencies that provide services or advocacy are The Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council Inc. (RIAC), Newfoundland and Labrador Multicultural Folk Arts Council, Coalition on Richer Diversity (CORD), Multicultural Women's Organization of Newfoundland and Labrador, Friends of India Association, the Hebrew Congregation of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Muslim Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Newfoundland Sikh Society and the Philippine Association (Clarke, 2009, p. 9).

as “they were being put in shelters in the downtown area that were not there to meet their needs [and] it was pretty depressing”.

The organization provided refugee claimants with basic settlement services. As one informant commented, “because of the sheer numbers it was basically providing people with a decent place to live, basic furnishings and a cheque every week”. She further added that as a result of the large numbers of refugee claimants, “when they all came it was utter confusion”. Unlike GARs, refugee claimants could not avail of federally-funded programs and services. They first had to gain permanent resident status²⁰.

Refugee claimants did not have access to language training nor were they able to gain employment. This put the refugee claimants in a very precarious situation whereby they were essentially unable to move on with their lives²¹. As Omidvar and Richmond (2003) remarked, the lack of accessibility to language programs and other services places considerable stress on individuals, leaving them with little or no control over their lives. Efforts were made by various groups within the province to provide language training for refugee claimants until they were granted asylum and were able to enroll in official language training programs (Campbell, as cited in White, 1990b; Foster, as cited in White, 1990a). Refugee claimants also received language training through a temporary

²⁰“... people who make refugee claims in Canada (either at a port of entry or a CIC office) are **not** permanent residents. In order to become one, these people must receive a positive decision on their refugee claim from the Immigration and Refugee Board. Then they must apply for and be granted permanent resident status” (CIC, 2012).

²¹ Measures were taken to speed up the hearing process as it was felt some refugee claimants may have had to wait up to two years due to the backlog of applications. As well, Federal Immigration Minister, Barbara McDougall agreed refugees could obtain a work permit after the first hearing (“Federal move stemming flow of refugees”, 1990, p. 3).

program that was established with both federal and provincial funding. The Avalon Community College offered a program that located teachers in the hotels where refugee claimants were staying ("More than \$100,000 spent to teach English to refugees", 1990). They received informal language support services from the ANC and other groups within the community. According to informants many of the churches got involved as well as a significant number of volunteers.

Provincial Context: Economic Conditions

The initial years of the founding of the ANC were difficult years economically for Newfoundland and Labrador. Government reports for the period from 1979 to 1985 suggest employment growth was slow and unemployment rates steadily increased (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1988). Thus while increased numbers of immigrants arrived in the province, a substantial portion of the native born population of Newfoundland and Labrador was forced to migrate to other provinces. Newfoundland has generally had high rates of net out-migration. From 1972 to 1993 the annual net out-migration averaged about 3600 (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2006). Juxtaposed with the record numbers of refugee claimants arriving in the province was the closure of Newfoundland's 400 year old cod fishery. In 1992 the closure of the cod fishery resulted in the loss of twenty thousand jobs and 700 million dollars a year in Newfoundland and Labrador (Smith, 1992). While not directly affecting the city of St. John's it had a tremendous impact on much of rural Newfoundland and Labrador. There was a dramatic increase as well in out-migration in the 1990s which was largely a result of the cod

moratorium. In 1997 “there was a net out-migration to other provinces of 8,522 (6,963 arrived; but 15,485 left)” (Government of Newfoundland, 2005, p. 15).

This content is noteworthy as attitudes towards immigrants tend to be negative when economic conditions are poor and individuals in the local context are struggling as a result (Milne, 1990, as cited in “Understanding secondary migration: An exploratory study”, 2008; Buck et al., 2004; Citrin et al., 1997; Cornelius and Rosenblum, 2009; Espenshade and Hempstead 1996, as cited in Bittner and Tremblay, 2011). This tendency is evidenced in comments from individuals who were working with immigrants arriving in Newfoundland and Labrador during periods of economic downturn in the province. T. Hawco, former Refugee Liason Officer, with CEIC remarked that “a lot of people didn’t understand about refugees. A lot of people within the Department [CEIC] and the public saw [the money spent on refugees as] a handout. We were giving taxpayers’ money away” (personal communication, January 27, 2012). Similarly, Paulette Campbell (as cited in Hebbard, 1993a), an ANC employee during the 1990s, made the comment that, “[immigrants] are sometimes criticized for overburdening the welfare system and accused of taking jobs from Newfoundlanders” (p. 11). There has been hostility expressed towards various groups of refugees who have immigrated to Canada because of the concern that they would threaten the economy and take away employment opportunities (Dyck, as cited in McNeill, 1979b).

Economic Migrants or Political Refugees

A point of contention was whether some refugee claimants were escaping persecution or economic hardship. Knowles (2007) stated that "...because it was patently obvious that many claimants were not genuine refugees but merely individuals seeking to improve their economic prospects in Canada, this category of newcomers began to excite a lot of controversy" (p. 224). Bruce Matthews (as cited in Hickey, 1992), former acting manager for Immigration Canada in Gander, suggested the refugee claimants from the former Soviet Union did not have the same political circumstances as refugee claimants defecting in Gander from countries such as Sri Lanka and Somalia. He maintained that it was largely economics that caused large numbers of defections from the former Soviet Union at that time. However, Paulette Campbell made a very astute point. Campbell (as cited in Hebbard, 1993a) suggested that it is a strong commitment to go through the immigration process and "anybody attempting to go the refugee route to a better job would soon find the price demanded of them too high" (p. 11). Similarly, Foster (as cited in Guy, 1987) remarked, "it takes a lot of fortitude to leave everything" and immigrate to a new country with nothing (p. 21).

A number of refugee claimants from Bulgaria interviewed at the time suggested that economically their lives were relatively good but the political situation forced many people out (Germanov, as cited in Jones 1990a; Kolev, as cited in Jones 1990b; Stoyanov, as cited in Jones 1990a; Todorov, as cited in Ryan, 1992). They further added they were disillusioned with the communist regime in Bulgaria and displeased with the

governmental control that existed there. Among the refugee claimants from Bulgaria who came to Newfoundland and Labrador were a number of artists who felt creative expression was non-existent in Bulgaria (Jones, 1990b). Many refugee claimants from Bulgaria noted that intellectual freedom was absent under communist rule as well (Jones, 1990b; White, 1990). However, any obvious opposition to the Government resulted in the imposition of economic sanctions. Furthermore, according to refugee claimants from Bulgaria they experienced religious freedom for the first time when they arrived in Newfoundland and Labrador (Jones, 1990a).

Many Bulgarians who emigrated had high levels of formal schooling and some were able to bring professional documentation with them that had been translated into English (Jones, 1990a). Undoubtedly, being well-educated and having professional documentation are beneficial for adjustment and integration in Canada. Tom Hawco (as cited in Hedderson, 1980) suggested that when refugees have no professional documentation, employers often "take a cynical view of their qualifications" (pp. 10-11) and therefore it is difficult to find employment. Certainly, refugees who are fleeing their country because of war and unrest are at a distinct disadvantage as is demonstrated by the following comment: "Take, for example, those coming in a refugee situation. If war breaks out, everything's closed, you can't go to the university and say 'Oh, can I have transcripts?' Nobody's there" (Quaicoe, as cited in Porter, 2004, p.20). Credential recognition has been an ongoing issue for immigrants and refugees and will be discussed further in chapter seven.

A Different Group

One informant suggested that those requiring the services of the organization were a very different group from those who had arrived previously. One informant noted that the refugee claimants from Eastern Europe and Cuba "...were educated and they knew what they wanted". Newspaper reports indicated they were "highly trained" (Foster, as cited in White 1990b, p. 10) and "well-educated professionals" (Rowley, 1990, no page number). Furthermore, one informant described them as being very resourceful.

According to other sources many Eastern Europeans, such as Russian, Polish and Bulgarian nationals who arrived in Canada, were educated and had high qualifications in both trades and professions (Multicultural Canada, n.d). According to research regarding Polish immigration, "their education and qualifications alarmed some institutions in Poland; between 1982 and 1992, 10 percent of all university teachers left Poland, and 845 came to Canada (Radecki, 2012).

Informants suggested that in addition to those defecting by deplaning in Gander, there were also refugee claimants who left ships in St. John's harbor, and other parts of Newfoundland and Labrador as well (Evening Telegram Staff and The Canadian Press, 1991; Porter, 1991). Françoise Enguehard (as cited in Fraser, 1984), former Coordinator of the ANC, remarked, "there is a great difference between a 35-year old Polish sailor who has been around the world on ships and a 16 or 17 year old Vietnamese [youth] who has never been away from his village"(p. 23). A multitude of factors, including the type of immigrant, the particular group of people, and their previous experiences necessitates the provision of different services and programs to meet their unique needs. This point is

relevant in terms of the evolution and development of services and programs at the ANC.

Enguehard (as cited in Fraser, 1984) remarked that initially the organization had to be flexible and constantly changing in order to adapt to the individuals it was serving.

Likewise, several informants made the same observation:

“...you have to keep changing or at least adapting to the clientele that changes, as we did”.

“I think most of the changes have been dictated by the changing clientele”.

“I think we have been quick and sensitive to respond as the needs change”.

The basis of the organization is the individuals it is serving and as one informant remarked, “everything comes down to advocating for the client”. Similarly, several informants suggested teachers often have to adapt and make changes within the classroom. They stated:

“The classes are based on student need... ”.

“I think it was all in response to student need”.

“[Changes were] probably in response to a perceived need on the part of the students or something that they asked for”.

Informants were unanimous in their belief that client need has been a key factor in the direction in which the organization has moved throughout the past thirty-two years.

Furthermore, as one informant noted, “... the organization will adapt as the needs arise” and therefore will always be evolving.

Expansion of the Organization

From its inception in 1979 up to 1989 the ANC was still a relatively small operation, according to most informants who were involved at the time. Staff numbers did not increase radically and volunteers continued to play a significant role. Informants described it as still being “a little cottage industry or “a very, very small operation” up to the late 80’s and early 90’s. According to one informant, significant expansion began in the early 90’s. News reports in 1990 suggest the number of refugee claimants arriving in Newfoundland had reached “crisis” proportions in relation to capacity. In February, 2500 people mostly Eastern Europeans, had arrived in Newfoundland and “the refugee flood quickly overwhelmed local resources” (White, 1990a, p. 8). In March of 1990 Premier Clyde Wells issued a statement in the provincial House of Assembly stating that “...82 per cent of all available hotels, motels and tourist cottage facilities on the island of Newfoundland [were] occupied by refugees”. Wells (as cited in Doyle, 1990) suggested that two to three hundred claimants would be a reasonable number for the province to accommodate at any one time but actual numbers well exceeded this limit. In order to address the backlog of applications from refugee claimants waiting for hearings a local lawyer left private practice to work full-time with refugee claimants only (“Lawyer Commits Full Time to Refugee Backlog”, 1990). Additionally, six other lawyers, still in private practice, worked with Legal Aid to assist with refugee claimant cases (“Lawyer Commits Full Time to Refugee Backlog”, 1990).

The provincial government was also feeling the financial strain of the overwhelming numbers of refugee claimants. While there was a split between the provincial and federal

governments to share the cost of food and lodging for refugee claimants (Roberts, 1990) the province was overburdened with the financial debt it was incurring. It was costing the province \$1.25 million per month for accommodations (Wells, 1990). It was anticipated that the bill could rise to over \$8 million in 1990 (Roberts, 1990). The provincial government expressed concern that the poorest province in Canada had to incur such a large debt (Wells, 1990). More importantly, however, was the fact that people were being housed in less than ideal conditions due to the shortage of adequate accommodations (Wells, as cited in Doyle, 1990). It was felt that that they were not being provided for in a humanitarian way as the facilities were just not there to satisfactorily provide for them.

In response to this influx, in 1990, the Canadian government introduced a visa requirement for all European flights with a stopover in Canada to try to curb the flow of refugee claimants into the province (White, 1990a). As a result, “the visa system meant that unless people had visas to travel through Canada, they weren’t allowed to get on an international aircraft”²² (Foster, as cited in White, 1990a, p. 8). Prior to this, individuals travelling on flights refueling in Canada did not require passengers to have a visa (“Association for New Canadians fear impact of immigration changes”, 1990). With such large numbers of people defecting it opened up the possibility of individuals who may not be at risk of persecution in their homelands defecting simply as a means of expediting the immigration process and entering the country without legitimate reason.

²² Exceptions to this regulation were citizens of the home country of the airline (White, 1990b, p. 13).

As Knowles (2007) suggested, the visa requirement was one of very few ways immigration authorities had of maintaining some control of the flow of refugees entering Canada. According to then federal Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall, the new regulation would help to “control abuse and maintain integrity of the Canadian immigration system (White, 1990b, p. 13). However, some expressed concern that this new visa requirement may affect “genuine” refugees from finding safety (Foster, as cited in “Association for New Canadians Fears Impact of Immigration Changes”, 1990, p. 1). A number of host families of refugee claimants in St. John’s expressed concern that, while rules and regulations regarding refugee claims were put in place, there were extenuating circumstances for some people that were not being considered. Another concern was the fact that those who were politically appointed to the refugee board viewed matters from a North American perspective and had a very limited concept of life in communist countries (Porter, 1991). A noteworthy observation by Kelley and Trebilcock (2010) was that individuals escaping from communist regimes could more easily enter Canada as they had less restrictions placed on them compared to those from right-wing, authoritarian regimes.

The 1990 visa regulation resulted in fewer refugee claimants arriving in NL but there were still large numbers remaining who required the services of the ANC. Thus, the increased numbers of refugee claimants who needed assistance resulted in significant growth within the organization. The influx of refugee claimants allowed the organization to expand and, as one informant noted, “anything you can do on a bigger scale is more practical”. She further added, “we started off looking after a handful of people but

nobody anticipated the large numbers²³ of claimants that [eventually came in]". With the increased numbers, however, it enabled the organization to be more efficient in the services it was providing. The economy of scale allowed the organization to expand²⁴.

As one informant suggested, the "whole impetus of the refugee claimant movement ...expanded the scope of what [the organization] did" and it was a period that enabled the ANC to establish itself and enhance its profile.

Furthermore, as informants noted, many of the refugee claimants, after receiving refugee status, remained and availed of services provided by the ANC.²⁵ One informant made the following comment,

I thought this [visa regulation] would be the end of us. [However] because there were so many people in prior to that restriction that allowed us to carry on with huge numbers into the mid-nineties and even further. That whole process of people's hearings and waiting for decisions; we were still quite a force in those days.

The increased numbers of clients resulted in an increase in the number of paid employees. According to informants, staff was hired to work specifically with refugee claimants. Additionally, as one informant commented, the increased numbers of clients

²³ One source suggests the ANC was dealing with as many as 2600 people at one point ("Security Intelligence Review Committee Annual Report 1990-1991", 1991).

²⁴ Funding for refugee claimants was based on a fifty-fifty basis between the provincial and federal governments (Hebbard, 1993, p. 11). The ANC also received federal funding for Government Assisted Refugees. Currently the organization receives federal and provincial funding to provide a range of services (Clarke, 2009, p. 9).

²⁵ Numbers of refugee claimants in the province were significant enough to warrant volunteer lead English Language classes into the early 2000's.

enabled the organization to acquire the financial resources to “get the infrastructure and establish an identity”. The ANC acquired a property at 144 Military Road that would house its offices, a classroom and, a daycare facility. The main office for all aspects of settlement service remains at this location today. According to one informant it also allowed for a down payment on another property at 156 Military Road. As one informant suggested, the organization established “a [sounder] financial base” simply because of the numbers²⁶. Prior to this acquisition the office buildings were small and humble. Several informants used the following descriptors: “basic facilities”, “Spartan-like furnishings” and “basic service”. A factor that may explain these comments is that “many settlement agencies in fact struggle with inadequate financial support” (CCR, 2000, Settlement Organization section, para. 2). However, a former client suggested, “a lot of [people] succeeded in finding ...coziness in a modest building at 65 Cochrane Street, the office of the ANC” (Grouev, 1990, p. 19). The modest and basic facilities and limited funding did not impede the work being done. According to many informants, the dedication and drive of many hardworking individuals created an organization where significant work was done despite the limitations. Indeed, according to Grouev (1990) it was the place where “most problems were solved” (p. 19).

Volunteers

Despite the growth, volunteers were still a vital and necessary part of the organization. One informant stated that in 1985 the ANC had a staff of approximately five to six paid

²⁶ The organization would invoice the Provincial Government at a “flat rate [based on] per person, per day” (Informant).

workers. Another informant provided a fitting description of the type of work being done and the necessity of a volunteer commitment to the work. She stated,

in the early days...most of us were paid for part-time work but generally stayed if it was necessary, on a volunteer basis. We are not working with the government or a business that can lock the doors at five o'clock. We are dealing with people's lives and the emergencies don't stop at five o'clock.

Barron (as cited in Hebbard, 1993b) made a similar point regarding the need for staff to make the volunteer commitment. She noted, "it's necessary because you're dealing with people on a daily life basis and you just never know what problems will arise and when they'll arise" (p. 11). Similarly, an informant noted the involvement in and commitment to the work. She stated, "it is very hard to try and leave this worry at the office". Many hired employees became involved, initially, as volunteers, including the Executive Director at the time of this research. As one informant commented, even immigrants would assist with translating whereby "the newcomer communities would help new arrivals". Similarly Fraser (1984) noted that "volunteers [were] an essential part of the organization" and included those from St. John's as well as a variety of others including both former Cuban and Vietnamese nationals (p. 23). King (1988) notes, the Association's "volunteer tutoring program" had 40 volunteers at that point (p. 18). Hebbard (1993b) noted that there was a staff of 35 people including full-time, part-time and volunteer workers in 1993. The organization has always had a solid volunteer base and does to the current day. The current program is Volunteer Connections which

recently transitioned from The Host Program and was started in the mid-eighties.

According to an informant, today there are over one hundred volunteers who assist with program delivery for ANC clients.

Restructuring: Government Assisted Refugees

The ANC evolved from a volunteer organization to one with a combination of both paid employees and volunteers. One informant noted, “the organization grew tremendously in the early 90’s and scaled back to about fifty. Another indicated that, currently [there are] between sixty to seventy employees depending on the time of year”. An informant remarked that the operation of the organization is “radically different” than it was initially. Several informants suggested it evolved from an informal, largely volunteer operation to what is now more of a bureaucratic structure (Appendix F).

The ANC, like many other organizations in Canada, was instituted and has developed in response to a changing clientele with a diversity of needs. The addition of the refugee category in the 1976 Canadian Immigration Act, the significant numbers of refugees from Vietnam who arrived in the late 1970s, as well as large numbers of asylum seekers coming to Canada resulted in a response by many organizations specifically to those in the refugee class who needed assistance (CCR, 1998, “The Community Response to,” para. 8; Vineberg, 2012). Furthermore, globalization has resulted in a changing population with increasing numbers of people moving from one country to another (Cummins, 2001b; Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). Refugees make up a significant part of this population. Currently, the ANC provides services to approximately 155 GARs and

also to those in the family class, business class, and provincial nominee categories. The organization also assists some privately sponsored refugees and other permanent residents. As well, there is a small number of clients who pay for language training.²⁷ Informants suggested that the ANC does not see any refugee claimants now, that is, individuals who do not have status and are making a claim within Canada.

Nevertheless, the ANC remains an immigrant service agency whose clientele are primarily government assisted refugees. On average the numbers of GARs have been fairly consistent within the range of 130 to 150 per year while numbers have been lower in particular years. However, as one informant suggested, while numbers have remained consistent the organization has expanded as it has “branched off and done other things”, as is evident in the broad range of programs and services offered (ANC, 2010).

Informants suggested that in 2012 Newfoundland and Labrador is expected to receive an additional 25 GARs.

Government assisted refugees do not necessarily choose where they will live but are assigned to various cities within provinces across Canada. A matching centre based at Citizenship and Immigration Canada in Ottawa determines which location will best meet the needs of refugees resettling in Canada. This centre works in conjunction with

²⁷If there is space available VISA holding students who wish to avail of language training while in the province can avail of language services offered by the ANC, however priority is given to GARs and permanent residents. The numbers range from one to four a year; generally numbers are around one or two. The ANC has been offering this service for several years. Many of these clients come from St. Pierre et Miquelon.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada visa offices outside of Canada, which enables a better understanding of who the people are and their background. Decisions are based on language, work experience, where friends and family live in Canada, ethnic, cultural and religious communities in the region, medical issues and availability of settlement services. A consultation is made with the province to determine a suitable destination based on the total number of GARs arriving in Canada. Upon arrival in Canada all GARs have permanent resident status (CIC, 2012).

The ANC, as a service delivery organization aims to meet a range of needs for immigrants and refugees; the programs and services it provides are dictated largely by those who require assistance. As it is an organization that primarily assists GARs, it must respond to the needs of this particular group. Vineberg (2012) indicates that refugees as a group have “settlement needs [that] are greater than the average immigrant” (p. 47). A distinction must be made in terms of official immigrant class as the needs of GARs are very different (Papillon, 2002, as cited in Clarke, 2009; Guene, 2009 as cited in Tilson, 2010; Niazi as cited in Tilson, 2010). Informants noted that the integration process can be more difficult and GARs may have different needs depending on their country of origin. Some may have come from countries and situations without the advantages and opportunities that those emigrating from other countries may have. Some may have had their schooling interrupted, due to conflict and violence, while others may have been unable to avail of any formal schooling. Many may have left family members behind and others have been highly traumatized. Lloydetta Quaicoe (as cited in Porter, 2004) remarked “if you come from a situation where you couldn’t talk to strangers, you had to

protect your child, you had to run for your life and hide in the bush for three months, your whole sense of the world is different from someone who never had to lock the door a day in their lives” (p. 20). A number of informants noted that the organization works with people who have lived through some extremely difficult circumstances that have had an impact on their lives and those involved in this work must be highly conscious of this fact. An informant pointed out that GARs are not chosen on the “standard immigration criteria” as this program is a humanitarian program and their selection is based on need. One informant stated that, “as such, the time involved in resettlement and the nature, scope and duration of supports and programming can be impacted significantly”. Similarly, Sorrento (as cited in Tilson, 2010) observed, “...refugees may require more extensive education, training, retraining, and emotional support since many of them have suffered from violence and trauma” (p. 6).

As noted by a number of informants, the clientele of the organization is determined by instability and upheaval in various other parts of the world. They are people who have been forced to leave their homelands largely due to war and political unrest. Their circumstances vary from those who lived in their home country until conflict erupted to those who were forced into exile for many years and knew nothing about life outside of a refugee camp. One of the key issues of which organizations and communities need to be aware of is that GARs do not choose to leave their home countries and “[organizations] need to be sensitive to the circumstances that led [them] to immigrate” (Inter-cultural Association of Greater Victoria, 2007, p. 5).

Refugees do not choose to leave and, if at all possible, they would return. Nahlah Ayed (as cited in Lee, 2012), CBC reporter and author, discussed how the drive to maintain linguistic and cultural identity as well as family connections was demonstrated by her parents' decision to leave Canada and return to their homeland. As Shelagh Rogers (2012) aptly remarked, "this would give her something Canada couldn't" (Radio Broadcast). Ayed (as cited in Lee, 2012) recounted her family's journey from St. Boniface, Manitoba where "... [they] had a very lovely, normal, ordinary, Canadian life" in a nice house on a pleasant street to return to Amman, Jordan to live in a refugee camp in "a windowless, concrete home with rusted bullet holes"(Radio Broadcast) when she was six years old. Since they returned to be close to family, they lived in a refugee camp as this is where most of their family was living. They remained until she was thirteen years of age. This family's story is a pertinent reminder of the need of people to maintain their identities after immigrating to a new country. Similarly, Quaicoe (as cited in Porter, 2004) points out that returning to her homeland was so much a part of her plan that for a long time after immigrating to Newfoundland and Labrador she kept many of her personal effects packed in boxes until war broke out in Sierra Leone and she realized returning was not possible.

In reality, most people are unable to return to their homeland therefore organizations and individuals working with immigrants need to be acutely aware of the desire and the necessity to preserve identity and culture. Immigrant serving agencies must be cognizant of the significance of linguistic and cultural identity and the importance of preserving both, often in order to maintain familial connections. Undoubtedly, successful integration

and acceptance into the new culture is the desire of most immigrants. However, at what cost does integration come and, indeed, should it come? Berry (2007) made a very perceptive comment as he remarked, "... we forget, erased by assimilation, that racial differences become over-powered by national identity; that is "White" as the norm, the standard" (p. 23). This issue can be addressed by teachers and educators and Quintero (1994, as cited in James, 2000) described the impact of this loss experienced by all those involved if it is not addressed. He stated:

when learners' ways of understanding the world are not heard and accepted, everyone loses - the learners, who bring this knowledge with them to schools; the parents, who want to pass on cultural traditions but find themselves fighting both the school information and their children's perceptions of the value of their own cultural beliefs; and the teachers, who could be opening new worlds of exploration to children and themselves while providing a bridge between the culture of the school and the culture of the home. (p. 1).

Furthermore, while competence in English is necessary for both academic and employment success "... we must remain aware of the social and interpersonal dangers of rapid linguistic assimilation in order to ensure effective communication between parents and children" (Mouw & Xie, 1999, as cited in McDaid, 2011, p. 23). Essentially, denying people their language and culture is denying them their identity. Juno Award-winning artist, K'naan, originally from Somalia, described his story of "finding [his] identity and experiencing that confrontation with a new culture and language" (Champions for

Children and Youth, 2011, p. 9). He offered some very pertinent advice to youth who have immigrated to Canada. He encouraged young people to remember that despite how they may feel, “they are not starting from zero” in Canada. He further reminds people that they “didn’t come here empty” ... [and] “don’t be afraid to be yourself. Bring all of yourself, contribute, and you can lead change” (Champions for Children and Youth, 2011, p. 9).

Clientele: 1979 - 2011

The ANC has provided service to GARs from all over the world in the past thirty years. From 1979 to 1981 the Vietnamese were the main clients for the organization. Refugee claimants began arriving in 1981 and up to 1994 were a significant part of the organization. While the organization also provided service for many GARs during this time, complete records are not available for this particular period. Refugee claimants who obtained permanent resident status also remained part of the organization after 1994.

From 1994 to 2011, the ANC provided service for GARs from approximately forty-six different countries²⁸. During this period the countries of origin of ANC clientele were largely from Eastern Europe (15) and the continent of Africa. Included as well were people from countries in Asia (8) and the Middle East (5) as well as Central and South America (3). In the early nineties with the start of the Yugoslavian civil war the various countries that comprised Yugoslavia began to declare their independence. The former Yugoslavia included Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro

²⁸ Data for the numbers and source countries of GARs for the period of 1994 to 2011 was obtained from ANC records.

and Macedonia. Three religious groups were represented: Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics and Muslims (CIC, 2012). Muslims, a specific target of violence, were forced out of their villages and as a result in 1992 Canada accepted 5000 Bosnian Muslims (CIC, 2012). The continued violence and increased tensions from the impact of this war resulted in many more people emigrating from the former Yugoslavia. From 1995-1998 the ANC received a large number of clients from the former Yugoslavia. In fact, 90% of the client population was from the former Yugoslavia (*Understanding secondary migration: An exploratory study*, 2000). Individuals representing cultures of all of these countries of the former Yugoslavia arrived in St. John's. In 1999 a group of Kosovars came under the Joint Assistance Sponsorship Program, a program whereby refugees were resettled through a partnership between community groups and families with the Government of Canada (CIC, 2012). A civil war between ethnic Albanian Kosovars and Serbs in 1998 resulted in many Kosovars coming to Canada. Then President, Slobodan Milosevic, initiated a policy of ethnic cleansing against Albanians that forced hundreds of thousands of people into exile (CIC, 2012). While in smaller numbers, people continued to come from the former Yugoslavia up to 2005. Significant numbers came from Serbia and Montenegro from 2006 to 2008. A significant number of African countries are represented throughout this period although the numbers for each individual country are not necessarily high. Of these groups the highest numbers came from Sudan. These high numbers are a result of the ongoing civil war between North and South Sudan from 1983 to 2005 (BBC News, 2012).

GARs from Colombia make up another significantly large group that has been part of the ANC. From 2006 to 2009 more than 3900 Karen refugees were resettled in Canada (CIC, 2012). Recently significant numbers of Karens from Burma²⁹ have come to Newfoundland and Labrador. The Karens, a minority ethnic group, have suffered persecution throughout their history (CIC, 2012). In 1995 the Burmese government army launched a major offensive against the Karen National Union forcing them to flee their country (CIC, 2012). Many have lived in refugee camps for twenty years. In 2008 the resettlement of refugees from Bhutan began with the first group coming to Newfoundland and Labrador in 2009. The refugees from Bhutan are of ethnic Nepalese descent and originate from the southern part of Bhutan. The Bhutanese government instituted discriminatory measures that targeted people of Nepali origin who were then forced into exile and lived in refugee camps (CIC, 2012).

GARS: A Changing Population

In recent years the refugees the ANC is receiving have changed significantly. One informant remarked that previously individuals were “really highly educated and they were selected based on their ability to resettle in Canada”. Another suggested the refugees being accepted are “really high needs” because of a change in legislation. As Knowles (2007) noted, in contrast to the previous act IRPA provides a “more generous refugee protection program” (p. 260). Indeed, “IRPA’s impact has been far-reaching,

²⁹“In 1989, the military government of the Union of Burma changed the name of the country to the Union of Myanmar. Because these changes were imposed by a government that the opposition felt was illegitimate...the opposition refused to acquiesce to them” (Steinberg, 2001, p. xi). It is usual for GARs from this country to refer to the country as Burma rather than Myanmar.

influencing both the characteristics of refugees selected as well as their needs upon arrival in Canada” (CIC, 2012). CIC’s recognition of the very different resettlement needs resulted in the provision of additional funding, beginning in 2006-2007, for the RAP program; this would extend for three years (Tilson, 2010). As Gushulak (2010) noted, “associated with these demographic shifts are cultural, linguistic, economic and social changes in the composition of migrant populations” (p. 45). One informant noted that now they are selected purely for humanitarian reasons. Informants commented that in many cases people have lived in refugee camps for extended periods of time; some for, perhaps, most of their lives. They have come out of extreme circumstances whereby their lives had been disrupted for significant periods of time. A number of informants commented that the ANC is a humanitarian organization and one must not lose sight of this fact. It is their mandate to help people who have lived through some extreme circumstances and who have very high needs. Thus, in response to the changing “client base” the organization “continually updates its programming to correspond with emerging needs” (ANC, n. d.).

This change is reflected in many aspects of organization programming and services. According to an informant this change is reflected in orientation presentations based on the clientele [the organization is] working with”. Although orientation presentations are always done through an interpreter, it became clear that the use of a power point presentation was much “too wordy” and “boring” for many of the clients. Thus, as one informant suggested, the change to more “animation and pictures” made for a more accessible and useful presentation. The need for this change was dictated by the

individuals the organization was servicing and is further demonstration of one of the many ways the organization responds to the changing clientele.

Changes in Settlement Services/Organizational Structure

The organization evolved from a volunteer organization with volunteers who acted as settlement workers to one where the settlement team involves a staff of six employees. The team involves a settlement manager, three settlement workers, a settlement health worker and a settlement social worker. Nevertheless, there are still only two direct settlement workers as other workers have combined duties. However, as one informant noted “with five people working in settlement as a team then we ensure that all aspects of the client’s [settlement needs are] looked after”. Another informant indicated that this is a contrast to “the early days [when] the settlement worker was responsible for all areas of settlement with help sometimes from newcomers who had already settled in St. John’s”. In 1999 CIC introduced Settlement Workers in the Schools as a pilot program. According to an informant the ANC had its first contract for the SWIS program in 2006. Currently the ANC has four SWIS workers in the schools; this number will vary depending on the time of year. SWIS is designed to assist refugee children and youth with the transition into the Canadian school system and community (ANC, 2010). A number of informants suggested that programming for children and youth has been expanding significantly within the local organization. These programs include youth

groups, homework club, summer enrichment program³⁰, as well as symposia and presentations for youth. According to Vineberg (2012) programs to assist with settlement and integration for children and youth are relatively new and it is an area that was largely ignored in federal settlement programs. He further suggests however that it is an example of an area that settlement agencies recognized as a need quite some time ago.

The overall structure of the organization has changed in terms of settlement and how it operates. This is due, in part, to the increased focus on the settlement sector by the Federal government (CCR, 2000, Historical Context section, para.2; Vineberg, 2012). Tolley et al (2011) suggested that, “as a result immigration and settlement issues have risen in prominence on the policy agenda...” (p. 2). Increased commitment to the settlement of newcomers has resulted in expenditures more than tripling since 2006 (Tolley et al., 2011). Informants stated that the local level funding has increased from a base funding point of about \$80,000 to multiple contracts that can at some points reach over \$2,000,000. With the increased funding, many informants discussed the change from a small, informal operation with little accountability to one where they “are measured in outputs and outcomes”. Furthermore, informants noted that while there has always been a certain level of accountability for how funds were dispersed, the process has become much more rigorous. The ANC competes for funding from CIC through a bidding process (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2005). Therefore, as one informant noted, “because we compete for our funding we need to demonstrate that we

³⁰ This is a summer program funded by the Provincial Government to help youth adapt to the local school system (Informant).

are meeting our outcomes". The organization receives funding from both federal and provincial governments.

While no one doubts its need, accountability is viewed as both positive and negative. Some informants suggest that accountability has made for a less flexible and more "regimented" and "rule bound" approach. One informant commented that "now [we] have to track the minutes [we] spend with the clients". Similarly, another suggested, "there is much more accountability in terms of the details on the services that we provide to clients". Such changes alter the character of the organization.

Those who initially worked with the organization had a sense of a different type of organization than now exists. The smaller scale, the largely volunteer commitment of those who were working and the sense of doing very valuable and necessary work created a very different organization and atmosphere within it. As one informant suggested, "I think there was much more of a sense of we are building something good and we want it to succeed". Another commented that initially, "it was commitment, drive and sheer passion that enabled a small team to get the work done". The smaller organization allowed a different type of service to be provided.

Various informants felt that there are individuals within the organization who need more personal and ongoing attention than can now be provided. An informant suggested that the degree of paperwork limits the amount of time a worker has to spend directly with people. Another adamantly stated, "[workers] can't be in the office doing settlement work". Whether or not this is so may depend on individual clients and their specific

needs that may require a different kind of assistance. A number of informants suggested that the degree of intimacy and more personalized attention has been lost to some extent. One informant commented that previously it was “a different kind of settlement work. It was more hand holding”. According to one report, “a mentoring approach rather than orientation might be more appropriate for some” (Goss Gilroy Incorporated, 2005, p. 56).

According to many informants there is a degree of informality in a smaller operation and it is lost as the organization increases in structure and accountability, which has happened within the ANC. For example, one informant related a story of a situation where a woman visited a doctor but lacked the language skills to convey her problem. The doctor called the ANC and had a settlement worker inform him of the problem on the phone. As she commented, this spontaneity and informality would never happen today. However, as one informant suggested, accountability is not necessarily a negative thing. Informants noted that it does bring more rigor and professionalism, which has become evident within the organization. It is inevitable that with increased funding and government involvement there is a demand for greater accountability. However, there is a need for accountability to the individuals the organization is serving as well. One informant remarked that the accountability issue is gone to an extreme, which in her view should be taken back to “something a little more manageable”.

Programs and Services

The growth in the organization is reflected in the range of programs and services that the ANC offers. Informants suggested that undoubtedly, the passion, drive and

resourcefulness of Bridget Foster, Executive Director for the past twenty-seven years, have resulted in tremendous financial growth as well as diversification of programs and services. The increase in the number of immigrants and refugees being hired to work at the ANC is an encouraging and enlightened change. An informant noted that immigrants comprise approximately 25% of the staff and they work in various areas within the organization. Another informant suggested, “[the ANC does] try to hire people to reflect some of the diversity and [she feels] that is helpful for the clients to be able to relate to the people they are working with”. Similarly, Whittaker (as cited in Tilson, 2010) observed that “to be able to access services from people who fundamentally understand your values, who look like you, in many instances, and who can speak the language of the service that you're demanding” is very important (p. 15). The necessity of having employees who have an intimate understanding of the settlement process is well-documented (Cottrell, 2008). Increasingly, the settlement sector is an area where new immigrants work and they “[bring] their own experience of the settlement and integration processes” (CCR, 2000, Historical context section, para. 1).

Immigration: Provincial Context

According to Tolley et al. (2011) “in the past 15 years the provinces and territories have become particularly active, which has dramatically changed the immigration landscape not only in terms of the policy agenda but also in terms of the available resources, program delivery models, and community involvement” (p. 4). Similarly, Vineberg (2012) suggested the progression of federal-provincial relations has had a significant

effect on both settlement and integration. He further commented that in the 1980s and 1990s constitutional debates were of primary importance. One informant for this research suggested "...there has been a tremendous interest in immigration; the whole landscape has changed" in recent years. There has been increased commitment to and involvement in immigration related issues by both the Federal and Provincial governments. As Tolley et al. (2011) suggested, "interest in immigration, integration and inclusion is evolving" (p. 10). According to informants the Association for New Canadians has been a key contributor to this change at the local level in Newfoundland and Labrador. An example of this contribution was that the ANC established the Coordinating Committee on Newcomer Integration (CCNI) with the aim of attracting, retaining and servicing immigrants in the province. This committee will be discussed in more detail in chapter six.

Historically, smaller provinces have not played a proactive role in immigration (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2005). However, immigration and issues related to immigration have gained a much higher profile in Newfoundland and Labrador. In September, 2005 consultations began to develop an immigration strategy for the province. Then Minister of Human Resources Labour and Employment (HRLE), Joan Burke (2005) remarked that "over 200 representatives from many sectors including education, economic development, government and immigration groups [were] invited to the consultations" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2005). In the spring of 2006 the Government began publication of *The Newcomer*, a newsletter on immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador. In March 2007, the Provincial Government launched the

provincial immigration strategy entitled *Diversity – Opportunity and Growth* (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007). One of the explicit goals outlined in the new strategy is “to increase and enhance settlement and integration services in the province...” (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007, News Release). This was a positive move and beneficial to both the organization and those whom it serves. In January 2008 the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism opened, which “is a key element of the \$6 million provincial immigration strategy, *Diversity-Opportunity and Growth*” (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2008). In June of 2008, the provincial government launched its Policy on Multiculturalism (Appendix G). With the launch of this new policy the government aims “to combine all immigration-related matters under one branch of government and encourage newcomers to stay in this province” (“Immigrant Office Open”, 2008, p. A7). All of this is having a significant impact on immigration and immigration related issues. A number of informants commented on the fact that Newfoundland and Labrador is becoming a more multicultural place and that people do tend to stay here longer and, indeed, many have settled here.

Conclusion

Globalization and changes in the movement of groups of people with more accessibility to travel has resulted in significant numbers of people immigrating to Canada. Additionally, changes in immigration policies and Canada’s commitment to assist those in need have contributed to this trend. Increased commitment by both the Federal and

Provincial Governments in helping immigrants and refugees resettle in Canada has brought significant changes within the ANC. All aspects of the organization have changed from increased funding to the addition of new programs. While the basic structure of the organization has remained, there is some fluidity in terms of programming. When deemed necessary and funding is available, programs are added to meet that need. There is a constant evolution as the organization adapts to the needs of the clientele. Another key aspect of the settlement and integration services provided by the Federal Government, language programming, will be discussed in the next chapter of this thesis.

Chapter Five Language

“...ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity - I am my language”
(Anzaldúa (1987 as cited in McDaid, 2011, p. 22)

Introduction

Language training was not part of the ANC's initial mandate as language programs for immigrants and refugees were offered through other agencies. However, since 1986 the ANC has offered language training through various federally funded programs (Budden, 1989, as cited in Bassler, 1990). Since 1992, the primary language program offered by the ANC has been the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada Program, a national, settlement language program funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada³¹.

This chapter provides an overview of the language programs that have been offered by the Association for New Canadians. The particular focus of this chapter is the development and expansion of the LINC program both nationally and locally, in Newfoundland and Labrador. I discuss how changing clientele and client need have, in part, shaped the evolution of language programming nationally. Furthermore, I examine how the LINC program has been adapted and changed within the local context at the Association for New Canadians.

Federally Funded Language Programs: An Overview

For many immigrants the initial excitement of coming to a new country is often followed by the reality of having to learn to live in a new culture (Gormley & Gill, 2007). As one

³¹ The LINC program was created by the former Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC).

informant noted, "the initial phase is that they are excited and happy with a new place with a change if they are from an environment where it is not secure and safe. It is a big relief. ...the next phase is they start to look around and say what can I do?" This is when the "day to day challenges of life in Canada mount" (Au, 2009 as cited in Tilson, 2010, p. 8). Language is fundamental to being able to survive and participate in that new culture (Gormley & Gill, 2007). When immigrants arrive in Canada, many are unable to speak either of the two official languages (Cleghorn, 2000). Friere (1990) contended, "this...compounds the social and cultural traumas experienced by refugees" (p. 1). Thus the provision of language programming is essential. However, limited access to language training has been a key issue in the past. In 1990 only 28% of immigrants were receiving language training; this lack of accessibility was seen as a major problem (Cray, 1997; Vineberg, 2012).

The introduction of federally funded English language programming began in 1947 (Cleghorn, 2000). Canada introduced the Citizenship and Language Instruction and Language Textbook Agreement (CILT) (Burnaby, 2003). In late nineteenth century America the massive influx of immigrants resulted in "'Americanization' and citizenship programs [becoming] a prominent form of adult education" (Merriam & Caferella, 2007, p. 6). Similarly, in Canada, both the Citizenship Act and the new language training program were introduced in post war Canada (Cleghorn, 2000). The focus of the language program was to prepare immigrants with the language and knowledge to pass the citizenship test (Burnaby, 2003). Ciccarelli (1997, as cited in Cleghorn, 2000) argues that this was likely an effort to create national unity in the post-war era and an attempt to

“encourage assimilation and keep Canada white, Anglo-Saxon and English-speaking” (p. 28).

In the mid- 1960’s a booming economy and high levels of immigration saw a change from the focus on language training for citizenship to one of language training for employment (Bettencourt, 2003; Burnaby, 2003; Cleghorn, 2000; Morgan, 2002). This federal initiative was called the Canadian Job Strategies Program (CJS). However, it did not necessarily meet the needs of all immigrants. Participation in the labour force does not help those in the refugee and family classes with the “problem” of integration (Cleghorn, 2000, p. 38). Rather, “ ‘language ability’ emerges as a major focus and factor of immigrant integration that, for the family and refugee classes, will be the first step toward the goal of economic integration” (Cleghorn, 2000, p. 38). Under the Citizenship Act some language classes were still offered for those not seeking employment (Cleghorn, 2000, p. 29).

Governments responded to criticisms of generic programs by experimenting with “co-sponsored ESL partnerships and ESL partnerships with non-governmental organizations, school boards, and immigrant settlement agencies” (Morgan, 2002, p. 145). Programs that followed include the Newcomer Language Orientation Classes (NLOC) in the 1960’s. In 1986 the federal government, through the Settlement Branch of Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, introduced the Settlement Language Training Program (Burnaby, 1988; CEIC, 1986 as cited in Vineberg, 2012). Previously, community based ESL delivery was a provincial responsibility and the federal

government only had direct involvement through funding (Burnaby, 1988, p. 27). According to Vineberg (2012), “ language training was delivered for the most part through the direct purchase of seats in provincially approved institutions” (p. 31). SLTP was a pilot program designed primarily for women at home who were unable to avail of other language programs³² (Bassler, 1990; Burnaby, 1988; CEIC, 1986, as cited in Vineberg, 2012). Under the SLTP program the support services provided were daycare and transportation. A training allowance was not provided unlike other language training programs (Bassler, 1990; Kayed, 2011). In 1989 SLTP was renamed the Settlement Language Program (SLP) and it was no longer a pilot but a regular program (Cleghorn, 2000; Morgan, 2002; Vineberg 2012). Around the same time the Volunteer Tutor Program was also offered (Bassler, 1990). Burnaby (1996) maintained that “Canadian ESL delivery has made slow but steady progress from practically nothing in the early 1960’s to a large and complex undertaking” (p. 159).

Changes in programming reflect the social and political influences at particular times. Hannon (2004) observes that school literacy is continually open to change as a result of social processes and decisions about literacy education are often political. Likewise, as is language programming for immigrants and refugees. In 1992 the Federal Government introduced the LINC program which was designed to facilitate the integration and settlement of immigrants and refugees in Canada.

³² This program was designed for those who were unlikely to join the work force but the main target was immigrant women at home. There was other language training available through Job Entry programs (Burnaby, 1988).

LINC Program: Overview

The establishment of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada Program in 1992 was an essential part of this Canadian Federal Immigration Plan for 1991-1995 (CIC, 2012). Bettencourt (2003, as cited in Pinet, 2006) stated that in an attempt to better meet the needs of immigrants and refugees this new immigration plan reflected the government's view of the importance of the necessity of the provision of settlement services at all stages of the settlement process and included the creation of Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program³³ (p. 8). With the introduction of the new immigration plan came a focus on settlement and integration of immigrants and refugees in Canada (Hajer, Robinson & Witol, 2002). Learning one of Canada's two official languages, English or French, would help "facilitate ... social, cultural and economic integration" (CIC, 2004, "Evaluation of the Language Instruction," Background section, para. 2).

Hajer et al. (2002) noted that the LINC program was created by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (EIC). *Innovations in Training* (EIC, 1991a) and *New Immigrant Language Training Policy* (EIC, 1991b) outlined the policy of the LINC program (Cray, 1997). According to Hajer et al. (2002), "its mandate is to provide free basic language instruction to adult newcomers in both official languages and to facilitate the settlement and integration of immigrants and refugees into Canadian society" (p. 6). Classes are offered on both a full and part-

³³ In French, the program is Cours de langue pour les immigrants au Canada (CLIC) (CIC, 2012). The standard on which it is based is Niveaux de compétence linguistique canadiens (NCLC) (Kayed, 2011).

time basis and most LINC centers offer free childminding. Classes are offered from basic to intermediate levels of English proficiency (CIC, 2012). The standard on which class levels are based is the Canadian Language Benchmarks, which range from levels one to twelve. Other programs offer advanced levels of English programming such as the Enhanced Language Training program (ELT) which is focused on occupation specific language training and preparing people for work in Canada (CIC, 2012). Provinces³⁴ offer varying levels of LINC classes. LINC has become a major part of adult ESL instruction in Canada since its implementation (Gormley & Gill, 2007). In fact, “LINC is a key element of CIC’s integration programming, accounting for the largest part of settlement funding” (CIC, 2011, “Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program,” Relevance and Design section, para. 1).

Language Programs in Newfoundland and Labrador

The first language program for non-English or French speaking immigrants and refugees in St. John’s was a direct response to the arrival of refugees from Vietnam in 1979 (Bassler, 1990). Informants stated that this ESL program was implemented by the provincial Department of Education through the Division of Adult and Continuing Education. The program was federally funded and separate from the settlement organization. ESL courses continued to be provided through other agencies in St. John’s

³⁴ In British Columbia, Manitoba and Quebec the development and delivery of settlement and integration programs is a provincial responsibility. These provinces receive federal funding to administer the program. (CIC, 2012, “Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program”, Background section, para. 2).

with federal government funding up to 1992. However, according to an informant, in 1992 the ANC was contracted to offer the LINC program. Prior to this the ANC obtained seats in language training programs for students; the seats were purchased through EIC from provincially approved institutions that offered ESL programming (King, 1988). Informal language training was also provided, through the ANC, with the assistance of volunteers (Bassler, 1990; King, 1988). Around 1986 the ANC offered the Volunteer Tutor Program which was funded through the Secretary of State (Bassler, 1990). In this program refugees were matched with volunteers in the community who provided one-on-one instruction for a minimum of two hours per week³⁵ (Bassler, 1990).

According to informants, the ANC received funding to offer the SLTP pilot program shortly after the program was introduced in 1986. The organization continued to receive funding to offer the renamed SLP when it became a regular program. Informants who taught both the SLTP and SLP suggest very little changed other than the name. Burnaby (1988), in a study of the pilot program, indicated that teachers interviewed in other provinces commented on the lack of “pedagogical support” and “limited resources” in the implementation of SLTP (pp. 33-34). Similarly, informants noted the lack of guidelines and suggested curriculum development was the teacher’s responsibility. One informant commented, “it was just stuff I cobbled together myself”. Kayed (2011) also noted a lack of consistency within the program as each service provider used their own methods to determine proficiency level and their own form of assessment. The program was offered

³⁵ Currently, the ANC offers a variety of programs to assist with language learning through its Volunteer Connections Program. These programs include one on one tutoring of adults and youth (both in and outside of school settings), academic tutoring, as well as various group activities that provide opportunities to improve language skills.

with limited resources and in very basic facilities which is clearly illustrated in the following comment by an informant:

It was the most basic kind of service you could think of. When I went to work at the ANC first, I taught on Gower Street upstairs in a bedroom with one bare light bulb hanging down and balloon wallpaper on the walls.

Bassler (1990), in her description of an SLP classroom, suggested there was a “virtual absence of modern teaching aids” (p. 106). Similarly, Winter (1990) noted that what served as a blackboard was white plastic against a wall. However basic, it was not reflective of the atmosphere, which emanated warmth, friendliness and a sense of fun within the classroom (Bassler, 1990; Winter, 1989). Likewise one informant noted, in her description of the building in which the class was held that “the windows were covered in plastic and it was freezing cold” but despite the surroundings”...it was the neatest group and it worked”. She further added, “I was teaching men and women, everyone all together, it was quite a lot of fun...”. Furthermore, as one informant noted, the lack of structure and direction allowed the instructor to tailor the program to the needs of the specific group of students being worked with.

The basic facilities and resources reflected the limited funding provided to deliver programs and support for this particular group. Cleghorn (2000) noted that when the SLTP was introduced as a pilot program funding was limited to 10 per cent of the total budget and the other 90 per cent went to the Canadian Job Strategies Program. One informant insisted that women at home still require more support services than are

available. This is an ongoing issue and the necessity of increased programming for this group is noted by many researchers (Cleghorn, 2000; Cottrell, 2008; Landsborough, 2009). The informant for this study felt that often women are unable to gain access to child minding because of waitlists which results in isolation and discontent³⁶.

Landsborough (2009), in a study of one group of immigrant women, found that the key informants indicated a need for more space in the LINC child minding program as it was a significant barrier in terms of gaining access to the language program. Often, in a language education program, equally important to language learning is the social support and relief from isolation (Bassler, 1990, Burnaby, 1988; McDonald, George, Cleghorn, & Karenova, 2008; Landsborough, 2009). One informant insisted that “as things get bigger women and children get lost”. The ANC delivered the Settlement Language Training Program until it was phased out with the introduction of the LINC language training program in 1992.

Developments in the Field of Second Language Education

The movement of people such as refugees from one country to another has important implications for educators (Cummins, 2001b). Alfred (2004, as cited in Merriam & Caferella, 2006) suggested that the diversity within the immigrant population indicates the challenge faced by curriculum developers and planners of educational programs to meet the myriad needs and expectations of this group. In an attempt to better meet the needs of immigrants, the LINC program was established. With the introduction of LINC,

³⁶ The Itinerant Language Training Program for Women enables women to avail of some language training if unable to attend LINC classes due to waitlists or responsibilities in the home. This program will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

the focus was on improving communication skills and taking a more modernized approach to language teaching with the recognition of new developments in curricula, teacher orientation and methodologies (Bettencourt, 2003; Cray, 1997 as cited in Pinet, 2006).

Significant changes were taking place in the field of language education. Several “applied linguists [had] begun to redraw the boundaries of English language teaching, arguing that the language is taught, both domestically and internationally, in a social, economic, political, and cultural context that must be taken into account and studied if we are to understand second language learning and teaching” (Auerbach, 1986; 1995; Penneycook, 1989, 1994 1996; Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 1991, 1995 as cited in Cray, 1997, p. 1). Nunan (2004) suggested language education was no longer viewed as learning a set of grammatical rules and memorizing vocabulary.

The theoretical framework that guides the LINC program is communicative competence, which is the ability to effectively function in society. The five competencies outlined are linguistic, textual, functional, socio-cultural and strategic competencies (Hajer et al, 2000).

In many areas of the world the audio-lingual method was replaced by the communicative approach around the 1970’s (Lessard-Clouston, 1997, Culture Teaching in L2/FL Education, Background section, para 3). Hinkel (1999) noted linguist Dell Hymes, whose work gained prominence in the late sixties and early seventies, first introduced the communicative approach. He further noted that Hymes’ work has significantly

influenced research and teaching methodologies in second language. According to Hymes (1972b, as cited in Hinkel, 1999) “ ‘communicative competence’ included both ‘speaking’ and behavioural competence and ‘interpretation’ of speech and behaviours according to the norms of the speech community”. The focus is on the functions the second language must serve for the learner and not just the vocabulary and structure of the language (Piper, 2001). However, it is not simply teaching the language; rather it is teaching within the context of actual use and by providing realistic practice, if not in the actual context (Piper, 2001). An informant made the following comment:

One thing I notice is that, personally, as a teacher I have moved into a more communicative way of teaching. I try to get the students to practice more hands on and bring [in] the outside, to bring authentic things to help in the classroom. I can say that as a school, too, we have changed.

Similarly, another noted, “the main focus for me is that they are able to communicate”. Context and the role of culture in both second and foreign language curriculum were emphasized and was influenced by the work of Seelye (1974) and Lafayette (1975) (Lessard-Clouston, 1997, Culture Teaching in L2/FL Education: Background section, para. 2). The role of language in people’s lives cannot be seen just from the study of grammar. Culture is essential to language for it is people interacting and involved in a world of social action (Ashton-Warner in DeRolf, 2011; Berns, 1984; Duranti, 2001). Ashton-Warner, as cited in DeRolf, 2011) suggested “it is our most important link with the world around us” (Notes section, para. 6). Lessard-Clouston (1997) suggested

that“...in describing their framework for communicative competence Canale and Swain (1980) claimed that ‘a more natural integration’ of language and culture takes place ‘through a more communicative approach than through a more grammatically based approach’ (p. 31)” (Culture Teaching in L2/FL Education: Background section, para. 4). Recently, as well, there has been an emphasis on learning as a social process and “and socio-cultural theories are beginning to be drawn on in addition to (or even in preference to) cognitive theories (see, for example, Lantolf, 2000)” (Nunan, 2004, p. 6).

Two theoretical components underlie the current Canadian Language Benchmarks. These are Krashen’s acquisitional model of language learning and Nunan’s framework for task based learning (Pinet, 2006). Experiential learning is an important conceptual basis for task-based learning (Nunan, 2004). Similar to Dewey, this approach suggests starting at the point of the “learner’s immediate personal experience” (Nunan, 2004). Nunan (2004) suggested:

The philosophical reasons for adopting a learner-centered approach to instruction have been informed by research into learning styles and strategies (Willing, 1988; Oxford, 1990), as well as conceptual and empirical work in the area of learner autonomy (Benson, 2002). p. 15

Krashen’s theory of second language acquisition (SLA) had a significant impact on second language research as well as teaching (Schütz, 2007, Introduction section, para. 1). Krashen’s work has been very influential in supporting the Communicative Language Approach (Gunn, 2003). ESL teaching practices are guided by research on SLA, that is,

the process of learning to speak a language other than one's native language.

Furthermore, "recent research has focused on learner motivation, opportunities for interaction, task-based learning, and focus on form in instruction" (Centre for Adult English Language Acquisition (CAELA) Network, 2011, Second Language Acquisition section, para. 1). Research has shown that key to learning a language is "integrative motivation", that is the desire to integrate and assimilate in the community which encourages SLA (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003 as cited in CAELA Network, 2011). Furthermore, research has shown that the desire to integrate supports SLA in learners of all ages and in both second language and foreign language education (CAELA Network, 2011, Motivation section, para. 1).

Another key issue in second language education for adult immigrants and refugees is adult learning. Gormley and Gill (2007) suggested that adult learning can be influenced by various factors "including adjustment to a multicultural and multiracial society; physical condition; background experiences; motivation; and learning styles and ability (Brown, 2000; Lightbrown and Spada, 1999)" (p. 9). Adult learners, especially refugee and immigrant learners, vary in terms of characteristics (Gormley & Gill, 2007; Tyacke and Medelsohn, 1986). As an informant for this study commented,

when the learners sit in front of you they are adults. You have to know the principles and philosophies of adult learning to be a really good ESL instructor. Every learner is so different and needs so much respect and time, and

individuality like children do but I think it is more critical for adults, and they need flexibility.

A variety of factors will influence language learning (Kottler& Kottler, 2002 as cited in Gormley & Gill, 2007; Tyacke & Mendelsohn, 1986). Gormley and Gill (2007) suggested that the diversity of experiences that adult ESL learners have is a very valuable classroom resource.

The LINC program is a settlement language program modeled on the former SLP (Ananiadis et al, 2007, History of LINC, Slide 3). As one informant remarked, "...all of our teaching was to be geared to [the] settlement issues [of] clients". With the introduction of the LINC program the focus was on "general instruction and newcomer integration" rather than labour market preparation (Shane, 1992, as cited in McDonald et al., 2008, p. 2). However, as Fleming (1998) noted, with Canada's new immigration policy for 1991-1995, there was a focus on the importance of increasing immigration levels to help with economic growth. Immigrants would bring the required skills but "they could only be effectively put to use for the nation through the development of more efficient and effective language training" (CIC, 1991, 1994 as cited in Fleming, 1998, p. 22). As with SLP, support services in the LINC program included provision for child minding and transportation allowance thus enabling those who, otherwise, would be unable to attend (Bettencourt, 2003).

LINC: Program Development

The ANC offered levels one to three of the LINC program shortly after its introduction in 1992. However, the program was still in the developmental stages as program guidelines were not drafted until 1993 (Hajer et al., 2002). Placement was determined by a student's level of English proficiency with level one being the lowest. However, one informant noted that placement of students was somewhat speculative and arbitrary, initially, as there was no assessment tool to determine proficiency level. Therefore, according to an informant, students were grouped according to levels as "you best saw fit".

While materials were gradually developed and distributed to the various provinces across Canada, informants reported that initially there was very little guidance and, similar to the SLTP and SLP, the LINC program was "fleshed out" and developed by instructors. It was noted that, in the beginning, the program was directed by CIC staff and language training was not their area of expertise (Ananiadis, McMullin & Douglas, 2007, History of LINC, Slide 3). Thus, shortly after the introduction of the LINC program the Ontario Region LINC Advisory Committee (ORLAC)³⁷ was formed, which was a group of "experts representing deliverers who helped develop tools and shape the program" (Ananiadis et al., 2007, History of LINC, Slide 3).

³⁷ ORLAC still exists and its mandate "is to provide advice and guidance to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) on operational issues and policies relating to the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program" (Teachers of English as a Second Language(TESL) Ontario, 2012).

Informants noted the obvious lack of structure when the program was first implemented. One informant suggested it was somewhat “amorphous” in the beginning while another suggested that basically the textbooks provided structure. Additionally, according to informants there was a lack of materials available because resources were being gradually developed. Furthermore, accessibility and availability of materials in Newfoundland and Labrador was very limited until ANC staff began attending national conferences where material was more easily sourced.

In 1997 the government introduced levels four and five of the LINC program³⁸; the ANC offered level four in 2000 and level five in 2001. Bettencourt (2003) suggested that expansion of the program was, in part, a response to the needs of a changing clientele. Similarly, all informants suggested that change and adaptation within the LINC program, at the local level, is undoubtedly based on client need. Many informants asserted that immigrant needs reflect the countries and circumstances from which they come. Hence, as Bettencourt (2003) remarked, programming changes are a reflection of “...shifts in immigration patterns and newcomer needs...” (p. 27). In 2002 service providing agencies identified a lack of higher level classes as one of the gaps in LINC training and thus the need for expansion (Bettencourt, 2003). The expansion of the LINC program to higher levels reflected the changing clientele, the source countries and higher levels of education among clients (Bettencourt, 2003). This pattern has been reversed in recent years due to changes in government policies and the changing source countries of

³⁸ LINC was only introduced in the province of Ontario in 1997 (CIC, 2004, Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program, Modes of delivery section, para. 1).

immigrants and refugees as a result. As was previously stated, with IRPA, individuals chosen were now those deemed to be in greatest need. Clients were coming from countries where they had experienced some very difficult and extreme circumstances. As a result many individuals were unable to avail of formal schooling and many had spent a significant portion of their lives in refugee camps. As one informant noted, the ANC “changed the focus of [its] programming [by] providing supports at a lower level in response to emerging client needs”³⁹. A significant change, locally, has been the gradual increase in the number of foundation or pre-benchmark level language classes. Increased numbers of clients were arriving with little or no formal schooling and no ability to communicate in English. Thus, language classes were created at levels suited to their needs. Foundation level classes were further sub-divided into levels A, B and C⁴⁰ with Foundation A being the beginning level class. The creation of three foundation level classes was a response to the diversity of students’ needs at this level. It became obvious that grouping people simply on their inability to communicate in English was not adequately meeting the needs of the students at the foundation level. Other factors, including age, background, and level of formal schooling, had to be considered. According to one informant, other provinces are now considering this model that has been implemented at the ANC and feel it is a good approach to use in working with Foundation level students. One informant suggested, programming changes have been

³⁹ The ANC offered Enhanced Language Training (ELT), a LINC program that was started in 2003/2004 to provide advanced levels of language training with a focus on being able to communicate in work related situations. However, as one informant noted this program was eventually phased out as the need was not there and support was needed at the lower levels.

⁴⁰ At the time of writing two temporary, Foundation classes were added to accommodate new arrivals in Newfoundland and Labrador. Incidentally, both of these classes were at the Foundation A level.

determined by client need in the past and, likewise, will determine the future directions of the organization.

Expansion of the LINC Program in Newfoundland and Labrador

Informants suggested that the LINC program is an area that reflects significant growth and expansion within the ANC. The LINC program grew from having three instructors and one childcare employee to nine LINC instructors, a technology instructor, and six childcare employees. Currently, classes range from pre-benchmark to Level Five⁴¹.

Additionally, there is a Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) program that all levels avail of once a week. Classroom teachers are also allotted one class period a week in the computer lab, which is used at the teacher's discretion.

LINC childminding⁴² is an unlicensed centre that provides care for children while parents attend LINC classes. Childminding programs that are delivered under the auspices of the LINC program are the responsibility of the service provider organization. LINC childminding centres are overseen by CIC sponsored Childminding Monitoring Advisory Support (CMAS) (CIC, 2012).

In 2006, the ANC created two childcare centres. A centre for children aged 12 to 36 months is a LINC childminding centre overseen by CMAS. An informant noted that International Friends is a registered daycare centre for children ages 36 to 69 months

⁴¹ Currently, two classes are offered at Level Two, however this may change to another level depending on need.

⁴² The term childminding is used to refer to LINC centres as they are not registered daycares but unlicensed centres where a parent must always be on site. Daycare refers to a registered centre.

under the supervision of Eastern Health's childcare services. Both centres provide childcare services for LINC students and have a staff of three each. The LINC childminding centre requires that one parent always be on site as it is not licensed. However, informants noted, an advantage of the registered daycare is that it provides a little more flexibility for parents as it enables them to leave for necessary appointments. As one informant indicated this flexibility is particularly valuable for single parents who do not have the option of having another parent remain on site. The LINC program provides a transportation allowance; however, the ANC provides transportation services for GARs to and from language classes⁴³ (ANC, 2010). The organization owns six passenger vans for transportation purposes.

With the growth and expansion of the organization, language classes and the childminding centre have been housed in various locations, including the main office building. However, with the introduction of the LINC program, a larger space was required to house the school and childminding centre separate from the main offices. From 1993 to 2001 the school and childminding centre were located on Duckworth Street in a former office building. In 2001, both moved to a former school building on Smithville Crescent. The Association for New Canadians Adult ESL Language Training Centre remains at this location today.

The expansion and changes locally are reflective of changes at the national level. Informants suggested that since the implementation of the LINC program twenty years

⁴³ Provision for transportation is also provided for others with a demonstrated need (ANC Website, 2010).

ago, it has expanded and developed into a more formal, structured, and professional program. The following resources have been developed to assist with program delivery:

Table 1.1	
Year	Resource
1993	LINC guidelines were released
1994	Draft LINC Literacy Component was introduced
1996	The Canadian Language Benchmarks-Working Paper was released (CLB Document)
1997	1997 LINC curriculum guidelines for levels one to three were revised according to the 1996 CLBs.
1997	Revised LINC Literacy Component was released.
1998	Curriculum guidelines for levels four to five were developed, in accordance with the 1996 CLBs.
2000	A revised version of the CLBs was released in 2000. ESL for Literacy Learners: Canadian Language Benchmarks introduced
2002	Niveaux de compétence linguistique canadiens (NCLC) established for French language learners of CLIC (translated version of CLBs).
2002	LINC 1-5 was published under one cover, in accordance with the revised CLBs.
2006	A revised and more rigorous version of the NCLC developed Curriculum guidelines were developed for LINC levels six and seven
2006	Programming began in Ontario for LINC levels 6 and 7 and curriculum guidelines were developed for those levels

In 2002 two separate documents LINC 1-3(1993, 1997) and LINC 4-5(1996) were combined to create the LINC 1-5 Curriculum Guidelines. The revised document included a number of changes as well. The combination of these two documents coincided with aligning the program with the new Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000 (Hajer et al., 2002). The CLBs are “a set of task-based descriptive levels in three areas: reading, writing and speaking/listening” (Cleghorn, 2000, p. 46). The CLBs “are the national standard used in Canada for describing, measuring and recognizing the English language proficiency of adult immigrants and prospective immigrants for living and working in Canada”(CCLB, 2012). Thus, the

Benchmarks allow people to be placed in appropriate levels. The Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks was formed in Ottawa in 1998 (Cleghorn, 2000, p. 46).

A separate set of Benchmarks were designed for literacy learners. These Benchmarks were designed for Adult ESL learners and provide descriptors for progression in reading and writing. "This set of Benchmarks is unique for ESL learners who are not literate in their own language or those individuals not familiar with the Roman alphabet" (Johansson et al., 2000, p. iv).

Formalized Assessment/Placement

In 1992 the Vancouver Community College developed the A-LINC placement test (Bettencourt, 2003). A-LINC provided a more formal method of assessment for determining the level of proficiency in English as a Second Language. In 1993, the federal government established the National Working Group on Language Benchmarks which would oversee the "design and development of a set of language proficiency standards" for adult immigrants in Canada (CLB, 2012). The Canadian Language Benchmarks provide a standard of communicative proficiency for adult ESL students. There are twelve benchmarks or "reference points" which include four skill areas: reading, writing, speaking and listening (CLB, 2012). The National Working Group on Language Benchmarks was comprised of representatives that included ESL teachers, academics, learners and all levels of government. In 1995 a draft version of the CLB was piloted whereby various groups, including learners, offered input for the working

document that was issued in 1996. In 1996 the Canadian Language Benchmarks became the “standard framework” teachers would use for planning and assessment in Canadian Adult ESL programs (CLB, 2012). The revised version, *Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000*, was later released (CLB, 2012). This latter document has undergone further revision and is soon to be released (CLB, 2012). A second CLB document is the *Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: ESL for Literacy Learners*. There are a number of assessment tools used to determine a learner’s benchmark level. However, the main assessment tool used at the ANC is the Canadian Language Benchmarks Placement Test (CLBPT). The ANC currently has seven CLB certified assessors on staff and it is the only centre providing assessment in the province (ANC, 2010). Informants noted that workshops and conferences have increased professional development and provided greater accessibility to program resources.

Individuals who are unable to attend LINC classes in person can now take advantage of a distance program, the LINC Home Study program. This program was piloted in 1995 in the province of Ontario where it has continually expanded. In 2008 LINC Home Study was piloted in three more Canadian provinces. It is currently offered in Alberta, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador (Türegün, 2012).

The Itinerant Program is another aspect of the LINC program. This program is delivered by an itinerant teacher through weekly tutoring sessions and is based on the CLBs (CIC, 2012). According to an informant, the ANC had its first itinerant teacher in 2008. The

Itinerant Language Training Program for Women offered by the ANC enables immigrant and refugee women who cannot attend classes to benefit from language training within their homes. The Itinerant Program is mainly for mothers with young children who, because of family responsibilities and wait lists, are unable to attend school (Landsborough, 2009). One informant suggested that it would be useful to have at least four or five itinerant teachers in St. John's to deal with the number of women who are at home with young children. Itinerant instructors are teaching in Newfoundland, Saskatchewan and Alberta (CIC, 2011, "Evaluation of the Language Instruction Program", Management and Delivery Section, para. 3). There are also "rural itinerant teachers" in Alberta and Newfoundland (CIC, 2012).

As with all aspects of immigration, government funding for programs has increased significantly resulting in more accountability. According to Cleghorn (2000) "accountability and competition (the marketization of federal ESL programs) are the catchwords that underwrite the LINC program" (p. 58). One informant noted the competitive aspect of the program and suggested that the organization is continually evaluated in terms of its outcomes. Another informant remarked that "there are clear expectations and outcomes that [the organization is] expected to achieve which demonstrates [its] results. In terms of settlement programming, accountability is an expectation by CIC in terms of both funding as well as outcomes attained (CIC, 2012, Strategic Outcomes and Program Architecture, Program Description section, para 1). Furthermore, informants suggested the ANC must look at maximizing outcomes and processing the numbers because the organization must be accountable to its funders. As

one informant noted, a key issue for government is "... getting value for [the] money".

In a non-profit organization where funding is always uncertain there is a degree of pressure on the organization to produce results. According to informants, there is the consideration that other organizations may be in competition for funding to provide some of the services that the ANC currently provides.

Certainly, accountability and competition are necessary. However, when the focus is standardization and the measuring of outcomes and outputs, important human aspects can be overlooked and ignored. According to one informant, the LINC program "...felt like a bureaucratic, federal, standardized thing [where] everybody had to tick boxes and accommodate to their local circumstances as much as they could". Another informant noted the lack of accountability, initially, suggesting it may have gone to the other extreme. She further suggested this may change "back to something a little more manageable".

Additional Language Services

The ANC provides other language services for individuals who are "ineligible" or not able to attend day time classes (ANC, 2010). These services include the outreach tutor program, ESL Evening Classes and Evening Pronunciation classes (ANC, 2010).

Programs are subject to change as the provision of programs is often dependent on funding. For a number of years the ANC provided volunteer lead language classes for refugee claimants who could not avail of regular language programming. This program no longer exists as the number of refugee claimants does not warrant classes.

Curriculum: Adaptations at the Local Level

The implementation of the Canadian Language Benchmarks to provide a national standard to determine proficiency level and the development of curriculum guidelines are valuable resources for instructors of the LINC program. However, the guidelines are simply that, guidelines, not a standard curriculum (CIC, 2011, "Evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program", Weaknesses section, para. 2). The guidelines provide a list of topics but they are not necessarily taught in the order in which they appear, nor are all topics necessarily covered. In fact, it is suggested that "instructors should choose only those that are relevant to their learners' needs" (Hajer et al., 2002, p. 13). A number of informants noted that it is a needs based program. Most informants do not feel restricted in how they present the suggested topics. Informants in a national evaluation of the LINC program felt it does "allow the flexibility to meet the varied needs of immigrants and the community context in which the immigrants are learning" (CIC, 2012). Likewise, a number of informants noted the importance of community context. One informant suggested that "because it is a settlement language program...you are supplementing your objectives [and] your outcomes that you have to meet with materials, resources and local information... [and] it has to adapt to the local environment". Another informant suggested that if immigrants are going to live in Newfoundland and Labrador, teachers on the island portion of the province have to address the fact that as an island it has a unique culture and a different way of doing things when compared to other major cities.

The majority of informants believe LINC teachers have a fair degree of autonomy and they suggested the LINC curriculum is often adapted by the instructor, and therefore changed at the local level. According to one informant “[this] is really necessary considering the group of students, so it is not just to give the teachers leeway to chose but it is mostly directed by the needs of the students”. Similarly, another informant suggested, a teacher’s approach must vary depending on the individuals with whom one is working and this program provides flexibility.

Since its implementation in 1991 the LINC program has evolved and adapted to the changing needs of those individuals for whom it was developed. As Bettencourt (2003) stated “...shifts in immigration patterns and newcomer needs have been reflected in programming changes” (p. 27). Although LINC is federally funded by CIC, through partnerships with the provinces, the development and administration is a provincial responsibility (Cleghorn, 2000). The rationale for the partnership arrangement is that it allows for the administration of services by individuals and groups who have a connection to the communities providing the services (CIC, 1996c as cited in Cleghorn, 2000). Adult settlement programs “are very much organized around the identities and settlement services that define a particular location” (Morgan, 2002, p. 143). Morgan (2000) further suggests that this specificity is seen as one of the primary strengths of community based programs as it allows for the identification of necessary settlement services for specific demographics and services can be tailored to meet their needs and to their advantage.

Bettencourt (2003) suggested the current LINC program has been influenced by the development of community partnerships and increased support for the LINC program. One informant made the following comment, "[the ANC is] more of a community organization and we have always been a non-profit but now we are a community serving agency because we are linked with many partners...Even though we are the only federally funded settlement agency in the province we are really community based". A number of informants noted the increased community partnerships as well as the importance and value of these connections. Autonomy enables administrators to adapt to the local conditions and context and it allows for programs to be developed and adapted to best suit individual or particular demographic needs.

Cleghorn (2000) noted "there is also, in LINC, a strong 'client needs' discourse that surfaces in the early policy documents, in the curriculum guidelines, and in the talk of the teachers and administrators of LINC that" (p. 90) recognizes the importance of teacher autonomy in making curricular decisions based on what students feel they need to learn. ESL and LINC teachers have no explicit mandate in terms of following the curriculum and they do not feel obliged to do so (Cleghorn, 2000; Fleming, 1998; Power Analysis Incorporated, 1998). According to The Revised LINC Literacy Component (1997), similar to the LINC guidelines, it offers instructors a 'way in' for LINC teaching" (p. 5), thus allowing individual teachers to modify and adjust as they choose. It is clearly stated in the LINC Curriculum Guidelines (2002) that topics should be chosen in response to the learner's needs. As Cray (1997) suggested, "at the classroom level, language policy is realized in different ways depending on teachers' perceptions and understanding of the

policy and the local conditions of implementation” (p. 36). Learning does not occur “in splendid isolation from the world in which the learner lives; ...it is intimately related to that world and affected by it” (Jarvis, 1987, as cited in Merriam & Caferalla, 2007, p. 5).

Similarly, an informant noted the importance of the recognition of adult learners and that instructors are a significant part of their lives. He noted, “as adults, teaching other adults a second language, I don’t think we can remove ourselves from their lives. I think we have to be able to talk to them about the real needs, what are they thinking about?”

Burnaby (1988) noted the importance of teachers in the lives of their students. She remarked that frequently “ESL teachers are often the first contact an immigrant has with someone who can authoritatively interpret the new society for them”. Being cognizant of the diverse needs of the individuals in the LINC classroom is critical. However, as one informant noted, it is not easy “to accommodate all those different learning styles and people with different histories”. One informant suggested that everyone involved in working with immigrants and refugees must remember that they are working with “adults [who] are quite capable of making their own decisions, whether or not [workers] agree with their decisions or not”. Another informant suggested people’s “self-esteem and worth” are necessary considerations. Teachers must acknowledge that they are teaching adults who have previous life and learning experiences and remember they are often proficient in many languages (James, 2000, p. 42). As one informant noted, English is just an additional language and it is the “communication piece” at this point in time. As Willinsky (1998) aptly stated, it is not “the only medium of intelligible communication” (p. 208). English is but one means of communication. Cummins (2001b) argued that it is

important that educators are aware of “the linguistic, cultural and intellectual resources [students] bring from their homes to our schools and societies” (p. 20). LINC teachers work with culturally diverse groups and may sometimes have as many different cultures as students (Fleming, 1998; James, 2000). Gormley and Gill (2007) suggested that it is possible that LINC learners can be viewed as a “generic group of people with some very general characteristics” but it is not an accurate reflection of the individuals they are with their unique needs, goals and personalities (p. 9). As one informant commented,

well you have students who the only things they have in common is learning English. They are all ages, all dispositions and you are putting them in the classroom, one room, that structure, it is hard. Some of them, especially this population you are dealing with, you don't really know where they are coming from. what they are going through and to expect them to sit and learn all the same. It is really hard.

This one size fits all approach to education is often part of the design of institutional curricula and programs in which there is little consideration of the diversity of those being taught. Undoubtedly, different pedagogical approaches might be required. Certainly, as one informant noted, “classroom stuff might not be the best for some of them”. This was a recurring theme throughout the research. However, if a particular approach does not work, it is too often seen as an individual rather than a systemic problem. While teachers may attempt to deal with students on an individual basis and recognize the diversity within their class, they are limited in what they can do. A

consideration of alternative approaches and programs may be required to effectively respond to all students' needs.

Many of the informants noted the importance and necessity of community involvement for learners:

I think it is good to get out into the community.

Because of the constraints of funding we have certainly [decreased] the number of excursions that students might have gone to before and I think that was an important part of their education, to go to these places...

Taking students out on field trips, giving them the opportunity to participate in cultural events, we used to do that one time to a certain extent. We don't anymore because there are transportation issues, money issues, insurance issues and that kind of thing.

Informants noted that, in addition to being a learning experience, the importance of such experiences is making contact with people in the local community and feeling a part of that community. If people are going to stay in Newfoundland and Labrador, then making them aware of their community is essential.

One informant noted there is a continuum of needs, and flexibility is a positive aspect of the program. She further added that the expertise of the instructor, especially in the area of ESL, cannot be discounted when teaching this program. The importance of the knowledge and expertise of working with this particular demographic was noted by many

informants. Fleming (1998) maintained that “in order to ensure quality of ESL instruction, policy-makers, program administrators, and curriculum developers must support measures that enhance instructor autonomy” (p. 31). While flexibility can be positive, one informant felt that because there is no mandated curriculum it can be prone to wasting time. Furthermore, as an informant noted, the lack of direction tends to be somewhat frustrating for “teachers who [were] used to teaching a [set] program.

According to Fleming (1998), teachers can be frustrated with the lack of preparation time despite the freedom to choose activities and resources for the classroom (p. 31).

Similarly, local informants noted lack of preparation time as an issue for them.

According to many informants, the complexity of students’ lives is a key issue of which teachers must be acutely aware, so as one informant observed, “they try to meet the social needs of the client not just their academic needs as well”. Although students may be highly motivated, there are many issues that can affect their participation in the LINC program and their work within the classroom. Informants provided pertinent descriptions of some of these concerns in the following comments:

There is a lot of change happening with our clientele. It is not like everything is settled in [their lives] and now [they] go to school. There’s a whole bunch of things that are happening, settlement, family things, families partially here, not here.

When they come here they are not thinking about adverbs, adjectives and pronouns. They are thinking about where is my life going and I'm not sure how we can address that.

I think the biggest challenge is the social issues that students have to deal with.

Most of our clients are very motivated – they want to learn English.

Unfortunately, some people get weighed down with housing problems, medical problems, and many just want to have a job. When those things are on their mind it is really difficult for them to focus on language learning.

It is too much to assume that people can arrive in a new country and easily settle into a routine of a “normal” life after many years of living in extremely difficult circumstances. Furthermore, to assume that people necessarily want to attend school needs to be reconsidered. One informant felt that “many of the young men just want to work and some of them aren't students really”. Another maintained that, the belief for many is that you work and you work hard; it not acceptable to sit back and not work. Many informants suggested that the need for employment is one of the key factors that can impact school attendance and hence language learning. As one informant noted, “the thought of coming to school is good but they may have pressing demands from their home countries”.

Helping provide financial support for families in their home countries is an expectation for many people. According to a report by Goss Gilroy (2005) the financial pressure is one of the key reasons why refugees in particular are unable to attend language programs regularly and may even leave completely.

Language Learning: The Implications

One of the main goals of the LINC program is to aid the integration of immigrants and refugees into Canadian society. However, Cleghorn (2000) suggests,

...the symbolic values associated with learning 'a language' are weighty. The path that leads to 'integration' through ESL instruction is littered with issues of identity, race and ethnicity and assimilation that makes becoming 'integrated' a much more complicated journey. (p. 53)

According to McFadyen (2008, as cited in La Morgia, 2011), "language is a core element in the expression and preservation of cultural identity" (p. 13). It is an essential part of one's being and it cannot be separated from who one is (Corbett, 2010a; Willinsky, 1998). Furthermore, essential to maintaining identity and ethnicity is the preservation of family and inter-generational connections. Cummins (2001b) maintained that loss of a first language undermines family communication. The language of home and identity is key to preserving connections and communication within generations and "...loss of a primary language, particularly when it is the only language spoken by parents, can be very costly to the children, their families and societies" (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 323). Yet Cleghorn (2000) asserted that linguistic, racial and ethnic diversity are often seen as problems to be solved and the solution is "linguistic homogeneity" (p. 51). Similarly, Berry (2007) contended that, "...racial integration still means assimilation into the 'standards' designated by Whiteness" (p. 27).

Cummins (2001b) noted, that if students are not accepted for who they are there is less chance of having their active participation in the classroom. This is true of at all levels of education, including adults. Cummins (2001b) further asserted that an affirmation of people's linguistic and cultural capital is a rejection of the 'negative attitudes and ignorance about diversity...' (p. 20). It validates people and suggests they have a contribution to make. If we become aware of what people from other cultures have to offer rather than seeing them as a "problem to be solved, the cultural linguistic and intellectual capital of our societies will increase dramatically" (Cummins, 2001b, p. 20).

Thus, denying people their language and their culture is denying their identity. A young First Nations woman in Canada commented that "many of her people had been forced to sever ties with their language and culture through mechanisms such as residential schools" (Champions for children and youth, 2011, p. 8). The result for her personally was that she would never know her language. She encouraged young immigrant youth to remember where they came from and to ensure they taught their children their language.

However, there is often conflict between maintaining, or losing, one's first language and the desire and necessity to learn the language of the new country (Cummins, 2001a, p. 2).

As Willinsky (1998) very poignantly noted,

languages are not lost by accident or unwillingly forsaken. They give way to other desires, desires to join and be heard in other conversations, which left us happy enough to leave behind the accent and inflection of our former history and geography. (p. 190)

Certainly teachers believe that for students to learn English, and in so doing to adjust and integrate into Canadian society, is a demonstration of success. As Silan (2003) suggested, "...the acquisition of new skills and knowledge [is] only to be placed in the profit column" (pp. 263-264). However, there is a multiplicity of issues around language learning, especially for second language learners. It is crucial to understand how highly conflicted lives can become as a result of language learning and language loss. Policy makers, educators and immigrant serving organizations have to be aware of and responsive to the possible demands placed on individuals through literacy and language learning.

Undoubtedly, success in a new country is desirable and necessary. According to Garcia (1995, as cited in McDaid, 2011), there is some evidence to contest the necessity of "linguistic assimilation" for economic success (p. 19). He points to the success of many Cuban-Americans who have not linguistically assimilated. Nevertheless, the necessity of learning the language that immigrants will use for school and work is undisputable (Willinsky, 1998). Inability to communicate in the new language compounds problems and makes life much more difficult both socially and culturally for refugees (Friere, 1990). The acquisition of the new language is a form of empowerment that helps lead to independence. As Williams (2005) suggested "... access to power and financial security [is what] many marginalized students want from education and literacy" (p. 346).

However, the new language should not come at the loss of former languages; it does not have to be an either/or situation. Nepal (2008) indicated that being able to maintain "dual

identities” where both operate as “equals” is an integral part of successful settlement and integration in a new culture (p. 74).

Cleghorn (2000) contended that the acquisition of language skills does not necessarily mean “access to resources” (p. 57). Dunbar (2008, as cited in MacDaid, 2011) indicated that for immigrants from Africa living in Ireland the key barrier to gaining employment is “ethnic background or perceived racial identity”(p. 19) as opposed to their proficiency in the language. As Frideres (2007) reminded us, “white teachers have to take seriously trying to understand what it means for people of colour to live in a racialized world” (p. 51).

A key part of the immigration plan for 1991– 1995 was “to help immigrants and Canadians to learn more about each other” (EIC, 1990, p. 15). However, James (2000) noted that in the LINC curriculum guidelines little focus is given to learning about the other cultures in the LINC classroom (p. 47). Finding a balance between providing information about the new culture, while at the same time recognizing the cultural values and beliefs of immigrants, is crucial. Cummins (2001b) suggested that if the language and culture of students is not recognized then ultimately they are denied an essential part of who they are (pp.19-20). In this scenario, there is a potential for loss for both teacher and students. James (2000) noted that

[t]his loss might occur in adult ESL classrooms when the cultures and background experiences of learners are not considered. It may be easy to get caught up focusing on the L2 culture, and trying to help learners to find ways to fit in. If

this is done to the exclusion of the learners' cultures, however a potentially rich teaching and learning resource may go unnoticed. (p. 47)

Recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity and a positive attitude toward learners and their culture is essential to successful learning (Gardner & Lambert, 1959 as cited in James, 2000; Ludwig, 2003). It is important for educators and policymakers to understand "what it means to teach English" (Willinsky, 1998, p, 207) and to reflect on whether they value and support linguistic diversity and help students to find where they belong in this country.

Conclusion

The expansion and professionalization of the LINC program is reflected at the local level. One informant suggested the expansion of the LINC program and the educational aspect of the organization has changed the focus from settlement. It is her contention that too much of the focus is the school as opposed to settlement. However, another informant noted "...the LINC program [is] first and foremost a settlement program...it [is] linked to the settlement needs of immigrants". The focus on language training reflects the changes in attitudes towards immigration and immigration policy. Indeed both at the federal and provincial level attracting immigrants for economic reasons has increased significantly.

Language education is important to economic integration. In 2007, Shawn Skinner, then provincial Minister of HRLE, suggested that "the primary objective of the immigration strategy is to foster economic development" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007). Thus government involvement in immigration and an interest in

attracting immigrants to fill skills shortages appears to have become a key focus. The programs are focused on getting people into the workforce thus no longer requiring government assistance. Therefore, the government has become much more interested in assisting with employment related issues. The delivery of labour market services has become a key aspect of settlement and integration. The growth and expansion of the employment centre of the Association for New Canadians will be discussed in chapter six.

Chapter Six Employment

Introduction

The employment division, as with other areas of the ANC, has grown exponentially since its inception. Initially, the provision of employment services was limited in scope and services were delivered with short-term funding. According to informants the ANC did not offer any formal employment programs initially. Currently, AXIS Career Services, the employment division of the ANC, provides a wide range of employment programs and career services to assist immigrants, refugees and other newcomers in Newfoundland and Labrador. AXIS provides assistance for the following groups: permanent residents, provincial nominees and their sponsors, families of international students, international medical graduates (IMGs) and their families, internationally educated health professionals (IEHPs) and their families, and others who choose to live in Newfoundland and Labrador (AXIS Career Services, 2012). According to the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI) (2012) employment services for immigrants and refugees are accessed mainly through organizations that serve this population. Labour market integration is a key aspect of settlement and integration and the importance of labour market integration for all immigrants has been recognized at all levels of government.

Employment Services: The Beginning

According to informants the ANC has been offering some form of employment assistance since around 1987. Prior to this, the ANC did not provide employment services and

Federal government departments were responsible for employment and labour market integration for immigrants. Newspaper reports suggested that in August, 1987 the organization ran a "Job Finding Club" (King, 1988, p.18) that was funded by EIC. Contracts for Job Finding Clubs continued and according to Foster (as cited in Winter, 1989), these initial contracts were a response to the difficulties had by many new immigrants finding employment in Newfoundland. As informants indicated, initial contracts provided funding only for a period of about three months and support was largely through attempts to assist with resume writing and job seeking. One informant noted, "...these early job finding clubs...would have two facilitators and six to eight clients". An informant suggested that up to 1993, this was the extent of employment support provided by the ANC.

Initial expansion of the employment sector coincided with the introduction of the LINC program. In 1993 the research and development of the Labour Market Language Training (LMLT) program was a new and important initiative. Both LINC and LMLT were national programs and were offered side by side under EIC (Social Research and Demonstration Corporation, 2002). According to an informant the research and development of the LMLT program took place in 1993 and in 1994 this program was implemented to facilitate communications for work. However, informants suggested that in 1995 there were significant developments in terms of securing funding and expansion of programs in the employment sector of the ANC. At this time with increased funding the ANC was established (AXIS Career Services, 2012).

Expansion of Programs and Services

Informants suggested that in the mid to late 1990's many of the refugee claimants, who had arrived previously, eventually received permanent resident status and could avail of services offered by the ANC. The large numbers of refugee claimants had a significant impact on all areas of the organization. As informants have suggested, the refugee claimants were highly educated and needed programs to respond to their needs. One informant remarked that most of the newcomers availing of employment services in the late 1990s had post secondary education. Boyd (2009) noted that compared with those arriving previously, immigrants who arrived in the period of 1996 - 2006 had higher levels of education.

According to one informant, "[in the latter part of 1996] given the growing numbers of newcomers who were seeking employment and the complexity of issues, [the ANC] began a pre-employment readiness program". She further added, "these programs were developed to facilitate newcomers accessing and effectively competing in the local labour market, while reinforcing self confidence and encouraging the local business sector to tap into the available talent of Internationally Trained Workers (ITWs)". In this same year the following programs were introduced: a five week volunteer work placement (*Employment Plus –Skills on Change*); pre-employment skills and development training; a work placement component; a counseling component; and Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) and TOEFL preparation courses.

The establishment of the CCNI in 1998 was a local initiative of the employment division⁴⁴. The CCNI is made up of various stakeholders including provincial, federal, and municipal governments as well as the university and various others. An informant stated that a key item on their agenda was the establishment of an immigration policy that they worked to initiate. She further remarked that one of the turning points was a presentation “prepared for three provincial ministers on the value of immigration and the need for an immigration strategy”. One criticism of this committee is that it is not seen as being “inclusive” as the ANC is the only community representative. The suggestion is that the ANC “does not represent all aspects of immigration and immigrants” (Goss Gilroy Inc. 2005, p. 54).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 2000 the language school and the employment centre of the ANC moved to a new location which enabled the provision of more programs and services. These services included additional skills development training, job coaching and job maintenance, expanded bridge to work programs and the establishment of a new entrepreneurial program. According to an informant, in 2004 “the employment division undertook a new strategic direction and began a rebranding process to promote the program and services in the community”. Thus, AXIS Career Services was established. An informant stated that, at this point more staff was hired to deliver additional programs and services to meet the particular needs of a larger and increasingly diverse clientele. From 2007 to 2009, AXIS led a provincial employer feasibility study that was funded by the Foreign Credential Recognition initiative. There were two phases

⁴⁴ This was named as a national best practice by the Voluntary Sector Initiative in 2005 (CIC, 2012).

of this study: Phase I: *The Integration of Immigrants into the Newfoundland and Labrador Workforce* and Phase II: *Taking Action: Connect Immigrants with Opportunities*. According to an informant, the FCR recommendations resulted in the launch of three new initiatives. These included a skills matching database, a new website (AXIScareers.net) and a 12 week Internship Placement Program (IPP). Informants noted that AXIS is connected to various, provincial and national, committees, boards and organizations. As one informant said, “we are linked to community partners through the Community Career and Employment Partnership Program (CCEPP) as well as through a wide range of community and provincial stakeholders and [we] are funded by multiple partners”. She further noted that through CCEPP, AXIS is “...one of twenty partners in a community partnership employability model...”. CCEPP was established in 2008 by the provincial government and it connects community based agencies that deliver career and employment programs and services on the Avalon⁴⁵ (CCEPP, 2010). One informant noted this is a considerable benefit as it provides immigrants with access to a range of agencies with expertise in different areas to deal with specific needs.

AXIS is also connected to the Atlantic Region Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies (ARISA). ARISA, established in 1994, is an umbrella association of immigrant serving organizations in the Canadian Atlantic Region: New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island (ANC, 2010). Nationally, AXIS is connected to the Canadian Immigrant Settlement Sector Alliance –

⁴⁵ The Avalon is a large peninsula that comprises the southeast portion of the island part of Newfoundland and Labrador; St. John's is located on the northeast Avalon.

Alliance Canadienne du Sector de l'Établissement des immigrants (CISSA/ACSEI), a pan-national settlement group that includes both provincial and national organizations (The Alliance of Sector Councils, n.d.). An informant noted that increased participation in national conferences is invaluable as it results in "active participation" on committees, working groups and other initiatives that enable the sharing of ideas with other settlement agencies.

In the past three years AXIS has assisted "ITWs to complete language proficiency examinations, licensure examinations courses, [and] registrations for regulators membership..." through the Immigrant Interest Free Small Loans Program. These loans provide funding up to \$5000. The Immigrant Access Fund (IAF) (2012) provides similar funding and as was noted, this recognizes that many newcomers do not have the financial means to pay for licensing and accreditation in their particular field. Thus it puts people one step closer to achieving successful labour market integration and being able to use the skills and expertise they already have.

In 2010 some of the funding for programs and services, offered by AXIS, was devolved to the province of NL under the new Labour Market Development Agreements (LMDA). These agreements are designed to "...enable provinces and territories to design, deliver and manage skills and employment programs for unemployed Canadians ..." (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC), 2012).

In 2012 the Employment Counselling Program was expanded to support newcomers who live and settle throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. A key part of this expansion was

the introduction of e-employment/career counselling. As one informant commented, “now we are really providing services for the whole province”. She further added that “if someone comes to Labrador tomorrow the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism will give them our email or contact and they will call or e-mail and we’ll figure out the plan for that person. That is the service we are expected to provide”.

The AXIS Career Services division currently offers a broad range of programs and services (AXIS, 2012). As one informant stated, “today we work with over 400 job seekers, a team of nine practitioners and a full suite of programs and services [and] we provide services to a very wide range of newcomers from over 60 countries with varying education and skill backgrounds from post graduate to lower level skill occupations”. In terms of labour market preparation one informant noted that there is “a real cross section of clients”. The diverse nature of the clientele with a broad range of needs means that programs and services must be continually revised and changed to respond to those availing of the services. As one informant indicated, the “...programs this year do not look like the programs last year [and] ...delivery models are not the same”. Informants in all areas of settlement service and programming within the organization noted the effect of the changing source countries and the changing clientele. According to one informant, having the connection to various community partners allows for the employment division to better address clients’ needs as they can access additional services through these associations.

Employment is a crucial issue for all immigrants. One informant remarked that, “employment is absolutely the *sine qua non* for integration for most immigrants”. A study by OCASI (2012) suggested that “[n]early two-thirds of the respondents identified employment as their highest concern”. Similarly, an informant noted the importance of employment for immigrants and refugees: “everyone that I have ever spoken to, for all the years I have been working [at the ANC], they want to work”. Papillon (2002, as cited in Clarke, 2009) states that one disadvantage, for refugees, is limited financial and social resources. This is a crucial issue for the ANC as it is primarily providing services for GARs. Many informants noted the pressure on people to enter the work force. One informant summed it up in the following way: “[the pressure] puts a lot of the clients into a position where they want to try a lot of things before they are actually ready to integrate into the work force...in that way it becomes such a challenge...”. Another informant remarked, this support is not necessarily a “demand” but “it is a practice” for those who may be a little more financially secure to assist [family members] who are less so. For many people the need and desire to support one’s family is important in terms of self-esteem, dignity and self-worth. Immigrants and refugees have many responsibilities and commitments and both language education and employment are important for integration. Economic demands weigh heavy on the choices they have to make and it is evident that it is not a black and white issue. There is a need to provide flexibility in programming and services that better meets their needs.

The evolution of programs and services at the ANC has been influenced by national developments as well as federal government policies and programs. The growth and

development in this sector is evidence of the increased focus on immigration and immigration policy as well as developments within the settlement sector. The need for newcomers to fill skills shortages has resulted in more focus on addressing the issue of labour market integration and employment generally. A number of informants recognized the impact of increased government involvement and interest in immigration and immigration related issues. One informant commented, "I think the government of Canada has been making great strides in trying to help the newcomer progress through English and help them meet their needs in terms of getting a job". Labour market integration is a vital part of settlement and integration.

The employment centre has grown because of increased funding and the development of partnerships. As one informant noted, "we had to do a lot of marketing, a lot of building awareness to let the community know our clients were here". According to the Social Research and Demonstration Corporation (2002) strong employer relations are critical to the facilitation of refugee job placement. Similarly, an informant for this research suggested that "employer engagement is an important piece of [the] work".

Newfoundland and Labrador has had an increasingly strong economy in recent years. Strong growth in employment in 2010 and 2011 has "resulted in provincial employment levels recovering from recession related losses recorded in 2009..." (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2011, p. 9). As a result of high levels of outmigration prior to 2009, there was a sixteen year population decline (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2011). Due to increased employment opportunities and a much stronger

economy, increased levels of net in-migration in 2009 and 2010 were expected to continue in 2012 thus increasing population levels (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2011). As one informant suggested, “the whole climate has changed because of the positive economic growth in NL...and...public perception is more open and welcoming to immigrants”. Furthermore when there are job shortages and people are anxious about their own economic situation they are not as open to immigrants. However, the government is actively recruiting for immigrants in the skilled-worker class to help with labour shortages (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2008).

Papillon (2002, as cited in Clarke, 2009) suggests that, compared to this class, refugees may be at a disadvantage. The increased Government focus on skilled-workers and the business class may not necessarily benefit the majority of the GARs that the ANC serves. However, CIC (2011) stated that it is committed to maintaining Canada’s humanitarian role while still responding to the needs of the labour market . One informant for this research suggested that there is concern that the Government may attempt to have private sponsors for GARs and the main focus for Government will be on other types of immigrants. Nevertheless, the ANC, including the employment division, has benefitted from both the more active role the Provincial Government has taken in immigration related issues and the opening of a provincial immigration office.

The growth and expansion of the employment division is a reflection of an awareness of the necessity to fund programs and services that help immigrants with economic integration. Increasing numbers of immigrants are coming to Canada as it seeks to fill labour market shortages. Increasingly more will be required to fill these shortages as the

baby boomer generation reaches retirement age (Alexander, 2012). According to Alexander (2012) many of the current programs are designed to address short-term issues. The current federal Conservative government has been criticized for placing too much emphasis on short term gains and in so doing making Canada “a less welcoming environment for immigrants and refugees” (Levitz, 2012, para. 3). Similar to other areas of settlement and integration, there has to be a commitment in the employment sector to providing programs that address long-term issues.

As the discussion in this and previous chapters demonstrates, the ANC offers integrated service delivery whereby it provides assistance in the three areas of settlement, language training, and employment. This integrated delivery offers clients the advantage of being able to access all services from one organization, even if not from under one roof. Yet, there is debate about this approach to service delivery, as will be outlined in the following concluding section.

Integrated Service Delivery

The Association for New Canadians has an integrated service delivery approach. The term refers to a model of program and service delivery that combines three distinct sectors within one organization; that is, settlement services, language training and employment programs and services. Shan (2009, as cited in Tilson, 2010) contended that its goal is to offer an “innovative, responsive and holistic approach” to settlement and integration for both immigrants and refugees (p. 3). According to Clutterbuck, Lords, Earle, Squire and Cramer (2010), both clients and workers benefit from this model with

enhanced service delivery in terms of both efficiency and effectiveness. Similarly, most informants agree the approach is beneficial for both staff and clients. One informant remarked that,

in a fiscally constrained environment, having fully resourced Settlement and Adaptation, ESL and Career and Employment programs and services in a centralized area allows for streamlining programs and services, as well as sharing infrastructure costs resulting in greater efficiencies. Additionally, it allows participants easy and flexible access to a wide range of on-site services.

An informant suggested the value and benefit of this approach, has been recognized by other immigrant serving agencies across Canada and many are considering its implementation. According to another informant, "one of the things the [ANC] has that makes it stand out is ... the complete range of programs" under the one umbrella. One informant suggested that while there are critics of this approach in her view it has both positive and negative aspects, a point reiterated by several other informants.

A positive aspect of this approach noted by many informants was the ease of access to a wide range of services. Immigrant serving agencies in larger cities where services are divided among various organizations report that immigrants and refugees experience a great deal of difficulty in trying to access the services required. Clutterbuck et al. (2010) suggested that,

the process of settlement becomes inconvenient, time consuming and very costly, especially when someone has just arrived and may be economically unstable, may

not speak fluent English, if any, and is unaware of how to navigate the Region's various systems: transit, health care, education, etc. These factors are further complicated by the fact that services are often confusing. Newcomers do not necessarily know where they need to go, or in what order, or even what might be available to them. (p. 38)

The integrated service delivery model was named as a best practice according to "several witnesses" in a Report of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration (Tilson, 2010, p. 3). Similarly, informants noted the multiple benefits of this approach. As one informant suggested, because settlement workers are part of the ANC, they are often in the school and "[clients] can get help with settlement issues at the school and therefore hopefully miss less class time". Furthermore, one informant noted, because the school and employment centre are at the same location, it means "[clients] can also access work related classes to facilitate a smoother transition from school to work.

Another advantage of the integrated service delivery model is that it provides a sense of connection among clients and workers. One informant commented:

we have a variety of ways that we try to address the needs of newcomers and share information to try to help them. So there are a number of internal committees in place across the organization so that there is a meeting to talk about if somebody transitions from settlement into the language training program; there is communication and lots of support there. It is a really organized, holistic approach to service delivery.

Similarly an informant stated that it is “more helpful for the student to feel connected – not isolated”. According to suggestions made by LINC learners across Canada, they felt that by staying with the one service provider it allowed for more “consistency” in their lives and in program delivery (CIC Website, 2011). Informants felt this connection allows staff members to have a better understanding of clients’ issues and concerns and enables staff members to work together to address these matters. According to informants, the key aspect of the integrated model is that it allows for a much more holistic approach and works in the best interests of the individual. One informant suggested that “... because we work so closely with the newcomer, because we see them when they first arrive, where they are with their language, where they are with their needs in terms of attachment to the labour market. Working closely like this on the frontline you know what the needs are”.

Another stated, “... such knowledge gives us a broader base to assess how our students are doing overall”. Likewise, an informant noted it is “...helpful for the settlement worker to realize how [a] problem may be affecting school”. As well, a number of informants felt it does allow for a more efficient and cost effective operation. According to one informant this efficiency allows for problems to be dealt with in “a timelier manner”.

However, there can be negative aspects to this approach as well. Informants suggested that an integrated service delivery model can work well but it has limitations if an

individual has problems with an organization. If it is the only organization in town there is no alternative if problems arise with that organization. One informant suggested that,

this umbrella can and does have some benefits, but problems present themselves if the individuals looking for help fall out of favour for whatever reason with the ANC. If this happens the newcomers have nowhere else to turn. I'm sure you've heard of cases like this. Monopolies are not always benevolent.

Similarly, another informant felt that if there is a problem with clients, "...perhaps another organization could look at them in a different way... ". One informant suggested that servicing GARs requires working with people who have "issues". There needs to be a match between both clientele and personnel. It is her belief that this requires staff who are committed to and want to explore alternative ways of providing the necessary supports and services for this clientele. She further contends that more support is required for GARs in terms of labour market integration. A counter-agency may be able to provide alternative services.

According to most informants the integrated approach can work well as long as everyone is working together and there is contact within the various areas of the organization. However many informants commented on the need for more interaction as the following statements suggest:

as long as everyone is working well together, perhaps the one stop service is an efficient model, but when one department is not able to communicate with

another department, perhaps it falls short of 'good' and is perhaps not serving immigrants optimally.

... even though we are under one roof...we do not always know what the other groups are doing.

...there is still too big a gap between the employment side and the language side... I don't think we have enough interaction there.

Conclusion

Certainly, communication among the three sectors of the organization and among staff members can be an issue. While informants felt there were benefits with an integrated approach, some suggested that there is not always enough interaction between the school and the settlement workers. This approach does have multiple benefits for both clients and workers alike. It facilitates a smoother running of the organization and provides more convenience and easier access for clients. As one informant indicated, "a key component of having an effective one-stop model is to ensure that there are quality services and strong leadership to advance continuous innovative and collaborative partnerships to better serve the immigrant community". Ultimately, the aim is to provide service that is more effective and helpful to the immigrant community.

In the next and final chapter of the thesis I will discuss some of the issues and concerns that have arisen from this research and present a series of recommendations related to these areas.

Chapter 7

Recommendations

“And we cannot do this if all the effort is concentrated on the immigrant, without concentrating with equal force on the ability of Canada to make this happen. Otherwise, it is like the unheard sound, of one hand clapping” (Omidvar, 2001, p. 4).

Introduction

The Association for New Canadians provides a wide-range of programs and services for immigrants and refugees. According to a report by Goss Gilroy Incorporated (2005), “[the organization] tailor[s] services to the needs of individuals within program guidelines. Programming is delivered through linkages with mainstream service providers and community volunteers” (p. ii). The ANC serves a diverse group of people with a multiplicity of needs. According to the Canadian Council for Refugees (1998) although “settlement services are a kind of social service, [it is].... one where the need derives from the external situation rather than the ‘neediness’ of the client” (Settlement Services Today section, para. 1). Many immigrants have been forced to make radical lifestyle changes because of situations over which they have no control (Intercultural Association of Greater Vancouver, 2007). However, Montgomery et al (2001, as cited in Nepal, 2008) reminded us that “...they are not simply victims of a world gone wrong; they are actors in their own history” (p. 80). One young immigrant resented the fact that, “‘when you say you’re a refugee or immigrant, people treat you like you’re somehow damaged’ ” (Champions for Children and Youth: The BC Summit, 2011, p. 6.) However, people who are new to a country can be vulnerable and open to exploitation when they have limited new language skills and little understanding of the new culture. Settlement

organizations and immigrant serving agencies must ensure that people receive the necessary supports and services to avoid mistreatment and to successfully settle in the new society (CCR, 2000; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003).

The diverse population the ANC serves is evident in one informant's comment about the LINC program. She stated, "when you think of the older folks that come, moms with young children, and the young folks who have never been to school and are straight out of refugee camps...it doesn't suit them all, how could it possibly?" A one size fits all approach cannot possibly work. The need for a range of programs and services to support this diversity is applicable to all areas of settlement service. However, as one informant suggested, "I don't think we'll ever get to the full needs of the people".

Similarly, another noted, "we are not doing everything; there are gaps for sure. There are things outside our control. But I think there are tremendous supports in place". Personal and systemic barriers must be considered as well (Goss Gilroy Incorporated, 2005, p. ii).

Many informants noted the organization is attempting to do all it can with the financial and human resources available. Handford and Tan (2003) suggested that a lack of "core funding [means] executive directors and others are stretched beyond their capacity" ("Code of Good Practice," section, para. 2). As one informant remarked, "[much] probably depends on the finances of the government and how much they want to put into immigration and language support". He further added the government is only willing to provide a certain amount of financial support. Securing adequate funds is a barrier faced by immigrant serving agencies in the provision of appropriate programs and services

(CCR, 2000; Omidvar & Richardson, 2003). Funding is provided through various agencies for the settlement sector; however, it is seen first and foremost as a federal government responsibility. Funding, therefore, is somewhat restricted except for that which the federal government provides (Handord & Tan, 2003). Thus, there is a need for a firm funding base. The following are recommendations or areas for consideration that have arisen out of this research, the realization of which is, undoubtedly, dependent on an increased financial commitment.

Immigrants

Seniors

Informants noted both the provision of adequate services and the need for alternative programming for seniors as areas of concern. One informant remarked, “the senior citizen clients have different needs so this could be [an] area of change”. It has been well-documented that adjusting to life in a new and unknown environment creates particular social needs for seniors (Durst, 2005, as cited in Bernhard, Hyman & Tate, 2010, p. 71; Gurunge & Santos, 2008). One informant proposed that,

...what older people need is the chance to socialize, not only to learn English. But they mainly need to be able to speak English and they really don't need to spend a lot of time learning their ABCs...a lot of them just want to be able to talk to somebody. I don't know maybe they just need conversation classes and that is something that [the organization] could look at.

Kilbride, Farrell, DiSanto and Sadeghi (2010) in a study of issues facing senior immigrant women, found that socialization and conversation with other senior Canadians was key in terms of language learning. Similarly one informant commented, "...it must be very hard for [the older people] to sit [in a classroom]. I wonder how much they are getting out of it. They are getting out of the house". Often the only socialization senior immigrants have is through English classes (Kenny & Ihor, 2002, as cited in Ricento, Cervatiuc, MacMillan & Masoodi, 2008). Providing opportunities to engage with the community, especially other seniors, is necessary. Alternative approaches and venues for learning English might be considered depending on age, background and future goals of the individual. One informant suggested that, "classroom stuff might not be the best for some [people]. Maybe if they were in a work place just to get them out [it would be better]".

Employment

Various informants felt that often people just want to work as opposed to attending language classes. If immigrants are indeed "actors in their own history" (Montgomery et al., 2001, as cited in Nepal, 2008), does the government decide what is best or is it an individual choice? There are important socio-cultural considerations for settlement organizations that are dealing with diverse populations. Informants stated that many immigrants are frustrated because they need and want to support families still living in their first countries. Moreover, as one informant noted, it is a part of how they demonstrate respect and concern for those who require their assistance. According to an

informant the stress of having to work "...puts a lot of the clients into a position where they want to try a lot of things before they are actually ready to integrate into the work force and...other sectors, [including] education. In that way it becomes such a challenge to try and meet [their needs] or to try to convince the immigrant that this is what he [or she] needs for now". This might be alleviated as one informant noted "if we had a little higher income in the income support program [and] less stress on them with regard to working". According to the Ontario Ministry of Finance (2012), the need for additional support is characteristic of refugees as compared with other classes of immigrants as their needs are more complex (Recent Trends in Immigration section, para. 8; Vineberg, 2012). The high proportion of immigrants in the refugee class necessitate that local programs and services designed to support with settlement and employment must focus on the "unique challenges" of this demographic (Coombs-Thorne & Warren, 2007, p. 22).

Credentials: Recognition/Equivalency

While immigrants need and want to work, one barrier they often confront is credential recognition (Houle & Yssaad, 2010). One informant suggested that, "...qualifications is an issue and we should somehow find a better solution for qualified people so they are able to go to work faster". Non-recognition of both foreign credentials and work experience of immigrants is a pervasive problem (Knowles, 2007; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). According to Kelley and Trebilcock (2010), immigrants have had to deal with more economic and integration issues in recent years and this is attributed, in part, to both

language barriers as well as non-recognition of foreign credentials. Refugees have much lower rates (less than 15%) of foreign credentials recognition (FCR) as compared with those in the other categories, especially skilled workers (Houle & Yssaad, 2010). One informant felt strongly about the need for the employment centre to provide more programs and services for refugees who have less formal education and limited language skills.

According to Vineberg (2012), the description in the Federal Immigration Policy *White Paper* of 1966 regarding issues immigrants encounter regarding foreign credential recognition is remarkably similar to today. According to CIC (2011), an agreement between federal, provincial and territorial governments has been made in an attempt to speed up credential recognition. Vineberg (2012) noted the *Pan-Canadian Framework for the Assessment and Recognition of Foreign Qualifications* was initiated for this same purpose. This is “a landmark agreement between the federal, provincial and territorial governments to speed up foreign credential recognition” for immigrants and refugees (CIC, 2011, p. 3). Vineberg (2012) indicates that this agreement is not a legal document but is an effort towards improving qualification and credential recognition.

Education

With the introduction of IRPA, selection of refugees is based solely on need as opposed to their ability to resettle, unlike other classes of immigrants (Yu et al., 2007 as cited in Hyndman, 2011). Furthermore, according to Hyndman (2011) formal education, although a requirement for other classes of immigrants, is not a consideration in the

selection process for refugees. Consequently, as one informant noted, lack of formal education has become an issue in recent years but “[the organization is] not addressing the gaps in their education”. I am aware that the ANC has attempted to address this issue in the past with limited success. Furthermore, an informant noted that the ANC is currently exploring the possibility of offering an Adult Basic Education program designed for immigrants.

Community Involvement

Informants indicated the importance of knowledge of the local community and community involvement. One of the aims of the provincial immigration strategy is to “encourage Newfoundlanders and Labradorians to welcome immigrants into their communities...” (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007). Indeed, ensuring immigrants have more community involvement thus giving them a higher profile would support this aim. One informant suggested that the community is a rich resource for a variety of learning activities and its use would provide more interaction with people in the community, thereby resulting in more authentic and hands on learning experiences. Furthermore, it would reflect recent research into second language teaching and learning that supports a move towards a more communicative approach with more authenticity. According to a number of informants this approach might be a much better alternative to the classroom for some students. In a national evaluation of the LINC program, two suggestions that emerged from learner focus groups were the need for “more field trips to learn about the community first-hand” and “more opportunities to interact with people

(Canadians) outside of the classroom” (CIC, 2010, LINC Learner Suggestions for Improvements section, para. 2). As noted previously, seniors would benefit from more community involvement as opposed to a more formal classroom situation.

One informant felt that there is a need to provide more assistance for immigrants to adjust to the community. She suggested the organization provide more in-depth “help at the grocery store, at the doctor’s office, [in the] general orientation to the city – rides on the buses, [and] getting to know their neighbourhoods”. However, increased accountability and paperwork limit the time that settlement workers have to do settlement work with the clients. The Volunteer Connections program recruits volunteers to assist immigrants in a various aspects of integration. Of the over one hundred volunteers the organization has, many provide support with community integration (ANC, 2010). This area may need more focus if one of the aims of the provincial immigration strategy is “to increase awareness...of the benefits of choosing Newfoundland and Labrador as their new home” (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007).

An informant made the following comment in this regard:

if our province is spending the money to bring these people here we should be trying to integrate them into the local community, showing them what they can do here to make their life worth living here. Unless we actually take them many of them won’t go to any of these places. If you don’t have that connection to the local community it is very easy just to leave.

Similarly, another suggested, “you could have more people involved in the community...they don’t know where downtown is and that’s not settlement”. Other informants noted a cut back in extracurricular activities that offered opportunities for community engagement through the LINC School. Many informants suggested cut backs are primarily a result of funding issues. As one informant stated, “limited resources can somewhat limit what you can do outside the classroom”. However, informants suggested this is not considered to be a positive development as these activities provided valuable opportunities to participate in activities and events within the community⁴⁶.

Women

Immigrant women, as a result of their gender, experience particular difficulties that isolate them both socially and economically (Chard et al., 2000; James et al., 1999; Mohab, 1999; Preston & Man 1999 as cited in Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Often immigrant women have domestic responsibilities and cultural expectations or traditions that mean they remain at home (Landsborough, 2009; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). However, generally, they are a group who do not receive adequate programs and services to preempt the isolation they often experience. Cottrell (2008), in her research on settlement organizations within Atlantic Canada, found that settlement organizations often give priority to programs and services that are most in demand and women often represent a small part of the total clientele. This situation creates a double edged sword

⁴⁶ The ANC still avails of many opportunities to participate in community events but informants suggested within the LINC school there was much more community involvement in the past as compared to the present day.

as women are unable to be actively involved within the organization because of their circumstances and therefore are under-represented as a group. Thus, they lose out again. One informant made a similar observation as she insisted that, "If they are outside the school they don't seem to be connected to the ANC. I think [mothers and children] are left out a lot". The provision of proper supports and services for immigrant women is critical to their long-term success within Canadian society (Ng-See-Quan, n. d.).

Settlement agencies would not have to prioritize programs and services if adequate funding were provided to accommodate the diversity of needs. One informant suggested that, locally, programs that focus on language education and employment are given priority as opposed to those that assist young mothers and children. Similarly, another informant commented that the provision of "childcare [is always an issue]". One informant expressed concerns about the fact that often women who have maternity leave from the local LINC School have to wait indefinitely to return to school and some never get the opportunity. Landsborough (2009) in a study of a group of immigrant women found that according to key informants in her study the most significant barrier to participating in a language program was the need for childcare and they suggested that "more spaces in the childminding program would alleviate this barrier" (p. 53). Similarly an informant noted that, "...because of the young babies [women] get bumped and it is a real shame because it is such an important piece".

The importance of providing supports and services for women is crucial. Women often face different issues than men. They may have particular needs as a result of the traumas

experienced prior to arrival in Canada. As a result they require particular services to help with health and mental health issues. As Ng-See-Quan (n.d.) suggested, “women’s experiences with violence and poverty are linked to the lack of affordable childcare, housing, social supports and networks, education, and employment opportunities” (p. 4). Additionally, provision of alternative types of programming needs to be considered. Women face many barriers in taking advantage of the classroom LINC program and are not adequately accommodated (Kilbride et al., 2010).

Pre-arrival Information

Provision of adequate information prior to coming to Canada is an area of concern. One informant believes that, “...sometimes we create an unrealistic expectation, not intentionally... sometimes people don’t get enough information before they come”. Similarly another remarked that, “maybe there are gaps in the information given to clients before they arrive... sometimes these frustrations hinder the client’s ability to smoothly settle in St. John’s and use those first few years to take advantage of services and programming”. Often Canada is seen as a land of opportunity where the “streets are paved with gold” and unrealistic expectations are created. Undoubtedly it is a country where one can avail of many opportunities but it is not easy to take advantage of those opportunities when there are other barriers such as communication, credential recognition, and lack of adequate supports and services to name a few. According to CIC (2011) it has “substantially revised” (p. 26) all information it provides related to settlement, including online, print and in-person. There is access to a great deal of

information prior to immigrants arriving in Canada but is it provided in an accessible manner? In a study by Clarke (2009) on settlement and integration, several respondents noted the inaccessibility of information on Canada and Newfoundland and Labrador because of language barriers.

Changing Clientele: Different Needs

Healthcare

The ANC has a series of programs and services that address healthcare concerns of its clientele (ANC, 2010). There are two noteworthy initiatives. The ANC has partnered with Eastern Health to provide an onsite public health nurse to the language school two days a week for clients and to offer information and services on a variety of health related topics. As well, the Memorial University (MUN) Medical Gateway Project is a partnership with the MUN medical school. The aim of the program is to provide better access to healthcare for newcomers arriving in the province and to provide cross-cultural medical training for medical students (ANC, 2010).

The majority of informants noted that a changing clientele has resulted in a range of different needs. Furthermore, informants suggested that many clients are coming from extremely traumatic circumstances and often after having lived for extended periods of time in refugee camps. Yet as one informant noted, “we only have one social worker⁴⁷ and there are a lot of social issues. Maybe if they had more people to deal with those

⁴⁷ According to an informant there is, in fact, one and a half social workers.

things it might help". According to Cottrell (2008), service providers are frustrated with their own lacking of training to deal with issues. She noted,

some [employees] who had completed a professional degree, such as social work, had received some general training or background information regarding cultural diversity and providing culturally competent care, and some organizations had attempted to provide their employees with training in the form of professional development workshops, but, for the most part, this training was fragmented and did not bear a direct relationship to the demands of their current employment⁴⁸ (p. 135).

Healthcare and mental health care are two particular areas of concern. According to Gushulak (2010) there have been demographic changes that have resulted in "cultural, linguistic, economic and social changes in the composition of migrant populations. Some of these differences may influence access to and use of existing health care services while generating new needs for cultural competency within the health care sector" (p. 45). One informant noted that healthcare is crucial for people and it is one of the most difficult areas to cope with if you do not have the language. She aptly described how trying it can be.

for example if they go to a supermarket and they don't know what to call a certain fruit, by looking at the fruit they can somehow...pick and purchase what they

⁴⁸ The ANC has had a diversity training program since 2005 and hosted its 4th Annual Diversity Symposium in March, 2012(ANC, 2010). Staff members have had workshops on issues of diversity and cross-cultural awareness but it is not a part of ongoing professional development.

need. They can somehow manage to take care of themselves. But when they go to a doctor, it is so critical. That is an area where the language is just so difficult.

She elaborated further and noted that.

the Association is doing quite a lot already in getting translators to go with the [clients]...[However], that is so difficult because you can't always get the translator for each and every language. Even where you can find translators, right in the middle of the night when someone needs translation is there going to be someone to do it? This is a need that is getting bigger and bigger because our clientele is changing....

Canadian studies demonstrate the barriers posed by language in accessing proper healthcare (Sadavoy, Meier & Ong, 2004; Wang 2007 as cited in Mental Health Commission of Canada (MHCC), 2009). The MHCC of Canada (2009) observed that "though interpreter services are mandated in the court system, this is rarely the case in the health system..." (p. 22). Chris Friesen of the British Colombia Immigrant Services Society suggested that interpretation services should be considered "a billable expense under provincial health insurance. Someone should mount a Charter challenge on this issue" (as cited in Wayland, 2006, p.14).

Mental Health Care

Mental health is an area of concern and, depending on from where the clients originate and their past experiences, it can be a critical issue. Informants believe that mental health issues are not being addressed as they should. One informant stated,

I think mental health is still not covered to the extent it should be. It's a very sensitive issue and I still think people have really bad post traumatic stress. We are not able to provide the targeted supports they need. I think those people would be better in a larger center. But I think we have made terrific progress.

Similarly, a number of "witnesses" who contributed suggestions for the Report of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration indicated funding provided for the particular area was a concern (Tilson, 2010, p. 7).

Post-traumatic stress disorder is often seen, especially in the refugee class, because of the trauma experienced as a result of war, torture, rape and natural disasters before and during the migration process (Fornazzari & Freire, 1999, as cited in MHCC, 2009; Gushulak, 2010). Furthermore, the immigration process and adjustment to a new culture can be very stressful, resulting in increased mental health problems and illnesses (Gushulak, 2010; MHCC, 2009).

One informant noted that sometimes it is not necessarily serious mental health complications or conditions. As she suggested, it is,

just the kind of mental health [issues that come] from either loneliness or a feeling of loss. Or the result of a lot of things that were witnessed and the trauma as a result of this...This is something that impacts on the newcomer on a daily basis and in their daily lives. To try and help them in what they go through on a daily basis would be very helpful.

Patrick Au, in his testimony to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, makes a similar observation regarding the necessity of counseling services to help cope with “day to day living” after the initial phase of settlement (Tilson, 2010, p. 6). The process of family reunification can cause considerable anxiety for immigrants, as well. Informants noted that arranging for and awaiting the arrival of other family members can be extremely stressful, thus limiting the immigrants’ abilities to move forward with their own lives. At times it can be quite debilitating (Wayland, 2006).

Personnel

LINC Resources

Informants noted the need for resources and new materials in the LINC classrooms.

They stated:

You need lots of resources and new resources because if you don’t have resources and you are using the same material it becomes very boring for me as a teacher.

You always have to have lots of funding available.

We are not given a lot of time to come up with all those things. ...By the time you recycle you want to get something updated rather than use old things that are a little bit out of date.

I have to spend more than the allotted time on preparation.

Similarly, in a national evaluation of the LINC program, LINC students themselves suggested a lack of various resources available in LINC classrooms (CIC, 2010, LINC Learner Suggestions for Improvements section, para 1).

Contemporary classrooms with a variety of materials and resources are essential to providing a quality education at all levels and in all contexts. Multi-media resources allow teachers to provide learning experiences that are relevant and meaningful to the learners. Furthermore it enables teachers to provide a range of teaching and learning opportunities. A major change that characterizes the contemporary classroom is the ever increasing use of technology and multi-media. Computers, mobile learning devices such as i-pods, i-pads and smart phones are viewed as fundamental tools for today's learners. Access to the Internet provides both teachers and learners with easy and often free access to materials and resources that can be used to enhance all learning experiences. Essential for all teachers are smart boards and team boards that can be used to engage and involve learners in a variety of ways. Language classrooms for refugees and new immigrants learning English are no exception. Indeed, new technologies cannot only enhance learning experiences but, when used appropriately, can also enhance language learning outcomes.

Professional Development

Two key areas of concern are teacher education and professional development. In an evaluation of the LINC program it was suggested that “the quality of teachers is the primary determinant of program effectiveness” (CIC, 2010, LINC Expenditures section, para. 1). Teachers need ongoing training and professional development to stay current. Informants made the following comments:

more teacher education generally [is] the key I think to improving anything about LINC [and] more teacher training.

professional development is key to keeping things moving and evolving.

as for the teaching itself...the only growth I can see is if more professional development were provided.

Professional development is provided through conferences and workshops. However, according to one informant it is inadequate. She suggested, “teachers need training and they need feedback. I think that our teachers [do] the best with what they [have] you know... [but a conference here and there] is not the same as ongoing teacher training and feedback”. She further noted the lack of time allotted for teacher training or in-services. All teachers at the ANC are members of Teachers of English as a Second Language (TESL) Newfoundland and Labrador⁴⁹ and participate, at their own discretion, in regular meetings of the group. It is another avenue for professional development and is a

⁴⁹ TESL Canada Federation is the national federation and there are also provincial/territorial organizations.

network of other ESL teachers and related professionals who are working within the local area.

Crucial to professional development and development as a teacher is upgrading and ongoing education. As one informant noted, "...very few teachers have been able to step away over the years [and upgrade]". There are no external incentives as there is no compensation for education leave nor does professional development result in increased salary.

Teachers of ESL often have the same credentials, qualifications and experience as teachers in other settings but, in a setting such as the ANC, they are not recognized. Provincially, teachers in the public school system are represented by unions such as the Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers Association (NLTA) and, on a national scale, by the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF). ESL teachers need representation in organizations such as these to ensure they receive wages and benefits commensurate with their credentials and experience. Although essentially employed by CIC, ESL teachers are nowhere close to being on par with civil servants who work in government offices. Clearly, there is a need for recognition of the value and worth of the contributions made by ESL teachers. Furthermore, if immigrants and refugees are as important to Canada as both the provincial and federal governments suggest, those who are working with them should be recognized for this valuable work.

Professionalism

There was concern expressed that people need to be treated and valued as professionals. One informant noted that, despite teachers' professional qualifications and the years of expertise gained by settlement service workers, they are not recognized as professionals. She commented,

the settlement workers even though they might be there twenty years ...still don't consider themselves professionals; they are still not considered as professionals and treated as professionals. You know I see that there is great need for that to change because people who have been working there with immigrants for a long time have developed an expertise that is not common place.

Omidvar (2001) made a similar observation and advocates national or provincial associations for settlement workers as a step towards their contribution to policy making as well as "development of standards and codes of conduct" (pp. 6-7). Likewise, another informant commented that what is important is "...experience and knowledge in that context". Professionals who have an understanding of the specific needs of immigrants and refugees are a vital part of service delivery and must be recognized for their expertise. Omidvar (2001) suggested, this recognition is due and "it is time for frontline settlement workers to emerge from behind...their Executive Directors" (pp. 6-7).

According to CIC (2012), teacher salaries have accounted for the largest part of LINC spending in the last ten years. However, many local informants suggested teachers' salaries are woefully lacking:

...teachers are not fairly recompensed for what they are doing...they are not...teachers teaching ESL should make what other teachers teaching in the [regular school] system make.

...I think teachers are underpaid. I know it is [individual] choice...to work here and [people] enjoy working here.

I hope it evolves to the point where the people who work here are paid a decent salary. This is a school and it is a school where valuable work is done and I don't think anybody in the school is compensated the way they should be. I hope the government changes towards the kind of work we are doing here so we can get the funding so that we can get the backup we need for equipment and so on.

This was an issue raised by witnesses in the Report of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration: 2010 who stated low salaries contributed to a high turnover rate in the organizations (Tilson, 2010). As one informant for this research noted, you may work hard and be professional but there is the risk of people adopting an attitude "if [they are] being paid sixteen dollars an hour [they] think ah what the hell". While salary alone is not a determiner of the level of work being done, it is a contributing factor to whether people feel they are treated as professionals. Being valued as a professional and

being fairly recompensed are important in how one both views and does the work.

Handford and Tan (2003) suggested the "lack of value placed on the professional and technical expertise required to do good settlement work contributes to the undervaluing of the settlement sector" ("Principles of the Code of Good Conduct section," para. 1).

Informants noted the difficulty of getting staff and keeping them in all areas of the organization as a result of the low salary and lack of benefits. Across Canada, organizations have high turnover rates as there is very little opportunity for advancement and salaries and benefits are limited (CCR, 2000, Settlement Workers section, para 2).

One informant for this study suggested, "there is no pension. Job security; there is none. It is contract to contract". Furthermore, another said, "...it isn't automatic getting staff. [People] have to be willing to offer concessions whether in pay or future benefits".

According to the Canadian Council for Refugees (2000), "it must be recognized that the ability to hire and retain highly competent workers depends to a significant degree on the conditions of employment that can be offered (Settlement sector workers section, para. 2). It is, in part, a reflection of the value of the work being done.

According to the Canadian Council for Refugees (1998) "the ability of settlement agencies to meet expectations ... is dependent on the availability of means" (Settlement organizations section, para. 2). Omidvar and Richardson (2003) make a similar point regarding lack of funding for the NGO sector that delivers settlement services. According to many informants, funding is an ongoing issue and there is a need for sustainable funding. Limited funding restricts the provision of services. Informants noted that more

people are staying in the province and, as a result, waitlists are being created, more space is required, and more resources are needed to adequately provide for clients. If newcomers remain in Newfoundland and Labrador there is a need for expansion that will necessitate increased financial resources.

Organization

Policies and Procedures

Local reports in the early 1990s claimed that local Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS) agents conducted security checks on refugees new to the province (Wangersky, 1998). This report appeared at a time when the influx of refugee claimants had peaked. Wangersky (1998) indicated it raised serious concerns as to whether or not CSIS “violated its own rules” (p.1) and by so doing damaged the reputation of the ANC. Issues of confidentiality and security are key to the organization. The supposed connection with CSIS created a climate of distrust and apprehension among some refugee claimants (Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC), 1991). While a report by the SIRC (1991) found no wrongdoing on the part of the ANC some concerns were raised. There was some debate as to whether the ANC is a “sensitive institution” (Wangersky, 1998, p.2). The organization denied wrongdoing indicating that because it is a government funded institution it had to comply with the request of CSIS (Wangersky, 1998). Wangersky (1998) indicated it was clear that information was passed on to CSIS and continued to be so even after the publicity around the issue. Such incidents reveal the

need for clarity around policies and procedures as they relate to all aspects of the organization.

According to an informant a policies and procedures manual does exist for the organization. However, it is not accessible. It was suggested that it is something that is continually being revised. One explanation for why this document is not available may be limited resources, both financial and human. Nevertheless, it is essential that organizations provide employees with the policies and procedures to follow within the organization. It provides consistency and prevents confusion when there are changes within the organization. As an informant suggested, “[the organization is] bound by CIC’s policies which are outlined in each of [its] Contribution Agreements and the accompanying schedules. This would address who [the organization accepts], immigration status, how they are accessed, who is eligible for child-minding and in what priority and so on”. Additionally, an informant noted where CIC does not outline policies, attempts are made within the organization to outline particular policies and procedures. Clear policies and procedures not only enhance consistency but they also add to organizational professionalization.

Future Directions/Considerations

The Federal and Provincial Governments determine policy and programs for settlement and integration initiatives. However, because NGOs deliver the services, “ownership of the social inclusion effort [is transferred] to the people and their communities” (Duncan, 2003, as cited in Clarke, 2009, p. 12). However, Clarke (2009) noted that both

government policies and NGO initiatives “help communities achieve social inclusion and integrate immigrants into society” (p. 12). The provincial government in Newfoundland and Labrador has taken a number of initiatives to assist with welcoming and integrating immigrants into the local community. The implementation of a new office of immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador has resulted in an increased focus on assisting immigrants to the province. The recent immigration strategy clearly outlines, among its goals, to provide better settlement services, to aid women with gender related issues, to help with foreign credential recognition, and to provide more opportunities for language education (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007). Therefore, theoretically, immigrants coming to the province can take advantage of improved programs and services. Advantages of immigration for the province are outlined in “goal number one” of the provincial immigration strategy. Thus, the government will increase awareness of the benefits of immigration and the role it can play in economic, social and cultural development of the community (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007). Potentially, there are multiple benefits for the province but it cannot be a one way process. The government must be committed to delivering the assistance needed by those who are resettling in the province.

Part of the overall immigration strategy for Newfoundland and Labrador has been the introduction of a provincial policy on multiculturalism. According to the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (2008), “in implementing this policy, the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism (OIM) will partner with community groups and agencies and other government departments to promote active and inclusive citizenship

that respects the rights and responsibilities of all” (p. 2). However, many scholars are critical of multiculturalism policies and suggest the policies mask the existence of racism and White privilege (Berry, 2007; Dei, 2007; Frideres, 2007; Solomon & Daniel, 2007). Although Canada has had an official multicultural policy since 1971 it remains a contentious issue. Berry (2007) challenges the assumption that Canada is a “multi-cultural society with equity, inclusion, and social justice for all” (p. 30). According to Omidvar and Richmond (2003), “the contradictions between Canada’s official policies and the reality of social exclusion for Canada’s newcomers are well-documented” (p.12). Likewise, Carr (2007) notes that while in theory we subscribe to the belief in being democratic, accountable and representative of all people, we often neglect to put this belief into practice. Whiteness is still seen as the norm (Berry, 2007; Dei, 2007) and at the core of Canadian society is Whiteness (Berry, 2007; Friederes, 2007). Furthermore, Whiteness positions people in terms of authority and control within society and institutions (Berry, 2007; Bérubé, 2001; Hytten & Adkins, 2002; Kivel, 2002; Thompson, 2003 as cited in James, 2009) and puts those who are not at a disadvantage. An awareness of how Whiteness provides privilege is necessary in order to improve “the quality of our relationship with disadvantaged groups” (Carr and Lund, 2007, p. 7). Being aware of this privilege will help to address it.

According to Baker et al (2004, as cited in McDaid, 2011), underpinning the theoretical construct of ‘Equality of Condition’ are five aspects of equality, one of which is recognition (p. 20). There needs to be a deep-rooted recognition and respect for diversity and difference, not just a marginal, superficial recognition. In Canada tolerance and

acceptance of others, both as individuals and as a country as demonstrated through our multicultural policies, allow us to take pride in who we are as Canadians. It gives us the “moral identity of tolerance” (Wetherell & Potter, 1998 as cited in Comeau, 2007, p. 151). However, Dei (2007) advocates the need to work towards a “critical pluralism that surpasses the trivialized and romanticized versions of diversity and multiculturalism that seem limited to spicy food and coloured clothing on the dance floor” (p. vii). Omidvar and Richmond (2003) suggested that for many immigrants unity is more of an ideal than a reality for they continue to confront many obstacles that impede integration.

Tolley et al. (2011) suggested that comparatively speaking Canada has had much success with immigration policies and issues (p. 6). Furthermore, it is a country that “others often look to for advice on policies related to immigration and multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2008 as cited in Tolley et al., 2011). Kazimi (as cited in Mann, 2012) believes, “Canada is a country that believes in universal human rights that is inclusive, that celebrates diversity”. However, he fears that it might be at a point where this is changing. Mann (2012), in an interview with Ali Kazimi, questioned how Canada’s past as a “White settler state” fits with “Canada as a multicultural Mecca” (Radio Broadcast). Kazimi (as cited in Mann, 2012) noted, “we shy away from addressing race and immigration policy in a way that needs to be historicized – put in historical context and which should inform today’s policy as well” (Radio Broadcast). If we knew more of the past it would help change our view of the future. We must keep in mind is that “the story of Canadian immigration is not one of orderly population growth; it has been and remains both a catalyst to Canadian economic development and a mirror of Canadian attitudes and values; it has often been

unashamedly and economically self-serving and ethnically or racially biased” (Troper, 2012. Immigration section, para 1).

These are issues of equity and social justice and are complex and complicated issues that are not easily resolved. However, they are issues that need to be fore fronted and discussed. To be a truly multicultural country that recognizes diversity and difference and provides equity for all is an important aspiration to have even if it is not something we always achieve (Mann, 2012).

Long-term Funding

Ultimately, a major key to successful integration, adaptation and inclusivity is the provision of funds that ensure immigrants’ long term needs are addressed (Gushulak, 2010; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). The fact that current funding is focused on the initial stages of adaptation is a critical issue (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Indeed, long term supports and services provided with ongoing funding will help to address many of the issues facing immigrants in the resettlement process. Similarly, (Caidi & Allard, 2005 as cited in Bharati, 2009) suggested that while initial supports and services are critical in terms of “survival”, to become a member of society and be included and feel a sense of belonging requires additional supports and services at each stage of the settlement process (p. 24). As one informant noted “... you don’t realize, with immigrants [that] if you cheat them, [that] if you don’t give them the services they take longer to settle...”. Furthermore, a recognition that settlement and integration is not

limited to one domain but should include various socio-political institutions is essential (Omidvar, 2001; Wayland 2006).

Despite the developments and advances in the settlement sector and changes in immigration policy over the years it is interesting to note that the Green Paper on Immigration in 1974 then documented the shortage of programs for women and seniors and problems with credential recognition including lack of services in immigrant languages at various institutions including hospitals (Vineberg, 2012). These issues remain on the agenda today.

Issues for Further Research

The three service sectors of the ANC that have been discussed in this thesis are essential to settlement and integration. However, further research in various aspects of each of these sectors is worthy of consideration. Programs and services for women and mothers with young children are crucial. The LINC home study program is a program that can provide access to language education for women who have difficulty accessing other language programs and services. Additional research into who accesses this program, the number of women who avail of it, and the success of the program would be useful. Originally SLTP and SLP were programs designed to help women at home who were not included in other programs. Programs were not designed for women at home; but were for people, primarily men, destined for the labour market. The SLP was subsumed by the LINC program which was designed to include a larger demographic, including women, as provision for childcare and transportation was made available. However, despite the growth in the program, there is concern that women are having difficulty accessing this particular program for several reasons. More extensive studies into the programs and services needed by women are necessary.

Further studies that investigate the delivery of programs and services from the point of view of immigrants and refugees would be useful. Such studies would document the effectiveness of programs and provide valuable evidence for future directions for programs and services.

The labour market needs of GARs is another area for consideration. Many programs and services are designed to assist immigrants who have prior training and skills as well as proficiency in English. GARs, because of the circumstances from which they come, often do not have these advantages. Research has shown that while GARs want to avail of language training often the necessity of finding employment causes an unfortunate conflict for them between language learning and securing employment. Investigations into employment programs that might better address their needs would be worthwhile.

Further research into how newcomers fare who settle in areas outside the larger, urban centres would be valuable. Bharati (2009) made the suggestion that investigations into the provision of programs and services for newcomers who live in rural areas are lacking and it is an area that needs to be considered in light of the fact that these immigrants tend to have different characteristics resulting in the need for alternative programs and services. Some of the differences noted by Bharati (2009) are that immigrants who settle in smaller areas tend to have differences in official class of immigrant, language proficiency and education levels. All levels of government are engaged in attempts to attract and retain immigrants in areas outside the main urban centres. While there has been a number of research initiatives⁵⁰ into the importance of and ways of attracting and retaining immigrants especially in smaller areas, it is an area that is worthy of further research. In the local context it would be useful to explore the current outreach efforts of the ANC and the success of and need for more of these programs.

⁵⁰ These include the following: *Attracting & Retaining Immigrants: A Tool Box of Ideas for Smaller Centres*, 2007; Clarke, 2007, *Welcoming Communities and Immigrant Integration in Newfoundland and Labrador*.

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Appendix A

Letter of Consent - Organization

Ms. Bridget Foster
Executive Director
Association for New Canadians
144 Military Road
St. John's, NL

Dear Ms. Foster:

I am currently enrolled in the Master of Education Program at Memorial University. As part of my program, I am working on a thesis entitled, *The Evolution of Settlement Services and Educational Programs Offered by the Association for New Canadians: 1979 - 2011*. I am interested in exploring the changes that have taken place in educational programming and settlement services since the inception of the organization. The main focus of my thesis is the evolution and development of programs and services offered by the ANC since its inception in 1979.

To complete the research I am requesting permission to interview you as the administrator of the Association for New Canadians about the various programs and services offered by the organization. With your permission interviews would be audio recorded. Your involvement in this project would require approximately two to two and half hours of your time. An initial interview would take approximately one hour, a possible follow-up interview another hour and another thirty minutes to review transcribed data. Every reasonable effort will be taken to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Participation is voluntary, you may decline answering any questions and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. Should you choose to withdraw no material gathered up to that point will be used without your permission. The data will be securely maintained for a minimum period of five years.

I also intend to interview staff members of the Association for New Canadians. With your permission these interviews will be conducted at the language school or the main office after work hours.

This study has been approved by the Memorial University Research Ethics Board.

If you have any questions or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at 738-2574(H) or 726-6848(work), c4bm@mun.ca, or barbaramulcahy@yahoo.ca. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Ursula Kelly, 864-3409 or ukelly@mun.ca. ICEHR No. 2012-247-ED

Sincerely,

Barbara Mulcahy

Appendix B

Recruitment Letter - Participants

Dear _____:

I am currently enrolled in the Master of Education Program at Memorial University. As part of my program, I am working on a thesis entitled, *The Evolution of Settlement Services and Educational Programs Offered by the Association for New Canadians: 1979 – 2011*. I am interested in exploring the changes that have taken place in educational programming and settlement services since the inception of the organization. The main focus of my thesis is the evolution and development of programs and services offered by the ANC since its inception in 1979.

To complete the research I am requesting permission to interview you about the various programs and services offered by the Association for New Canadians. With your permission interviews would be audio recorded. Your involvement in this project would require approximately two to two and half hours of your time. An initial interview would take approximately one hour, a possible follow-up interview another hour and another thirty minutes to review transcribed data. Every reasonable effort will be taken to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Participation is voluntary, you may decline answering any questions and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. Should you choose to withdraw no material gathered up to that point will be used without your permission. Data will be securely maintained for a minimum period of five years.

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If you have any questions or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at 738-2574(H) or 726-6848(work), c4bm@mun.ca, or barbaramulcahy@yahoo.ca. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Ursula Kelly, 864-3409 or ukelly@mun.ca.

ICEHR No. 2012-247-ED

Sincerely,

Barbara Mulcahy

Appendix C

Informed Consent

Title: *The Evolution of Settlement Services and Educational Programs Offered by the Association for New Canadians: 1979 - 2011.*

Researcher: *Barbara L. Mulcahy, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, c4bm@mun.ca, barbaramulcahy@yahoo.ca, 738-2574(H) 726-6848(W)*

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled "*The Evolution of Settlement Services and Educational Programs Offered by the Association for New Canadians: 1979 - 2011*".

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. It also describes your right to withdraw from the study at any time. In order to decide whether you wish to participate in this research study, you should understand enough about its risks and benefits to be able to make an informed decision. This is the informed consent process. Take time to read this carefully and to understand the information given to you. Please contact the researcher, *Barbara Mulcahy*, if you have any questions about the study or for more information not included here before you consent.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in this research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future.

Introduction

As part of my Master's thesis, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Ursula Kelly, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

The Association for New Canadians (ANC) has been offering language and settlement services to newcomers for over thirty years. However, there has been very little research conducted on the local organization and virtually none on the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program that is offered at the Association for New Canadians Adult ESL Language Training Centre.. An effective language program must respond to the needs of the learners. Some of the questions I would like to explore are: What language programs were offered initially? How have programs evolved and changed in response to the local demographic? What precipitated the change? What was the need for these programs? How do these changes address the needs of newcomers? Can the changes inform policy on a provincial

or national level? What are the future directions of the organization? In consultation with Dr. Ursula Kelly, my thesis supervisor, it was deemed a significant and worthy research project.

Purpose of study:

This qualitative research will use a case study methodology to describe the genesis and evolution of the programs offered by the ANC with a primary focus on the evolution of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada program. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2011) suggests that, "research has demonstrated that language skills are essential for settlement and integration" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada Website). Thus, at the Association for New Canadians (2010), "the aim of the [language] program is to assist adult learners in acquiring the language skills to settle and integrate into Canadian society" (Association for New Canadians Websit, 2010). Language is crucial for everything from day to day living to gaining employment. It can be an enormous barrier and certainly an impediment to integration.

There is a paucity of research on the organization and the LINC program which indicates a need for further research. Although Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada is a federal program, adaptations are often made at the classroom or local agency level. The community based organizations that offer the LINC program have a fair degree of autonomy. Local conditions of implementation as well as the perceptions and understandings of teachers mean it is realized in different ways (Cray, 1997, p. 36). Thus, a key question in this study is how has the program evolved and been adapted in the local context to meet the needs of a particular demographic?

What you will do in this study:

Participants will be asked to take part in one-on-one, semi-structured interviews. With your permission, interviews will be audio-recorded. Interviews will be transcribed and returned to participants to ensure the accuracy of the transcription.

Length of time:

Interviews will be conducted over a period of an hour. Follow up interviews may also be required as the need arises. A follow up interview would take another hour. Another thirty minutes would be required to review the transcribed data if interviews are audio-recorded. Thus, the total time commitment may require up to two and a half hours.

Withdrawal from the study:

If a participant decides to withdraw from the study any data collected up to that point will be destroyed if the participant does not want this material to be used and there will be no consequences as a result of withdrawal.

Possible benefits:

This research will contribute new knowledge of the organization as there has been very little in-depth research on the Association for New Canadians up to this point in time. It will document the history of the organization and recognize the contribution the organization has made in the lives of newcomers to the province. This research has the potential to influence policy decisions regarding language education for newcomers in the language school or elsewhere in the province. It may be useful to other organizations across Canada to see how one particular organization has evolved to meet the changing needs of its clientele. The changes that have taken place within the local organization may inform policy on a local or national level. This research may provide insight and direction for educators involved in the practice of delivering second language programming for newcomers. Furthermore, it may be of benefit in helping with both instructional and policy decisions within the organization.

Possible risks:

The Association for New Canadians is a small organization and as a result it is possible that individuals may be identified. However, every possible effort will be made to ensure that anonymity and confidentiality are maintained. No individual will be identified unless prior permission has been given.

Confidentiality and Storage of Data:

- a. *Every reasonable effort will be made to ensure privacy and confidentiality by securely maintaining data. No individual will be quoted by name or identified in any way in the thesis unless permission is given to do so.*
- b. *Data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the researcher's home. All electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer. The data will be securely maintained for a minimum period of five years. Only the researcher will have access to these materials. Audio recordings will be destroyed and transcribed interviews will be shredded. Electronic data will be deleted.*

Anonymity:

Every reasonable effort will be made to assure anonymity and no person will be identified in this thesis without explicit permission.

Recording of Data:

Audio recording of interviews is optional. If interviews are audio-recorded the data will then be transcribed.

Reporting of Results:

The data will be used as the basis of my Master's thesis. The data will be reported in summarized form and some direct quotations may be used but individuals making those statements will not be identified unless specific permission has been granted.

Sharing of Results with Participants:

Copies of the thesis will be available through the university library and this information will be provided to participants.

Questions:

You are welcome to ask questions at any time during your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact: *Barbara Mulcahy* barbaramulcahy@yahoo.ca, c4bm@mun.ca 738-2574(H) or 726-6848(W)

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861. ICEHR No. 2012-247-ED

Consent:

Your signature on this form means that:

- You have read the information about the research.
- You have been able to ask questions about this study.
- You are satisfied with the answers to all your questions.
- You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing.
- You understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason, and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future.
- You understand that any data collected from you up to the point of your withdrawal will be securely maintained for a minimum period of five years.

If you sign this form, you do not give up your legal rights and do not release the researchers from their professional responsibilities.

Your signature:

I have read and understood what this study is about and appreciate the risks and benefits. I have had adequate time to think about this and had the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered.

- ☐ I agree to participate in the research project understanding the risks and contributions of my participation, that my participation is voluntary, and that I may end my participation at any time.
- ☐ I agree to be audio-recorded during the interview.
- ☐ I do not agree to be audio-recorded during the interview.
- ☐ I agree to the use of quotations and that my name to be identified in any publications resulting from this study.

☐ I agree to the use of quotations but do not want my name to be identified in any publications resulting from this study.

☐ I do not agree to the use of quotation.

A copy of this Informed Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

Signature of participant

Date

Researcher's Signature:

I have explained this study to the best of my ability. I invited questions and gave answers. I believe that the participant fully understands what is involved in being in the study, any potential risks of the study and that he or she has freely chosen to be in the study.

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

Appendix D

Interview Protocol

The Evolution of Settlement Services and Educational Programs Offered by the Association for New Canadians: 1979 - 2011

Researcher: Barbara Mulcahy, Master's Student, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

The following interview questions will be asked. Follow-up questions may also be asked.

1. When and how did you first get involved with the organization?
In what area of the organization do you work?
2. Why did it get started and who started it?
3. What was in place in the beginning?
4. How was it funded?
5. In your view what are the major changes that have taken place? Why have these changes taken place?
6. How do these changes address the needs of newcomers?
7. How have the language programs offered by the Association for New Canadians changed during the time you have worked here? Why have these changes taken place?
8. Have there been any changes in the settlement services offered during the time you have worked here? Why have these changes taken place?
9. How do these changes address the needs of newcomers?
10. Can you tell me about the LINC program and when it was initially offered at the ANC?

11. What is your involvement in the LINC program and what changes have taken place in this program during your time at the ANC? For example, class levels, staff numbers, night programs, additional services, etcetera.
12. What is the motivation or the impulse for these changes?
13. What programs have been added since you began working here?
14. What are some of the challenges of providing a language program?
15. Have there been funding issues?
16. How do you see the organization evolving in the future?

Appendix E

Association for New Canadians: Locations - 1979-2011

Aldershott Street (Friends of the Refugees)

77 Bond Street (Friends of the Refugees/ANC)

Water Street (Donated space)

162 Water Street

York Street (English classes only)

74 Military Road

Gower Street (Two classes and childcare for English Class)

65 Cochrane Street

144 Military Road (Main Office)

156-158 Military Road

Duckworth Street – several locations (Language school, childcare, employment services)

16 Smithville Crescent (Language school, childcare, employment services)

Reception House – Bannerman Street (previously)

Reception House – Elizabeth Avenue (currently)

Appendix F

Infrastructure

Properties owned by the Association for New Canadians⁵¹

*Whiteway Street (2 properties)

(Acquired through Surplus Federal Real Properties for Homelessness Initiative)

144 Military Road

156 -158 Military Road

Vehicles:

1 15-seat passenger van

3 12-seat passenger vans

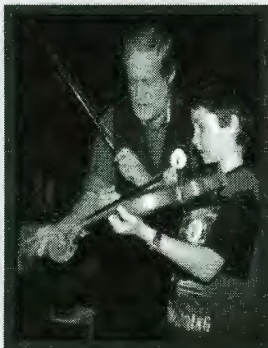
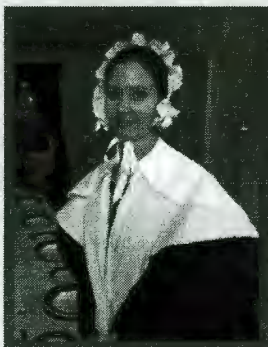
2 7-seat passenger vans

Rental Properties

Elizabeth Avenue - Reception House


Smithville Crescent-Adult ESL Language Training Centre and AXIS Employment Centre

⁵¹ These were the properties owned by the ANC at the time of the research.



Policy on Multiculturalism

Government
of
Newfoundland
and
Labrador


Newfoundland
Labrador

June 2008



MESSAGE FROM THE MINISTER

As Minister of Human Resources, Labour and Employment (HRLE), I am pleased to present the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador's Policy on Multiculturalism.

Government recognizes that diversity through increased immigration strengthens the social and economic life of the province and contributes to a prosperous future for all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. In March 2007, the Provincial Government launched the provincial immigration strategy Diversity ~ Opportunity and Growth. The new Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism is overseeing the implementation of the \$6 million strategy. The strategy strongly recognizes the importance of multicultural communities throughout the province.

In implementing the policy on multiculturalism, the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism will partner with community groups and agencies and other government departments to promote active and inclusive citizenship that respects the rights and responsibilities of all. The new policy encourages residents of the province to welcome newcomers into our communities. It serves to support people from diverse cultural backgrounds who make Newfoundland and Labrador their new permanent home. It celebrates the cultural mosaic of Newfoundland and Labrador and recognizes the collective contribution being made to grow the province. It also promotes cross-cultural understanding and highlights the importance of public awareness and education regarding the benefits of a diverse and vibrant population.

I encourage everyone to support multicultural initiatives in their community, to share cross-cultural experiences and to foster partnerships that increase understanding and knowledge of one another. By celebrating diversity, we increase respect for all cultures; this enriches Newfoundland and Labrador society and the quality of life enjoyed by all citizens.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Shawn Skinner".

Shawn Skinner
Minister

VISION

Newfoundland and Labrador is a dynamic and vibrant Province, with welcoming communities where the cultural diversity of all its residents is valued and enhanced in the spirit of inclusiveness and harmony, to collectively build a self-reliant, prosperous Province.

PREAMBLE

The Policy on Multiculturalism for the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador is based on the following international, national and provincial commitments:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- The International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights;
- International conventions to promote racial and cultural equality such as the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination;
- The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms;
- The Canadian Multiculturalism Act;
- The Newfoundland and Labrador Human Rights Code; and
- The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Multicultural Education Policy.

POLICY STATEMENT

The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador is committed to the promotion of multiculturalism and cross-cultural understanding where the cultural diversity of all people is valued, supported and enhanced to collectively build a self-reliant, prosperous Province.

As a result, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador is committed to a holistic approach to:

- ensure that relevant policies and procedures of provincial programs and practices reflect, and consider the changing needs of all cultural groups;
- lead in developing, sustaining and enhancing programs and services based on equality for all, notwithstanding racial, religious, ethnic, national and social origin;
- provide government workplaces that are free of discrimination and that promote equality of opportunity for all persons accessing employment positions within the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador;
- support multicultural initiatives by enhancing partnerships with culturally-diverse communities and provincial departments and agencies;
- encourage community based programs to foster two-way cross-cultural sharing, mutual respect, and citizenship values, as well as promote attitudes and perceptions that lead to cultural inclusiveness and harmony;
- highlight through public awareness and education, the importance of diverse cultures in our province, and facilitate life long learning that prepares individuals, especially youths to live and work in a multicultural society.

These commitments govern interaction among all cultural communities, including the Aboriginal peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador, through promotion of the following policy principles.

POLICY PRINCIPLES

Culture, as a way of life, is dynamic, learned, and ever changing. The Newfoundland and Labrador Policy on Multiculturalism is based on the following principles:

Respect: There must be mutual understanding and respect for all cultures and appreciation of the way in which these cultural values are reflected in institutions and in everyday interactions both within and among all cultural groups.

Equality: Equality of opportunity for all, notwithstanding racial, religious, ethnic, or cultural origin is a fundamental precondition to full participation in society. It embodies rights and responsibilities of all, including people of diverse cultures. This means a commitment to a society where racial, religious, ethnic, and cultural minorities may live without fear of exploitation or discrimination and where all, irrespective of their racial, religious, ethnic, and cultural background, are encouraged and supported to participate in Newfoundland and Labrador's society.

Collaboration: Cross-cultural understanding, sharing and learning from each other assists to honour all cultural heritages while recognizing individual and group identity. Awareness and respect for all cultures helps to establish a base for a collaborative society with full and equal participation by all.

Inclusive Citizenship: Culturally diverse people possess a wealth and variety of human talents and experience with great potential to contribute to the economic and social development of the Province. The Province in partnership with community groups will facilitate access to services, to employment and to social and government institutions, so that everyone, irrespective of their cultural and ethnic background, can experience equal opportunity to contribute and actively participate in building a self-reliant, prosperous Province.

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION GUIDELINES

To be developed in collaboration with various provincial departments and agencies, and in keeping with the general tenets of this policy and principles. Projects supported by the policy could include:

- Community development projects to foster cross-cultural understanding.
- Civic participation and ethno-cultural/ educational programs for youths to combat racism and discrimination and promote respect, collaboration and integration.
- Nurturing "Welcoming Communities" to make newcomers feel at 'home' and promote integration by actively participating in culturally inclusive community/social activities.
- Cultural Sensitivity professional development workshops for community workers (e.g. educators, law enforcement officers, health care/community service workers) to effectively serve youths, adults, women and senior members of diverse cultures.
- Acquisitions/Development and dissemination of multicultural resources (e.g., print, electronic, website) to support urban and rural communities.
- Development of targeted provincial government programs to serve diverse cultural groups in areas such as, entrepreneurship, employment, housing, health, education, women's and youth issues and legal services.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This policy is based on the review of existing policies on multiculturalism implemented across Canada and includes elements of the policies from the three Atlantic Provinces. We would like to thank members of Association for New Canadians, Newfoundland and Labrador Human Rights Association, Newfoundland and Labrador Multicultural Council Inc., Canadian Race Relations Foundation, The Leslie Harris Centre of Regional Policy and Development and the Canadian Heritage for their assistance in developing this policy.

