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TOWARD BUILDING A MODEL FOR THE
MULTICULTURALIZATION OF THE CANADIAN
SOCIAL SERVICES

BY
ROSA CANDIA

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master
of Social Work

Thesis Advisor: ESTHER BLUM

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
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ABSTRACT

The issue of service accessibility and culturally appropriate services to immigrants is of increasing concern to the social service professionals, policy makers, as well as to the immigrant community. There is growing concern that language and cultural barriers prevent immigrants from receiving equal and quality services, and that mainstream agencies are not equipped to respond to the multicultural reality of our new population. This study examines the current status of social service provision to immigrants and refugees in three Canadian provinces, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. In the attempt to begin building a model for the multiculturalization of the Canadian social services, the study explores the barriers, challenges and service models to develop accessible and culturally appropriate service to immigrants.

This is a qualitative study which identifies the following salient themes describing immigrant service providers' experience and opinions about services to immigrants: 1) institutional change issues 2) settlement services, everything for everybody 3) increasing access to mainstream services, a process of change 4) services issues and testing new service approaches 5) the complexity of ethno-cultural community life 6) immigrant service deliverer's reflections.

The study's central conclusion is the need for institutional change in the current organization of the social service system. The Manitoba example of the bridging service model for the "multiculturalization" of mainstream services provided the context for exploring these changes.

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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Canada has been called a country of immigrants. In part, our motivation in admitting immigrants and refugees is humanitarian. However, the largest percentage of immigrants are admitted because they serve our national self-interest.¹

Immigration should involve a two-way commitment, a commitment by the immigrant to adapt to the new society, but also a commitment by the receiving country to assist in the adaptation process. The obligation on the part of the receiving country arises from the fact that the right to immigrate is granted for reasons of national self-interest and not solely, or even necessarily, out of any humanitarian consideration. In the case of Canada, immigration policy has been shaped by demographic needs, labour market requirements, the influence of particular sectors of the business community and other factors reflecting the interests of either Canadian society as a whole or a particular economic class. This aspect of immigration policy has often been obscured in the rhetoric of governments and politicians. It is not surprising therefore that Canadians tend to think of immigration as an essentially humanitarian endeavour without

¹ Morton Bieser, "The Mental Health of Immigrants and Refugees in Canada," Culture Health, Vol 2, 1988.

benefits to Canada. This perception in turn perpetuates an attitude that the obligation in the adaptation process should fall entirely on the immigrants since they are already the beneficiaries of the privilege granted them to immigrate to Canada. This perception also reinforces racist and ethno-centric alarm over what is often perceived as "floods of refugees pouring into the country", since these movements of people are rarely discussed by public figures in terms of their role in meeting Canada's demographic needs.²

The attitude that immigration is purely humanitarian has reinforced a tendency for the Federal government to give limited attention and resources to assisting immigrants in the adaptation process. This is also reflected in the policies and programs of other levels of government, and in the lack of relevance of government and non-government service organizations to the needs of immigrants. The low priority given to settlement and integration contributes to the perpetuation of the social and economic marginalization of great numbers of immigrants and consequently to the perpetuation of ethnic and racial inequality.

Multiculturalism, as articulated by the Federal Government and by a number of Provincial governments, is presented as a remedy to ethnic/racial inequalities. As critics point out, official multiculturalism has largely

² Malarek, Victor, Haven's Gate: Canada's Immigration Fiasco (Macmillan of Canada, Division of Canada Publishing Corporation, Toronto 1987).

been restricted to supporting minority groups in preserving ethnic cultures and heritage languages. This emphasis reflects a conception of a "multicultural society" as one composed of separate but equal ethnic collectivities. However, equality is not achieved if mainstream institutions remain unchanged and consequently inaccessible to minority groups, in particular those composed of recent immigrants with linguistic and cultural differences.

A quite different conception of a "multicultural society" envisions mainstream institutions "multiculturalizing" themselves in response to the changing composition and character of the Canadian population. Here, the emphasis is equality rather than ethnic cultural preservation, whether it be equality of opportunity or equality of access to services and support systems. Equality of access requires some measure of adaptation on the part of mainstream institutions in response to the multicultural character of society. In a society in which immigrants constitute a great percentage of the population and in which immigration is a primary source of population growth, it is only reasonable to expect mainstream institutions to transform themselves in order to be relevant to the needs of immigrants.

1.2 DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

I have been guided in this study by the view that attitudinal and organizational change in mainstream social services is needed if they are to become more sensitive to the needs of immigrants. These changes can

be broadly defined under the heading of the "multiculturalization" of institutions and services. I have also been guided by the view that these changes are appropriate given how "equality of access" can be defined in the context of a multicultural society in which the obligation to adapt should not lie solely with immigrants.

Concern among social service providers and policy makers in Canada as to whether services are accessible to immigrants and appropriate to immigrant needs is fairly recent and not by any means universal.

The following objectives are central to this research study.

- i) To identify needs, issues and concerns frequently raised within the immigrant and service communities concerning the problem of service accessibility and provision of culturally appropriate services for the immigrant population.
- ii) To identify themes, issues and strategies which characterize the current status of the social service system and its relationship to the immigrant community
- iii) To seek feedback from the immigrant serving communities in three Canadian provinces on an alternative service delivery model which attempts to deal with accessible and culturally appropriate service for ethnic minorities.
- iv) To share the results of the study with the social service community in order to increase our understanding of how we can more effectively deliver services to ethnic minorities.

1.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Immigrants, social service providers and the social work profession can benefit from the results of this study. New insights and understandings are sought in an area pertinent to them all. It provides immigrants with a synthesis of the service system and can be used as a tool for reflection and critical analysis of the social service system and their roles within it. It is particularly relevant to those immigrant and new ethnic organizations which are defining their position with respect to Canadian institutions.

For social service providers, the study offers a new framework for conceptualizing and operationalizing alternative organizational interventions to achieve equality of services. The study confirms the need for the system to undergo attitudinal and organizational changes in order to effectively meet immigrant service needs. It also serves as a point of reference for service providers in exploring new thinking and new ideology in this field and in breaking out of old patterns of systemic discrimination and paternalistic service practices.

In the social work profession there is increasing commitment yet little training for multicultural social work. Therefore, this study contributes to the profession by mapping out issues, challenges and strategies and by spelling out the requirements of professional training institutions to serve new multicultural communities.

It certainly provides me with an increased understanding and a strong knowledge base in my work in the social service system for immigrants.

CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION, SETTLEMENT AND CULTURAL POLICIES: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Permission to immigrate is generally perceived as a privilege and not as a right, and this is reflected in the powers the Canadian government reserves to determine who will or will not be given permission to immigrate. However, once a person is a landed immigrant or a naturalized Canadian, do they have the same rights as other citizens or do they depend on being given privileges? It seems that the concept of "privilege of admission" permeates other aspects of immigrant relations with the mainstream of Canadian society. Consequently, the notion that immigrants are entitled to the same rights, treatment and benefits as other Canadians is far from universally accepted.

The following discussion will examine this issue of equality, which is one of the central themes of my thesis. At the same time it will set some parameters when referring to "immigrants". Why are they here? Why is Canada involved in international immigration? What role has the social service system played in settling and integrating these new populations into Canadian life?

2.1 IMMIGRATION AS AN INTERNATIONAL, ECONOMIC PHENOMENON

Immigration as a mass phenomenon can be seen as one form of relations between nations or regions, like trade in commodities, capital flows and colonization. Characteristically, the direction of human migrations reflects the uneven nature of these relations, between colonizing and colonized nations, rich and poor nations, resource extracting and resource providing nations, etc. Until recently, for example the flow of human beings was from richer, more economically advanced countries to "new worlds" ³ such as North and South America, Australia and South and Eastern Africa. Emigration was a social and political safety valve for developed countries where populations were often growing at a faster rate than economies.

Although some of these regions still receive immigrants, the trend has reversed itself in a more fundamental sense. Today the flow of immigration is primarily from poor countries with dependent and static economies and to developed countries where populations are now declining and where economic change is creating an escalating need for marginalized labour. Immigration today has become one of several instruments in creating an international labour force in an integrated world economy, with the poor of the Third World serving as a vast surplus labour force.⁴

³ Eduardo Galeano, Open Veins of Latin America: Five centuries of the Pillage of a continent (1974).

⁴ Dixon and McCaughan, "Reindustrialization and the Transnational Labour Force in the United States today" Contemporary Marxism No. 5 Summer, 1982.

In analyzing the conditions which determine the influx of immigrants there are the familiar methods known as "pull and push" analysis. Some analysts place greater emphasis on pull factors in the receiving country, such as economic conditions and the drawing power of the highly industrialized areas in attracting immigrants from less developed areas, while others emphasize push factors in the sending country, in which the economic conditions of underdevelopment are pushing people to emigrate to more developed countries. The analysis cannot be unilateral since the interrelations between the receiving and sending countries are increasing in today's integrated world economy. This is particularly so when developed countries seem to depend more and more on Third World countries in order to secure access to cheap raw materials and labour, as well as profitable sites for branch plants and off-shore operations. At the same time, underdeveloped countries are forced to depend more and more on foreign aid and investment in efforts to stem the tide of deteriorating economic and social conditions. These are some of the factors perpetuating the unequal relationship which provides the impetus to today's 'mass migrations'.

International corporations, through their strategic control of capital flows, have extended their properties beyond their national boundaries, moving their industries and high technology elsewhere to raise their profits and to remain competitive with one another. Third World countries have been the targets of these operations, in which foreign capital has exploited and exhausted natural resources and cheap labour while providing little or no economic rewards to the host country. One of the major motives for transnational operations is the reduction of labour costs, in

particular in the case of production processes which remain labour intensive. Relocation of production to off-shore locations has been possible since many Third World countries see an "export-led" strategy as a way out of a condition of underdevelopment and dependency.⁵

Exploitation, poverty and above all, unemployment in an exhausted local economy oriented to foreign needs, form a vicious circle in which the populations of Third World countries are caught. Undoubtedly such conditions force people from Third World countries to emigrate in large numbers to other areas of the world. As well, these populations will be encouraged to emigrate when the receiving country needs foreign labour to respond to labour market demands and labour shortages.

Another variable among the forces producing immigration and refugee movements is socio-economic and political oppression in Third World countries. Many underdeveloped countries have a long history of political unrest which almost always arises from the continued subjugation and exploitation of the majority of the population. Injustice and poverty are the products of socio-economic measures applied by a repressive and tiny ruling elite committed to a model of 'development' based on foreign investment and the provision of cheap labour. Frequently exile is imposed on those who do not remain passive to conditions jointly fostered by the foreign investors and the repressive national government. A well documented example of this is the United States's involvement in the

⁵ A.Sivanandan, "Imperialism in the Silicon Age", Monthly Review, Vol.32, Number 3, July - August 1980

military overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in 1973. Almost one million Chilean refugees are spread around the world as a result of this intervention, done in the name of protecting American capital.⁶ In light of the preceding analysis it seems obvious that immigration is not only a phenomenon of individual choices, but rather is a mass social and economic phenomenon and an intrinsic factor in today's integrated world economy. As Jonathan Power states: "Immigrant workers have become a structural necessity for the economy of the receiving country".⁷

2.2 CANADA'S LONG STANDING INVOLVEMENT IN IMMIGRATION

Canada developed through immigration. From early Canadian history immigrants provided a reliable labour force for economic expansion and were used to settle sparsely populated regions. Up to the present, Canadian governments have used immigration to meet the demands of the labour market, as well as for demographic requirements.⁸ In the last 15 years over two million people (see Chart 1) have immigrated to Canada. Immigrants make up a significant percentage of the population and an even more significant percentage of the labour force. According to the 1981 Census, labour force participation rates are higher among immigrants than

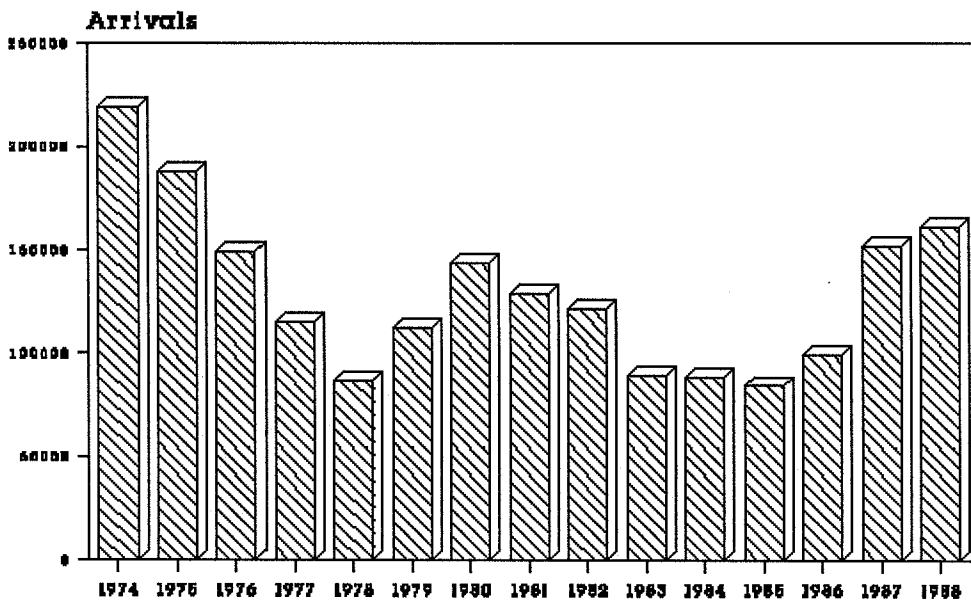
⁶ Galeano, 1974

⁷ Jonathan Power, "Western Europe's Migrant Workers," Minority Rights Group Report" No.28, May 1976

⁸ The Law Union Of Ontario, The Immigrant Handbook: A Critical Guide (Black Rose Books, Montreal 1981)

among the general population, reflecting the fact that the immigrant population is younger than the general population.

Chart 1
International Immigration to Canada
1974 to 1988

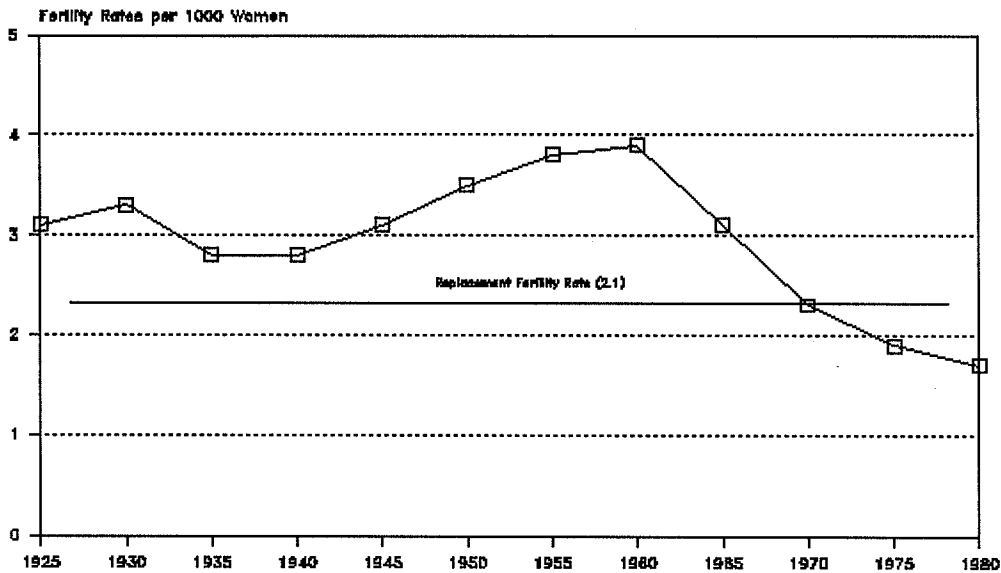


Source: CEIC Landed Immigrant Data

This highlights an important fact about Canadian population trends. As Chart 2 shows, fertility rates have been falling steadily since 1960. By 1970 they fell below the replacement level. This means that without immigration the Canadian population would decrease rapidly and age even more rapidly. Immigration has been and will continue to be an important factor in Canadian economic and social development. Given this, it is

disturbing that Canada has yet to put in place adequate support systems to assist immigrants in becoming equal and contributing participants in Canadian society.

Chart 2
Fertility Rates in Canada
1925 to 1985



Source: Vital Statistics,
VOL.1, Births, 1960, 1969, 1985

The legacy of the racially discriminatory immigration policies of the past has prevented Canadian institutions from acknowledging immigrants as part of Canadian life.⁹ Consequently it has prevented them from playing a

⁹ Evelyn Kallen, "Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada" (Gage Publishing Limited, Toronto 1982)

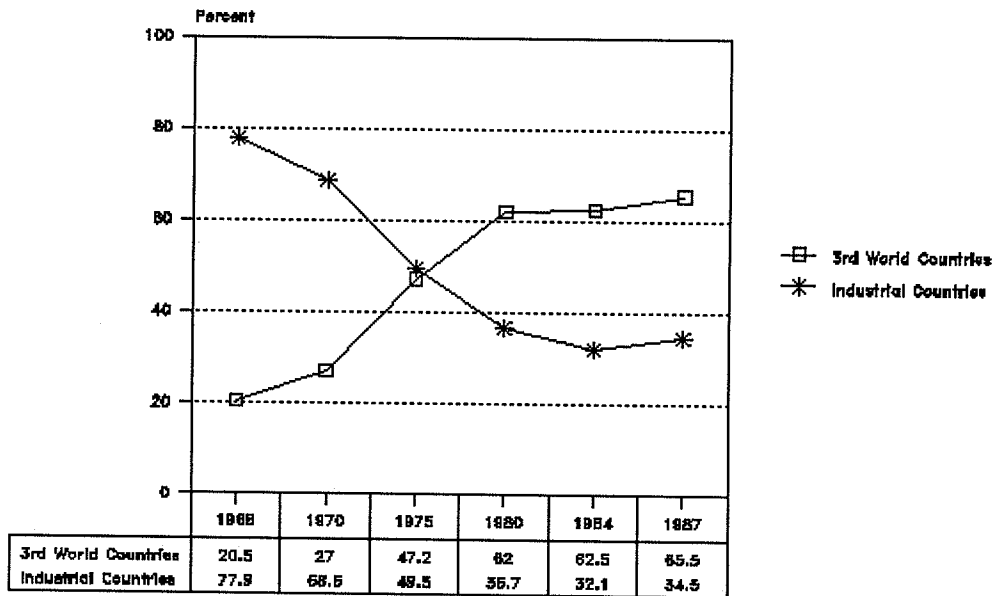
crucial role in developing policies based on a new philosophy grounded in principles of equality. It was only in 1969 that the Canadian government abandoned a racially discriminatory immigration policy of preferred and non-preferred countries. With this, Canada entered a new era in developing a statutory base for equality and respect for human rights. The following represents a chronology of the major legislative and policy developments in this area:

- 1960 - Canadian Bill of Rights
- 1967 - First Non-Discriminatory Canadian Immigration Act
- 1968 - Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
- 1971 - Multiculturalism as an Official Policy
- 1977 - Canadian Human Rights Act
- 1982 - The Charter of Rights and Freedoms
- 1984 - Equality Now! (a House of Commons Report)
- 1988 - The Multiculturalism Act

The elimination of discriminatory immigration policies coincided with a declining interest in emigration to Canada among people in what had been the "preferred countries" of Europe and Northern Europe in particular. This led to a dramatic change in the composition of immigrant populations. As Chart 3 shows, as recently as twenty years ago 80% of immigrants to Canada were from industrialized countries, with only 20% coming from Third World countries. As the figures for 1987 show, the situation has almost reversed itself, with almost 75% of immigrants coming from Third World countries. This means that the majority of immigrants are coming from

societies which are profoundly different from Canada in terms of economic development, social organization, culture and language.

Chart 3
International Immigration To Canada
For Selected Years



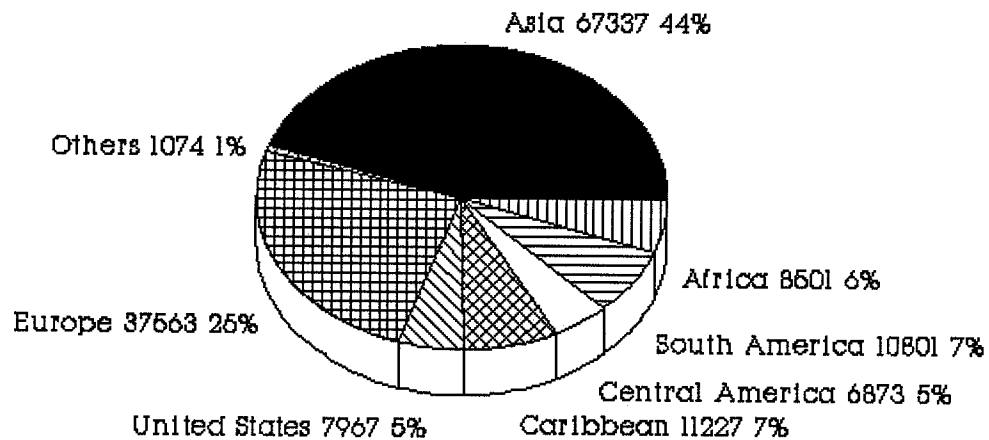
Source: CEIC Landed Immigrant Data

2.3 IMMIGRANT PROFILE

The massive numbers of immigrants that have arrived in Canada during the last century are not an homogeneous group (see Chart 4). They differ among themselves in culture and language, in their numbers and in the periods of their arrival. They also differ in terms of the degree of development in their country or region of origin, as well as in terms of

the social class to which they belonged in their homeland. Nevertheless, within these differences there are obvious commonalities which are mainly related to their social status and to the economic and political positions their ethnic communities have achieved in Canada.

Chart 4
International Immigration To Canada
by World Areas - 1987



Source: CEIC Landed Immigrant Data

A review of the current literature indicates that the great majority of immigrants in this receiving country are very vulnerable to exploitation and subject to discrimination. They also have low levels of participation as citizens. Authors such as Pione attribute the inferior occupational positions and low social status of immigrants to structural factors. Pione

discusses the manipulation of immigration to meet the needs of a secondary labour market, which is characterized by low wages, job instability, non-unionization, poor working conditions, slight skill requirements and lack of advancement opportunities. These structural factors have direct bearing in reinforcing the disadvantaged conditions of immigrants arising from their inability to compete equally in the labour market due to language and cultural barriers.¹⁰

As immigrant profile could be characterized in the following way:

- new Canadians continue to provide an abundant supply of low wage labour, heavily concentrated in areas of the economy requiring unskilled and semi-skilled labour, such as services (restaurant and janitorial services), food processing, construction, assembling, textiles, clothing and other light manufacturing.¹¹
- non-English speaking immigrant workers are commonly recruited and locked into job ghettos where they do not have to use the official language as part of their work. We see particular ethnic groups heavily concentrated in certain industries; for example, there is a visible concentration of immigrants from the Philippines, the Indian sub-continent and Latin America in the garment industry in Manitoba.
- immigrants have traditionally stayed in jobs below their skill

¹⁰ M.J.Pione, "Impact of Immigration in the Labour Force" Monthly Labour Review, 1975

¹¹ Manitoba Employment Services and Economic Security, A Report on the Employment Status of Southeast Asian and Eastern European Immigrants (August 1983)

levels. Roxana Ng and Judith Ramirez conducted a study in Vancouver which found that many immigrants, even those in professional and highly skilled technical occupations in their home countries, have to take unskilled and semi-skilled positions.¹² The Department of Manpower and Immigration reported that from a sample survey of immigrants, 39% of those polled were not working in their intended occupations after three years in Canada.¹³

- the first job immigrants have in Canada, usually a low-skilled and menial job, is treated as their "Canadian experience", locking them into this type of work.

The unique position that immigrants occupy in Canadian society has the characteristics of what Evelyn Kallen describes as a minority group within a system of social stratification.

...the concept minority, or subordinate collectivity, refers to the corresponding social category (re: ranking criteria) with inferior social status, whose members wield a lesser degree of social, economic, and/or political power relative to the majority.¹⁴

¹² Roxana Ng and Judith Ramirez, Immigrant Housewives in Canada (Vancouver, 1981)

¹³ Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration, Three Years in Canada: First Report of a Longitudinal Survey of the Economic and Social Adaptation of Immigrants (1974)

¹⁴ Kallen, 1982

2.4 THE SOCIAL SERVICE SYSTEM AND THE MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITY

Among both social service providers and immigrant people there is increasing recognition that the rights to access and to equal services for ethnic minorities are, by and large, being denied by the present system in Canada.¹⁵ In recent years there has been an increased awareness of the need for mainstream services to be more accessible and to provide more culturally appropriate services to immigrant populations.

The service system has not been able to respond adequately to the substantial demographic shift in ethno-cultural composition of Canada since the late 60's. As discussed in the previous section and described in Chart 5, before this period nine out of ten immigrants came from the United Kingdom, Europe and the United States. Today the majority of immigrants are from Asia, Latin America, the West Indies, Africa and the Middle East, who are racially and culturally different from mainstream population. This undoubtedly presents a difficult challenge to legislators, academics, social scientists and in particular, to social service professionals, to effectively meet the needs of this population.

A major focus of immigration policy, historically and to the present, is admission standards, reflecting the determination to use immigration to serve Canada's interests. Little attention, if any, has been given to the

¹⁵ Robert Doyle and Livy Visano, A Program for Action: Access to Health and Social Services for Members of Diverse Cultural and racial Groups (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1987)

question of accessible and culturally appropriate services for immigrants. As a consequence, the social service system has not developed the capacity to serve immigrant communities.¹⁶ Policy makers, social planners and social service practitioners are only now discovering and exploring this field. Nevertheless, the social service system and immigrant populations remain profoundly disconnected. As the Toronto situation illustrates:

... it becomes apparent that the health and social service system, at least for members of diverse cultural and racial groups, could be characterized as a situation of two solitudes, two sub systems, mainstream and ethno specific... exist side by side, live somewhat separate existences, hardly take account of one another in their effort to plan and deliver services and do not account to one another for their plans or activities...¹⁷

2.5 MULTICULTURALISM POLICY AND IMMIGRANT PEOPLE

At a rhetorical level, multicultural policy both at the federal and provincial levels is committed to promoting equality across ethnic lines. The goals of multiculturalism, as originally stated by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971, included assisting "members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society".¹⁸ Yet, as Daiva Stasiulis and other critics note, governments have largely

¹⁶ Among others this issue is presented by Betty Bergin in Equality is the Issue (Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, Ontario 1988) and by Doyle and Visano in A Program For Action (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1987) as well by Barb Thomas in Multiculturalism at Work, (Y.W.C.A. Toronto 1987)

¹⁷ Doyle and Visano, 1987, p.15

¹⁸ Canada, House of Commons, Debates. (1971, p.8546)

limited themselves to symbolic affirmations of the equal status of minorities while avoiding questions of structural and institutionalized obstacles to equality which have more practical significance in terms of perpetuating economic and social stratification along ethnic/racial lines.¹⁹ Some critics, such as Li and Bolaria, argue that multiculturalism contributes to the perpetuation of inequalities by creating the image of action without any substance.²⁰ Certainly governments have tended toward fostering ethno-cultural activities and the retention of heritage languages. Stasiulis sees this as partly the result of a tendency of the government, at both the political and bureaucratic levels, "to follow the path of least resistance" and interpret their mandate in ways that don't lead to controversy or conflict with influential sectors or institutions in Canadian society. Ethnic minorities groups are lobbying government to go beyond a symbolic affirmation of racial and ethnic equality and address issues of racism and accessibility of mainstream institutions for immigrants. As Stasiulis notes, action in response to these pressures has been limited and inconsistent.

In summary, immigration as an international phenomena can be viewed as one instrument of a system of international capitalism in the manipulation and exploitation of a global labour force. Canada's role in immigration is characteristic of this phenomena and of the contradictions within it.

¹⁹ Daiva Stasiulis, "The symbolic Mosaic Reaffirmed: Multiculturalism Policy", How Ottawa Spend 1988/1989: The Conservatives Heading the Stretch (Ottawa, Carleton University Press, 1988)

²⁰ B.Singh Bolaria and Peter Li, Racial Oppression in Canada (Garamond Press Toronto, 1985)

Immigration policy in Canada has been determined primarily by an interaction between labour market requirements and ethno-cultural xenophobia.²¹ The lack of consideration to the needs of immigrants, as manifested by the inaccessibility of the mainstream social service system, reflects of an attitude that culturally distinct immigrants are an unwanted necessity or just plain unwanted. However, immigrants as citizens have been able to assert influence in making government recognize, at least in its rhetoric, their rights to equality. The conflicts between government and minorities over the lack of substance to multicultural policy is one example of the ongoing accommodation to the reality of immigrants and ethnic minorities as a sector with emerging political and social influence.

²¹ The Law Union Of Ontario, 1981.

CHAPTER IIIA MODEL FOR THE MULTICULTURALIZATION OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE SYSTEM

This chapter is a summary of a formal discussion paper which was prepared early in the study and circulated to participants in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. The paper discussed issues that were being reflected upon and debated by members in the immigrant service field. My discussion of these issues was influenced by my experience working with ethnic communities in designing and developing a training program for ethnic community workers (the Refugee Community Workers Training Program) ²² and in designing and implementing accessible and culturally appropriate services for immigrant communities (Immigrant Access Service). ²³ The paper also reflects the views of ethno-cultural leaders, settlement workers, clients, educators and social service staff working in the field, with whom I have discussed common issues and problems. Many times their contribution served to clarify my own thinking.

²² The R.C.W.T.P. was a 2 year training program (1983-1985), funded for only one intake of 18 students by the three levels of government and delivered through the Core Area Training and Employment Agency. The aim of the program was to train immigrant workers who, once employed in the Human Service System could bridge the gap between the immigrant/refugee population and the existing social service system by addressing the linguistic, cultural and information barriers which prevent immigrants/refugees from full participation in Canadian society.

²³ I.A.S. was established in 1985 as a direct service of the Manitoba government. The aim of the service is to act as a bridge between immigrant communities and the mainstream social service systems.

This chapter discusses the four major themes related to the multiculturalization of the social service system.

THE BARRIERS: The inadequacies of the present service delivery system in providing accessible and culturally relevant services to immigrants.

THE CHALLENGES: The challenges and key tasks that need to be faced to deal effectively with these barriers in order to improve service provision to immigrants.

THE MODELS: The different approaches in delivering services to ethnic minorities.

A MULTI-SERVICE, MULTI-LINGUAL, MULTI-CULTURAL SERVICE DELIVERY MODEL: An alternative model which attempts to deal with barriers to accessible and culturally appropriate service provision.

3.1 BARRIERS AND A TWO-TIERED APPROACH IN THE SOCIAL SERVICE SYSTEM

The barriers that prevent the delivery of accessible and culturally appropriate services to immigrants will be examined in the context of a critical overview of the organization of the social service system and the implications for the delivery of services to ethnic minorities. The majority of immigrant people experience difficulties in securing access to the mainstream system due mainly to their lack of information and appropriate communication and interaction strategies. This is aggravated by the lack of available services, knowledge and understanding of

linguistic and cultural factors among agency staff.²⁴

Chan suggests that a two-tiered approach in the social service system emerged in Canada in the 1970's. A two-tiered approach can be understood as one system for the mainstream society and another serving as an alternative for members of ethnic minorities.²⁵ As summarized in the Chart below the social service system has generally been organized in two different modes to deal with human needs, one which deals with the human and social needs of the general population, (the generic mode), and another which deals with the special needs of a particular target group, i.e. settlement needs of the immigrant communities (the categoric mode).²⁶

ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE SYSTEM	
GENERIC SYSTEM	CATEGORIC SYSTEM
- HUMAN SERVICE AGENCIES - SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES	- IMMIGRANT SERVING AGENCIES - ETHNIC SPECIFIC AGENCIES
NEEDS: HUMAN AND SOCIAL NEEDS	NEEDS: SPECIAL NEEDS-SETTLEMENT
POPULATION SERVED: GENERAL	TARGET GROUP SERVED: IMMIGRANTS

²⁴ Betty Bergin, Equality is the Issue: A Study of Minority Ethnic Group Access to Health and Social Services in Ottawa-Carleton (The Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton 1988)

²⁵ Kwan B.Chan, "Ethnic minorities and Accessibility to Services in a Two-Tiered Social Service System: The Case of the Chinese in Montreal," Currents (Urban Council in Race Relations, Toronto, Summer 1987)

²⁶ Rosa Candia, "Immigrant Access Service Conceptual Framework" (Unpublished, Winnipeg 1986)

Generic human and social services are those services provided by government and non-government organizations that are part of the "mainstream" institutional system, serving the public at large. They are the major instruments of the welfare state. Generic human and social service agencies are also defined in terms of their mandate to provide specialized services in particular service and or problem areas, such as family therapy, education, recreation and health. Their mandate implies that these agencies have highly trained and specialized staff of professionals and para-professionals.

The categoric mode has been utilized to deal with the claim of special needs of various minority groups. Unlike the generic system where the staff are professional, the staff of the categoric immigrant service system are generally part of the para-professional community.

Generic and categoric responses can be very interdependent. There are categoric responses within generic services, such as a women's hospital. On the one hand, women become a target group with special needs within a generic health service system which is also available to the general population. On the other hand, women as part of the general population are helped with a range of other human and social needs through generic services. This model, however, does not seem to apply with regard to immigrant groups.

While the categoric immigrant service system is dealing with the special needs of immigrants, immigrants experience tremendous difficulty in being recognized as members of the general population with regard to a range of

other unmet generic human and social needs. Immigrant clients are generally defined on the basis of their belonging to a target group rather than on the basis of their service needs and therefore referred to as categorical rather than generic services. In this instance, the categorical target group is composed of individuals who are defined on the basis of racial, linguistic and/or cultural differences or in terms of their settlement needs. Consequently we find that responses to immigrant needs have been generally of a categorical nature, and in the majority of cases, non-settlement needs are left unattended given the lack of professional and specialized staff in categorical services.

The categorical immigrant serving system is generally composed of two distinct sub systems:

- (i) THE IMMIGRANT SERVING AGENCIES: which are the government and/or non-government organizations offering settlement services to immigrant groups in areas such as housing, employment, official language acquisition, reception, initial orientation and adjustment assistance; and interpretation and translation.²⁷
- (ii) THE ETHNIC SPECIFIC AGENCIES: which are the community based service agencies offering services to respective single ethnic communities.

²⁷ Employment and Immigration Canada and Secretary of State, "Background paper on Federal Immigrant Settlement/Integration Programs Past and Present" (Canada 1983)

The process of defining immigrants primarily in terms of their settlement needs has fostered a trend in service delivery by which the immigrant categoric system is seen as the primary service provider. Categoric immigrant service providers are pressed to service both the categoric and generic needs of immigrants while the mainstream generic agencies are being "let off the hook". As Hubert Campfens points out, the categoric immigrant service system has carried:

the lion's share of dealing with the needs and problems specific to settlement and integration, offering not merely 'complimentary' services as one would expect in a Welfare state, but being the 'primary provider' of services in many essential areas.²⁸

This situation has affected both the immigrant and the social service communities and the relationship between the two; a relationship which has been characterized by inequality, misinformation, and disinterest. As a consequence of this situation, immigrants in general are still under-represented in the generic human/service community, whether as clients, paid professionals and/or social policy makers.²⁹ Immigrants are also among those in the population who are most likely to fall between the cracks of the social service system.

²⁸ Hubert Campfens, "The Role and Future of Non-Government Organizations in Settlement and Integration", A paper prepared for the Conference on Settlement and Integration of Immigrants (Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, 1988). p.5

²⁹ Doyle & Visano, 1987

The absence of a generic service response to immigrant needs obviously has contributed to this problem. On the one hand, an immigrant family needing family therapy services may not qualify for services from a mainstream agency because they are identified as a member of a target group facing language and cultural barriers. On the other hand, the family may not receive services from an immigrant serving agency because the agency is not mandated to offer family therapy services and consequently does not have trained staff.

By default the categoric immigrant services have been left with the task of filling the service gaps created by the gulf between immigrants and the mainstream generic service system. In pursuing this task they have faced the dilemma of having to build a parallel service system for immigrants.

Many people working in the immigrant services field advocate a parallel immigrant service system. They argue that a parallel system is a means to ensure that linguistic and culturally appropriate services are provided, that the community has control over policy, resources and service directions, and that there are greater opportunities for community participation and community empowerment. The concept of a parallel service system is seen by some as the means to ensure an equitable share of the resources in the system. Above all, this approach has emerged out a lack of confidence among many in both immigrant serving agencies and ethnic organizations, in the capacity of the mainstream generic system to deal with and equitably represent the service interests of ethnic minorities within existing structures.

Other social service providers, while agreeing with the principles of providing culturally and linguistically appropriate services, argue that parallel services are not the most appropriate way to deal with the present inequality of services to immigrants. They argue that this model is a diversion from a real process of community empowerment, that it serves the purpose of the dominant culture and that it preserves a state of inequality between the mainstream system and ethnic minority systems due to the unequal distribution of power and resources between the two. Parallel systems are regarded by some critics as another form of "compensation" to ethnic minorities in place of genuinely effective services and a real role for their communities in decision making processes. They argue that parallel systems project the image of community participation without the substance. As well, they allow politicians the opportunity to give lip service to the principle of meeting the service needs of immigrant populations.

There are a number of drawbacks to the parallel system model for immigrant services. A full implementation of this model would require as many parallel systems as there are ethnic groups, multiplied by the number of problem/service areas. Already scarce resources would be divided into a multiplicity of small allocations, spread thinly across different minority groups and within the different ethnic minority populations. Historically, competing for limited resources has produced friction among minority groups which has divided them and made them more vulnerable to discrimination and ghettoization. The concept of a multiplicity of parallel systems presumes an equal level of organization, development,

power and resources across various immigrant ethnic communities. There is abundant evidence to indicate the contrary. Inequalities among ethnic communities within a system of parallel ethnic specific services would be inevitable because more established and resourceful communities are better prepared to compete for resources. In addition, parallel systems can reinforce ethnic ghettoization, preventing ethnic minorities from becoming an integral part of the society and from making equal use of the resources of the social service system.³⁰

The mainstream generic service system has failed to recognize that we are living in a multicultural society where all citizens have the right to preserve their diversities while also receiving the same services as those in the mainstream society.³¹ The reasons stated below may help to explain why mainstream services have often been unaware of or unable to respond to the service needs of immigrants. Overcompensation by the categoric system may have contributed to the lack of response by the mainstream services. As well, the dramatic absence of immigrants within the generic service community has prevented agencies from becoming knowledgeable and better equipped to deal appropriately with the service needs of this population.

³⁰ Tania Das Gupta, Learning from our History: Community Development by Immigrant Women in Ontario 1958-1986. A Tool for Action (Cross-Cultural Communication Centre, Ontario, 1986).

³¹ Eva Allmen, "Counselling and Settlement, The Future Relationship of Mainstream and Settlement Services", A paper presented for the Conference on Settlement and Integration of Immigrants (Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo 1988).

The fact that immigrants under-utilize the mainstream service system may not be due to the presumed "inner abilities of immigrants to make it on their own", as some would like to think. Rather, their absence could be attributed to the fact that barriers in the generic service system make it inaccessible and culturally inappropriate to immigrant needs.

The barriers preventing the generic mainstream system from offering accessible and culturally appropriate services to immigrants can also be examined in the light of Evelyn Kallen's discussion of structural, institutional and cultural discrimination. She argues that the inequality of access to major public institutions is.

... rooted in the system - wide operation... which, as result of the self-fulfilling prophecy of racism, excludes substantial numbers of members of particular ethnic collectivities from significant participation in its major social institutions. ³²

This established structure of ethnic inequality is maintained through unequal access to employment, education, wealth, social and political power which has kept ethnic minority members 'outside of the system'. Past immigration policies of preferred and non-preferred countries for immigrant intake contributed to the development of ethnic stratification in Canada. Porter argues that different immigrant groups are likely to have distinct, pre-determined points of entry into the public life of Canada. The less preferred the ethnic group, in the eyes of the dominant

³² Kallen, 1982, p.37

ethnic group(s), the lower the point of entry.³³ This inequality seems even more dramatic for members of ethnic minorities coming to Canada during the last two decades, when the cultural and racial composition of immigration differed distinctly from previous immigration movements.

Generic social service agencies have been largely inaccessible to ethnic minorities. However when they become more accessible, they tend to neglect cultural differences in the provision of services, in determining policies, and applying techniques and service intervention models. Therefore, service provision tends to be culturally inappropriate when serving immigrant and refugee populations. Canada's dominant mono-cultural approach to public life is the basis for the cultural discrimination prevailing in the current social delivery system, which prevents it from offering culturally relevant services to ethnic minorities.

In a hierarchical, multi-ethnic society, only representatives of the dominant ethnic collectivity have the power to transform their ethnocentrism into cultural discrimination by imposing their cultural attributes - their values, standards, and definitions of reality - on all peoples in the society. For it is the normative imperative of the ethnic group which become sanctioned in law and incorporated into public institutional policies thereby providing the moral and cultural guidelines for the whole society.³⁴

The current situation suggests that the mono-cultural service system has led not only to discriminatory practices but more significantly to

³³ John Porter, Vertical Mosaic (University of Toronto Press, 1965)

³⁴ Kallen, 1982 p.110

incompetent provision of services when dealing with ethnic minority service needs. It appears that the inability to serve the multi-ethnic population with professional competence lies in the lack of relevant professional skills. Unfortunately educational institutions have yet not recognized that professionals will inevitable be involved in multi-cultural practice. It has been suggested that professional schools like Social Work, Education, Psychology and Nursing review their curriculum to determine if they are preparing people to competently serve the culturally diverse population of Canada.

Affirmative action hiring policies have been widely presented as remedies to the effects of the mono-cultural approach in services. Affirmative action "has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour ..." ³⁵ This objective is generally interpreted as making public institutions more representative of the ethnic composition of society and therefore more sensitive and responsive to the needs of particular groups. Nevertheless, members of ethnic minorities who become part of the systems confront various barriers.

Affirmative action programs and hiring policies attempt to address inequality by increasing the numbers of ethnic minority members working in public institutions. Affirmative action initiatives are providing

³⁵ Kallen, 1982

greater opportunities for those with equal qualifications. Unfortunately, the barriers for immigrants to obtain equal qualifications are many. For example, the tendency not to value people's past home country work and educational experiences, places them in a disadvantaged situation to compete or make use of the limited affirmative action opportunities.

In competing for jobs which require official language skills immigrants may be at a disadvantage as a consequence of the insufficient resources that have been allocated for assisting people to acquire official languages. There is a long history of structural discrimination against minorities due to language barriers and non-recognition of past life experience. The right of redress against long term past discrimination should include the right to acquire English/French language skills to a level of proficiency to enable functioning in Canadian society,³⁶ as well as the right to have previous qualifications, work experience and education or training recognized.

Members of ethnic minorities who join the Canadian public institutions are usually isolated, their numerical presence being too small to make an impact. They are generally placed in positions where they cannot affect decision making. As well, they are pressured to compete and succeed within the system, which often means "buying into the system". The socialization process often pushes them toward assimilating into the larger society by abandoning their ethnic identity. Consequently their ability to serve

³⁶ Laura Ho, interview held in Edmonton april 1988.

their communities on the basis of their ethnic background and immigrant experience disappears. This could be prevented were the institution ready to utilize those resources.

The major barrier, nevertheless, is the lack of a systematic approach to creating and providing "affirmative action social service programming". The social service system has not yet envisioned the placement of ethnic minority professionals in positions and with responsibilities appropriate for utilizing them in serving their own communities in a systematic manner. Unless "affirmative action service programming" occurs as a prerequisite to affirmative action hiring policies, barriers will persist. Those ethnic minority members within the system will continue to be powerless to use their much needed skills and talents to help their communities.

3.2 CHALLENGES IN PROVIDING ACCESSIBLE AND CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE SERVICES TO ETHNIC MINORITIES

The increasing cultural diversity of Canadian society places heavy demands and expectations on the social service system in terms of developing the capacity to provide categoric and generic services to meet the needs of immigrants.³⁷ The discussion in the preceding section on the barriers to accessible and culturally appropriate services for ethnic minorities mapped out some of the challenges ahead for the social service and ethno-

³⁷ Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto, "Task Force on Multicultural Programmes: Final Report" (Toronto, 1982).

cultural communities such as examining social policies and practices, developing collaborative approaches to services, facilitating community empowerment, providing cross-cultural education and freeing the categoric immigrant services from their role of primary service provider. This section will look at these challenges in more detail.

EXAMINING SOCIAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES: Necessary changes in both policy and practice require the collaborative efforts of policy makers and practitioners. Policy makers would require that human and social service practitioners identify emerging needs, new approaches and working models to deal more effectively with immigrant service needs.³⁸ As well, practitioners would require new legislation and definitions of jurisdiction from policy makers. Changes on both sides are essential and should be complimentary in order to avoid either ad hoc and temporary changes in practice which are not supported by policy changes, or essentially meaningless changes in official policy which are not matched at the level of implementation.

One area of policy which should be re-examined, and one which is extensively discussed within the immigrant serving field, is that of government jurisdiction, i.e. which level of government is responsible for responding to immigrant service needs. Government jurisdiction has been bureaucratically defined in terms of settlement adaptation during the first few years in Canada, and integration needs after the first years;

³⁸ Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto, 1982.

the first being a federal responsibility and the second being a provincial government responsibility.

Services to immigrants have generally been organized around this time-bound and bureaucratically defined concept of immigrant needs, as though during the first years in Canada only settlement (categoric) service needs are present and that the other social and human needs (generic) only appear after the first few years. In reality both service needs co-exist. The challenge ahead is to examine the provision of services to immigrants that are time-bound and constrained by jurisdictional considerations.

DEVELOPING COLLABORATIVE APPROACHES TO SERVICE : Collaborative service models present a challenge to both mainstream and settlement services, and to the ethno-cultural communities to collaborate and coordinate their efforts and resources more effectively. Such models are based on the view that there is a need for a multicultural practice, requiring:

- i) cross-cultural knowledge and expertise including knowledge of both host and immigrant community languages which are more likely to be found among people from the Immigrant Community and/or within Immigrant Settlement Services.
- ii) professional knowledge and expertise in areas such as mental health, education, social work, psychology, family therapy, etc., which are to be found mostly within the existing mainstream services.

Since the cross-cultural field is in the early stages of development these two areas of knowledge and expertise are not likely to be present in one professional. Therefore professionals with expertise in each of these respective fields need to work co-operatively in order to provide appropriate services.

Some further assumptions regarding collaborative approaches to service delivery are that there is potential for better utilization of resources within both service systems which are currently scattered, misused and disconnected. As well the ethno-cultural community and the immigrant serving agencies have abundant human resources, skills, talent and commitment to share. The objective of offering culturally appropriate and accessible services could be more effectively achieved if the immigrant and service communities joined their efforts. The collaborative service concept is not a new one; it is based on well acknowledged social service principles of service coordination and service integration.

FACILITATING COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT: Ethno-cultural communities (ECC's), as minority groups, are increasingly aware that they ought to become more active in pursuing their rights to equal access, and to equal, competent and relevant services. A process of community empowerment is needed in this context. Community empowerment implies strengthening relevant constituencies of the ethno-cultural community such as the professionals, community resources, clients, natural leaders and the organized ethnic

community at large in order to acquire such rights.³⁹

It is not until ECC's become conversant with the social service system that they will be able to play a crucial role in pursuing their rights. It is imperative that they become knowledgeable about the intricacies of the system and become skillful in articulating the advantages and limitations of social service system operations. Above all, it is necessary that they become skillful in identifying alternatives and finding room in the system for service improvements. The process of empowerment of ECC's can and does have different foci. For example, in Ontario, some ECC's have taken the service needs of their communities into their own hands and become the direct service providers in a quasi-parallel system.

Community empowerment also implies that ECC's could play roles in a number of areas such as educating and updating their own communities about both social service programs and service issues and concerns. They could organize their communities around service issues through ethnic-specific social service worker networks or multicultural service coalitions.⁴⁰ ECC's could also serve as resources in the development of cross-cultural skills in order to interpret not only the immigrant and mainstream cultures, but also to interpret the interaction between the two.

³⁹ Das Gupta, 1986.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

ECC's are the best equipped to reach out to their communities since they know where people are, who are they, what their needs are, and how they can be most effectively approached. ECC's possess the cultural sensitivity, the language and the knowledge of community dynamics and structures in order to increase service accessibility to their members. They could foster and protect the support system that the community has informally developed in the absence of formal supports.

ECC's could very well , if acknowledged, be an indispensable partner in the delivery of accessible and culturally appropriate services to immigrant communities. The challenge ahead for ECC's and the service community is to recognize the potential and richness of the discussed above functions.⁴¹

PROVIDING CROSS CULTURAL EDUCATION: Cross cultural education is often defined as a two way process in which ethnic communities, in their process of empowerment, and the service system, in its process of cultural transformation, interact. A review of the current literature reveals that there is still very little attention given to this area. Among social work professionals there is an increasing recognition of a need for more knowledge and theory in order to develop culturally appropriate services.⁴² Social service practitioners have different approaches to the need for

⁴¹ Candia, 1986.

⁴² Carole Christensen, "Toward a Framework for Social Work Education in a Multicultural and Multiracial Canada", A paper prepared for the Conference on Settlement and Integration of Immigrants (Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo 1988)

cross-cultural knowledge reflecting quite different assumptions. One view is that Western mono-cultural theories and helping techniques are universal and could be applied across cultures. Another is the opinion that cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity are needed, but that the mono-cultural helping approach is the bases for delivering services to ethnic minorities. A third view rejects the assumption of cultural superiority implicit in the first two approaches and advocates treating cross culturalism as a specialized area of work, requiring a distinct theory and new approaches and intervention models.⁴³ In view of the assumptions underlying the first two approaches, cross-cultural education needs to address attitudes ethnic/cultural superiority, racism and discriminatory practices. Above all, cross cultural education needs to address the development of a multi-cultural professional competency within the practice of the human and social services.

Three of the cross-cultural education approaches used by social service providers are:

In-Service Cross-Cultural Training: These training sessions usually target social service practitioners and front line workers. The content varies from culture specific descriptive information to more elaborate content, containing cross cultural issues and analysis of service implications. The in-service approach tends to focus on raising awareness and cross -cultural sensitivity. Cross-cultural skill development seems to be limited within this approach due to the shortage of skilled

⁴³ James W. Green, Cultural Awareness in the Human Services (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, New York 1982)

trainers, time constraints and limited funding (most of the programs are "one shot" activities), as well as a lack of commitment by policy makers and administrators.⁴⁴

Cross-Cultural Consultation: Human and social service providers are increasingly seeking cross-cultural consultation from ethnic minority professionals, settlement workers and community leaders. Community needs assessments, program design and service development activities are increasingly involving cross-cultural consultation. Without question this approach is providing effective cross-cultural education for the people involved in the process of consultation.

Joint Delivery of Services: Generic service agencies are being pushed to deliver their services in conjunction with organizations that possess cross-cultural capabilities by using community leaders, community resource people and clients as resources. Services are more and more often jointly delivered by staff of mainstream services and by an organization with cross cultural capabilities. This process assumes that both practitioners are committed to increasing their respective cross-cultural awareness and skills in the course of service intervention. This is viewed as an exploratory, experimental process by which both cross-cultural and mainstream staff and the client explore and examine the service needs in the context of client's own culture. The process

⁴⁴ Barb Thomas, Multiculturalism at Work: A Guide to Organizational Change (YWCA, Toronto 1987)

requires an equal relationship between client and professionals. As well it challenges the mono-cultural approach to service provision and seeks a more relevant form of multicultural practice.⁴⁵

FREEING THE CATEGORIC IMMIGRANT SERVICES FROM THEIR ROLE OF PRIMARY SERVICE PROVIDER: If the psychological, social and cultural needs of immigrants were met by the mainstream generic system, the special settlement needs of immigrants could more effectively be provided by the immigrant categoric service agencies. The generic system would be the primary service provider as opposed to the immigrant categoric system. This would in addition guarantee that the immigrant serving system could fully develop complimentary functions. Campfens discusses the importance of these complimentary functions as ones enabling:

... recovering the lost sense of community in a technologically transforming, individualizing and competitive society; which lends special significance to ethnic network building, group support and community organizations. - providing mutual aid and support that complements or supplements the more professionalized services offered to individuals by formal service institution - mediating ethnic community and volunteer participation that will humanize the welfare state and bring about instead a "welfare society" in which state agencies and voluntary associations (with their constituency or client-serving NGOs) work in partnership.⁴⁶

In carrying out these functions the immigrant categoric service system, faces several challenges. Cairncross outlines challenges such as

⁴⁵ Candia, 1986.

⁴⁶ Campfens, 1988

professionalization of settlement workers, cross-cultural training, professional recognition, service coordination, adequate funding and standardization of settlement service delivery.⁴⁷

3.3 MODELS AND ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES OF SERVICE PROVISION TO ETHNIC MINORITIES

This section summarizes three distinct approaches and concepts of service delivery models to meet immigrant service needs. The discussion of these approaches and models is mainly based on my experience in this field and centres on concepts of the models and their goals rather than on how they are presently being implemented.

The first is the parallel immigrant service model. In general this model attempts to provide services to ethnic minorities by developing a structure that is parallel to the existing mainstream service system. It proposes to deal with categoric as well as generic service needs alongside the current service system. An examination of current service provision to immigrants indicates that this model is the most common frame of reference for policy makers, social service practitioners, as well as for immigrant service agency staff.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Larissa Cairncross, Report on Immigrant Settlement Worker Training (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Ontario 1986) p.28

⁴⁸ Association of Western Canada Immigrant Serving Agencies, "Western Immigrant Serving Agencies Information Manual 1987".

A second approach, the multi-cultural generic service approach, also attempts to deal with immigrant needs outside the existing mainstream system. This approach has three distinct service features:

- (i) services are delivered to multi-ethnic populations as opposed to an ethnic-specific community
- (ii) services are organized to deal with one specific problem or service area and delivered to multi-ethnic populations service; for example, multicultural mental health services, multicultural family services or multicultural seniors services;
- (iii) services are developed, delivered and administered mainly by members of the immigrant community who are professionals of this field so as to guarantee multicultural practice.

The multicultural generic service model inherits some of the same strengths and limitations of the parallel service approach. But as services are not divided along a multiplicity of ethnic lines, ethnic specific ghettoization is reduced. This approach has the potential to spread resources more equally across ethnic groups regardless of the level of organization and establishment. This model also has the potential for increasing intergroup relations and for being more responsive to new immigrant groups. Nevertheless, this model may separate the multicultural communities from the mainstream society.

The multiculturalization of the generic mainstream services, the third model, attempts to deal with the immigrant service needs from within the

system by transforming mainstream services so that they can deal effectively with immigrant needs. This transformation must involve changes in staffing, training, organizational structure and service practice.⁴⁹ The objective of this service approach is to develop a multi-cultural practice within the existing generic system in order to offer more accessible and culturally appropriate services to immigrant populations.

3.4 THE BRIDGING ORGANIZATION: A MULTI-SERVICE MULTI-LINGUAL MULTI-CULTURAL SERVICE DELIVERY MODEL

The discussion of the bridging model presented here is based on the conceptual framework and the working model of the Immigrant Access Service (I.A.S.)⁵⁰ This model represents as well, knowledge and expertise developed by the staff⁵¹ of the Immigrant Access Service during the last five years. The discussion deals with the philosophy and concepts of this service delivery model rather than its daily operation

The bridging organization's ultimate goals are to participate in the development and implementation of a multi-cultural practice within the

⁴⁹ Thomas, 1987

⁵⁰ Candia, 1986

⁵¹ Antonio Alfaro, Lan Duc Bui, Thidara Chen, Manjeet Kent and Bogdan Szadowski the Cross-Cultural Human Service Consultants, Margot Morrish the Coordinator of the Community Volunteer Outreach and Cora Parani the Service Secretary are the staff of I.A.S. who have participated in the development and implementation of the service.

existing mainstream services. The bridging service model is characterized by three major objectives. Firstly, it attempts to increase service accessibility for immigrant communities. Services are organized and managed in such a way that the link between immigrants and mainstream programs is guaranteed, thereby increasing equality of access to services. Secondly, the model attempts to increase cultural appropriateness of service provision. Assistance is organized such that the social services are culturally relevant to immigrants. Thirdly it attempts to increase the capability of mainstream generic services to implement multicultural practice within their own organizational structure. The model proposes that this objective can be met by bridging the existing gap between the immigrant population and the social service system.

The bridging service delivery model is based on a collaborative philosophy which assumes an equal partnership with the ethno-cultural communities (ECC's) and mainstream services by: offering direct services and support to the ECC's to become social service user-oriented; encouraging the community empowerment process which enables ethnic community members to participate in the social service system, not only as clients, but also as resources to the generic mainstream service in the process of multiculturalization; offering services and support to the generic mainstream services in order to provide accessible and culturally relevant services to immigrants.

The bridging organization is thus characterized as a multi-service, multi-cultural, multi-lingual service delivery model. By providing access to

existing services the bridging organization becomes involved in a wide range of human and social services across population groups, i.e., women, youth, the elderly, and across problem areas such as health, family and individual counselling, finances and recreation.

To bridge the existing gap between immigrants and the service community the bridging organization requires a range of linguistic and cultural capabilities. It relies for cross-cultural and linguistic expertise on trained cross-cultural workers who are usually members of the immigrant community and therefore have experience in immigration and in living in two or more cultures. They have a holistic approach to service provision within the context of a multi-service delivery model, enabling them to deal with the multiple service needs of individuals and families.

The organization of service relies mainly on the case management concept in order to coordinate and integrate the provision of multiple services for clients. Services are offered through two main thrusts, client work and community work. Workers with the appropriate cultural and linguistic capabilities are matched with clients to offer direct services. The bridging organization participates both directly and in conjunction with the relevant mainstream services in the delivery of generic services to individuals and immigrant families. Community work is done within the context of a community development framework. This involves the immigrant community in the process of empowerment, and the service community in the process of "multiculturalization".

The Chart below outlines the roles of the bridging agency in relation to the mainstream system and ethno-cultural communities.

BRIDGING FUNCTIONS	
WITH MAINSTREAM SERVICES	WITH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES
CROSS-CULTURAL SENSITIZATION	CROSS-CULTURAL SENSITIZATION
DEMONSTRATION SERVICES	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION COMMUNITY OUTREACH COMMUNITY EDUCATION LOBBYING AND ADVOCACY INFORMAL HELPING NETWORK EQUAL PARTNERSHIP CROSS-CULTURAL CONSULTATION
JOINT DELIVERY OF GENERIC SERVICES	
JOINT PROGRAMMING	

The bridging functions are designed to serve both as a catalyst in "multiculturalizing" process of the generic services and as an instrument in the ethnic community empowerment process. The uniqueness of this service model lies in this dual role and in the functions carried out with each party. To better understand the scope of the model, the functions of the bridging agency are elaborated below.

One of the functions of the bridging agency is cross-cultural sensitization of the social service system through cross-cultural in-service training sessions, joint service delivery and cross cultural consultation. The objectives of cultural sensitization are to raise awareness about the social service needs of immigrants; to provide education on immigrant issues and concerns regarding service accessibility

and appropriateness; to provide education on multicultural practice issues; to define new roles and functions in providing services to immigrants, e.g. the bridging functions and to design new approaches and models for service delivery.

Cross-cultural sensitization within the ECC's addresses the lack of understanding among immigrants regarding their rights to social services and the lack of information about the social service system. The aim is to increase the participation of immigrants in the system. Cross-cultural education and community activities aim to educate ECC's on the Canadian social service system and approaches to 'helping', and on social service and multicultural issues. Cross-cultural education also facilitates acceptance among ECC's in receiving services and encourages ECC's to become involved in social service matters.

The cross cultural sensitization function offers opportunities to create links and productive working relationships between the immigrant and service communities by using and sharing their knowledge and expertise, their human resources and community facilities. The linking functions are based on the concept of offering services in a collaborative manner, using appropriate resources, skills and knowledge from different sources. The bridging organization therefore may locate, link and coordinate the necessary resources, skills and knowledge in order to offer effective services to immigrants.

The major linking sources identified in this service model are ethno cultural communities, the bridging organization and the social service agencies, whose functions are different but complimentary to each other. The linkage functions could operate at two interrelated levels.

- (i) the level of practice where direct services to immigrant clients are delivered jointly.
- (ii) at the policy making level where generic programs and services for immigrants are programmed and developed jointly;

The bridging organization involves itself in the provision of existing generic services in order to guarantee that services are both accessible and culturally appropriate. Professionals of the bridging organization who possess cross-cultural expertise and professionals of the generic system who possess specialized skills combine their expertise in order to jointly offer services to immigrants.

The involvement of the bridging organization in the provision of generic services is also at the program and service development levels. The policy makers or service administrators of the generic and the bridging organization jointly decide to examine policy, to create new programs, adapt existing services, design and implement innovative alternatives and approaches to accommodate immigrant service needs within the generic system. It is within the context of joint delivery and joint programming that multi-cultural service practice can be developed and fostered, particularly by exploring new techniques and models and new helping theories that differ from the present mono-cultural service approach.

Consequently new multicultural service policies and practices can emerge or be confirmed.

As multi-cultural practice is just unfolding, it is necessary for new techniques and new service delivery models to be tested and demonstrated. This is important not only to insure on-going funding, but more importantly for testing the impact and level of effectiveness in meeting service needs.

The level of participation of ECC's in the social service decision making process and their impact on the provision of services are subject to the degree of community organization and development around social service matters.

The bridging organization supports community development by encouraging and participating with ECC's in initiatives such as the:

- formation of networks, coalitions and associations, i.e., ethnic specific and/or multicultural human and social service workers networks;
- formation of social service committees within established ethno-cultural organizations. e.g. the social service committee of the Chilean Association of Winnipeg
- formation of community outreach teams within ethno-cultural organizations and/or attached to mainstream agencies;
- formation of cross-cultural consultant teams within ethno-cultural organizations and/or attached to social service agencies;

- formation of teams of spokespersons who can represent community interests on social service boards, task forces, etc.

The intention of the community development role of the bridging organization is therefore to support ECCs in organizing community resources around social service issues. The bridging organization will utilize the structure of existing organizations, such as ethnic community associations, community clubs and women's organizations. It also will include professionals and community people who, while employed within the service community, are perhaps disconnected from their own community. This community development approach is geared to enhance the outreach capabilities of ECCs, to increase lobbying and advocacy abilities and to protect natural helping community networks.

This chapter has outlined the barriers, challenges and model related to the multiculturalization of mainstream social services. The next chapter will discuss the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the methodological and theoretical orientation of the study, as well as describing the methods and processes used. The design of the study consists of two separate but interrelated phases.

PHASE ONE		PHASE TWO		
Involvement prior to study	Design of a Service Model	Group Interview	Discussion Paper	Individual Interviews

The starting point is my involvement with the immigrant service field prior to the study. My work required both reflection on and analysis of the process of delivering services to the immigrant community. The culmination of this period was the design of a service model, "the bridging model", which is discussed in depth in Chapter III. In order to obtain feedback from people working in the immigrant service field the concept of the bridging model was presented in a group interview in Waterloo, Ontario ⁵² in 1988. All the participants in this group interview were

⁵² The group interview was held at the conference "The Settlement and Integration of New Immigrants to Canada" at the Faculty of Social Work, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario.

members in the immigrant service field. The discussion at Waterloo confirmed the need for conceptualizing and mapping out the interrelation between the barriers, challenges and new strategies needed to improve services to immigrant populations.

A discussion paper was developed based on issues of concern of the participants and their reaction to the "bridging model". This discussion paper was then circulated among the participants in three designated provinces, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan before I conducted individual interviews.

4.2 METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

The organization of social service delivery systems for immigrants is still a relatively new and evolving area of work and has been the subject of very little study . As discussed in preceding chapters, it is only in the last decade that the social service community has been challenged by the philosophy of cultural equality and equal rights to service.⁵³

Some social service providers and academics are responding to this challenge by examining the social service system and by raising awareness of the lack of appropriateness of services for immigrants within the present system. Barb Thomas, for example, advocates for organizational changes in the current system to accommodate the human and social needs

⁵³ Government of Canada, "Charter of Rights and Freedom " (Minister of Supply and Services, Canada: 1982).

of immigrants.⁵⁴ This process is complicated by the fact that the system has to deal with a changing immigrant population which is diverse in language, culture and racial background

In the last few years there has been a trend in the social service system toward critical analysis, reflection and innovation in order to include cultural equality principles in social service delivery. The aim of this study is to capture some of this dynamic period of organizational change and evolution. The objective is to enhance our understanding of the attempt by social service system to provide equality of access for immigrants, by exploring this process from the perspective of immigrant service deliverers. The study seeks to understand philosophies, values and perceptions of the service deliverers relative to service delivery patterns, how service deliverers experience this process, and how their understanding shapes the system. Given these objectives, I have chosen a qualitative methodology for the study.

Although there is a growing interest in studying immigrant issues the emphasis has been on quantitative studies which have examined the availability of services to immigrants or have measured the various adaptation stages and characteristics of ethnic groups in Canadian society. The traditional quantitative approach to research about immigrant issues provide less flexibility to develop a contextual understanding of systems that are in an evolving process. Being outcome

⁵⁴ Thomas, 1987

oriented, quantitative methodology does not provide the most appropriate tools to understand the process which systems are undergoing in order to deal with a population that is both diverse and always changing in composition.

The objective of this study was not to test hypotheses or seek causes of a social phenomenon, as would be the case if it operated in a positivistic perspective.⁵⁵ Rather, the study operates within a phenomenological perspective in order to develop an understanding of a process of change. This approach allows me to use as reference points what the participants know, see and understand, as well as allowing me to capture how they define their world and how they experience the struggle to perform their roles.

The following is a discussion of important features of the methodological orientation of this study including the difference between the two quantitative and qualitative methodologies, the role of self as research instrument and the use of the discussion paper

4.2.1 THE QUANTITATIVE/QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE

The positivistic and phenomenological perspectives are the bases of two major theoretical and methodological schools of thought that have dominated social sciences, the quantitative and the qualitative. These

⁵⁵ Robert Bogdan and Steven J. Taylor, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975)

schools and methodologies represent distinct paradigms. The quantitative methodology derives from a positivistic and natural world view and the qualitative methodology derives from a phenomenological perspective. Patton described the former as hypothetical, particularistic, outcome oriented, objective and deductive in orientation, and the latter as holistic, process-oriented, subjective and inductive in orientation.⁵⁶

The approaches and aims of the two paradigms are different and therefore demand different methodologies. The quantitative paradigm aims at prediction of social phenomenon and uses methods such as inventories, surveys, questionnaires and demographic analysis. The qualitative paradigm aims at understanding social phenomenon using methods such as participant observation, personal interviews and documents. The first produces quantitative data which can be measured, analyzed and manipulated statistically. The second produces descriptive data which can be interpreted.

Operating within a phenomenological perspective, a qualitative approach seeks to understand behaviour from the actor's own frame of reference and to understand the meaning that is constructed around events in the individual's daily life. In seeking this kind of understanding the researcher is required to get as close as possible to the data in order to allow the development of:

⁵⁶ Michael Quinn Patton, Qualitative Evaluation Methods (Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications, 1980)

... analytical, conceptual and categorical components of explanation from the data itself- rather than from the preconceived structured and highly quantified techniques that pigeon hole the empirical social world into the operational definitions that the researcher has constructed.⁵⁷

Examining the distinct ways each paradigm treats its analytic categories, Glasser and Strauss argue that:

The quantitative goal is to isolate and define categories as precisely as possible before the study is undertaken, and then to determine, again with precision, the relationship between them. The qualitative goal, on the other hand, is often to isolate and define categories during the process of research. The qualitative investigator expects the nature and definition of analytic categories to change in the course of a project.⁵⁸

In this context, McCracken points out that for one field well defined categories are the means while for another they are the object of research.⁵⁹

The differences between qualitative and quantitative methodologies have been the subject of much debate among social scientists, with two distinct

⁵⁷ William J. Filstead, Qualitative Methodology (Chicago: Markham, 1970).

⁵⁸ Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, "The discovery of substantive theory: a basic strategy underlying qualitative research," Amer. Behavioral Scientist, 8, 1965

⁵⁹ Grant McCracken, Culture of Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolism of Consumer Goods and Activities (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1988)

schools forming, each arguing for the adoption of one method in preference to the other. A third school, represented by authors such as Denzin, Patton, and Fielding, argues in favour of selecting whichever methodology is most suitable to the particular research problem. In some research situations they argue for the utilization of a combination of aspects of both:

The issue of selecting methods is no longer one of the dominant paradigm versus the alternative paradigm, of experimental designs with quantitative measurement versus holistic-inductive designs based on qualitative measurement.

The debate and competition between paradigms - a paradigm of choices. The paradigm of choices recognizes that different methods are appropriate for different situations.⁶⁰

In light of this approach, the aim of this study and the nature of the research problem argue for using a qualitative methodology. The study is premised on an exploratory, interpretative, and open-ended approach in order to gain understanding of the service delivery system to immigrants. Furthermore, with this approach the study attempts to gain insights into how the service system relates to immigrants in terms of their rights to equality and access to service and their ability to participate in defining services.

⁶⁰ Patton, 1980

4.2.2 SELF AS A RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Cassels points out that in qualitative research the investigator serves as a kind of instrument in the collection and analysis of data.⁶¹ Miles argues that this metaphor is a useful one because it emphasizes that the investigator can not fulfill qualitative research objectives without using a broad range of his or her own experience, imagination, and intellect in ways that are various and unpredictable.⁶² In fact this is a unique characteristic of the phenomenological tradition which defines the position of the researcher as intertwined with the phenomenon, the objective characteristics of which are not independent of the observer's perspectives and methods. Qualitative researchers must identify and empathize with their subjects, so that they are able to interpret the world in the same way as the subjects do. They become participants or even insiders in the world that they study. This is counterposed to the positivistic stance which defines the position of the observer as outside and independent of the observed phenomenon.⁶³ Explicit and standardized procedures are employed by the quantitative researcher in order to control the effects of the observer on the social phenomenon under study.

⁶¹ J.Cassel, "The relationship of observer to observed in peer group research", Human Organization 36,4,1977

⁶² Matthew Miles, "Qualitative data as an attractive nuisance: the problem of analysis" Administrative Science Q.24 (December 1979)

⁶³ Patricia Carini, Observation and Description: An Alternative Methodology for the Investigation of Human Phenomena (North Dakota study on evaluation monograph. Grand Forks: University of North Dakota Press)

My background as a recent immigrant working in the immigrant service system places me in a unique situation in a research study which seeks to enhance understanding of service delivery systems for immigrants. I believe that my professional and personal experience present a base for utilizing myself as an instrument of the research, particularly studying a community that I am part of both as an immigrant and as a service deliverer. My status as an immigrant working in this field has offered me the opportunity, on the one hand, to enhance my understanding of my own process of adaptation, as well as the experience of others in my community. On the other hand, my status has offered me the opportunity to strive for an understanding of how individuals of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds experience and interpret their adaptation to life in Canada.

As a service and program developer, trainer and service administrator I have participated in, and involved others in, a collective search for both an understanding of the situation of immigrants and their relationship to the social service system, and for alternative and improved service interventions. This experience, as both immigrant and service provider, allowed me to develop an ability that Bogdan and Taylor describe as essential for doing qualitative research:

...understanding others, all others, for what they are and for how they see the world... she or he must be able to stand back from subject's perspectives. They are viewed as neither true or false, good nor bad. The researcher seeks not

truth and morality but rather understanding.⁶⁴

An insider is more likely to be sensitive to the nuances and intricacies observed, as well as being more able to make sense of respondents' ideas by matching them to similar experiences. This allows for increased interaction between participant and researcher. I found that this was my experience interviewing immigrant service providers. Some stated that it was easier to offer their views to an informed ear, to someone who knew what they were talking about because of similar experiences. This is what McCracken discusses as the "self as instrument process", which:

works most easily when it is used simply to search out a match in one's experience for ideas and actions that a respondent has described in the interview.⁶⁵

Although this form of research makes apparently simple use of the researcher's experience, imagination and cognitive abilities, it involves a relatively complex process as emphasized by McCracken:

There is no crude transfer from the investigator's experience to that of respondent. On the contrary, the investigator's experience is merely a bundle of possibilities, pointers, and suggestions that can be used to plumb the remarks of the respondent.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Bogdan and Taylor, 1975

⁶⁵ Grant McCracken, 1988

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Studying one's own community has advantages and disadvantages. The researcher who is an insider is likely to confront less suspicion and enjoy more openness and receptiveness than the researcher who comes from outside the community. However, being an inside researcher presents specific dangers to the research study such as overinvolvement with the research and overrapport with the research subjects. Holding prior membership may lead to overinvolvement to the extent that the researcher might risk influencing the phenomenon he/she is seeking to study.⁶⁷ As well, it might lead to overfamiliarity which could prevent the researcher from seeing important analytical features. Furthermore, "overrapport" with the participants may occur biasing the researcher and resulting in the acceptance of the subjects' views as his/her own.

Although some sociologists consider these valid concerns they argue that techniques can be used to avoid such pitfalls. Mainly, researchers can desensitize themselves to avoid taking the scene and the participants for granted, but also they must retain their analytical perspective and self reflection abilities.

I took three steps to minimize the impact of overinvolvement and/or overrapport: First I excluded Manitoba from the Study because my activities have been centred in this Province. Second, using the "discussion paper" which is not only explicit about the nature of the

⁶⁷ Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler, Membership Roles in Field Research (Qualitative research methods series, No.6, London, England: Sage Publications, 1987)

study but also about my role and my views about the subject under study. Finally, I relied on my ability, gained through many years of working experience, to detach myself using analysis and reflection.

My involvement with the field prior to the study is characterized by activities that required analysis and reflection, particularly in functions related to designing and developing new and alternative training and service programs. These functions and the analytical and reflective abilities required, have lead to the conceptualization of a theoretical framework and a service model, which was summarized in a discussion paper. The discussion paper is a product of my involvement with the field prior to the formalized study. It represents the theoretical reflections and critical analyses of the situation of immigrants and their relationship with social services which have been debated and shared with many members of the immigrant service community.

4.2.3 DISCUSSION PAPER AS PART OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

A discussion paper was prepared following a group interview which was held as an exploratory phase to the study. It was circulated a month before I conducted open-ended interviews. The paper reflects the discussion held in the group interview and contains a framework for discussing the interrelation between service issues, challenges and strategies to improve social services for immigrants. The circulation of a discussion paper prior to the interviews may seem contradictory to the unstructured, non-directive nature of the qualitative methodology. However, this paper was to serve as a summary of issues and views discussed at the group

interview, as well as an announcement of the nature and intent of the study. In a sense this paper was an introduction to those participants of my identity as an immigrant and a social service deliverer, as well as a presentation of my theoretical orientation and conceptual framework.

The intent was to provide a common ground to the research problem for all participants. Since I was aware that this approach could hinder the flexibility of a naturalistic inquiry, the interviews were designed to reduce this potential problem. The discussion paper was grounded on the premise that perspectives and understandings differ from one person to another, so that although people can experience the same event, every person sees things differently, interprets things differently and focuses his/her attention on different things.⁶⁸ Thus while participants would be exposed to the researcher's discussion paper, they would react differently from each other and from the researcher.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION

Two methods were used in collecting data, a group interview and individual open-ended interviews. Both methods were considered appropriate and consistent with the objective of using what the participants know, see and understand as the main reference points.

⁶⁸ Bogdan and Taylor, 1975

The group interview was held at "The Settlement and Integration of New Immigrants to Canada Conference", in Waterloo, in February 1988. The group interview was designed to obtain feedback on the bridging service model from people working in the immigrant service field. In general it was to serve as a medium to explore the possible scope of the study and the focus of the research questions. Fifteen conference participants working in the immigrant services field, from across Canada, attended this group session. Participants in this session were self selected following my announcement of the study. At the conference I also had the opportunity to contact and invite twenty other people to participate in the individual interviews

Two months after the group interview, a total of fourteen open-ended individual interviews were conducted in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton and Regina by the researcher. A set of research questions and an interview guide⁶⁹ was developed to provide parameters for data collection. The interview guide was used with flexibility and openness. Revisions were made as new issues were raised by participants. All interviews were approximately two hours long and were held at the participants' work places. After assuring anonymity and confidentiality, interviews were taped with permission of participants.⁷⁰ In addition, notes were taken during the interviews and a routine symbolization was used to distinguish the nature of the information. Notetaking was intended to provide

⁶⁹ See interview guide in appendix No.1

⁷⁰ See consent letter in Appendix No 2

descriptive information regarding what happened during the interviews, including my own feelings, reactions, insights and/or interpretive remarks about the experience.

The group interview held in Waterloo in April 1988, the literature review, my experience in the field, along with the purpose of the study, provide the context and focus of the research questions explored:

- Is there a close relationship between the way the service system is presently organized and the lack of appropriate and accessible services for immigrants?
- Is there a need for developing culturally appropriate and accessible services within existing mainstream services?
- If so, is the development of a service bridging function feasible within the present state of the service delivery system?

Although these were seen as relevant research issues, the intent was also to explore and discover deliverers' own issues and perspectives. These questions were available as beginning points or probes where necessary.

In general, a snow ball sampling technique was used to find the research participants. Individuals with whom I had contact prior to the study were asked either to participate or to provide additional names. Three Canadian provinces, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan, were selected as research targets. The geographic proximity made it feasible

to have personal contact with participants. Since Manitoba has been the centre of my activities in this field, it was excluded from the study in order to minimize the impact of overinvolvement and/or overrapport.

The fact that the research study was first announced at the Waterloo conference was crucial for recruiting participants, not only for the group interview but as well for individual interviews. Participants were drawn from a pool of forty volunteers who met the criteria. A total of fourteen people were invited to participate and interviews were scheduled during a fifteen day period in April, 1988. The criteria used to select participants were that there be included immigrants and non-immigrants from selected provinces working in immigrant serving agencies at policy, administrative and front line levels, who were committed to participate in a study of this nature. Provision was made for additions, withdrawals and replacement of participants while in the field. In general participants were positively involved in the study. They appreciated that the data collection phase depended to a great extent on my fifteen day trip across the three provinces. They were therefore punctually available if at all possible. In two cases participant replacements were found for interviews. In one instance an additional participant was identified by a study participant and subsequently incorporated.

The final sample included representation from each province, including immigrants and non-immigrants, front line workers, administrators and policy makers, as well as representation from government and non-government organizations.

PARTICIPANTS OF THREE CANADIAN PROVINCES

	SASKATCHEWAN	ALBERTA		BRITISH COLUMBIA	TOTAL
		CALGARY	EDMONTON		
PARTICIPANTS	2	3	6	3	14
Immigrants	1	3	4	2	10
Non-Immigrants	1	0	2	1	4
Line workers	1	2	3	0	6
Administrators	1	1	3	3	8
1 to 2 years*	1	1	1	0	3
3 to 5 years*	1	0	3	1	5
6 to 10 years*	0	2	2	2	6

* Years of experience in this field.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

In the study, different methods were used to facilitate interrelating the data gathering and data analysis process. Extensive field notes, including my own reflective remarks, were written up after each interview followed by a one page summary.⁷¹ This contact summary sheet attempted to capture the essence of the data in each contact as follows:

- Main issues or themes discussed in the interview

⁷¹ Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods, (Sage Publications Ltd., California 1984)

- Summary of information obtained and not obtained
- New and different issues and themes
- What else? - Concerns?

The interview guide was modified as new issues or themes emerged from the interviews. At the end of the interview process twenty tapes containing the data of fourteen interviews were transcribed. I identified six salient themes which I classified as broad categories. Under these six categories I placed thirty two related issues.⁷² The data was coded under these categories and then transferred to index cards in order to facilitate analysis and data retrieval.⁷³ Arranging data in this way allowed me to find patterns and determine the saliency of themes which emerged. Theme discovery occurred mainly through the frequency of references to a theme by participant or, in many cases by how often or how many participants were using that theme as point of reference or general framework to discuss related topics. The six salient themes were discussed by the majority of the participants and most related issues reflect more than one participant's opinions, unless noted in the presentation in the next chapter. These major themes are:

Institutional change issues

Settlement services, everything for everybody

Increasing access to mainstream services, a process of change

Service issues and testing new service approaches

⁷² See data coding system in Appendix No 3

⁷³ Miles and Huberman, 1984

The complexity of ethno-cultural community life
Immigrant service deliverer's reflections

4.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

I originally intended to extend the study to other provinces in addition to Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. This would have provided a more global perspective of the social services delivery system for immigrants in Canada, as well as providing the basis for making comparisons in service approaches in different regions of the country. However, it was not possible to do this for financial reasons.

At the conference in Waterloo I collected information from participants from both Eastern and Western Canada. However, no geographic criteria was used in selecting participants. Individual interviews were carried out in the Western provinces (excluding Manitoba) only. Therefore, the data did not allow for making comparisons between social service delivery systems in Western and Eastern Canada. This limited the scope of the data base of the study, in particular, in terms of excluding me from experiences in the Eastern provinces which on the whole have greater dissimilarities than are found within the Western provinces.

Distance was a limiting factor, especially in analyzing the data and encountering ambiguous or unclear material. Seeking clarification by phone in some cases was limiting due to the fact that it was more difficult to establish rapport than were it an in-person interview.

Geographic distance and the financial demands required to establish personal contacts with the participants of the study directly determined the amount of time allocated for each contact. A trip of only fifteen days in order to conduct fourteen interviews in four different cities was extremely intense. Although valuable, it did prevent greater involvement with the setting and greater interaction between participants and the researcher.

Despite these limitations, the study has provided new and valuable information and insight into barriers, challenges and alternative service models dealing with immigrant service accessibility and culturally appropriate service issues. This new information is particularly valuable since the literature offers limited background information in discussing service needs of immigrants and it is especially limited in discussing alternative service delivery models from an organizational point of view.

CHAPTER VSOCIAL SERVICES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

This chapter is organized into three sections: the presentation, summary and discussion and analysis of the findings of the study.

5.1 PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

The findings are presented through six salient and interrelated themes. Under each theme several issues are raised in an attempt to describe participants' experiences and opinions about immigrant services. The ordering of the data presentation reflects the emphasis participants themselves placed on the themes and the related issues. In this section I have tried to let the participants speak for themselves with a minimum of interference on my part.

5.1.1 INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE ISSUES

It is increasingly acknowledged by some sectors in the social services that immigrants have been neglected for a long time by the social service system. Most of the participants of the study proposed rectifying this situation through institutional changes including changes in attitudes, organizational structures and modes of service intervention. They envisioned multidimensional changes within service systems in order for them to become accessible and appropriate to immigrant service needs.

Four issues related to this theme are discussed below.

Existing services ought to accommodate a multicultural population's needs:

Existing mainstream services are not yet responding to the service needs of a multicultural population mainly because of the inadequacies of the system. This issue was best summarized by these two participants' comments:

I understand that the existing social service system is there to serve a community much larger than ours alone. But I think services should leave room and adjust to serve other groups such as us, in terms of health, social services and in terms of the educational development of our communities, and recognition of our degrees. It is a shame that people with five years of university are doing janitorial work (Interview No. 13).

Mainstream services need to deal with the general public, and the general public is multicultural. Aside from culture and ethnicity, social services should be able to deal with social classes, with other minorities such as the handicapped, the natives, the youth, the prostitutes. It is the same problem that we have with immigrants. You have to have that kind of sensitivity. So if they don't accommodate the needs of the multicultural population they are not doing their jobs. And they are not doing their jobs with other groups either (Interview No. 11).

Wide ranging changes: Several participants argued for wide ranging changes within the current service delivery system for immigrants:

There is a need for institutional change. This requires a concerted effort. People should know what they are doing. It has to be a broad effort... But we need much clearer goals, advocacy through groups that advocate for that.

More social action is needed... Folk and dance will not help that. Integration should be looking from all perspectives: education, universities, training of social service professionals. The social service agencies are not reflecting the reality of the community. We should keep talking about that, collecting information. We should not talk about isolated changes... we have to see the whole picture and give a comprehensive focus to our work. I used to be so happy when I got E.S.L. courses from Manpower for these women. But now I think it's not enough any more. This should be a concern of everybody in the community (Interview No. 1).

Lack of general strategy: But they also pointed out that some changes seem to be happening without any direction or broad plan. The following comments reflect the concerns of participants that while changes are occurring, the process lacks direction, vision and a consistent strategy:

We have failed to get a general agreement... What is happening is that many of the settlement organizations have developed strong relationships with specific social service counsellors. This is not a response to a model, it is just happening (Interview No. 8).

It may need to be spelled out more clearly what is required within mainstream systems to increase access. It is necessary to change office hours, reception systems, training for social workers... because many well meaning professionals ask us, 'what shall we do to become more open' (Interview No. 10).

Looking back we may find that we have just not dealt with the roots of the problem but just offered services for the sake of services. We should really strategize for offering better services. First, we should assess what the problems are and then define a plan of action, and work in conjunction with other institutions considering many other variables, so the results are the most constructive (Interview No. 1).

... Funders and governments should set up guidelines for every region and also provide some definition of what should be done. Should we set up centres that are ethnic specific or should we set up centres that are multilingual? In most of the organizations people are thinking a lot about this... but we have never put it forward as a collective concern. We have tried but in bits and pieces (Interview No. 4).

Multiculturalism whose territory: The issue of territoriality and who is finally responsible for immigrant clients was brought up several times by participants who argue for institutional changes. These participants feel that the organization of social services into categoric and generic defined territories has created a barrier in delivering effective service to immigrants. The mainstream system has been relieved of the responsibility to serve immigrants to such an extent that staff are not even aware of this area of responsibility:

In the context of changing and adapting services, many times people have said to me that they are concerned about stepping into our territory since we are the ones working with immigrants (Interview No. 11).

I think the major problem is knowing who in the end is responsible for this client. We have too many experiences with clients that we referred to mainstream services but were sent back to us after two or three weeks. So who is responsible? In many cases we are dealing with responsibilities that are not ours or that we are not even trained or able to deal with. So when I hear mainstream professionals saying "we don't want to step on your toes", I think it is an excuse (Interview No. 10).

One of the perceptions that I have gotten from talking to mainstream people is that multiculturalism doesn't pertain to them.

Teachers in particular always relate multiculturalism to minorities (Interview No. 9).

It was the opinion of two participants that multiculturalism as a policy has not helped to produce changes within the social service system. On the contrary, they argued by focussing in cultural activities this concept of multiculturalism has diverted peoples' attention from the real cause of the social problems of immigrants:

Approaches in multiculturalism such as song, folklore, food, were very soon understood not as a response to people's problem (Interview No. 4).

In discussing the issue of institutional change almost all of the participants referred to the limitations of settlement services as the main service provider for immigrants.

5.1.2 SETTLEMENT SERVICES, EVERYTHING FOR EVERYBODY

Another major theme was the view that settlement services are perceived to be everything for everybody. However, most of the participants regarded this as a myth that has created unrealistic expectations for the settlement service system and prevented the mainstream system from recognizing immigrant needs.

What follows are issues which participants related to the perception that settlement services are expected to be everything for everybody.

The government wasn't doing much: The history of the formation of the settlement service system is best summed up in the comments of this participant:

I think settlement services started to meet needs that the existing services were not providing... We started as a pilot project because we saw that government was not doing much (Interview No. 5).

Solving all the problems ourselves: Related to the myth of being everything for everybody is the feeling of some participants that they themselves, as settlement service providers, should question what seems to be their unlimited role in the provision of services to immigrants and the implications in terms of providing quality services to clients:

I think settlement agencies have taken on much more than what they can handle. I am not ashamed to say that as a result we are offering 'second class services' in some cases. This is because of how much counselling we have to provide and the enormous range of problems we deal with. Where, for a Canadian born person, each problem would be dealt with by a specialist, for the immigrant the full range of problems are being dealt with by the same people (Interview No. 10).

I don't see an immigrant settlement agency becoming involved in alcohol and drug abuse. In this province thousands and thousands of dollars have been given to the Alcoholism Foundation. They are the one to hire the experts in this area and if we, as an immigrant service, don't use them it's our fault. It's not the fault of the system (Interview No. 7).

A few participants questioned the feasibility of one system, the immigrant service system, dealing with all immigrant needs. They also questioned their abilities to deal with all kinds of service needs and see the excessive expectations placed on them as a direct result of the mainstream system's lack of involvement in service provision to immigrants:

To think that immigrant service agencies should deal with everybody and every problem is a faulty objective. I feel that our counsellors are not therapists, they are a support network... I think the settlement agency has to promote the use of mainstream services because it is the settlement agency that does the referrals. When mainstream services have 1000 people showing up they will have to respond and have somebody to deal with these clients. But they will never change if we are trying to solve all the problems ourselves (Interview No. 7).

Mainstream services rely too much on settlement services: The participants were unanimous in the view that mainstream services rely too much on settlement services and that this results in settlement services' over-involvement in service provision to immigrants:

...we are aware of the youth gangs in town. It seems to me that that is a police issue. But because we have been involved in a Youth at Risk Program in which we wanted to divert youth from the street activities, the police department thought that we should be the one to deal with this issue... just because they are immigrants. But we don't have trained staff in this area and we don't have the facilities (Interview No. 5)

A case against a parallel system approach: The interdependent relationship between the phenomenon of expected over involvement of settlement services and the lack of response by the mainstream system leads some participants to argue for a parallel immigrant service approach. Most of them however, disagree with this trend:

We don't want a parallel system. I can't envision this because it will be against the equal rights principle and it will be very expensive and because I don't believe in the approach of one agency trying to do it all (Interview No. 8).

A parallel system, I find that unrealistic. I think I like better the idea of mainstream services becoming more involved and ourselves serving as a resource centre which mainstream services could draw upon. Because the more you ghettoized yourself or ghettoized the services the more you ghettoize of the people that you are serving (Interview No. 14).

The perils of centralization or bureaucratization of the larger organization: The struggle for increasing services for immigrants to-date has been the struggle of the immigrant serving agencies for increased funding. Consequently these organizations have become larger. Some participants pointed out that this approach or the way that it is currently implemented, tends towards centralized services which is making settlement services as inaccessible as mainstream services to ethnic communities. They see these agencies adopting the same organizational structures as mainstream services:

An empire that is very concentrated is very centralized. It's becoming more

institutionalized, less accessible. They are like corporations with units... They have a whole structure, they have boards, they have units... One organization has approximately 60 staff.

I call them parallel immigrant services. I am more in support of community agencies that are grass root, store front office, more accessible, friendly atmosphere, drop-in, no appointment. Community development is not in their books. Community self sufficiency, community empowerment is something that they very often only pay lip service to (Interview No. 1).

Who controls settlement services: Associated with the comments noted above, is the perception that settlement services seem to be becoming more distant, less accessible and less community based organizations, not only due to their hierarchical structures, but as well due to the staff composition and the distribution of power within the organization:

The services are very centralized in our city. There are two major settlement services that are basically run by non-immigrants and they are developed along the same lines as the mainstream services. The policy and decision makers are mainstream. Ethnic community members are front line workers who speak different languages, but they don't make decisions about service issues. Basically these services are very ghettoized and very centralized. The immigrant service agencies are usually directed and run by boards which are not composed of immigrants or have only one or two as tokens (Interview No. 1).

Ghettoization through funding: The fact that mainstream services have been absent from service provision to immigrants and that the immigrant service system has been the primarily service provider to immigrants has led most funders to channel their funds solely to the immigrant service

system. This, in the view of some participants, creates ghettoization and centralization:

We are saying that funders are forcing ghettoization because they are not allowing mainstream services to diversify. There is no vision when all they do is pump resources into the immigrant service agencies. They are definitely creating two ghettos, the immigrant parallel system and the mainstream system, with all the power, control and money for immigrant services on the settlement system (Interview No. 1).

5.1.3 INCREASING ACCESS TO MAINSTREAM SERVICES, A PROCESS OF CHANGE

More than the half of the participants stated that increasing access to mainstream services is a critical factor in improving quality services for immigrants. For these participants this task involves a process of change which has just been initiated.

The following issues will be discussed in this section: the receptiveness of mainstream services to change; skepticism about the potential for change due to funding limitations and protectionism; receptivity of front line workers; new roles for settlement workers; and hiring and utilization of immigrant professionals.

Receptivity to change: Participants were in unanimous agreement that existing mainstream services are willing to explore new ways to become more accessible and more culturally appropriate. Nevertheless, this was

discussed by some in the context of the barriers and limitations to accomplishing the task:

I know that there are agencies that are really willing to offer better services but when you come to the point of hiring another Chinese worker you see that is not that possible due to lack of funding. For example, requests for translation are sometimes regarded as unreasonable. But after talking they (mainstream agencies) are willing to compromise or make adjustments. After all, they should because its their clients too (Interview No. 5).

In this region,... there is a new awareness...at least an awareness that immigrants are a large part of the population and that mainstream agencies do not have the facilities. They themselves are recognizing that now and they may be trying to do something, But there is no money (Interview No. 2).

There was also the sense that not everybody, in both systems, is ready for change:

I think we have worked a lot with generic and immigrant services and we have come to the conclusion that perhaps it is not likely that every agency will be pulled, dragged or volunteered into this. But it is worthwhile to work hard with mainstream services and volunteer ECC organizations (Interview No. 8).

It is only my perception but, I think it will take some time... There is a long way to go. Some people are receptive but these things take more than one person. It will also require political changes (Interview No. 5).

Some skepticism due to funding limitations and protectionism: Some participants were skeptical about the ability of the social service

system to change in order to accommodate to immigrant service needs:

The mainstream services no doubt operate so different, their behavioural patterns, their philosophies, their values, their thinking, their mandates. And just to think that they are going to change for this segment of the community? It will take years. They do work with the larger society. Why should I expect them to make so much changes to suit a special group of people (Interview No. 4).

...the mainstream services are not going to do this from the goodness of their hearts, because I don't think they have any interest in becoming more responsive to this community. It is better to put \$ 2,000 here \$3,000 there and have us to do the job. So I believe that if there is no pressure on them there will be no change in these institutions in attitudes and in services (Interview No. 1).

I myself went for a while to work in a mainstream agency to experiment with this idea of bilingual workers. Very soon I realized that there were too many limitations... To tell you the truth I had high hopes that things could work differently in mainstream services. But the reality was that I could not do much and clients were not receiving what I could offer (Interview No. 4).

Limited funding, together with the prevailing view that immigrant needs should be dealt with solely by the immigrant serving agencies, has created a sense of uncertainty among settlement service deliverers with regard to the increasing involvement of the mainstream sector. Participants from all three provinces described this as "protectionism":

I think it's happening very well with some level of success among some agencies but perhaps this process is affected by a factor that I call 'protectionism', when one agency is competing with another for dollars (Interview No. 7).

The settlement services feel very threatened, they see their jobs at risk. But we should see this more in terms of the clients' interests (Interview No. 1).

Receptivity by front line workers: Three participants, from two different regions, talked about the commitment of mainstream front line workers to do things differently in order to improve services for immigrants as opposed to the difficulty in getting the same commitment from middle and upper managers:

The front line workers are receptive. People at a higher level, however, don't see the day to day operations. It will take longer time to convince them why they should give money and so on. We have to find a way to get those people to deal with this issue (Interview No. 5).

There are people who in the long run become advocates of immigrant interests within those organizations and it works naturally. When it doesn't work we have tried to work with managers so we can formalize this process. But it has not been very successful. I think we have to go to the very top. When you have the agreement at a working level it is not difficult to get it at the policy level (Deputy Minister)... and then you get a response from the middle managers who are the toughest to deal with in our experience (Interview No. 8).

New roles, new expectations for settlement workers: Some participants thought that in the search for new ways of offering services to immigrant settlement services were changing their roles or they were being expected to undertake on different functions:

There is also a very new attitude as to how we as settlement workers, are used as consultants. It seems that they maintain their clients and they consult with us. They are not dumping clients on us just because they speak other languages (Interview No. 10).

The process of becoming consultants has produced an interaction with members of the ECCs, who are invited to offer their insights and perceptions in workshops and consultation sessions. At the same time, they take information back to their organizations in the community (Interview No. 1).

Unfortunately the existing demand on settlement services as the primary service provider for immigrants leaves little opportunity for them to perform other functions which, in the long run, might increase collaboration between both systems and with immigrant communities:

We have done some cross-cultural workshops which are working very well. This is a very recent development but it's okay. However, when it comes to direct services to clients we use more interpreting services, particularly when our clients have to go for services such as social assistance. In these cases we don't play a consultant role. Our workers are perceived as interpreters... Agencies like family services are open to receiving more than just interpretation, but we are so busy as a settlement agency that that is about what it comes down to (Interview No. 14).

One participant expressed the need for settlement agencies to advocate for more involvement by mainstream services:

If the number of clients is increasing more services are needed. We should advocate for more

agencies to be involved in dealing with immigrant needs. That's the major role of immigrant settlement agencies (Interview No. 7).

Hiring and utilization of immigrant professionals: Whatever the limitations they saw in affirmative action programs, most of the participants felt that this was an important aspect of resolving the issue of immigrants accessing mainstream services:

I am hoping that community services hire more ethnic minority psychologists or professionals in these areas (Interview No. 7).

One participant saw the limited results of affirmative action being due to the lack of skilled people in the community:

Initiatives such as affirmative action are not resolving the problem because the 6% that the federal government is asking for is going to be filled with cleaning staff. This occurs very often because of the lack of trained and skilled people in the immigrant community (Interview No. 2).

Several participants noted that during the last few years an increasing number of ethnic workers are joining mainstream services. However, in the views of these participants ethnic workers are generally under-utilized by the system in serving ethnic communities:

Sometimes there are Chinese workers in those organizations but they are underutilized in serving the Chinese community because of where the worker is located or because his/her clients

are English speaking people (Interview No. 5).

Bilingual workers are not used properly because the system is organized in such a way that if a client lives on the other side of the street, you can not see the client because of this boundary. There is no flexibility, no creativity... (Interview No. 4).

It is possible that mainstream services are hiring workers but are not accommodating immigrant clients within the system. If we look across the country and see how many immigrant workers are hired within the system it is true that there are quite a few, but despite this we can't say that access is being increased (Interview No. 10).

However, one participant pointed out that the attitudes of some immigrant workers within the system reinforce the separation between ethnic workers and their communities:

... we also know that immigrants working in the system are lost from the minority groups because some of them become totally separated or because they are under stress and feel insecure in their positions, or they may simply not want to appear to be associated with their ethnic origin (Interview No. 7).

The participants discussed the issue of change with a sense of optimism arising from the receptivity of mainstream services and the commitment of front line workers. Nevertheless they were skeptical about the ability of the system to engage in institutional change.

5.1.4. SERVICE ISSUES AND TESTING NEW SERVICE APPROACHES

At least half of the participants discussed the impact of culture and language in the service delivery system while discussing some alternative service approaches such as hiring bilingual workers, placing mainstream workers at immigrant serving agencies, increasing interagency collaboration and effecting change through cross-cultural education.

Language isn't the only problem: Most often people associate the difficulties of immigrants with language problems. It seems that in many cases immigrants are blamed or considered the only ones responsible for their difficulties because they don't speak English. Some participants emphasized that in delivering services language isn't the only problem. Present generic services are geared to work within particular cultural assumptions and theoretical intervention models which in most cases aggravate the immigrants' problems.

Language and cultural dimensions are intertwined. Therefore, assuming that knowledge of the language is enough to offer effective services is a mistake. One participant reflected on her experience and stated that in addition to the language and culture it was crucial to have specialized helping skills:

Public services, as I call them, do not have the necessary knowledge of the problems and the frustration immigrants go through and the real barriers they face. They only know that the person does not speak English and so assume that simply by taking along an interpreter the problem

is resolved (Interview No. 3).

Good interpretation services through volunteers, while not the best solution will, at least help. I had an experience a few years ago when I was convinced that a client had mental problems. It took me two years to convince a doctor and finally get treatment for him, but it was only after he got aggressive. I felt so powerless as an interpreter (although I had training in interpretation) to convey the whole picture to these professionals. At that point I realized that interpretation was insufficient for this kind of intervention (Interview No. 2).

Fourteen years ago I believed that if people learned English they would resolve their problems. Now I have changed quite a bit about this. After a project that had a strong emphasis in language training I realized that language was a vast area and that language acquisition was not the final answer (Interview No. 4).

Cross-cultural interpretation is needed: For helping professionals, cross-cultural interpretation is essential in order to offer effective services. Understanding the complexities of working across cultures can alleviate tensions:

My role in cross cultural education is to raise awareness among staff of social services. It is to clarify what we take for granted here, that to work with immigrants requires a different understanding because they come from different realities... That as professionals they should work with immigrants using different guidelines from those they use with Canadian born clients... Canadians are used to looking for information, for example,... while immigrants don't, first because of language barriers, second because they don't know where the information is... In general cross-cultural education serves to clarify the cultural bases of the behaviour of individuals and immigrant families ... because here services are based on North American theories. I think cross-cultural courses should

be compulsory within the regular curriculum... So professionals are able to include this in their professional practice and in the delivery of services (Interview No. 3).

Families that have come from countries where help is sought from within the family are not used to regulations, procedures and processes... Then every one here has to invent their own processes and strategies to deal with these issues in the way they think is O.K.. In many cases, because the reality here is so different, the strategies do not match... especially because this society is so structured with every institution having its own regulations. And if you don't cooperate with the system, agency staff may think or interpret things that in many cases increase stereotypes or racism. There is an area that is untouched, which is understanding how you see things, your behavioural patterns, your mental make up, your value system (Interview No. 4).

Help within a cultural context: An immigrant participant emphasized the complexity of offering help to clients whose cultural backgrounds are different from the mainstream society. This is related not only to learning about the specific characteristics of different ethnic groups, but more importantly to understanding the relationship between the two cultures, and the differences between the two value systems and to being able to operate within these two cultural contexts. The following participants' comments reflect the opinion of at least half of the participants in the study:

Cross-cultural education , I think is important in order to develop understanding, especially when you think that the standards and ethics of the main culture are so easy to impose (Interview No. 14).

A book from a service dealing with alcoholism was given to us to translate into different

languages. Our version contains the alcoholism facts, but with a cultural orientation. The people in charge of the project found it too preachy. They thought that we were telling people what to do. But in reality in our community the clients they give us the power to make decisions for them. They ask us to tell them what to do. That's what they are used to in their families. That's how they interpret "help"... and when I tell them that I can't make decisions for them they think that I am not willing to help them (Interview No. 4).

Education in cross cultural issues for social service agencies is necessary because sometimes language in counselling is a problem... but it seems that not much effort is put into finding different approaches. Nevertheless there are a few individuals who make it possible to go on believing that something can change (Interview No. 10).

Our weakest area is counselling services: Cultural differences have the largest impact on the mainstream services in the counselling services available to immigrants. In a sense it is the cultural differences and different value systems which have contributed mostly to the awareness of the need for cross-cultural education and the exploration of new service delivery approaches. Most of the participants seem to be the most disturbed with the lack of appropriateness of counselling services for immigrants. Many of them present options for testing new service delivery approaches especially in dealing with counselling service needs:

Our weakest area is counselling services... counselling with victims of torture, for example. We had a client who was referred to Toronto but nobody has been able to help him (Interview No. 14).

... they just deal with tangible needs. Counselling is not offered to even their own clients. Therefore it is very difficult to offer

these kinds of services to immigrants (Interview No. 2).

Counselling/therapy definitely requires some more in-depth development... It is a relatively new field. Yet what are the assumptions we have when we do family or group therapy? Do you need to know every detail of every culture, or is it a sensitivity to the client's frame of mind? I think it is not culturally specific, that there is a general theory or philosophy that can cover a number of cultures. I don't think the client wants us to behave like them. I think immigrants in general are more prepared to expect differences (Interview No. 10).

Counselling services are associated with helping and/or influencing in the emotional and psychological adjustment of immigrants to their new life in Canada:

Mainstream services are ignoring needs related to psychological integration. They are making a big mistake. Our community became financially independent from the moment they arrived. They became tax payers and so long as they are contributors they should receive emotional and psychological support in adapting to this new life. Real integration happens when psychological and emotional adjustment also takes place (Interview No. 4).

By hiring bilingual workers: The issue of mainstream service accessibility is often associated with the need for hiring bilingual workers by mainstream services. However, positive outcomes are not gained with this approach alone, or without struggle. The following participant summarized the concerns of three other participants of two provinces:

...I thought that if bilingual workers were

located in mainstream agencies they would resolve the problem because they have the language and the cultural understanding. They have gone through the immigration experience and the adjustment period. Bilingual workers would make a big difference. But the experience teaches us what happens with these workers... They become so absorbed in the system that they have no choice. They have so much energy but they use it all in trying to fit into the system and to respond to the system, to make themselves part of the system, otherwise they become isolated. After all of this they leave aside their community commitment. The social service organization is not prepared to deal with this issue. Now if bilingual workers need supervision to deal with cultural matters the supervisor is generally from the mainstream culture so it is impossible to offer support. And if the supervisor offers supervision, he/she will do so from a Canadian value system. Consequently bilingual workers will be more confused and at a loss as to how to offer effective cultural services (Interview No. 4).

By placing mainstream workers at immigrant serving agencies: One participant felt that the only effective approach in improving service accessibility for immigrants is through the placement of mainstream workers at immigrant serving agencies. The use of mainstream professionals under this organizational arrangement is seen as an innovative attempt to deal with a complex issue. Two other participants referred positively to this approach:

I requested a worker from the Department of Health to be placed at our community organization. The worker will be trained, get experience and professional insights in this field and will receive the help of other workers. At the same time the clients will feel more secure and will more readily accept help. Clients won't have to go from one agency to another because the different mandate of various

agencies. Somebody is there to act as a mediator and a support for both clients and agencies (Interview No. 4).

By increasing interagency collaboration: Many of the participants saw increasing collaboration between settlement and mainstream services:

Categoric and generic services are going to be side by side for a long time. Settlement services have expertise in adjustment, immigration experience, language and sensitivity of the culture. Mainstream services have their specialized direct service expertise. When both service systems work together drawing from their distinct expertise they benefit the clients enormously. As well, workers from systems could support and learn from each other (Interview No. 8).

By producing changes through cross-cultural education: Cross-cultural education has become a significant feature in making institutional changes. As an emerging field of expertise it was discussed with enthusiasm in all the interviews. The need for understanding of and learning about other peoples' cultures has increased working relationships between settlement services and mainstream services. More than half of the participants had either attended or delivered a cross-cultural workshop. This is a measure of the importance and the level of priority that this function has for immigrant service deliverers:

Cross-cultural education is gradually becoming an important feature of the agencies (Interview No. 14).

However most of the participants expressed concerns about the lack of training available to acquire skills in this area.

5.1.5. THE COMPLEXITY OF ETHNO-CULTURAL COMMUNITY LIFE

The perceptions of most of the participants, especially those of immigrant background, were that ethno cultural organizations are more concerned with what happens back home than with building a community in Canada, and that the community activities they do get involved in tend to be cultural. Although there is increasing interest in social service issues only a small number of people from immigrant communities are dedicating any energy to this area.

In discussing the relationship of immigrant communities and organizations to social services issues and the social service system a number of issues emerged, including the fact that immigrant communities appear to be focussed on the symbolic expression of culture and are not concerned about what happens here in Canada. Related to this was the view that immigrant communities should run their services because of difficulties relating to mainstream service. These issues are looked at in more detail below.

Much focus on symbolic expression of culture: Ethno-cultural community life in Canada is often associated with cultural activities. Participants in all three provinces talked about this predominant feature of immigrant community life. Some saw the absence or limited involvement of the immigrant communities in other areas such as in the social service

area, as reflecting the low level of development and organization that characterizes the majority of new immigrant communities:

...here some ethnic groups are very busy with heritage language classes, folklore, music and food. There are other groups in the ECC that are too concerned about what happens back home... they forget what is happening here...(Interview No. 1).

Recently, an Asian group formed an association, but mainly to celebrate their New Year. Most of the groups are organized for social and cultural matters rather than for social services. There are a lot of groups that are very active but they are all into culture, 'the mosaic' is the thing for them. It is a lot of fun (Interview No. 14).

A focus on the symbolic expression of culture seems to be reinforced by public institutions such as the school system, which practice multiculturalism primarily through activities and programs related to food, dance and music, as opposed to promoting a real understanding of the impact of multicultural factors, in particular on the lives of immigrant students and their families:

Unfortunately most of the schools are still at the "multiculturalism state"...give them a day when they can have their food and their customs and then they can say that they have their multicultural practice and policy in place. Teachers think that as long as children learn English they will be happy. The teachers don't know any thing about the children's parents... or the only thing they know is that the parents don't attend meetings because they don't care! Meanwhile the parents are so worried about their children, about losing them and about the children losing their languages and not being

able to communicate within the family. And the parents become more alienated from their children day by day (Interview No. 9).

Little concern at what happens here in Canada: Participants discussed the apparent lack of concern among ECCs about social service issues in terms of the feelings of some community groups, especially the refugee groups, that their situation here is temporary. The drama of coming here because they were persecuted or forced to leave their country unwillingly may be a reason for the lack of concern as to what happens to them here:

They are always thinking that they are here temporarily and that they will go back. They forget that children grow here. The reality is that the chances for them to go back are less with every year (Interview No. 10).

Some of the participants of immigrant background noted that refugees communities become paralyzed and unable to help themselves once here due to the unexpected and forced condition of exile. This leads most often to the community living in the past and focussed on issues related to their home country:

In general refugee communities are not prepared to face living in exile... As a community they are not able to interpret the causes of family breakdown... The tendency for political and personal controversy and divisiveness are signs of the state of mind and the breakdown of the community (Interview No. 13).

In the beginning I could not believe that this community was so concerned with the situation back home and I kept saying to myself 'how come they are not concerned at what happens here in

Canada'. Obviously that was something they couldn't deal with it at that time. And the most general characteristic of refugee groups is that they are so attached to the causes of their home country. They almost have to go through a process of grieving, not only at the personal level, but also at the group level. People face an enormous struggle to accept that they have to do something here too. Sometimes the community resists the idea of members becoming more involved in issues in Canada and considers them as 'traitors' (Interview No. 10).

This kind of community initiative has taken a long to develop. I think it's not because the need wasn't there but because the community and individuals were not in the best condition. This fact is a clear reflection of our condition. In general though there is a concern that this process to be prepared and ready to deal with our problems and needs in here it took us too long, and today we still have to deal with the consequences or implications of not being more responsive, in our community life... We have just not gotten united around common issues like having problems of access to jobs or opportunities to training(Interview No. 13).

Some feel the need to develop their own services to deal with the system: One participant pointed out that for some communities the process of becoming active has taken so long because individuals and organized groups did not obtain the right assistance at the right moment, especially those communities members that came more than ten years ago:

...I think it's that the period of adjustment has been delayed. They haven't had somebody or some organization that has tried to help them to go through this process. And some must have gone through but others have not. They are still struggling with this. Long term crisis cases (torture, frustration) are still some of my cases

and still amaze me that no support has ever been offered to people who came maybe 10 years ago (Interview No. 12).

According to one participant the social service system is offering very limited support to those communities that are ready or able to organize themselves around community well being:

Here ethnic groups receive some multicultural money and are told to do their ethnic things, celebrate their days, etc. When a community becomes stronger and better organized and wants to break in, nobody helps them, nobody wants them either. It is necessary to keep our language but we also must not forget that we have to develop our own things here to deal with the system. Why are they not doing this? ... The community is too busy and it doesn't have leadership in this area. The community needs leadership, structure, people to prioritize, to apply for funds (people are always applying for heritage languages...) for developing organizational structures, money to work on how to access the system (Interview No. 1).

Community participation in social service matters seems to increase the older and more established the community becomes:

Depending on length of time in Canada and the numbers, you can see that they related better to community development for example. Because when people just come and they are still in the stages of adaptation people seems not to be worried about C.D. (Interview No. 2).

A lot depends on how established the communities are. We tend to look at the new and recent refugee community and for them it is difficult...

They are so busy surviving, creating their own board, their own organizations...(Interview No. 10).

Some participants measured the level of community participation by examining immigrant representation on their own agency boards:

...If I think about refugee immigrant participation on our board, for example, I can see that there is not one representative of refugees and immigrants on our board. I find that few recent arrivals join boards or sub committees. Usually it is the older immigrant or people who were born here (Interview No. 2).

Various participants pointed out that it is at the beginning of the transition period when immigrants seem to need the most support from their communities. Some noted that for the new immigrants and refugees which do not have an established community, it is difficult to obtain this kind of support. One participant mentioned that mainstream and settlement services have not encouraged the development of the natural community support systems for new immigrant and refugee communities:

Especially when people come they seem to want to relate to a very similar background person. The same language, the same culture, the same region, the same neighbourhood. Well if the community can provide that it is great. The ECC's have an extraordinary role, an emotional support, companionship; an identity, because when people come they don't have that. After being here a long time people seem to lose their identity, their belonging to a group (Interview No. 12).

Some want to run their own services: In most cases, when ethnic communities are more established and more aware of the magnitude of the social problems facing them their response is to create their own services. Participants in all three provinces noted that this is a recent development in their region:

Their emphasis is in social services but when it comes to defining the issues they have been lost... They want to run their own services and they are looking for funding (Interview No. 14).

I heard that there is another community which has formed a group looking at women's issues, the unemployed and youth. They are looking for funding for some research, but this is their first real attempt (Interview No. 12).

One participant wondered if these groups are aware of their rights to access existing services:

There was a latinoamerican group that established its own agency, first without funding because funders thought that there are all those agencies, so why establish another one. The community group though felt very strong that their group members didn't feel well served by those agencies. There are such lacks of confidence and fear of those places where they only speak English, so they don't go there at all. But this ethnic organization may not have the awareness when they start funding for their own agency, that any way they are as well subsidizing mainstream services and that they should be able to use them (Interview No. 9).

Interest in community services is mostly developing outside of the existing community organization structures. Some participants see

traditional leaders not giving leadership in this area. They associated this with the factors noted earlier, communities are living in exile and communities are organized mainly around cultural issues:

Very often the leaders are men who may not be so familiar of social service issues, and in many cases the reality is that the leaders of this organization may not like to disclose these problems (Interview No. 9).

Thus, new constituencies in the community are becoming involved in social service matters:

I find it very interesting that some groups like the immigrant women's association are getting together. It seems to me that many groups like this will end up forming because they are not getting the support that they need from inside the organized community (Interview No. 8).

Unfortunately a lot of the tasks that the community can participate in are blocked by individual leaders who do not understand the macro picture of our reality here... They usually stay only in the limited scope of their organization ... We have to be realistic that these kind of leaders are as well the product of the experience that the community has lived...in here... in exile (Interview No. 13).

More than just a problem with social services: Nearly all the participants saw as a crucial issue the fact that immigrant groups seem not to feel comfortable approaching mainstream services. For some of them it is clear that this leads, firstly to individual immigrants not receiving services, and secondly, to the organized community attempting

to set up their own helping organizations:

If we consulted with our community and decided to do something we always say 'let's do it ourselves because the government doesn't want to deal with a particular community. They are too busy dealing with everybody so we just didn't think about that support (Interview No. 5).

Immigrants are not very comfortable going to mainstream services. Often they are used to extended families, they have neighbours whom they can talk to... If the community is large and is well established it can provide this kind of interaction; members are not going to go to the mainstream system. North American society is so self contained... Unfortunately in many cases the community groups or community organizations are not focussed on offering this kind of support... Belief is related to the fact that if you come from a society where the extended family is the strongest source of help... so even if you know about services... will you believe in them? (Interview No. 2).

The Asian community has had some help that has worked very well and they have reached some stability as a community. But they have not used our services, they don't access services as much, they have their own ways (Interview No. 8).

Related to the idea that immigrants do not feel comfortable in reaching mainstream services, some participants perceive that immigrants do not concern themselves with mainstream services and their inability to respond to immigrant needs. A few of the participants stated that immigrant the community didn't see the importance of advocating for better generic services. Instead they related more easily to the lack of settlement services:

... social service agencies could be more receptive to immigrants but immigrants do not go to mainstream services. So it is more than just

a problem with the social services (Interview No. 14).

You see, in our region ethno-cultural communities started to challenge and pressure settlement services to change. They are not thinking of working with mainstream services, those are not on their agenda at all. Their concerns are settlement services... In reality, ethno-cultural communities are organized around settlement service issues, how to make them more accountable, more responsive and accessible, let alone the mainstream services (Interview No. 1).

A voice in social service: The role of the community in social service issues is almost always associated with the role of the community as service provider. Nearly all the participants stated that immigrant communities in one way or another should play an important role in dealing with service needs, most of them expressed their concerns about communities being service deliverers. Others envisioned communities playing crucial roles although not necessarily as a service deliverer.

Two participants saw the community as a potential political force, that has not yet been used to improve services:

They have to get more involved in services, but the problem with ECC's is that they have to reach a level of sophistication and politicization... and impose themselves, put pressure politically. They are a powerful force, but they don't realize that this power is there (Interview No. 1).

Definitively I see the ethnic communities being a voice in social services, at the policy making and other levels (Interview No. 10).

Many members of ethnic communities are skillful and talented individuals, professionals and natural leaders who very rarely are used as a resource.

One participant pointed out the potential as follows:

I see our community becoming a resource to social service agency professionals, a source of referral and identification of cases at risk. ... we have as a community the connection with our community.

As community members, we have the connection with our community and we should have the connection with the person that we are going to refer to within the respective social service. But we will have to have the credibility and capability in order to do this (Interview No. 13).

I think that we can use people from ethnic communities that have been involved in networks of their own community and put them in contact with social services... because they are resources in the community . But it is so difficult to use them because they have problems in gaining recognition of their credentials (Interview No. 9).

A grass root response to the social-economic problems of the community is the ethnic communities becoming service deliverers themselves. Various participants explained that this issue is a matter of great discussion in the social service community, including with the funders. As well there is the perception of some participants that the issue is not clear for anybody:

There is a great debate in our region at this moment. Should the ethnic organization have access to deliver services to their own community? (Interview No. 1).

We are trying very hard in here to be very

responsive to the specific ethnic communities, we want to be fair and so on. But it is very difficult, we haven't found yet the formula. Especially when we are very aware that funding the ethnic specific organization we are not taking away from the mainstream services their responsibility or as well from the immigrant serving agencies. It is very difficult to have a funding criteria that we can live with. Especially when we don't want to see the mushrooming of all little programs run by ethno-cultural communities (Interview No. 8).

Some participants foresaw difficulties for communities if they were involved in direct service work. These participants saw the capabilities of communities rather in the area of building a support system for their respective communities:

I believe that ethno-cultural communities are there to develop a support system rather than develop service components. I don't believe that the communities have the resources to duplicate the effort of the Alberta Government, for example... If you try to duplicate you are not going to provide the quality of services that it has taken 20 or 25 years to develop. So I think the community should set up a support system allowing proper channelling of problems to where the expertise lies (Interview No. 7).

The discussion in this section centred mainly on the complexity of the process of adjusting to life in a new environment. For many people who immigrated as refugees, this is a forced situation and the conditions under which they immigrated impact deeply on both individuals and organized communities. From the participants' views it is evident that social service systems are puzzled by this complexity and not yet able to

develop appropriate strategies to ease the process of immigrant communities in becoming part of this society.

The following theme represent deliverers' perceptions of their role and their philosophical views in this field

5.1.6. IMMIGRANT SERVICE DELIVERER'S REFLECTIONS

Another major theme centred around immigrant service deliverers' reflections on their job and their philosophical points of reference in performing their work in this field. This theme showed up quite frequently in most of the interviews and to me highlights the period of reflection the emerging changes within the service system are creating. The participants in various ways expressed how they perceive their jobs. Most participants think that with time they have shifted attention from daily routines of individual case work to broader, systems oriented work which mirrors to some extent the same situation happening at the organizational level:

At the beginning I was overwhelmed, too busy with daily activities, one to one, individual cases. I think it is a growing process, especially when you see that what happened to Eli also happened to Flor and so on... And then I analyzed everything... I became a very political person and then I looked at my work differently (Interview No. 1).

Well, when I started I was always busy because it becomes very busy here, especially in the afternoons. So I was always reacting to solve immediate needs. But after I had worked for some years I realized that somehow it is worthwhile to spend some time liaising with the government, talking over some problems and working out some

collaborative efforts. Maybe in the long run this will help the client a lot more. I feel a lot more comfortable in this position now. Because I used to feel like my clients (Interview No. 5)

The nature of their daily work experience and their philosophical points of reference seem to determine their performance in delivering service to immigrants. The presentation of their visions is significant in identifying where participants are in relation to this emerging field as well as in determining what philosophical base guides their well discussed process of change. In many cases their points of reference differ from one another. As a way of summarizing participants' philosophical points of view I have selected the statements of the following participants:

Be who you are:

The bottom line is that we do not tell clients that you are in Canada now so you have to become Canadian, nor we tell immigrants that they should keep their culture... we have recognized that this is a very individual process (Interview No. 4).

Integration is the focus of my work:

Integration is the focus of my work, folk dances will not help that. Integration should be looking from all perspectives: education, university, training of social service agencies. Social service agencies are not reflecting the reality of the community (Interview No. 1).

To facilitate empowerment, self sufficiency:

I feel very strongly that whatever the settlement services do should be to facilitate empowerment, self sufficiency of the immigrants to access the

mainstream services (Interview No. 1).

To create a homogeneous value system:

... in order to make those people adapt to this country. Because our ultimate goal is for those people to adapt to the values here. And to create an homogeneous value system (Interview No. 2).

Bilingualism applies to everybody who has two languages:

Bilingualism applies to everybody who has two languages. This is not just an official thing, but I think bilingualism in itself has a lot of implications that have not been dealt with (Interview No. 9).

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

While the previous section was mainly a presentation of the themes and issues discussed by the participants, the following section will summarize the prevailing themes that have emerged from their responses such as, limitations of the current social service system, weaknesses of the settlement service system as the primary service provider, awareness of the need for organizational change in both service systems and the realization of the complexity of ethnic community life.

A dominant theme in the study is the awareness of service providers of the need for institutional change in the current organization of the social service system. The immigrant service providers participating in this study unanimously agreed that the service needs of immigrant and refugee

populations are not being met effectively or sufficiently by either the categoric or the generic service system. Their awareness of the need for change is based upon: 1) an analysis of the limitations of the current system as a whole; 2) a critical perception of the weaknesses of the settlement service system as the primary service provider; 3) an awareness that increasing service accessibility and culturally appropriate services will require a process of organizational change for both the mainstream service and the settlement service systems; and 4) their experiences working with immigrants and refugees and their realization of the complexity of ethnic community life.

These major components within the dominant theme of organizational change were all presented in an interrelated manner. Participants also related their analysis to other factors, including the perception that change is occurring without leadership. Participants see themselves embarked on a process of change which is unclear, disjointed, and inconsistent from one organization to another. A more detailed summary of participants' issues and views are presented as follows:

ANALYSIS OF THE LIMITATIONS OF THE CURRENT SYSTEM: Characteristically participants felt that the mainstream service system places immigrants and refugees in a disadvantaged position in terms of accessing benefits and services that they have the right to claim. Participants saw the system as geared to serve the mainstream population, by virtue of staff composition, organizational structure, service philosophy, practice and policies. Participants argued that mainstream services are unable to

respond in an appropriate manner to the needs of minority groups such as immigrants, the disabled and Natives because they are different from the mainstream population and therefore do not fit the pre-defined characteristics of the clientele. This has led to an awareness of the need for change. The need for institutional change was the underlying assumption in all these discussions.

Participants felt that change was underway but were critical of the limited scope of these changes and the lack of vision or a general strategy. Participants raised as concerns questions such as who should define a strategy and what types of services should be developed.

Two participants pointed out that multiculturalism, as it is perceived in the social service field, has not helped to produce changes to improve services for immigrants and refugees, mainly because of multiculturalism's emphasis on the preservation of cultures and heritage languages and the development of community infrastructures to pursue such goals. This contributed to the gulf between the service system and immigrant and ethnic minority populations.

Several participants felt that mainstream service deliverers do not see immigrant populations as an area of responsibility because of how they interpret "multiculturalism". This no doubt reinforces current definitions of territories between the mainstream social service system and the immigrant categoric services. The majority of the participants thought that a high proportion of the mainstream deliverers were unaware

that groups with special needs, such as immigrants, are isolated from services available to the general population and therefore deprived of the rights and benefits offered to the general population.

A CRITICAL VIEW OF THE SETTLEMENT SERVICES AS THE PRIMARY SERVICE PROVIDER: Although participants are aware of the limitations of regarding settlement services as "everything for everybody", as service providers they are caught up in daily activities meeting expectations arising from the fact that this belief is still deeply rooted in the social service system's practice and philosophy. Most of the participants feel pressed to be "everything for everybody" due to the conditions of the mainstream service system, which they characterized as being insufficient, fragmented, ghettoized and generally inaccessible and culturally inappropriate. Several participants believe that the absence of an effective and adequate mainstream service response to immigrant needs, together with the belief that settlement services are to be everything for everybody, leads to overcompensation by settlement services. One result is that settlement services tend to be seen by mainstream services as the primary service provider for immigrants. Although participants are becoming aware of the pitfalls of the current approach, this multi-faceted role is seen as part of their mandate. Some participants believe strongly that settlement service agencies should question their expected role in the provision of service to immigrants and in particular, they should examine the implications in terms of the quality of services provided to immigrant clients.

The expectations placed on settlement services as the primary service provider have encouraged mainstream services to adopt a passive role with regard to immigrant needs. This has prevented them from developing the capability to deal effectively with the service needs of immigrant populations.

Participants discussed the trend to establish parallel immigrant systems. The feasibility of the parallel model is questioned by most of the participants; nevertheless, some support its development. Several participants see this model being pursued by some settlement agencies. The agencies that are more established and are regarded by governments and funders as the primary service deliverers for immigrants, become the major or sole channel for funding to support immigrant settlement. This practice has encouraged the formation of large and centralized organizations which use mainstream service approaches. According to some participants these agencies are often administered and governed by non-immigrant professionals and boards. In the view of some participants these organizations, while developing a parallel system, are becoming as inaccessible to immigrants as existing mainstream services.

AWARENESS THAT INCREASING ACCESS TO MAINSTREAM SERVICES IMPLIES A PROCESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE: Participants felt that advances were being made within mainstream services; there was increased concern to improve services to immigrants. Nevertheless, some participants were skeptical as to the willingness of the mainstream system to undergo the required changes. Implicit in this was the realization that such changes required dealing with sensitive issues such as protectionism, the reaction of the

system to differences and the lack of commitment by middle and upper level service managers.

The reaction of the mainstream system to differences and the settlement service issue of protectionism captures the essence of the problem of organizational change for the service system in this field. Because it is geared to serve the majority population the mainstream system is unable to serve minority groups whose needs may differ markedly. Related to this is the belief of most people that the well being of immigrants is not the responsibility of the mainstream system because they are being served by settlement services. This has influenced settlement services to the extent that, they are concerned that they are losing control of their assigned territory due to the emerging involvement of mainstream services in immigrant issues. As well they are concerned because mainstream agencies can not meet immigrant service needs as presently structured.

Due to the increasing receptiveness and new awareness in the mainstream services of immigrants' service issues, some participants felt that mainstream agencies expected new roles to be performed and new programs and services to be instituted by settlement services to complement their efforts. Remedial measures, such as affirmative action, were viewed by most of the participants as limited and insufficient to effect real change. Nevertheless, related to the issue of affirmative action was the view that immigrant professionals were underutilized within the mainstream system to serve immigrant communities. Despite the tensions and conflicting opinions, progress was acknowledged.

Increased commitment by both mainstream and settlement agencies to providing accessible and culturally appropriate services is reflected in the exploration and testing of new service approaches such as hiring bilingual workers, placing mainstream service workers at immigrant serving agencies, and increasing collaboration between mainstream and settlement service agencies. Parallel to these efforts there is the increasing realization that cross cultural education will facilitate change. The majority of the participants felt that confidence among service providers in working cross-culturally is an essential element in improving services for immigrants.

Participants felt that one of the weakest areas and the one most associated with the failure to provide culturally appropriate services is counselling for immigrants. Many participants believed that cultural differences have the greatest impact in the counselling situation and that mainstream agencies have not yet developed alternative approaches.

REALIZATION OF THE COMPLEXITY OF ETHNO-CULTURAL COMMUNITY LIFE: Immigrant or ethnic minority community life was described by participants as unique and complex in all its aspects. The long standing identification of communities with their homeland, along with their dedication to preserving their culture and languages puzzled many participants. Several participants contrasted this with the apparent lack of concern about social service matters and other social-economic aspects of community welfare in Canada. Participants saw the need for appropriate services to alleviate the side effects of being transplanted from one culture to

another. They were unanimous in pointing out that there is limited support from the social service system in dealing with the process of community adjustment, especially when compared to the support available to building community life around cultural issues.

Some participants envisioned a natural community support system as a crucial element to fostering ethnic community well-being, particularly for people in their first period of life in Canada. Building community support systems was described as a process of reproducing the natural helping systems that communities have traditionally relied on in their home countries. Participants felt that this task required a sophisticated community organization and that the ability of communities to participate in social service issues and to build their own helping systems was greater among ethnic groups with a longer history in Canada and consequently with more sophisticated organizations. However there was the tendency of social service providers and funders not to support newer, less established and less sophisticated ethnic communities. A few participants believed that the role of funders and social service providers should be to support the less established communities, enabling them to reach a higher level of organization.

In those communities where concern about social services existed there consistently appeared to be a lack of confidence in the mainstream agencies, yet different means for addressing this issue. The prevailing attitude among the ethno-cultural communities was to develop their own services. Since individuals and community organizations did not feel

comfortable approaching agencies for services, largely due to language and cultural barriers, they did not receive needed assistance. Thus, they were impelled to set up their own helping organizations. Some participants pointed out the dilemma of supporting communities to become service providers; it freed existing services of their responsibilities to immigrants.

A second course of action for immigrants who lacked confidence in existing mainstream services was not to concern themselves with their rights to qualified mainstream services nor to stress the importance of advocating for rights to equal service. These people identified settlement service issues as the most relevant and limited themselves to advocating for better settlement services.

5.3 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

In this section, the findings will be discussed in light of literature review presented in Chapter IV. The bridging model will also be re-examined with the participants views included.

In relation to the background discussion on immigration, settlement and cultural policies in the first chapters, participants responses confirmed a number of observations in the literature. As argued by Beiser, participants generally felt that there was a need for a comprehensive policy for settling and integrating new Canadians.⁷⁴ However, only one

⁷⁴ Beiser, 1988

participant related the lack of effective policy on settlement and integration needs to the emphasis on using immigration to meet Canada's economic and demographic needs. Historically, Canadian governments have put greater emphasis on selection and admission policies and for the most part have neglected the development of settlement and integration policies, a point made by the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees.⁷⁵ As mentioned this analysis which is shared by an increasing number of authors, was generally not present in the discussion about barriers and current gaps in services for immigrants. As a rule the participants often tended to dismiss macro systemic barriers and would focus on immediate factors such as the lack of funding and lack of professionalization of settlement workers. They also referred to the cultural differences and language difficulties which prevent immigrants from using services appropriately. Participants generally shared the view of Bergin, Chan and Candia ⁷⁶ that the current system presents barriers to immigrants gaining access to services and receiving services that are culturally appropriate. As well, many participants confirmed Doyle and Visano's observations that immigrants are not utilizing mainstream services and that settlement services lack expertise to deal adequately with the full range of immigrant needs.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Health and Welfare Canada and Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, After The Door Has Been Opened: Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugee (Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data, 1988)

⁷⁶ Bergin 1988, Chan 1987, Candia 1986.

⁷⁷ Doyle and Visano 1987

Participants shared the views of a number of writers, Campfens, Doyle and Visano and Thomas that excessive expectations are placed on the immigrant settlement system as a consequence of the lack of access to relevant mainstream services.⁷⁸ However, unlike these writers, they mostly did not see the need to free the immigrant settlement system from its primary service provider role and therefore to encourage the multiculturalization of mainstream services; rather they felt the solution lay in increasing the capacity of settlement services to meet these demands. This difference in position may stem from the fact that: "this is the way that we have always seen our work, the way that has been expected ... I also believe that as a settlement service community we do not know better".⁷⁹ The immigrant settlement service community has played a crucial role not only in offering settlement services to immigrants but as well in the struggle to increase and improve immigrant services which have usually housed in the settlement service system. This history of leadership and advocacy may today be preventing some service deliverers from envisioning long term strategies which extent beyond their boundaries and which deal more effectively with service gaps and barriers. The tendency of some settlement service providers (participants of this study) to insist on their primary service role and to dismiss the role that mainstream services could play in the delivery of immigrant services, may stem in some cases from their awareness of the reality of "protectionism" and the

⁷⁸ Campfens 1988, Doyle and Visano 1987, Thomas 1987.

⁷⁹ Interview No.1

potential obstacles protectionist attitudes might present in attempts to develop collaborative service models.

Another possible reason for the difference of opinion with the authors listed above may be the belief of some participants that mainstream services are not ready to respond to immigrant's needs and their consequent lack of confidence in the ability of mainstream services to become multiculturalized in the near future.

In the literature review, Thomas was the most explicit in arguing that the organizational change of mainstream services must encompass to immigrant service needs.⁸⁰ In her view, this process of change, essentially one of "multiculturalizing" mainstream services, requires the examination of policies and agency practices at both the macro and implementation level. While participants generally felt there was a need for change, they were less unanimous in what this would mean. Just as they had not made the connection to macro factors in their analysis of service barriers so too, only a few participants explicitly spoke of the need for action at a policy level or saw the process as one of multiculturalizing mainstream services. Along with the factors already mentioned the magnitude of the multiculturalization process, prevented participants from accepting it as a feasible alternative. They often tended to focus their discussions on current and past actions rather than on developing long term broad strategies. Repeatedly, conversations demonstrated that settlement

⁸⁰ Thomas, 1987

service providers were caught in a tradition of service delivery that made them the sole service providers to immigrants. Being so has contributed to developing their sense of self sufficiency and importance, being "everything for everybody", has discouraged them from concentrating on the long term implications of this service pattern. It has deterred them from planning and developing long term, comprehensive projects such as the multiculturalization of mainstream services.

The above, notwithstanding, participant conversations reflect an emerging "multiculturalizing trend" within settlement and mainstream services. Service functions encouraging multiculturalization such as cross-cultural education, demonstration services, community development, joint delivery of direct services and joint programming of mainstream services, were discussed with participants. They were unanimous in stressing the importance of cross-cultural education with mainstream agencies. However they generally did not identify this as a distinct social service function or as part of a broader service strategy. Another important function within the multiculturalization process is the immigrant community development function, with a view to community organizations being both advocates and resources. Although participants were reluctant to see immigrant communities become direct service providers themselves as a consequence of problems accessing mainstream services, they saw immigrant communities playing an important role in social services. However again, they generally had not developed clear strategies for involving immigrant communities in social services. Participants seemed overwhelmed by the diversity and always changing immigrant population that they were serving.

This overpowering reality seemed to prevent immigrant service providers from initiating the process of increased participation and partnership with immigrant communities needed to improve services. The very fact that the immigrant community is diverse and complex in nature, suggests that social services will benefit by working together with the various groups and drawing upon their resources, knowledge and skills. Otherwise the immigrant community could continue being left out and continue being underutilized by the system in the process of improving service to them. A well known shortcoming of social services is their tendency to respond to service needs of minority groups by organizing and delivering services "for" them, rather than developing the ability to working "with" them to guarantee relevancy and acceptance. Unfortunately, this seems to be the current situation in dealing with the service needs of the ethnic minority populations.

In general terms many participants' ideas differ from Thomas, Doyle and Visano and others, who identify the lack of access to mainstream service as the problem and efforts to increase accessibility as the solution. As has been previously mentioned the question of the accessibility to mainstream services is quite new and is emerging in the context of a tradition of viewing settlement services as the primary service provider.

Nevertheless, various initiatives are currently being implemented in Canada to increase accessibility and to multiculturalize mainstream services. The Immigrant Access Service in Manitoba, the bridging organization from which the bridging model in Chapter Three is derived, is one example which

suggests that the process of change is underway. Participants of the three provinces also, pointed to the increasing number of activities related to multiculturalizing mainstream services in their provinces. However, these initiatives were ad hoc enterprises not linked to the general social service system. They reinforce the findings of the research, which reveal the prevailing acceptance of the dichotomy between categoric and generic services, in particular, among immigrant service providers. This acceptance indicates that if the multiculturalization of services is to occur an incremental process of change is needed with the emphasis placed on engaging the support and participation of service providers in both systems, the categoric and the generic.

The bridging model which proposes the multiculturalization of mainstream services, was discussed in Chapter Three as a separate project with a distinct mandate differing from the mandate of settlement service agencies. Service elements such as cross-cultural education, demonstration projects, joint delivery of generic services and community development were defined within the concept of the bridging organization as distinct and crucial elements in the multiculturalization of mainstream services. These functions differ in mandate and service goals from the reception, escorting, interpretation, employment, orientation, housing and reception service components of the settlement system. The participants in general did not see these two mandates, the bridging and the settlement, as distinct. On the contrary they tended to mesh both mandates under the umbrella of the settlement service system. Should settlement services continue along this path the implications for them are that while already

overloaded with the settlement mandate they must also absorb an additional bridging mandate within the same organizational structure and with their current resources. This would prevent the legitimation of the bridging functions as a distinct and separate mandate and therefore hamper the assignment of additional resources and special expertise. It would also maintain services for immigrants primarily in the categoric realm, maintain the barriers to professional generic services, and thus interfere with the multiculturalization of the service system and the community.

On the whole, however, the reaction of participants to the bridging model was one of acceptance. Many participants felt that although this model seemed a ideal it would be quite difficult to operationalize in their provinces due to the relative lack of commitment on the part of policy makers and funders to allocate new resources in the immigrant area. One participant commented that the bridging model implied "creating an additional layer of service providers in the immigrant service system". Funders and policy makers who generally advocate the streamlining of social service programs might well agree with her. Therefore while the participants were in agreement with the concept of a bridging organization they were pessimistic about the chances of establishing such a program within the current system. For these reasons many participants did not explore further or even examine the feasibility of this service model for their region. Those who did discuss the possibility of the model saw settlement agencies becoming resource organizations to the mainstream services in the process of multiculturalization; they did not examine who was to initiate the process, nor whose mandate it would be, nor how it was

to be operationalized.

There was one participant who used the bridging model and its objective of multiculturalizing the mainstream services as a frame of reference for examining another service delivery model, that of placing generic workers at settlement service agencies. This participant had little confidence in the ability of mainstream services to change their structures to accommodate immigrant service needs, however she believed that the mainstream services were more prepared to re-allocate and/or re-assign their resources to immigrant settlement agencies in order to serve the immigrant population more effectively and efficiently.

Advocating for placing generic workers at immigrant settlement agencies, was as well a reaction to the failure of affirmative action policies. The findings reflect the lack of confidence that some participants had in the current affirmative action measures. These measures were seen by the majority of service providers as a remedy not only to discriminatory hiring practices but as a solution to accessibility issues and culturally appropriate service needs. However many of the research participants believed that ethnic professionals were underutilized by the social service system in serving their own communities. They felt that ethnic workers involved in delivering generic services from a mainstream agency, often got lost within system which was not yet prepared to use or encourage their cultural expertise. Thus immigrant clients lost a major potential source of support from these generic agencies.

In summary, the literature, my experiences in the field and the findings of the study are complementary to one another. Together they enhance the our understanding of how the service system is organized to respond to immigrant needs and the potential the service system has to increase accessibility to immigrant communities. The following chapter will present conclusions and recommendations in areas of social service policy development, social service intervention, ethno-cultural community development and social research.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the study one can conclude that the present service system is inadequate to meet the service needs of ethnic minorities. This was discussed in terms of the inaccessibility and the cultural inappropriateness of mainstream services as well as in terms of the role the settlement service system has traditionally played as primary service provider for immigrant populations. The consequence of the current situation is that immigrant communities are profoundly disconnected from the social service system and are for the most part deprived of needed social services at the individual and the community level.

Ethno-cultural communities are generally not organized around service issues and therefore are unable to play a significant role in advocating for change in the social service system and/or in developing their own initiatives in order to deal with community welfare issues. At the same time, it is evident from the participant responses that social services are overwhelmed by the diversity and changing characteristics of the immigrant communities. Consequently they have been unable to support community development in order to enable community members to become active participants in the process of improving service for immigrants.

The interviews reflect an emerging process of change, led by sectors of mainstream services and settlement services, and by sectors of organized immigrant communities. This study suggests that social service agencies of both systems don't as yet have clear and common goals nor clear implementation strategies in order to increase the quality of services for immigrants. This is aggravated by the lack of coordination between the two systems, the generic and the categoric. The participants provide information on a variety of initiatives to ameliorate the lack of appropriate and accessible services to immigrants. Cross-cultural education, affirmative action programs and collaboration models such as placing generic service workers in settlement serving agencies, are among the examples of such new initiatives. However, these are not necessarily implemented in a comprehensive manner but rather in many cases, in isolation and as short term projects.

The findings indicate that the social service system is incorporating new features that are leading to the multiculturalization of mainstream services, as illustrated by the bridging model in Chapter Three. These elements are the core of the current process of organizational change. However, the multiculturalization of mainstream services has not yet been defined by either the generic or the categoric system as a distinct and separate project with a distinct mandate, new resources and expertise. In light of this view, the feasibility of this project is in question particularly when it is evident that this work is expected to be carried out by the settlement serving system in addition to its current mandate and within the context of current levels of expertise and resources.

In conclusion, the findings, though preliminary, are very explicit. On the one hand, they reveal the lack of articulation at the conceptual and at the implementation level of the multiculturalization of the mainstream system as a unique project to be carried out in a comprehensive and systematic fashion with a separate mandate, resources and expertise. On the other hand, they describe the existence of elements of the multiculturalization approach in both the mainstream and settlement service systems. This demonstrates that despite the fact that the fundamental questions of feasibility and lack of articulation exist, multicultural change is envisioned but is still in its earliest stage of development.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Even though the number of participants in this research study was limited, their cumulative experience is substantial. Therefore their views ought to be considered. Recommendations reflecting their ideas and the literature available will be made in areas related to the advocacy of new policy and programming initiatives, immigrant community development and further research.

ADVOCACY FOR POLICY AND PROGRAMMING: The analysis of the interviews and the related literature review suggests the need for developing comprehensive policies for improving the accessibility and relevance of social services for immigrants. One aspect of this should be advocacy for developing a policy related to the multiculturalization of mainstream

services. This policy should be broad and comprehensive so that it can be applied across the country by government and funding organizations that have national jurisdiction such as Health and Welfare Canada, Canada Employment and Immigration, etc. The policy should guide funders, government and service providers at the programming level by encouraging creativity and flexibility according to the characteristics of the region. As well the policy should be specific enough to enable the service providers to develop a new mandate with the increased resources and to draw upon new areas of expertise. Otherwise the feasibility of the multiculturalization policy can not be guaranteed. Since the study indicates that the bridging service delivery model encompasses necessary functions for the multiculturalization of the generic services, it ought to be given serious consideration as one way of implementing the multiculturalization policy.

Advocates for more accessible services should also call on the government funders and service providers to undertake a comprehensive review of service issues as they affect immigrants. This would include asking questions such as the role government and current policies play in obstructing the delivery of more accessible and appropriate services for immigrants. To be truly comprehensive, such a review process should not only involve the Secretary of State and its Multiculturalism Sector, the Department of Immigration and Employment, the Department of Health and Welfare but all other government departments that are responsible for the well-being of the Canadian population, and thus too the immigrant population. Different levels of government should also be encouraged to

initiate discussions and to coordinate efforts around the common goal of establishing equality of access for immigrants. These initiatives are justified in view of the significance of immigration to Canada in terms of demographic needs, and the constitutional obligations of Canada to integrate immigrants as equal members of society.

As the research suggests advocacy should be carried out through better coordination and linkages of mainstream and immigrant service representatives who support change, immigrants working in the social service community and immigrant community representatives. The process of advocacy should itself be seen as a cross-cultural exercise in which non-immigrant participants gain awareness of immigrant communities and their needs and immigrant participants gain sophistication in the areas of political advocacy and coalition building in a Canadian context.

IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: It was suggested throughout the interviews that immigrant communities should play a more significant role in defining their needs, in developing alternative ways to deal with the lack of appropriate services and in working in collaboration with the service system to improve services. In the development of an effective macro strategy it will be essential to involve immigrants and refugees. Nevertheless it was evident from the data that immigrant communities needed to reach higher levels of organizational sophistication in order to be effective and genuine participants in such a process.

Government funders should therefore play a greater role in fostering the

development of immigrant community organizations. Funding bureaucracies must become more flexible in terms of their expectations from target groups and recognize that providing funding only to those organizations which have already achieved a high degree of sophistication does little or nothing to assist communities which are new, small and yet unorganized. Immigrant community leaders, minority professionals and others must begin playing a more active role in advocating for the social service interests of their communities. They must seek to build coalitions with like-minded people in the social services and other sectors who can provide expertise and familiarity with the Canadian political process and advocacy strategies.

FURTHER RESEARCH: Given the limited research to date there is considerable scope for further research into service delivery models for addressing the needs of immigrants. For reasons of practicality, this study focused on the views and attitudes of participants in the immigrant service sector. Since the attitudes of policy makers and professionals in mainstream services are important factors in determining change, research into the level of their understanding and concern about the issues of accessibility and relevant immigrant services is essential.

This study also did not seek direct input from immigrants as service users. This is an important area for further research in terms of exploring directly immigrant attitudes toward the mainstream social service systems and their perceptions about problems and potential solutions.

Canada is not the only major immigrant receiving country in the world. This suggests that a rich area for research would be comparative studies of other countries examining alternative service intervention models as well as political and lobbying experiences in improving services for immigrants.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW GUIDE

PART I
SITE BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A. INFORMATION ABOUT THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY

1. Which have been the most recent immigrant groups to come to this city?
2. Which are some of the largest immigrant communities in this city?
3. In your opinion, which ethnic communities have a high profile in the social service system.
 - Due to greater service needs
 - Due to their greater participation in social service issues

B. SOCIAL SERVICE COMMUNITY BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. How many settlement agencies are there?
2. Please name two major service features of each of them?

PART II
PARTICIPANT'S BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. How many years have you worked in the immigrant service field?
2. Would you identify the organization you work for as
Government ____ Non-government ____ Ethnic Community based ____
Both _____
3. What is your position in this organization?
front line worker _____
administrator - policy maker _____
other _____
4. What is your academic and academic background?

5. Do you consider yourself an immigrant?
yes ____ no ____

6. Additional information from interview
7. What is a regular day in your job like?
8. When you joined this line of work, what were your personal views in relation to:
 - a) your philosophy of service provision
 - b) your understanding of immigrant service needs.
9. Have those perceptions, or philosophical views changed?

**PART III
IMMIGRANT SERVICES ISSUES**

1. What were your first thoughts about the themes discussed in the "DISCUSSION PAPER"?
2. What are your opinions or perceptions about the IMMIGRANT PARALLEL SYSTEM concept discussed in the paper?
3. What do you regard as the barriers preventing immigrants from accessing mainstream services?
4. What do you regard as the barriers preventing the mainstream services from providing culturally appropriate services?
5. What do you think about the concept of multiculturalizing mainstream services?
6. What are your opinions about "The multi-service, multi-lingual, multi-cultural service delivery model: the bridging organization"?
7. Do you think that the bridging organization is one way to improve service accessibility and service appropriateness?
8. Do you envision a bridging organization working with both the ethnic cultural communities and the mainstream services?
9. What do you think are the necessary features of the bridging organization in order for it to be able to work with both the ethno cultural communities and the mainstream services?
10. Are these concepts being discussed, developed and/or implemented in this city?
11. Do you think that a bridging organization such as is described in the discussion paper, is applicable or feasible in the social service community of your city?

12. How receptive do you think the mainstream service system would be to such initiative?
13. Would mainstream services be amenable to work in multiculturalizing their services?
14. Would practitioners of mainstream services be amenable to deliver their services jointly with staff of the bridging organization?
15. Will policy makers of mainstream services be amenable to jointly develop and deliver programs/services with the bridging organization?
16. What are your views about the ethno-cultural communities participation in the social service community?
17. Are ethno-cultural communities involved in direct service delivery in this city?
18. What roles do you think the ethno-cultural communities should play in dealing with immigrant social service issues?
19. What are your thoughts about the community development concepts discussed in the discussion paper?
20. How do you think the immigrant community would respond to concepts such as multiculturalizing mainstream services, immigrant parallel service issues and bridging functions?
21. How would you describe the situation of the immigrant serving community in this city?
22. Is the immigrant serving community discussing and/or advocating, a more accessible and culturally sensitive mainstream services?
23. Does the immigrant serving community have confidence that the multiculturalizing process of mainstream service can and will ever happen?
24. What do you think about the discussion about "Freeing immigrant service agencies from their role of primary service providers" ?

APPENDIX II

LETTER OF CONSENT

I, _____ agree to participate in the study called, "TOWARD BUILDING A MODEL FOR THE MULTICULTURALIZATION OF THE CANADIAN SOCIAL SERVICES" conducted by Rosa Candia. She has explained that the research will assist her in the completion of her Thesis for a Masters of Social Work degree. I understand that the interview material will also be used to help the immigrant serving community in providing more accessible and culturally appropriate services to ethnic minorities.

Ms. Candia has explained that confidentiality will be strictly respected in any materials used publicly. Further, I agree to allow this interview to be tape recorded. I understand that I have the right to request a copy of the tape and the right to have remarks made during the taping excluded if I feel they are unrepresentative of my views.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw my involvement at any time.

Signed _____ Dated _____

APPENDIX III

DATA CODING SYSTEM

1. Institutional Change Issues
 - 1.1 Existing services ought to accommodate a multicultural population's needs
 - 1.2 Wide ranging changes
 - 1.3 Lack of general strategy
 - 1.4 Multiculturalism, whose territory?

2. Settlement Services, Everything For Everybody
 - 2.1 The government was not doing much
 - 2.2 Solving all the problems ourselves
 - 2.3 Mainstream services rely too much on settlement services
 - 2.4 A case against a parallel system approach
 - 2.5 The perils of centralization or bureaucratization of the larger organization
 - 2.6 Who controls settlement services
 - 2.7 Ghettoization through funding

3. Increasing Access To Mainstream Services, A Process Of Change
 - 3.1 Receptivity to change
 - 3.2 Some scepticism due to funding limitations and protectionism

- 3.3 Receptivity by front line workers
- 3.4 New roles, new expectations for settlement workers
- 3.5 Hiring and utilization of immigrant professional

4. Service Issues And Testing New Service Approaches
 - 4.1 Language is not the only problem
 - 4.2 Cross-cultural interpretation is needed
 - 4.3 Help within a cultural context
 - 4.4 Our weakest area is counselling services
 - 4.5 By hiring bilingual workers
 - 4.6 By placing mainstream workers at immigrant serving agencies
 - 4.7 By increasing interagency collaboration
 - 4.8 By producing changes through cross-cultural education

5. The Complexity Of Ethno-cultural Community Life
 - 5.1 Much focus on symbolic expression of culture
 - 5.2 Little concern at what happens here in Canada
 - 5.3 Some feel the need to develop their own things to deal with the system
 - 5.4 Some want to run their own services
 - 5.5 More than just a problem with social services
 - 5.6 A voice in social services

6. Immigrant Service Deliverer's Reflections
 - Be who you are
 - Integration is the focus of my work

- To facilitate empowerment, self sufficiency
- To create an homogeneous value system
- Bilingualism applies to everybody who has two languages