

The Influence of Canada's Immigration Program on the Sustainable
Livelihoods of Immigrants and Refugees

by

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*“When the student is ready, the Master appears”
~Japanese Buddhist proverb~ (Kim, 1998)*

This journey has been academic, spiritual, emotional and physical. It was an exercise in endurance, perseverance and trust. I would like to express my gratitude to the people and events in my life that has unfolded in such a manner that has resulted in accomplishing such a tremendous task. It would not have been possible without the love, encouragement, support, kindness and patience with those whose paths I have been fortunate to cross.

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Abstract

Canada's immigration policy is based on the notion that increased levels of immigration will bring economic prosperity to the nation and its citizens. The federal government has made notable efforts to extend this directive to provinces and territories to boost their respective economies. As part of the settlement process, immigrants and refugees face a number of challenges. One such challenge that remains prominent is finding adequate employment. Some of the reasons cited for this outcome are inadequate English language proficiency, lack of Canadian work experience and failure of recognition of foreign credentials. This has contributed to many new Canadians' living in low socio-economic conditions. In terms of accountability, it could be argued that the Canadian government should have a role in the livelihoods of new Canadians which could be integrated in public policies. However, it could also be argued that, before that can be addressed, there must first be an understanding as to what the factors are that can be attributed to the discrepancy between what the government of Canada promises new Canadians and their actual experiences.

Using a document analysis, I investigated the structural and historical contexts and the accountability mechanisms of Canada's immigration policy under the lens of critical political studies theory and critical race theory to gain some insight as to what some of the dynamics are which could account for the discrepancy between the expected economic outcomes and the actual experiences of new Canadians. In exploring the connection between the immigration policy, the types of programs being supplied, in particular the educational programs, and the socio-economic conditions of immigrants and refugees in Manitoba, I learned that the policy is driven by hegemonic economic forces. From this perspective, I have concluded that immigration is a policy tool used to support the nation's economic policy. As a result, settlement and integration practices favour the industry that immigration has created rather than the interests and needs of immigrants which accounts to some degree for the discrepancy between the promised outcomes and actual outcomes of immigrants.

Dedication

To my parents, Shaharazad Sankar and Motie Singh, I dedicate this work.

You have taught me the value of education and the importance of being respectful, considerate and loving to others. I am grateful for the sacrifices you have made for our family. This work is for you and all the other immigrant parents who came to Canada, putting their children's future in front of their own!

Thank you, mum and dad.

I love you.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The world is filled with dichotomies such as loud and quiet, love and hate, peace and war. It could be argued that these dichotomies are connected and in fact interact with each other, as without one the other would not exist. For example, darkness could be described as the absence of light, and arguably could be viewed as the two essentially co-existing as one. In the writing of this thesis, I struggled with my own convictions and inability to see the interconnectedness between the dichotomies of “justice” and “injustice.” I saw the two as opposite ends of the same spectrum and held one completely responsible for the other. This perspective suggests a simplistic, one-size-fits-all manner of thinking. It suggests that by simply eliminating everything that is unjust would automatically create a state of justice. Another example that illustrates this idea is that which suggests that peace is the opposite of war, rather than viewing peace as a way of life or living. In other words, for both examples a new approach to understanding each is to create a new paradigm where we can view the states of justice and peace as their own entities and not the opposite of injustice and war.

At the outset of my thesis, I shaped my research question using the latter way of thinking. During this process I reflected on how I came to hold such restrictive views. I believe that my convictions on social justice and social responsibility began to take shape in my early years after reading *The Adventures of Robin Hood and his Merry Men*. Robin Hood saw the plight of the poor as a direct outcome of the wealthy and his solution was to rob the rich and give to the poor to restore or create a more just society, a notion that held a magnetic quality. Around the time that I was introduced to Robin Hood, I felt that my personal life circumstances in Guyana were unfair and unjust and wanted Robin Hood to come to my rescue. At age 13, upon arrival in Canada, equipped with Robin Hood’s teachings, I held expectations that Canada would be my Robin Hood. I feel that my parents held a similar belief when they made the decision to leave Guyana.

From my perspective, I believe that my parents felt that their lives as Guyanese living in Guyana were not complete, in the sense that there were few opportunities for both their economic and educational interests and, therefore, a move to Canada would serve to be more

fulfilling for them as individuals and as a family. As such they were willing to make many sacrifices in hopes that these would result in a more prosperous life. My struggles as a teenager in Winnipeg in the early 1980s, and those of my parents as new immigrants to Canada, continuously left me feeling dissatisfied and unsettled. As I reflect over the last 30 years of living in Canada I feel, that although my parents would testify that in many ways their lives were better as a result of immigrating to Canada, this came with a great price - the dissolution of our family unit, an outcome that was not anticipated. Yet, I believe that they do not regret their decision to immigrate to Canada. I believe that they are satisfied because they have some peace of mind for the general well-being of their children (and now grand-children); a sentiment they might not have felt had they remained in Guyana.

My father, an educator, encouraged me to pursue a career in the field of education. At age 18 it seemed like a good option and I applied to the Faculty of Education, completing my degree without any conscious decisions of any specific areas of the field that I wished to practise in. My career path unfolded in a manner which resulted in my teaching English as an Additional Language (EAL) to adult immigrants and refugees. As I interacted with this community I observed that like my parents, many immigrants and refugees were willing to make many sacrifices to reach Canada, and continue to make sacrifices while in Canada in hopes of improving their lives for themselves and their families. Many were not unlike my father, who had obtained a Masters degree from a Canadian university yet was still willing to clean offices in the middle of the night to support his family. I feel that the fact that he was willing to make this sacrifice does not however justify that he should have been put in a position to do so. The more involved I became with the community I was working within, the stronger I felt that they were being exploited.

A few years ago, I was asked to teach content that would prepare new Canadians for the workplace. However, the content was designed for jobs in slaughter-houses, food processing plants, cleaning, and other similar industries. These sectors filled the labour market gap in Winnipeg and other parts of Manitoba, but the students' long term goals were not taken into consideration. Like my father, many immigrants were willing to accept such jobs on an

interim basis for survival. Currently there are efforts being made to assist new Canadians with foreign credential recognition to find employment that match their training and work experience. Nevertheless, these efforts seemingly remain significantly low relative to the demand for these services. Thus, the experience of some new Canadians is not favourable.

Bannerji (2000) recounts her own childhood “romantic construction of Canada” (p. 64) in her country of birth, and later her understanding of Canada from her experience living here and seeing and understanding a Canada that is constructed by a set of cultural signifiers such as skin colour, history and language which are all “...subsumed under the ideological category ‘white’” (Bannerji, 2000, p. 64). Her story is similar to my personal experience and that of many new Canadians upon arrival in Canada. We share a common notion at the point of our arrival that Canada, to some extent, will be our Robin Hood. Not that we are necessarily looking to be saved as such, but there is an expectation of a life of fairness, equality, justice, peace, and material well-being - a promise that the government of Canada makes. However, what we find is a Canada that is politically ideological, negative and aggressive (Bannerji, 2000). Still, the government of Canada boasts that, “our immigration system, refugee system and network of organizations to help newcomers settle and integrate are among the best in the world”(Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008a, para 2). Although this claim is likely to be true relative to other countries, it may be debatable as to whether or not the programs and services available to new Canadians for the settlement and integration process provide the secure grounding needed that will lead to lives of fairness, equity, justice, peace and material well-being.

Upon arrival to Canada, I held a romanticized notion that Canada would be my Robin Hood. Canada promised my being reunited with my family, material wealth and political stability. It promised a good life. Unquestionably, in my youth, I continued to have romantic notions of being saved by Robin Hood. Today, I understand the story from a different perspective. Although, there is no Robin Hood robbing the wealthy, handing out bags of money to the poor, the idea of his efforts to either establish or restore equity has remained with me. It is with this notion in mind that I believe I have a responsibility to give back to my community

what I feel has been sacrificed for my well-being. It is at this point where I recognized that I should not approach my aspiration to establish social justice within the immigrant/refugee community by pitting injustice against justice, but rather shift to a new paradigm in my way of thinking. As described earlier, instead of viewing darkness and light as opposites, darkness can also be viewed as the absence of light. So, although the essence of my thesis stems from my personal drive to see equity established, the specific purpose of my thesis is to gain some understanding as to what factors could account for the inequities that exist within the immigrant/refugee community. I feel that by understanding this, a new space can be created that has more than the absence of the inequities but rather a space that encompasses new ideas and new strategies for creating social justice with this community and the larger communities.

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to ascertain what could account for the discrepancy between the expected economic outcomes and the actual experiences of new Canadians in Manitoba. Although there are many factors that might contribute to this discrepancy, there are three aspects of Canada's immigration policy that I would like to investigate further. First, I will examine the parameters of the structural and historical context within which Canada's immigration policy was constructed. In other words, how does the political context and, therefore, the perspective on which the first Immigration Act in 1869 was framed, developed and implemented compare to today's political context? The second is the "design" of Canada's immigration policy. That is, whether or not the policy was designed to incorporate specific strategies aimed at developing and sustaining the socio-economic well-being of new Canadians after arrival in Canada. The third aspect is the system and level of accountability that is present in the immigration policy. In other words, what are the mechanisms for accountability specific to the socio-economic well-being of new Canadians that are laid out in the immigration policy? An examination of these three aspects of the policy could provide some insight as to what some of the dynamics might be that might account for the discrepancy between the expected economic outcomes and the actual experiences of new Canadians. Using the

theoretical frameworks of critical political studies theory and critical race theory, I will examine the three aspects described above to determine if there is a thread that links the immigration policy to the socio-economic conditions of immigrants and refugees in Manitoba.¹

Background and Context

Canada, a former British colony, has relied on immigration to increase its population and to sustain its economy (Dirks, 2008a; Knowles, 2007). Various groups of people have immigrated to Canada in hope of finding a better life for themselves and their families, a promise advertised by the Government of Canada. In the current context, Canada has remained active in its recruitment of immigrants, opening its doors to an average of 200,000 new Canadians annually in the last decade (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2007b).

The primary reason for immigration to Canada as a nation and to Manitoba as a province is economic. Both the federal and provincial governments are transparent about this (Dolin & Young, 2004m; Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). Secondary to this, however, the reason given is that cultural diversity and its many benefits are highly valued in Canada, as reflected in Canada's Multicultural policy (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008a). Thus, the combination of promoting economic success and embracing cultural diversity is a good slogan for those who wish to immigrate to Canada. This notion is supported by the Government of Canada, as noted on Citizenship and Immigration Canada's (CIC) website: "one of every six Canadian residents was born outside the country," and it boasts, "immigration has helped to make Canada a culturally rich, prosperous and progressive nation" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008a, para 3).

According to *Manitoba Immigration Facts: 2006 Statistical Report* (2007), roughly 85% of immigrants who enter Canada remain in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia. In its efforts to improve and sustain its economy, Manitoba has recently been actively recruiting immigrants. In 2003, the province established a target of 10,000 immigrants annually. In 2006 and 2007, this goal was exceeded with the figures of 10,051 and 10,955 respectively. Although 2006 was the

¹ It is necessary to point out that economic prosperity is not the only tool that should be used to measure and determine success. However, modest material well-being can reduce stress that accompanies one's inability to meet one's basic needs. Thus, when I use the term economic well-being or prosperity, I refer to being able to meet one's basic needs modestly.

first year to reach this goal, immigration figures into Manitoba have exceeded those of the last decade since the goal was established in 2003. Between 1996 and 2003, Manitoba averaged 4,000 immigrants annually. This number has increased substantially to 7,427 and 8,097 in 2004 and 2005 respectively (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2007b, 2008b). The Province is planning to increase this figure to 20,000 within the next ten years (Government of Manitoba, 2009b, para 2).

Questioning the goals of the immigration policy is beyond the realm of this thesis. However, questioning whether the goals are being met is not. As stated earlier, two major goals of Canada's immigration policy are the benefits that immigration brings both economically and culturally to the country. Although this statement holds true, the experiences of new Canadians and the sacrifices they have made to build and shape Canada often go unnoticed or unrecognized. It is not uncommon for new Canadians to have to endure a time-consuming and costly process to reach a point where they become employable in Canada. For example, upon arrival in Winnipeg, an immigrant² or a refugee can choose to go for an English language proficiency assessment. Many are referred for English language training as their assessment results often deem them not proficient enough to enter the Canadian workforce. Once they meet the required language level, they are often expected to upgrade or re-train in their employment area in order to meet Canadian standards. In other cases, they are required to have a specific level of language proficiency in order to be admitted to programs for re-training. Often they are faced with an additional barrier because of a lack of Canadian work experience in their field (Statistics Canada, 2005). This process - from the language training to finding employment in their field - takes time and money, both which can be at a premium for mature adults with family obligations. What often results in cases such as these is that the new Canadian will take on a "survival job" in order to meet their basic needs. These jobs are typically menial, dead-end jobs, often involving some health risk, and not related to the skills and training of the individuals (Albom, Finnie, & Meng, 2005; Statistics Canada, 2005).

² The significant difference between immigrants and refugees are the criteria under which they enter Canada. This process is laid out in Canada's Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (described in detail in Chapter Two).

Furthermore, said individuals often remain in these jobs for the rest of their working lives resulting in lower socio-economic class. Such circumstances contradict what the Canadian and Manitoban governments promise - economic security and prosperity.

Lower socio-economic class includes both absolute and relative poverty. According to Shipler (2007), poverty is not just income; poverty is also debt, and a sense of helplessness, and it is relative. He makes a strong point in his argument that living under the conditions of poverty has a spiralling effect. He illustrates this point in an example of a single mother with a low income job whose poor housing conditions resulted in her son developing asthma which necessitated him to be taken to hospital by ambulance, a service that required a \$500 fee. Unable to pay the debt she accrued from this, she was pegged with a bad credit rating resulting her in her requests for both a mortgage and car loan being denied, circumstances which compelled her to employ the services of a car dealership with high interest rates. Shipler points out that had her income been better, it would have had a spiralling effect in a positive way. In other words, had she been able to afford better housing in the first place, this scenario could have been avoided altogether. Shipler argues that in order to avoid such pitfalls as described in the example above, society needs to create the opportunities that will lead to better jobs. From his perspective, these are better schools and better education and training. It is not uncommon for immigrants and refugees to be working in low-wage jobs and to be living in low-income housing and, therefore, facing conditions similar to that described by Shipler above. In fact, a recent news report in the Winnipeg Free Press (Sanders, 2008) gave an account of a rodent infested apartment that a refugee family with young children were living in. According to the article, lack of adequate affordable housing in Winnipeg has forced many families, new to Canada, to accept these conditions. In addition, the demand on the housing market and the unawareness of new Canadians of their rights and freedoms has resulted in landlords abusing the circumstances.

In the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada* (Schellenberg & Maheux, 2007), when asked what they disliked most about Canada after being here for four years, new immigrants ranked lack of opportunities as number one. When that category was further

itized to include educational and employment opportunities, lack of employment opportunities ranked the highest (Schellenberg & Maheux, 2007). 46% of all immigrants reported that the greatest difficulty encountered since arrival to Canada was finding an adequate job. However, while economic and family class immigrants cited the greatest barriers to finding employment in Canada was lack of Canadian work experience and language, in that order; refugees cited language problems as the primary barrier to employment. However, while the Government of Canada, in conjunction with provincial governments, is committed to the belief that an increased level of immigration is one of the major solutions for economic prosperity for Canada and Canadians, the statistics presented above suggest that new Canadians face several barriers to finding suitable employment. This carries the implication that new Canadians are not enjoying the economic prosperity that they believe they were promised.

Shipler's (2007) proposed poverty reduction strategy suggests that society needs to provide better education and training opportunities which will lead to a positive end result of removing people from the poverty cycle. However, one question that came to mind is who looks after them while they are educating themselves? For example, which sector(s) of society would take on this responsibility, whether it be the responsibility for providing education and training opportunities or the responsibility for developing and implementing poverty reduction strategies? In other words, the underlying question that can be extracted from this is accountability - who is responsible for what and how much?

For new immigrants, it is not always clear what the mechanisms are for addressing issues of accountability. For example, new immigrants have numerous expectations upon arrival in Canada. One expectation is that they will find employment suited to their training and experience. Existing research has showed that this does not always hold true. In fact, almost half of the immigrants in Schellenberg's & Maheux's (2007) study indicated that finding adequate employment since arriving to Canada was the greatest barrier they encountered. Some of the reasons for this are inadequate English language proficiency, lack of Canadian work experience and failure of recognition of foreign credentials. These have contributed to

many new Canadians living in low socio-economic conditions. As noted earlier, these conditions come with their own sets of trials and tribulations. In terms of accountability, one could take the position that the Canadian government should play a stronger role in improving the livelihoods of new Canadians through provisions in public policies. It could also be argued, however, that before such measures can be taken, there should first be an understanding as to what the factors are that can be attributed to the discrepancy between what Canada is promising new Canadians and the actual experiences of new immigrants and refugees. An understanding of the conditions from this perspective could lead to clearer policies and policy goals.

In my quest to get a clearer picture of what these factors might be, I approached this study with three questions in mind regarding Canada's immigration policy. I wondered what role the structural and historical contexts, the design and the accountability mechanisms of the policy could play in the socio-economic outcomes of new Canadians. The qualitative research methodology I have used is a document analysis. These documents are Canada's immigration policy, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement and other materials related to federal and provincial programs on settlement and integration.

I approached the questions outlined above from global, national, and local (citizenry) perspectives. From the global perspective, I used the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as a point of reference, not only because of its political and economic power relative to any large global governing bodies such as the United Nations, but also because of its relationship with other organizations such as the GATT/WTO and the IMF. These relationships symbolize the global economic power the OECD holds. At the national level, I examined how Canada's immigration history has unfolded in order to provide some insight as to the extent of the relationship between internal and external forces that influence immigration policy. Also nationally, I incorporated a discussion of the policy process in Canada as it could serve as a good point of reference for the complexities of policy making and responsibilities from both federal and provincial jurisdictions. Both the global and national perspectives will

provide some insight as to the structural and historical contexts under which the policy was designed. This provides the background knowledge that will help to understand the context of immigration from a citizenry or local level. At this level, we can then determine what programming resulted from the policy and what accountability mechanisms were put in place when the policy was implemented.

At the citizenry or local level, policy tools are implemented to meet the goals of the policy. In the case of immigration, one area that the government addresses is the settlement and integration of new Canadians. Through this program, language training is one of the policy tools implemented to facilitate this process. Therefore, I chose to examine the adult language training programs offered to new Canadians in Manitoba to see if there were any patterns or trends relating to the socio-economic conditions of this community. I chose to examine this particular policy tool as it corresponds to Shipler's (2007) theory that better education and training opportunities can lead to improved socio-economic conditions, a notion also supported by the UNESCO (UNESCO, 2008). I have therefore included in my discussion the role of adult education in relation to educational programs for adult immigrants and refugees. Language programming for adult immigrants and refugees currently falls under Manitoba Labour and Immigration's mandate. However, such programming could simultaneously fall under the umbrella of adult education, and therefore can become part of the mandate for the Department of Education, Adult Language and Literacy Branch. I believe that it is important to examine the possibility of how these two governmental departments could work together to better serve this new and growing educational niche in Manitoba.

Using critical political studies theory and critical race theory, I analyzed my findings to learn if there are any factors that could be attributed to the low socio-economic conditions experienced by some new Canadians. I felt it reasonable to use these theories because they are attached to political science and education, respectively, and have interconnected in this study. As critical theories they share some common elements, one such element is the recognition of the absence of voice of marginalized communities in decision-making forums that directly impact their lives. This common element includes advocacy for mandatory

participation of such communities in a space that is safe and conducive to change. I believe that approaching the three questions I presented earlier from these various perspectives encompasses a broad scope from which I can pull my data. It looks at the global, national and local aspects as well as the political and educational realms, all of which could have elements that could be contributing to the discrepancy between the expected and actual experiences of new Canadians.

Rationale/Significance of the Study

By identifying some of the factors that could be contributing to the dissatisfaction felt by immigrants and refugees with respect to their economic well-being in Canada, I believe that this study will serve to address a gap in the current literature as well as the voids that exists in the operations of settlement services for this community. There have been many studies, both qualitative and quantitative which corroborate the experiences of new Canadians. While current research show that some of the factors that can be attributed to the experiences of immigrants are not enough language skills, lack of Canadian work experience, and failure to recognize foreign credentials at face value, there remains a gap in the research that link these barriers back to the immigration policy. Thus, an investigation of the structural and historical contexts, the design and the accountability mechanisms, all with respect to the immigration policy, could lead to a better understanding of the impact of the policy on the livelihoods of new Canadians. This could inform future decisions on amending the policy and, equally as important, it will inform decisions on policy tools. Thus, I am optimistic that the findings from this study will not only add to the existing “knowledge” regarding the discrepancy between the expectations and actual experiences of new Canadians, but also will lead to some solutions that will, at the very least, reduce this discrepancy. This could mean better services and programs for new Canadians that would lead to improved economic well-being, a step in the process of developing and maintaining sustainable ways of living. Thus, at both the national and provincial levels, this research can be seen as the starting of the groundwork needed to begin the creation of a new paradigm that is a new space where equity is the norm.

Limitations

In my study, I did not address some issues, although these matters are also important. I focused on the outcomes of adult immigrants but did not examine how their circumstances affect the lives of their children. For example, one of the subtle nuances that occurs “on the ground” is crime among immigrant youth. In addition, such activities would also add to the stresses already faced by immigrant parents. Such deeper complexities faced by the immigrant community have not been touched upon in this work. Instead, what I attempted to do in my study was to provide a broad overview of immigration in Canada. This serves as a starting point and a background to the more particular issues raised by my work.

Another limitation to my study is my personal bias being an immigrant woman. In addition, my age, education level, socio-economic class and my cultural background are all factors that have shaped my worldview and therefore have influenced how I have interpreted and analyzed the data in my study. Even though I have provided strong arguments to support my position, not all may share these.

I have presented my interpretation of the data using critical political studies theory and critical race theory. What would add to this study is the perspective from the point of view of a new Canadian. Although I have referred to many studies where immigrants were able to articulate the external factors which were their barriers, I was unable to produce any documents that represented a new immigrant’s perspective on systemic barriers. Speaking to immigrants will provide an opportunity for voice, which if taken seriously, can inform decisions for policy amendments that reflect an expansive view of equality. This could be an area for future study/research.

Due to the very specific nature of the study, transferring the results of the study to a different context might prove to be challenging. However, generalizations could be made to other marginalized groups whose voices are typically under-represented in the political arena. For example, other groups could use this study as a model to examine policies relevant to their community in order to determine if there are aspects of said policies which can be attributed to their marginalization.

As it is not possible to measure the same thing twice, repeating this analysis may not be possible. Although the study investigates a systemic structure that appears to have been intact for over 50 years, it is changing. I have isolated specific ideology that lies at the core of the OECD, however, the periphery is shifting. This may not be noticeable at a glance, but over time, will be observable. For example, the OECD has articulated the need to take the environment into consideration. Although at this particular time, the environment may not be a priority, it is unmistakably on their agenda. Over time, it is possible that it will become a priority. Therefore, conducting this study again is likely to produce different data. Such data though could prove to be beneficial if the analysis reveals changes in the current systemic structure.

In addition, the immigrant community will constantly undergo change. Should Canada's policy change further to limit immigration to those who are financially secure, their socio-economic outcomes in Canada are bound to be less troubling. Even as I write (July 2010), the government of Canada has put a freeze on economic class immigrants as a new proposal is being considered. The proposal is that prospective economic class immigrants coming as investors now show a net worth of \$1.6M (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010a). This will change the face of immigrants considerably. I suspect that immigrants from this category are unlikely to see barriers in the policy such as those presented in this thesis as the policy will not have a "negative" impact on their socio-economic well-being. In fact, the experiences of immigrants described in this thesis is not the experiences of all immigrants and it is therefore possible that those who are experiencing more favourable outcomes are less likely to be critical of the immigration program.

Organization of the Thesis

In Chapter One, I have provided a brief synopsis of my personal journey that has led me to my research question. I also presented the background and context with support from existing research to illustrate the rationale for the study. As discussed previously, I approached this study from a framework that included global, national and local perspectives. In Chapter Two, I summarized documents from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and

Development (OECD), Canada and Manitoba and presented the framework I used to organize this material. In addition, I described the theories I applied to analyze the data. Chapter Three describes the research methodology and the study design and Chapter Four presents the description, categorization and mapping of the data. The data analysis is presented in Chapter Five and I offer my conclusions and recommendations in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In Chapter Two, I provide summaries and descriptions of the historical context, current global-political contexts, significant documents and theories that frame, contextualize and conceptualize this thesis in my endeavour to understand what could account for the discrepancy between the conditions and experiences that new Canadians expect and the conditions and experiences that they actually face upon arrival to Canada.

The concept of my approach assumes that there exists a causal relationship between the structural and historical contexts and the design and the accountability mechanisms of the policy in addition to spiralling and compounding relationships. This is depicted in Figure 1 that follows. The inverted triangle, the positioning of the words on the inverted triangle, and the image of larger flowing into smaller, the size and direction of the arrows, and the use of white space are all intentional. In the diagram, the nation state is closer to globalization and farther away from citizenry. This is based on the view that globalization is the dominant force that impacts how nation states form policies (Abu-Laban, 2007; Graefe, 2007; Orsini & Smith, 2007). Furthermore, more white space is given to globalization and the nation state and less to the citizenry suggesting a hierarchy between the three. The image of a larger body of water flowing into smaller one symbolizes how little input comes from the citizenry in the policy process. That the white space does not reach the tip of the triangle, but remains off to the side also illustrates the goals of policies not reaching the target. The use of the arrows indicates the relationship and the degree of the relationship between global forces, the nation state and its citizenry. The wide arrow from the globalization box shows that there is a strong, top down force that impacts nation states. The slim, two-way arrows between the nation state and the citizenry indicate that there exists a “give and take” relationship between the two bodies but that their relationship is influenced by the global force. I have organized my discussions in this thesis based on this concept map. Chapter Two sets the stage for this. I have divided it into six sections under the following headings: *the OECD, Canada's Immigration History, the Policy Process, Summary of Relevant Documents, the Role of Adult Education* and *the Theoretical Frameworks*.

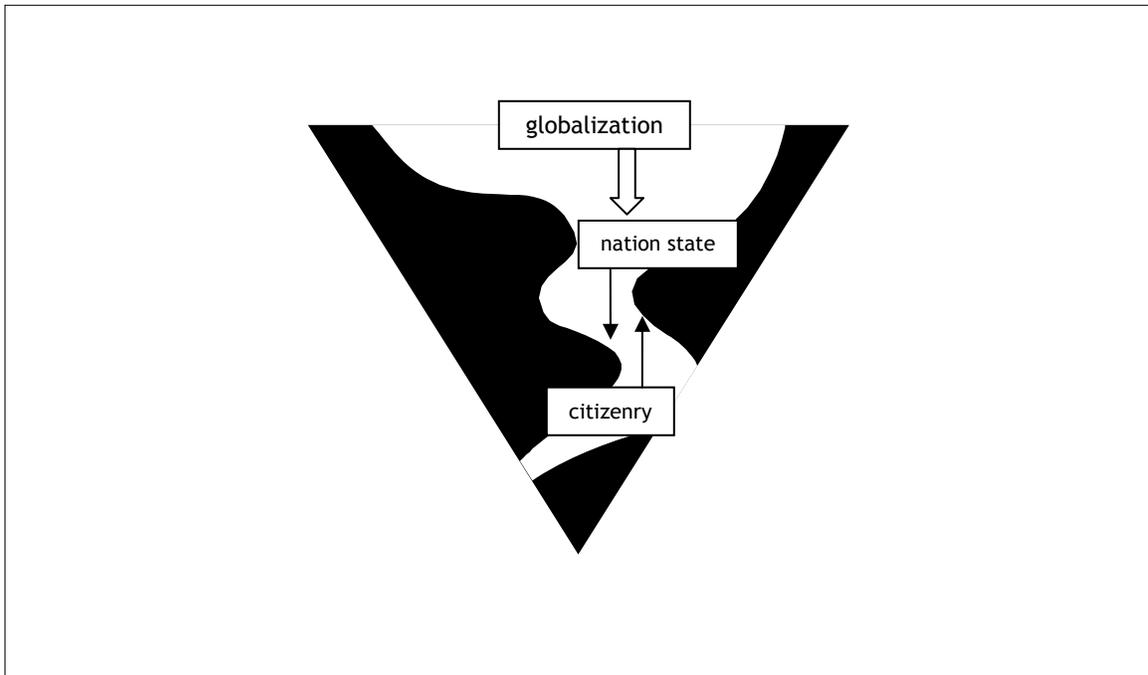


Figure 1: Spiral and Hierarchical representation of factors that influence policy-making process

In the first section, I will discuss the historical and political contexts of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) by presenting the events that led to its inception, its current operations and activities and the criteria and responsibilities of membership. This background information will serve to understand Canada's position within the global context both politically and economically as well as shed some light on how its membership to the OECD may have shaped its policies.

In Section two, Canada's immigration history will be presented highlighting significant goals, objectives and purposes of immigration from approximately 1500 to the present (2009). This overview will show the purpose of the role of immigration in Canada. It also provides a shift from the global to the state.

In the third section, I will describe various aspects of policy making in Canada by providing a brief overview of types of policies, the degree of responsibilities from different levels of government for various policies, as well as the policy process including how policy

becomes law and policy tools. I believe that knowledge of this process will help to understand the complexity as well as the delicacy of this process.

Summaries of the major documents that are relevant to this research are presented in Section four. These are Canada's Immigration policy, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), the Manitoba-Canada Immigration Agreement and the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP). In addition, I will provide an overview of the various programs that are offered federally and provincially for settlement and integration purposes. These first four sections show the shifts from global to nation state to the citizenry (or the local) as well as set the stage that will stimulate the discussion on how each body interacts with the other.

In Sections five and six, I discuss the role of adult education and the theoretical frameworks critical political studies theory and critical race theory respectively. As I have taken the position that the current experiences faced by new Canadians is a social condition that could possibly be alleviated through education, I feel that an understanding of the role of adult education in the training and education of adult immigrants and refugees could provide a space to level the playing field as adult education has a historical reputation of being emancipatory. The theoretical frameworks, *critical political studies theory* and *critical race theory*, both lend themselves to the emancipatory principle. Sections five and six therefore provide the groundwork which leads into the discussion of accountability, a significant aspect of the policy process. To conclude, this chapter lays out the relevant information that will be used to collect data which I will interpret and analyze to learn if there are factors in the structural and historical contexts, the design, and the accountability mechanisms of Canada's Immigration policy that can account for the discrepancy between the conditions and experiences that new Canadians expect and the conditions and experiences that they actually face upon arrival to Canada.

Section 1: The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

One way to situate Canada and the Western world within global political and economical contexts is to examine it from the perspective as a member of the OECD. The OECD appears to have a relationship with its members which resembles that of a governing body, a relationship that has served to influence decision-making in the political and economical realms of its member states (Abu-Laban, 2007). Thus, an understanding of the mandate of the OECD and the role of its members presents the background and context to learn whether the global political climate has an impact on social policies of member countries; and in this particular case, Canada's immigration policy.

The Emergence of the OECD

The OECD emerged in 1961 as an offshoot of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) which was formed in 1947 to administer American and Canadian aid under the Marshall Plan (OECD, 2007a). The Marshall Plan was an outcome of the Bretton Woods agreements, a plan, that was “the model for setting up a more ambitious framework for economic stability” (Hewitt, 2000b, p. 291) after World War II (WWII). According to economists, by the end of WWII, the world economy was in crisis which translated to a drastic fall in primary commodity prices, a major source of income for developing nations at that time (Hewitt, 2000a). In an organized effort to rectify this situation, the Bretton Woods Conference (1944) was initiated. There were three notable outcomes from this conference.

First, in addition to the conference being dominated by the US and Britain, only 18 of the 44 nations present at Bretton Woods were from developing nations (Hewitt, 2000a). It was the developed countries from this conference that eventually formed the OECD. The second notable outcome from the conference was that the solution for the world economic crisis was to move from “national-centred economic behaviour to internationally co-ordinated finance and trade” (Hewitt, 2000a, p. 291). And third, four institutions were initialized to take on the responsibility for regulating the financial, economic and political state of affairs of the world. These were the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to provide long-term finance (later became the World Bank (WB)), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to

provide short-term finance, the United Nations (UN) to maintain international political and military stability, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to regulate international trade and world commodity prices, (later became the World Trade Organization or WTO)(Hewitt, 2000a).

According to Hewitt (2000b) the most crucial of the four institutions that was established was the GATT whose role was to regulate international trade and stabilize world commodity prices. However, the GATT did little to stabilize commodity prices at that time; a move that simultaneously favoured the economies of the industrialized North while serving as a detriment to the economies of developing countries, as commodity prices was a key trade issue for developing countries (Hewitt, 2000b). The developing nations were aware of the unfairness of the new economic order and did, in fact, form a new group, Group of 77, to speak out against it.

History shows that during this period (after WWII) there was also a huge shift in power. As the European economy began to flounder and its colonies began the process of “de-colonization” in their strife for independence, both Europe’s economic and political power began to seep into the United States. Europe, in order to retain some of its power, had to ensure strong European representation in all organizations that were being formed at this time. Thus, it is not surprising that the institutions that resulted from the Bretton Woods conference had strong European representation. Interestingly enough, the power and decision-making parties that were established almost half a century ago, still have the same influence today. As it stands currently, the OECD’s countries’ share of the world’s population is 18% and its share of the world’s trade is 75% (OECD, 2005, p. 6). These statistics, plus the fact that the OECD members represent the world’s wealthiest nations, clearly point to where economic decision-making power lies and at the same time clearly shows the imbalance in the current prevailing global economic system. It is within this context that policies that relate to the broad categories of economy, finance, governance, society (like education), innovation and sustainability are developed and implemented.

Operations and Activities of the OECD

The structure of the OECD comprises of a council, a secretariat and committees. The Council consists of one representative from each member country plus a representative of the European Commission.³ The Council is responsible for decision-making and mandates the work to be carried out by the Secretariat (OECD). Committees (currently over 200), made up of representatives of member countries, are responsible for assessing and evaluating policies for specific areas such as economics, employment and education (OECD), to name a few.

The OECD's mission is “... to help its member countries to achieve sustainable economic growth and employment and to raise the standard of living in member countries while maintaining financial stability - all this in order to contribute to the development of the world economy” (OECD, 2007a). Furthermore, when it comes to employment, education and social welfare, the OECD states that it is responsible for ensuring equal access to education for all, fighting social exclusion and unemployment, and bridging the “digital divide” between rich and poor (OECD). The OECD is transparent in its strong mandate for economic growth, a conviction that is reflected in the organization's policies.

Membership

The original 20 member countries of the OECD are Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States. As discussed earlier, these countries were part of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) which later became the OECD. The OECD membership is now at 30 and includes Australia, Czech Republic, Finland, Hungary, Japan, Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Poland and the Slovak Republic (OECD, 2007b). As it stands, these member countries represent mainly Western Europe and North America and include the Group of 8 (G8).

Membership, however, is selective and is in fact by invitation only through what the OECD calls an accession process. The Council decides who will be invited to become a member

³ The Commission has quasi-member status meaning that although it does not have voting privileges, its representatives can participate fully in discussions that determine work of the OECD and have agreed to cooperate with the organization's mandate (OECD).

and under what conditions (OECD). The applicant country has to demonstrate “ ... both the will and the ability to adopt the main principles of the Organisation, as well as the legal and political obligations that result therefrom” (OECD, para 2). Furthermore, the applicant country “must have demonstrated its attachment to the basic values shared by all OECD members: an open market economy, democratic pluralism and respect for human rights”(OECD, para 2). Although this sounds like a mandatory request that could be in conflict with an applicant country’s systems, the OECD claims that the process is “designed to be flexible and to reflect the specific characteristics of each country - the intention is not to impose any particular social or macroeconomic policy, but to introduce a certain objectivity into the procedure”(OECD, para 6).

In May 2007, the Business and Industry Advisory Committee (BIAC) to the OECD began two initiatives: the Enlargement and the Enhanced Engagement. “While the Enlargement involves countries that have expressed their willingness to become members of the OECD, the Enhanced Engagement is the OECD's own initiative to those major emerging economies and therefore it is up to those economies to respond to the OECD” (BIAC, 2007para 3). The Enlargement countries Chile, Estonia, Israel, Russia and Slovenia, also referred to as five emerging economies, while the Enhanced Engagement countries are Brazil, China, India, Indonesia and South Africa also referred to as five major emerging economies (BIAC, 2007; OECD, 2007b). It would appear that it is in the interest of the OECD to sway these economies into becoming members as their membership would seal the OECD’s economic agenda globally.

To sum up, the responsibilities and duties of membership means accepting the OECD’s position that economic growth and employment will raise the standard of living in the member country as well as extend globally. Member countries are expected to adopt this conviction into their policies. This, I believe, has a huge influence on Canadian policy making.

Section 2: Canada’s Immigration History

According to Knowles (2007), European explorers first set foot on what is now known as Canada in 1497. Although European exploration continued for over a century with various

attempts made to establish sustaining colonies⁴, large-scale colonization did not become a priority until the first quarter of the 17th century (Knowles, 2007). However, as Dickason (2008) affirms, the settlement of Canada dates back to about 15,000 years. She provides evidence of this by offering a linguistic theory that states the greater the diversity of languages in an area, the longer it has been occupied. Thus, given the number of First Peoples languages that were known in the North-western coastal area of Canada, such a conclusion regarding Canada's age can be drawn (Dickason, 2008). Canadian history, however, typically neglects to report First Peoples' perspectives and accounts of European invasion. Instead, Canada's history typically begins with and is often told by giving accounts of European experiences. In the next section, Canada's immigration history from the European perspective will be discussed as it is European ideology that shaped immigration policy.

The French were the first European group to arrive and settle in Canada (New France/Lower Canada). When mercantilism began to gain ground in European economic thinking, France began "...to embark on an aggressive colonization policy" (Knowles, 2007, p. 15). The rationalization was that the country's monetary wealth could be increased by obtaining raw materials from overseas and producing its own goods rather than importing manufactured goods (Knowles, 2007). Thus, to base her power on a colonial economy, France had to attract immigrants to Canada. Up until then, the labour required for the Fur Trade was supplied by " ... bands of Indians" (Knowles, p. 15). However, many attempts to attract immigrants failed and the colony was unable to sustain itself. Eventually, France was asked to take the administrative responsibility for immigration. French policy stipulated that settlers be French Roman Catholic, although there were some Dutch, Portuguese and Germans who settled as well. By 1760, the European population of the colony was 70,000. In 1763, after the Seven Years War, French immigration ceased as the colony was conceded to the British.

⁴ It is also important to distinguish the interpretation of "sustain." The European definition of a sustaining colony meant economic sustainability. Without question, when the Europeans arrived, the colony was sustaining from a livelihood perspective given the abundance and availability of resources making it possible for a sedentary life (Dickason, 2008).

In 1784, the Loyalists who fled the United States to Canada were Canada's first political refugees (Knowles, 2007; Troper, 2009). This was a very significant point in Canadian history for two reasons. First, "... the very arrival of these refugees determined that Canada would retain its colonial ties with Britain" (Knowles, 2007, p. 44) which formed "... the core of the colony's ruling oligarchies ..." (Troper, 2009, para 1). The other reason that the arrival of the Loyalists was significant was that it led to Canada splitting into Upper and Lower Canada. Upper Canada and Lower Canada followed British and French laws and institutions, respectively. By the time of Confederation in 1867, two-thirds of the population of British North America were of British origin, reinforcing British values and customs (Knowles, 2007).

The first wave of immigrants were Americans who came in search of land that was promised by a Proclamation in 1792. However, after the War of 1812 (fought between the United States and the British Empire), Americans were less desirable and therefore British settlers were sought after (Knowles, 2007). Canadian immigration history has been stained with both overt and subtle means of excluding various groups from entering Canada ever since. In 1869 the first Immigration Act was passed. It was amended in 1872 and 1879 to exclude criminals, vicious classes, paupers and destitute immigrants (Knowles, 2007). Towards the turn of the 18th century, it was believed that developed agricultural resources would lead to a natural flow of industry and commerce, thus making Canada more prosperous. Based on this assumption, immigration policy in 1896 was tailored to prioritize agriculturalists regardless of their country of origins, unlike past immigration selection which discriminated on the basis of origin (Knowles, 2007). However, there was still a belief that Central and Eastern Europeans would more easily assimilate into English Canadian society (Knowles, 2007). In 1906, immigration legislation was revised, and now included a definition of an immigrant plus a deportation provision. This new Act became "... the first legal mechanism for enforcing a policy of selective, i.e. restrictive immigration" (Knowles, 2007, p. 108). In 1910, the Immigration Act was amended. Although it did not explicitly exclude specific groups based on racial, ethnic or national origin, it was subtly exclusionary by open-ended statements such as "...immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of

Canada’”(Knowles, 2007, p. 111); which was left to the discretion of the immigration officer. This statement was not removed from the Act until 1978. The first racial exclusion ordinance in the Western hemisphere was ordered in 1911 which excluded Blacks from entering Canada (Knowles, 2007). A change of government, however, prevented this from being implemented.

After the First World War, Canada blocked European immigration and actively courted British immigrants with the exception of Jewish refugees who were accepted based on humanitarian grounds (Knowles, 2007). The Depression of the 1930’s added more fuel to anti-immigrant sentiments. At this time, only immigrants with capital to establish and maintain themselves on farms could enter Canada. During this period, Canada also denied all refugees entry and refused to distinguish between an immigrant and a refugee (Knowles, 2007). It was not until after WWII that the Canadian government made the distinction between refugees and immigrants, a move that came about as a result of Canadians lobbying the government for a more humane immigration policy. Also during this post-war period, it was argued that a more generous immigration policy would mean “ ... a larger population and therefore a larger market, more economics of scale and greater productivity ... ” (Knowles, 2007, p. 156); all incentives to promote immigration. In 1952 a new Immigration Act was passed which simplified the administration of immigration, but immigration policy remained incoherent. A decision was made to “... embody new immigration policy in regulations rather than in statutes ... ” (Knowles, 2007, p. 188) as a way to expedite matters, since regulations could be implemented more quickly than law.

In 1966, the Department of Manpower and Immigration was established linking immigration to the labour market. With this came the Immigration Appeal Board and the Canada Manpower and Immigration Council Act. The new department created the Points system to assess potential immigrants. It included nine categories compared to the previous sole category of education. This system was implemented in 1967 and also introduced three new elements into immigration law:

- the elimination of discrimination based on nationality or race from all classes of immigrants

- the reduction of the sponsored class to dependent relatives, and the establishment of a new class, nominated by relatives ... and
- the creation of a special provision that allowed visitors to apply for immigrant status while in Canada (Knowles, 1997, p. 160)

The Appeal Board allowed anyone who had been deported the right to appeal regardless of their status in Canada (Knowles, 2007). This, combined with the applications from visitors applying for immigrant status created an enormous backlog in the system which pressured the government to deal with the situation. This resulted in the Adjustment of Status program which was essentially an amnesty granting permission for all people legal and illegal to apply for permanent residence, simultaneously abolishing the right of appeal to those who had been granted immigrant or visitor visas (Knowles, 2007).

From 1972-76 the government made it a priority to answer the question, why do we need immigration in Canada? This led to a nationwide public hearing campaign that resulted in 64 recommendations for shaping Canadian immigration policy, most of which were incorporated into the Immigration Act of 1976. The Immigration Act of 1976 “ ... broke new ground by spelling out the fundamental principles and objectives of Canadian immigration policy” (Knowles, 2007, p. 208).

In 1978, a new Immigration Act was proclaimed which included the fundamental objectives of Canada's immigration policy. This integrated:

the promotion of Canada's demographic, economic, social and cultural goals; family reunion; non-discrimination; the fulfilment of Canada's international obligations in relation to refugees; and co-operation among all levels of government, as well as with the voluntary sector, in promoting the adaptation of newcomers to Canadian society (Dirks, 2008b, para 1).

In 1992 and 1995, the Immigration Act was amended. However, a series of events plus criticism of inefficiency, poor administration, the government's incompetence to deliver Canada's immigration program (and, therefore stifling its economic and social benefits) prompted new legislation (Dolin & Young, 2004m). This resulted in the Immigration and Refugee Protection

Act which received Royal Assent on November 1, 2001, and came into operation on June 28, 2002 (Dolin & Young, 2004m).

Section 3: The Policy Process

The American Heritage Dictionary defines a policy as “a plan or course of action, as of a government, political party, or business, intended to influence and determine decisions, actions, and other matters” (“policy,” n.d.). According to Birkland (2001), a policy is a “statement by government of what it intends to do or not to do, such as a law, regulation, ruling, decision or order, or a combination of these” (p. 132). Yet, Bernard (2008) states that a policy “can refer both to how something is done (rules and procedures), which may be called administrative policy, or to what is being done, eg, substantive programs” (para 3). As Bernard explains, governments have general policies such as social, economic and foreign policy, under which sectoral policies such as trade, police, health care and agriculture fall. For example, agricultural policy is a sectoral policy created to meet particular agricultural objectives which are based on economic policy, a general policy (Bernard, 2008).

All government policies are public policies as opposed to private policies (those held within organizations, for example, a code of conduct policy). The Canadian Constitution lays out a distribution of power which stipulates which sectors and activities each level of governance (federal, provincial or municipal) is responsible for (Forsey, 2005). According to Beaudoin (2008), the courts have granted the federal government power over commerce and provincial governments power over property and civil rights. There are four sectors where both parliament and provincial legislatures have power over. In three of these sectors - agriculture, immigration, and certain aspects of natural resources-if their laws conflict, the national law prevails. In the fourth sector, old age, disability and survivors’ pensions, if their laws conflict, the provincial power prevails (Beaudoin, 2008; Forsey, 2005).

When it comes to jurisdiction, Canada’s immigration policy is rather entangled. Immigration policy falls under the umbrella of social policy. However, it is also closely linked to economic policy and is a part of Canadian foreign policy (Dirks, 2008a). Gil (1973, as cited in Lavalette & Pratt, 2006) argues that the focus of social policy is the “analysis of access of life-

enhancing and life-sustaining resources, and, as such even foreign policy could be included in its domain” (p. 2). Therefore, if Bernard’s (2008) categorization of policies as described earlier is followed, it can be noted that immigration policy, as a sectoral policy falls under the umbrella of three general policies - social policy, economic policy and foreign policy. It is also one of the sectors that fall under both federal and provincial jurisdiction. The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) allows the Minister to make agreements with provinces giving them some autonomy to determine their immigration policy (with the exception of Quebec which has full autonomy). However these policies must mirror federal policies, with the federal government having the power to give the final say (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008b). In summary, it can be concluded that since economic and foreign policies are both federal jurisdiction, and given the fact that the federal government has power over immigration policies, immigration policy is primarily a federal responsibility.

From Policy to Law

In the federal legislative process, the transformation of a policy initiative into a legislative proposal is the starting of the production of a bill which becomes law. A policy proposal that requires legislation is first submitted to the Cabinet. Upon approval from the Cabinet, the Department of Justice then prepares a draft Bill, following drafting instructions given by the Cabinet and the Ministry responsible. A bill must go through several specific stages in the House of Commons and the Senate before it becomes law. It must pass through a first, second and third reading, then it must receive Royal Assent. The draft Bill is prepared in the two official languages and approved by the Minister responsible. It is then presented to the Cabinet for approval and, if approved, it is introduced in Parliament. In the first reading in either the Senate or the House of Commons, the Bill is printed. In the second reading, in the same House, members debate and vote on the principles of the Bill. The House may decide to refer the Bill to a legislative, standing or a special committee, or to Committee of the Whole. The Bill is reported to the House indicating proposed amendments which the House votes for or against. In the third reading, there is debate and then vote on the bill as amended. After it has been read three times, the bill is sent to the Senate for consideration. The Bill is then

presented to the Governor General for assent. Once it is given Royal Assent, it becomes law. There are three ways that a Statute becomes in force. The first is upon Royal Assent; the second, is by proclamation by the Governor General; and the third, a date specified in the Act. It is possible for different sections to come into force at different times (Kehoe, n.d.).

The Policy Process

Policy making, simply stated, is a decision-making process. However, as Rist (1994) is clear about, this process is not simple. There are several factors such as time, funds, resources and political support that contribute to the complexity of this process deeming it as “multidimensional and multifaceted” (Rist, 1994, p. 546). Rist uses the term policy cycle to refer to the process a “problem” or “condition” undergoes to become a policy. He breaks the cycle down into three phases: policy formation, policy implementation and policy accountability and subdivides each phase into clusters of three.

In the policy formation phase, a diverse set of actors who represent the government, special interest groups and groups from other constituents from outside the governmental arena are involved (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980, as cited in Rist, 1994). Members of these groups voice their concerns and issues to formal policy makers who include “...elected officials, legislators, and high level administrative appointees, each of whom must follow prescribed paths to make policies” (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980, as cited in Rist, 1994, p. 548). The first cluster of the policy formation phase suggests that the policy maker understand the problem or the condition. The second cluster proposes that the policy maker be attentive to what occurred previously in response to the problem or condition. The third cluster indicates that the policy maker be aware of the impact of the previous efforts that addressed the problem or condition. According to Rist (1994), an understanding of the problem or condition from these perspectives might lead to the emergence of different intervention strategies.

Policy implementation is the second phase of the policy cycle where the initiatives and goals determined in the policy formation phase are transformed into programs, procedures and regulations (Rist, 1994). In the first cluster, “the concern becomes one of how to use the available resources in the most efficient and effective manner in order to have the most robust

impact on the program or condition at hand” (Rist, 1994, p. 550). The second cluster conveys the importance of the policy maker to address the problem or condition that prompted the policy or program response in the first place. The third cluster asserts that the policy maker must be aware of the efforts made by the organization or institution in response to the policy initiative. As summed up by Rist, it is critical that the expertise and qualifications of those responsible for the implementation effort be addressed so that organization goals can be met.

In the third phase of the policy cycle, policy accountability determines whether or not the program or policy objectives were met. The first cluster states that the policy maker must establish whether or not the policy or program objectives stayed in place throughout the implementation stage. The second cluster calls for the necessity of the policy maker to know if there were any changes in the problem or condition that the policy was intended to address to determine the relevancy to the current problem or condition. The third cluster upholds that the policy maker determine the accountability of the organization in the implementation of the program or policy. In other words, did the organization have the right supervision and leadership “with clear goals in mind ... to implement the policy initiative effectively? (Rist, 1994, p. 552). Rist points out that it is essential that these aspects be studied as the information gleaned is “ ... central to subsequent decisions on the potential selection of a policy tool...” (p. 553).

According to Humanitarian Accountability Partnership (HAP-I, 2006), accountability may be defined as involving three sets of principles and mechanisms:

1. Mechanisms for planning and implementing actions in a responsible manner, with consideration to the needs and desires of the clients. This requires organisations to consult, listen, enquire and generally engage with clients before taking action;
2. Mechanisms by which individuals, organisations and States account for their actions and are held responsible for them;
3. Mechanisms by which individuals, organisations and States may safely and legitimately report concerns, complaints and abuses, and get redress where appropriate (p. 9).

One way we can consider answering this question is that public policies have mechanisms of accountability built in for the state, the government and the citizenry. Government which theoretically acts on behalf of the citizenry determines what is in the best interest of the citizenry and the state. It also determines the necessary course of actions that are needed to address the problem or condition that they have identified. These are often implemented through policy. In fact, Forsey (2005) points out that for *everything* we do (eating, going to a hockey game, to be born, to be buried, to list a few) we feel the effects and intervention of government. According to Pal (1992, as cited in Murray, 2007), public policy is “a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems” (p. 161). In this particular instance, if we follow the three principles and mechanisms of accountability as described above, it could be deduced that the immigration policy that was created to foster economic interests - a state interest that is believed to be a benefit to the citizenry - would fall under the first principle. In terms of the second principle, it could be argued that to some extent the government is accountable for its actions and held responsible for them by way of votership. What is not so evident though is what mechanisms are in place for the third principle, i.e. where and how do new Canadians safely and legitimately report concerns, complaints and abuses, and get redress where appropriate? And, as Rist(1994), suggests accountability mechanisms should be built in directly to policies.

Policy Tools

As noted earlier, it is in the second phase of the policy cycle (policy implementation) that the initiatives and goals in the policy are transformed into programs, procedures and regulations. These are called policy tools and can be described as the action part of the policy process (Rist, 1994). Rist identifies four areas that a policy maker should consider exploring to help determine which policy tool will be most effective. These are resource intensiveness, targeting, institutional constraints and political risks.

Resource intensiveness refers to the cost and the demands on the organization to implement the tool. In other words, the organization must have sufficient financial resources

as well as enough expertise and staff in the organization to carry out the implementation effectively (Rist, 1994).

Targeting refers to “the capacity of the policy tool to be aimed at particular populations, problems, or institutions for whom the tool is primarily intended” (Rist, 1994, p. 554). What is of significant importance is which tool can maximize reaching the group for which the policy is intended. In addition, the tool should be flexible so it can be amended if the target group starts to change, as well, it should have the capability to be adaptable across areas (Rist, 1994).

Institutional capacity is the ability of the institution to deliver what it has been assigned. Of the many constraints an institution might encounter such as “funding, staff availability, quality of facilities, and low political support” (Rist, 1994, p. 555), one significant constraint is the level of intrusiveness and coerciveness that an institution is permitted to exercise. In other words, if the policy tool places a directive upon an organization to be either intrusive or coercive and it does not have the capacity to do so, it cannot be held accountable for not meeting the objectives of the policy.

Political risk, the fourth factor to consider in determining a policy tool, refers to the policy maker’s ability to anticipate the outcomes of the tool. Both negative and positive unanticipated outcomes of the tool can impact how the public views the government that called for its implementation. It is therefore necessary that the tool take into account “... the risk of unknown outcomes and how these might affect the policy” (Rist, 1994, p. 555). Another aspect that requires consideration is the sustainability of the policy initiative. If the levels of commitment of those involved are low, then the sustainability of the initiative will be low (Rist, 1994).

To sum up, a strong understanding of the condition or problem in respect to the various stages of the policy cycle process could lead to an awareness of the number of variables that need to be considered when choosing a policy tool. Within government, such an understanding can help in determining effective policy tools; this must be carried out within the parameters set by respective government departments.

Section 4: Summary of Relevant Documents

Canada's Immigration policy is law under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). While IRPA is based on the policy, it contains materials that the policy does not. In this section, both of these documents will be described, as well as the Canada-Manitoba Agreement which stipulates the boundaries within which Manitoba can operate with regard to immigration matters. In addition, I will provide a brief summary of the federal programs and their respective funding allotments as well as Manitoba's programs.

Canada's Immigration Policy

According to Dolin & Young (2004m), Canada's current immigration policy was revised in October 2002. In the current policy, the major conditions that needed to be addressed were: Canada's population, its age, and its labour market. With regards to its population, Canada's fertility rate is low and death rates are predicted to be higher than birthrates which mean a decrease in the country's population growth. In terms of age, the baby-boom population expected to start retiring and the working age population is aging. This means that there is a reduction in the working age population. With regard to the labour market, in the first half of the 1990's immigration accounted for over 70% of the net labour market force. Some predictions claim that immigration will eventually account for the total labour market force. In addition, studies show that there are already shortages in education, nursing, and skilled trades (Dolin & Young, 2004a). The course of action generated to address these conditions was to increase immigration (Dolin & Young, 2004m). Canada's immigration policy describes the framework and goals of the immigration program in addition to other aspects of immigration such as categories of immigrants, judicial review, removals, the role of the provinces in immigration, settlement and integration, and visitor visas.

The Framework and Goals of the Immigration Program

Canada's immigration program mirrors on the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), its regulations, decisions of the courts and the Immigration and Refugee Board, and Immigration Manuals. The manuals contain guidelines and instructions to officials administering the program. However, in the case of conflict, the Act or regulations prevail (Dolin & Young,

2004r). Canada's immigration program has three main purposes: social, humanitarian and economic. While the social component is based on the principle of family reunification, the humanitarian component is based on Canada's obligations and responsibilities as a signatory to the UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the United Nations (UN) Convention Against Torture. The economic component is based on the fact that the Canadian and provincial governments want to improve these economies and fill their labour market demands. In addition to these three components, Canada's immigration program strengthens Canada's position as a nation committed to multiculturalism.

Categories of Immigrants

As mentioned previously, immigration has three purposes: immigration for social purposes, humanitarian purposes and economic purposes. Foreign nationals seeking permanent residence in Canada must apply under one of the three, under which prospective new Canadians are classified as family class, refugees and economic class, respectively. Both refugees and economic class immigrants are further sub-divided into three groups. The determination system for permanent residency in each of the three classifications is different.

Under immigration for social purposes, immigrants are classified as family class. In order to meet objectives to reunite families, the following relations are considered members of the family class: spouses, common-law partners, and conjugal partners, dependent children, children intended for adoption, parents, grandparents, and their dependent children, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces or grandchildren if they are: orphaned, not a spouse or common-law partner, and under 18; and, any relative if the sponsor is alone in Canada and has none of the above family members to sponsor. A foreign national who is related to someone (under one of the above relations) who permanently resides in Canada can use this system of determination to apply for permanent residence in Canada.

Under immigration for humanitarian purposes, immigrants are classified as refugees and those in refugee-like situations. Canada's *Refugee Status Determination System* is mandated by three significant factors. First, as a signatory to both the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or

Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Canada must follow the respective protocols. Second, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that refugees were protected under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Third, the impact of September 11, 2001 resulted in the United States putting pressure on Canada to tighten up its immigration and refugee system as Canadian border control is considered weak by the American government, and therefore considered a risk to the security of the US. This resulted in an agreement between the two countries on the administration of land border refugee claimants (Dolin & Young, 2004z).

Under Canada's *Refugee Status Determination System*, shaped by the factors described above, refugee claimants must meet the criteria in one of the following three groups to be admitted to Canada as permanent residents on humanitarian grounds. These three sub-groups are: the Convention Refugees Abroad Class, the Country of Asylum Class, and the Source Country Class. In the first group, claimants from this class must be in need of resettlement and must meet the definition of a Convention refugee, i.e. “they must be outside their own country and have a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, political opinion, nationality or membership in a particular group” (Dolin & Young, 2004u, para 5); and may be sponsored privately or with assistance from the Government of Canada.

Claimants from the Members of the Country of Asylum Class must also be in need of resettlement, “be outside their own country and must have been, and continue to be, seriously and personally affected by civil war, armed conflict or a massive violation of human rights” (Dolin & Young, 2004u, para 6). There is no government sponsorship for this class.

In the third group, the Source Country Class, claimants “must be in need of resettlement and must be living in one of the countries that meet specified criteria (as determined by the Government of Canada). Members must be seriously and personally affected by civil war or armed conflict in that country, must have been detained or imprisoned as a result of legitimately expressing themselves or exercising their civil rights, or meet the definition of Convention refugee” (Dolin & Young, 2004u, para 7).

However, not everyone meeting the criteria listed above is automatically eligible for immigration to Canada under humanitarian grounds. Ineligibility includes claimants who have

already received refugee protection in Canada, or in another country to which they can return; claimants whose claims have been rejected, or who have made claims that were ineligible, withdrawn or abandoned; claimants who have been found to be inadmissible on grounds of security, violating human or international rights, or serious or organized criminality; and, those who come, directly or indirectly, from a country designated by the regulations as a “safe third country” (Dolin & Young, 2004z). If a claimant is rejected, there is an option to “appeal” under the pre-removal risk assessment (PRRA). Under the PRRA, a claimant can apply for protection on the grounds that “there is new evidence, or evidence that it was not possible or reasonable to provide at the original hearing” (Dolin & Young, 2004w, para 1). Despite these exceptions, Canada claims to have one of the best refugee determination systems in the world.

Immigration for economic purposes classified immigrants into three groups: skilled workers, business immigrants and provincial nominees.

Skilled workers are independent immigrants selected based on their assessed ability to contribute to the Canadian economy through their education, skills and training. To qualify as a skilled worker, applicants must have worked as a manager, or held employment requiring college, university or technical training; and they must also show proof of a specified level of funds available to support themselves when they arrive in Canada. Applicants can be exempted from the latter requirement if they have already arranged for employment in Canada. In addition, a selection grid is used to award points for education, language ability, employment experience, age, arranged employment and adaptability. Furthermore, immigration officers “retain the discretion to substitute their own assessment, positively or negatively, when they feel that an applicant’s point total does not accurately reflect his or her potential for successful establishment”(Dolin & Young, 2004y, para 1).

A business immigrant can fall into one of three categories: investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed. Investors must show that they have business experience and have a net worth of at least \$800,000. A deposit of \$400,000 must be made to the federal government, which distributes the money to participating provinces for investment. After five years, the deposit will be returned to the investors without interest.

An entrepreneur must also have business experience and have a net worth of at least \$300,000. In order to be admitted as a permanent resident, an entrepreneur must own at least one-third of a Canadian business, create at least one full-time job for a person unrelated to them, and must actively participate in the management of that Canadian business for at least one year. Similar to skilled workers, both entrepreneurs and investors are subject to a selection grid which awards points for age, education, language and adaptability. However, the grid is modified for the latter two groups, awarding up to 35 points for business experience.

An individual who applies under the self-employed category can fall into one of two groups. In the first group, applicants must demonstrate that they will make a significant contribution to the cultural, artistic or athletic life of Canada. In the second group, self-employed applicants can enter as a landed immigrant if they intend to manage a farm in Canada (Dolin & Young, 2004v).

As an enhancement to immigration for economic purposes, the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) is a joint effort between the federal and provincial governments designed to meet the specific labour market or investment needs of each province. Under the agreement, the eleven provinces and territories which have signed Provincial Nominee Agreements – British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Yukon and the Northwest Territories – may nominate prospective immigrants using their own criteria (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008b). However, the federal government is responsible for processing these applications (Dolin & Young, 2004x).

The categories of immigrants described above provide a range of possibilities under which potential immigrants can apply for residency in Canada, and, if accepted, are granted permanent residence. There is another category, however, that differs slightly from those described above. The Live-in Caregiver Program exists to supply a need for caregivers for children, the elderly and disabled people, a demand that cannot be met by the Canadian labour force. Under this program, the caregiver comes to Canada on a temporary work permit,

lives in the employer's home and after successfully completing two years of care giving within three years of arriving in Canada, may apply for permanent residence (Dolin & Young, 2004p).

Judicial Review

The grounds for judicial review are set out in the Federal Court Act. It states that any person who wishing to challenge a decision, a determination or an order made under IRPA, whether made in Canada or abroad, is entitled to do so through the Federal Court (Dolin & Young, 2004o).

Removals

An order of removal from Canada can be issued if IRPA is breached. There are three orders of removal: departure orders, exclusion orders and deportation orders. Departure orders require leaving Canada within 30 days, and confirming the departure with an immigration officer. By complying, an individual may return to Canada at any time, however, non-compliance results in an automatic deportation order. Under exclusion orders, after being removed from Canada, an individual can return legally after one year. This, however, can be amended with written permission of an immigration officer. In cases of misrepresentation, the time period for returning to Canada is two years. Under deportation orders, it is illegal to return to Canada unless there is written permission from an immigration officer (Dolin & Young, 2004q).

The Role of the Provinces in Immigration

The Constitution Act gives power to both the federal and provincial governments to legislate immigration as long as the provincial legislation is not contrary to any Act of the Parliament of Canada. IRPA "requires the Minister to consult the provinces regarding yearly immigration levels, the distribution of immigrants throughout Canada, and measures to facilitate their integration" (Dolin & Young, 2004s, para 2). IRPA also permits the Minister to enter agreements with the province such as the provincial nominee programs. In addition, the Minister may consult with the provinces on policies (Dolin & Young, 2004s).

Settlement and Integration

Settlement services are an important part of the immigration program. Although some of these programs are delivered by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, most are delivered by private sector organizations, funded by the Department. The Department has also entered into agreements with British Columbia and Manitoba, which have assumed the direct administration and delivery of settlement programs (Dolin & Young, 2004d). The five major programs that fall under Settlement and Integration are Language Training, Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), the Host Program and Immigrant Loans Program.

Language training. The federal government has recognized that the ability to speak one of Canada's official languages is an important factor for success in the settlement and integration process, and as such has supplied funding for language training in English or French for all adult immigrants (Dolin & Young, 2004j).

Immigrant settlement and adaptation program (ISAP). ISAP provides funding to non-profit organizations and educational institutions that offer direct services to immigrants but primarily for refugees. These services include "reception and orientation, paraprofessional counselling, information, translation and interpretation, referral to other community agencies and help with finding employment" (Dolin & Young, 2004f, para 1). Funding under ISAP also includes professional development for settlement workers.

Resettlement assistance program (RAP). RAP provides funding for immediate services to government-assisted refugees and humanitarian cases. It also provides financial support for up to one year, with support for up to two years available for those with special needs. The need for assistance is determined by using a mathematical formula that takes into account the individual's basic costs, available income and assets and provincial welfare assistance rates (Dolin & Young, 2004k).

The Host program. The Host Program is available to all immigrants and serves to enhance the settlement process by matching new Canadians to host groups of volunteers in order to increase social contacts and provide assistance (Dolin & Young, 2004l).

Immigrant loans program. This program provides loans to sponsored refugees and other protected persons to come to Canada. The loan can be used to cover the cost of medical examinations (which are a part of the selection process) and transportation to Canada. The loans must be repaid with interest (Dolin & Young, 2004e).

Issues. Three of the major issues that continue to be a challenge for settlement and integration are geographic location, who is responsible for the delivery of services and the recognition of foreign credentials and experience. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees that permanent residents can choose to live anywhere in Canada. Statistics show that almost 60% of immigrants settle in Ontario, and 50% of those settle in Toronto. 30% settle in Montreal and Vancouver. In order to counter this, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration has proposed that some skilled workers enter Canada on the condition that they remain in a particular location for three to five years before being granted permanent residency. This remains controversial (Dolin & Young, 2004g). Another issue that needs to be addressed in the settlement and integration process is the delivery of services. Although Citizenship and Immigration Canada has stated that the provinces are best equipped to do so, only Manitoba, British Columbia and more recently Ontario have signed agreements to take on such responsibility. In all other provinces and territories (with the exception of Quebec), the federal government holds this responsibility (Dolin & Young, 2004i). A third, yet, significant issue that needs attention is the recognition of foreign credentials and experience. It is estimated that the economic value lost by undervaluing the skills of immigrants range as high as \$15 billion annually. Although immigrants have in the past been willing to make sacrifices with the hope that their children and grandchildren would prosper, it is unlikely that highly educated and skilled independent immigrants will do the same today. It is recognized that adequate assessment processes and suitable upgrading programs have to be developed (Dolin & Young, 2004h).

Visitor Visas

Anyone entering Canada who is not a permanent resident requires a temporary resident visa; this includes tourists, students and workers. Visas are issued abroad. However, a visa is a

pre-screening, and does not guarantee admittance to the country. This decision is taken by the immigration officer at the port of entry. Visitors who wish to stay longer than their visa allows may apply for an extension while in Canada. The visitor visa system functions as one of the country's main defences against illegal migration. Following the events of September 11, 2001, there has also been pressure to coordinate visa requirements with the United States.

In assessing whether to issue a visa, the officer abroad must determine if the applicant is bona fide and will leave the country at the appropriate time. This determination is made by applying profiles to individuals. This has been a topic of controversy as it is associated with stereotyping and racial profiling. Another topic of controversy with the visa system is the manner in which refugees are handled. Since the visa system lumps all visas into one category and does not make a distinction for refugees, advocates for refugees believe that refugees should not have to undergo this process as they are fleeing oppression (Dolin & Young, 2004t).

The framework and goals of the Canada's immigration program are designed to address Canada's stagnant population growth, its aging population and the supply that its labour market demands. As described in this section, various policy tools at both the federal and provincial levels have been applied to the immigration policy initiatives in order to rectify these conditions. The effectiveness of these tools will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA).

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) is an "act respecting immigration to Canada and the granting of refugee protection to persons who are displaced, persecuted or in danger" ("Immigration and Refugee Protection Act," 2001, para 1). IRPA is divided into eleven sections (Figure A1). Sections one to four include the interpretation of the Act, the objectives and enabling authority. Section five stipulates agreements. Sections six, seven and eight mirror the objectives laid out in Canada's immigration policy regarding immigration to Canada, refugee protection and enforcement, respectively. Section nine lays out the function, duties and responsibilities of the Immigration and Refugee Board. Section 10 addresses affairs that pertain to transitional provisions, consequential and related amendments, coordinating amendments, repeals and coming into force ("Immigration and Refugee Protection Act," 2001).

Section 11 is a list of schedules. One section of IRPA that is of particular relevance to the content of this thesis is the directive that pertains to the provincial agreements.

Provincial Agreements

Under IRPA, provinces and territories can enter agreements with Canada to share the responsibility for immigration ("Immigration and Refugee Protection Act," 2001, Section 8(1)). The most comprehensive of these agreements is the Canada-Quebec Accord, signed in 1991, giving Quebec power to selection and control over all settlement services. Canada, however, "retains responsibility for defining immigrant categories, setting levels, and enforcement" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008b, para 2). The following provinces and territories have signed immigration agreements with Canada (dates in brackets): Alberta (2007), British Columbia (2004), Manitoba (2003), Nova Scotia (2007), Ontario (2005), Prince Edward Island (2008), Saskatchewan (2005) and the Yukon (2008). These agreements are not standard and vary from province to province. For example, under the agreements with Manitoba and British Columbia, these provinces accorded responsibility for settlement services and are therefore granted more involvement in planning and active recruitment of business immigrants. These two agreements also include direct federal funding into these provinces to assist in the added responsibilities. In addition to federal-provincial/territorial immigration agreements, the following provinces have signed Provincial Nominee agreements: British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Yukon and the Northwest Territories. This provides autonomy in selecting immigrants to meet specific labour-market needs (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008b). The Canada-Manitoba Agreement will be summarized next.

Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement

As discussed earlier, under IRPA, provinces and territories can be granted active involvement in immigration to Canada by signing agreements with the government of Canada. The level of autonomy varies from province to province and is clearly laid out in the respective agreements of each province.

The Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement, signed in June 2003, states the roles and responsibilities of Canada and Manitoba with respect to “immigrants and temporary residents to Manitoba under the IRPA” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006, Section 1.1). There are nine sections and three annexes in the Agreement. The headings of the sections are as follows: Preamble, Immigration Programs and Planning, Promotion and Recruitment, Integration, Information Sharing and Research, Program Integrity, Implementation and General. The annexes are supplements to Immigrant Settlement Services, Provincial Nominees and Provision of Data on Immigrant Landing (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006).

The Immigration Programs and Planning section lists the criteria that the province of Manitoba and Canada use to determine immigration plans and programs. While Canada has agreed to acknowledge the demographic, social, and economic needs of the Province when establishing Canadian immigration policies, Manitoba has agreed to:

conduct planning based on factors contributing to the social, economic and demographic growth of the province including, but not limited to, available resources, balanced growth, impact of immigration streams destined to the province, absorptive capacity, and regional development including the development of minority official language communities with the objective of achieving a proportional share of national immigration levels (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006, Section 2.5).

In addition, Canada has also agreed to recognize where Manitoba might face resource restrictions and assist when necessary. Furthermore, both parties have agreed to consult with the other in the event that one is considering “a policy, program or legislative change which could have a significant impact, fiscal or otherwise on the other Party and on the operation of [the] Agreement” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006, Section 2.10).

Under the Promotion and Recruitment section, it states that Canada and Manitoba will coordinate and work in partnership to promote Manitoba as well as recruit into the Province based primarily on labour market information. Under the Agreement, both Canada and Manitoba are still able to conduct their own promotion and recruitment independently (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006).

In Section four, Integration, it states that both Canada and Manitoba recognize that “full participation of newcomers in Canadian society is essential to the economic and social benefits of immigration policy and programs” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006, Section 4.1). As such, “municipal governments, education, health and human service sectors, settlement and immigrant serving agencies, religious and ethnic organizations, labour and business groups, as well as individuals” (Section 4.2) must be involved in the process in order to facilitate the integration of new Canadians to Manitoba. Canada has promised to “provide appropriate, fair, and ongoing funding for settlement services” (Section 4.5).

Section five of the Agreement indicates that Canada and Manitoba agree to exchange information and share research in order to reduce and avoid overlap and duplication to facilitate planning in “policy development, program design and evaluation [and], program delivery and integrity” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006, Section 5.1). This is in accordance with the Privacy Act and The Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

In Section six, Program Integrity, both Canada and Manitoba acknowledge that it is in their mutual interest and benefit “to work together to ensure that their respective programs, as they relate to immigrants and temporary residents, respect the program and policy interests of Canada and Manitoba” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006, Section 6.1).

The annexes are agreements to the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement. They serve to expand and detail the roles and responsibilities of Canada and Manitoba, both independently and shared with respect to the matters surrounding Immigrant Settlement Services, Provincial Nominees and Provision of Data on Immigrant Landing.

The Annex for Immigrant Settlement Services states that Canada and Manitoba share several principles. One of those principles is that “integration is a two way process, which involves commitment on the part of newcomers to adapt to life in Canada and on the part of Canadians to welcome and adapt to new people and cultures” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003a, Section 1.13a). A second shared principle is the value of the economic and social contributions of new Canadians to Canada. It is also recognized that new Canadians need to become economically self-sufficient “to be able to participate in the social dimensions of

life in Canada; and it is important for individuals and communities in Canada to assist in ensuring that newcomers have opportunities to participate in and contribute to the economic and social life of Canada” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003a, Section 1.13c). A third shared principle is the importance of assisting newcomers in becoming self-sufficient as soon as possible. To facilitate this, Manitoba must give priority “to those facing significant barriers to integration, and who are deemed by Manitoba to be most in need within the community” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003a, Section 1.13e).

In addition to the shared principles, Manitoba has agreed to some guiding principles in regard to settlement services. These are:

- to provide a "seamless", fully integrated and cost-effective continuum of settlement and integration services in order to continuously improve client service;
- to provide access and linkages to settlement and integration services which are appropriate, relevant and responsive to the needs of Manitoba’s newcomers;
- to foster partnerships with communities, ethnic organizations and service providers and encourage local-level participation in planning and delivery of settlement and integration services consistent with a province-wide framework reflective of Manitoba’s social, humanitarian, economic, and labour market goals; and
- to foster self-reliance and personal commitment by individuals to achieve effective integration into the Manitoba community (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003a, Section 5.2).

Under the Provincial Nominees annex, Canada has agreed to assist Manitoba in its active recruitment of new immigrants, as permitted under IRPA and its regulations. To facilitate this, Canada has given Manitoba “the sole and non-transferable responsibility to assess and nominate candidates” who will benefit Manitoba economically (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003b, Section 5.1). Canada, however, retains the right to:

- exercise the final selection;
- determine the admissibility of the nominee and his or her dependants with respect to legislative requirements including health, criminality and security; and,
- issue immigrant visas to provincial nominees and accompanying dependants who meet all the admissibility requirements of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act and Regulations and of this Annex (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003b, Section 5.8).

Provision of Data on Immigrant Landing is an agreement between Canada and Manitoba which states that Canada will provide statistical information to Manitoba. This data will serve to assist in evaluating, altering and maintaining immigration programs as well as informing policy research and development in Manitoba and Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003c, Section 1.1).

The Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement states what the roles and responsibilities of Canada and Manitoba are based on a set of guiding principles. However, it may be amended by mutual written consent between the parties. There is a committee which includes both federal and provincial representatives that meets from time to time to review the Agreement. Either party can terminate the Agreement by giving the other a written notice 12 months in advance.

Federal Programs and Funding

As presented in the summary of Canada's Immigration Policy, delivery of settlement and integration services are an important component of Canada's Immigration Program. The following Settlement and Integration programs are all Horizontal Initiatives: Language Training, Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), the Host Program, and Immigrant Loans Program. A Horizontal Initiative is an "initiative in which partners, from two or more organizations, have agreed under a formal funding agreement (e.g. Memorandum to Cabinet, Treasury Board Submission, federal/provincial agreement) to work towards the achievement of shared outcomes" (Fitzpatrick, 2004, para 2).

The Horizontal Initiatives that are reported are those that a) have been allocated federal funds that exceed \$100M for the entire initiative; or, b) are key to the achievement of government priorities; or, c) have a high public profile (Fitzpatrick, 2004, para 5).

Provincial Programs (Manitoba)

As discussed previously, Manitoba has been accorded full responsibility for settlement services and receives funding from the federal government to do so. The settlement and labour market services provided by Manitoba Labour and Immigration are pre-arrival information, centralized initial information and orientation, centralized assessment and referral, language training, settlement and community supports, employment supports, qualifications recognition supports, specialized programs such as Youth Development and Cultural Adaptation, service delivery supports such as interpreters and intercultural trainers, and field development such as resource development and professional development (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b).

The organizational chart (see Figure B1) provides a general overview of the various language training services available to new Canadians in Manitoba. As it currently stands, the Adult Language Training (ALT) Branch of Manitoba Labour and Immigration provides a number of language training opportunities such as Core Adult English as an Additional Language (EAL), Employment Language Programs, Neighbourhood EAL Programs, Volunteer Programs and Online Learning. In 2007, under the Manitoba Immigrant Integration Program, 86 service providers were funded for EAL and 6,500 learners participated in adult EAL programs (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b).

In collaboration with Manitoba Advanced Education and Literacy and Manitoba Competitiveness, Training and Trade, Labour and Immigration boasts a labour market strategy for immigrants that “... addresses gaps in the availability of tools and resources ...” which will support the overall goal of the strategy which is “...to improve labour market outcomes for immigrants in Manitoba” (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b, p. 31). According to the report, 19 projects were undertaken that served 199 immigrants and over 65 Manitoba employers in 2007.

In the next section, I will provide a brief overview of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP). This program plays a significant role in Manitoba's immigration recruitment and therefore it is necessary to elaborate its function and activities.

Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP)

Manitoba was the first province to develop a Provincial Nominee Program in 1998 of which the purpose was to “to attract a greater share of immigrants and increase the distribution of immigrants across Canada” (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b, p. 9). Over the past decade the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP) has been modified. According to the Government of Manitoba Immigration website, the MPNP selects applicants based on their eligibility to “make a positive contribution to Manitoba's economy and society as permanent residents” (Government of Manitoba, 2009c). This is determined based on education and training, work experience, enough English or French to start a job soon after arrival, a connection to Manitoba, settlement supports and the intention to settle permanently in Manitoba.

There are a number of streams under which a potential applicant can apply. These are General Stream, Family Support, International Students, Employer Direct, Strategic Initiatives, Dependants and Business Immigration (Government of Manitoba, 2009a). Compared to other provinces from 2005 to 2007, the majority of new Canadians entering Manitoba come under the MPNP. For example, in 2005, 57.4% came under the MPNP; 49.9% in 2006, and 45.0 % in 2007. Compared to British Columbia which ranks second in Canada in PNP immigration levels, statistics show that in 2005, 2006 and 2007, the percentages of immigrants to arrive in BC under the PNP were 9.8%, 14.4% and 14.7% respectively (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). Within the province of Manitoba, statistics show that Economic Class immigrants far out-number Family Class immigrants and Refugees. In 2005, 70.7% who came to Manitoba were Economic Class while 14.7% were Family Class and 13.5% were Refugees. In 2006, these figures were 73.4%, 13.3% and 12.3% respectively. In 2007, these figures were 76%, 12.3% and 10.7% respectively (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). These statistics depict the significance of the MPNP in respect to immigration in Manitoba.

Section 5: The Role of Adult Education

One of the federal programs, and therefore a policy tool of the current immigration policy, is language instruction for new Canadians. Currently in Manitoba the delivery of these programs are mandated by Labour and Immigration, Adult Language Training (ALT) Branch. As all other adult training is mandated via Manitoba Education and Training, Adult Learning and Literacy (AL&L) Branch, I was curious to learn how this distinction was made. In order to get a clearer picture of this, I wanted to understand the present context and condition of the field of adult education internationally, within Canada and in Manitoba for the following reasons. First, as Abu-Laban (2007) noted membership of states to regional integration influence the policies of nation states. This can also be extended with respect to membership to other groups such as the OECD to which Canada is a member. Second, as Graefe (2007) points out the capitalist economic system is linked to all other aspects of society impacting directly on social and public policies. These global and national forces have implications in shaping education policies in Manitoba. Thus, recognizing the implications of these forces can lead to a better understanding of the condition of adult education in Manitoba which could in turn provide insight to the design (i.e. relevancy), implementation and delivery of adult EAL programs in this province.

Adult education as it currently stands in Canada is a rather large umbrella under which many terms are used and a variety of programs fall (OECD, 2002). Even the term adult has various definitions. For example, youth can fall anywhere within the ages of 16-30 and adults can fit into that range as well. Since youth programs and adult programs are funded and mandated differently, there is cross-over and, as such, confusion as to what exactly is meant by youth and adult. Furthermore, current literature in adult education can be daunting with terminology such as lifelong learning, lifelong education, further education, continuous learning, continual education, continuing education, and recurrent education to name a few (Collins, 1998). In fact, the terms adult learning and adult education are also used interchangeably. As such, defining adult education is an arduous task. The OECD acknowledges that there is no consensus in reaching a definition and points out that the “lack of agreement on definitions can lead to a lack of comparable data...which can in turn hinder policy making”

(OECD, 2003, p. 23). These inconsistencies demonstrate the complexities that currently exist in the field of adult education as well as the necessity for a policy. This state of “limbo” leaves the field vulnerable particularly to economic agendas.

The forces of globalization has positioned adult education as being expected to “... contribute directly to productivity and thereby competitiveness in the global market” (Bhola, 1998, p. 485) both in the North and the South. According to Walters, Borg, Mayo, & Foley (2004), “capitalism is the dominant modern economic system” (p. 137). These authors maintain that the logic of capitalism asserts that individuals and firms seek to maximize their profits. In order to accomplish this, a process is initiated which results in lowering the cost of labour, making labour more productive, establishing regional trade blocs and global trade agreements. These measures have a spiralling effect which in turn leads to over-investment, over-capacity, over-production and falling profits - all of which comes at the *expense* of the worker (emphasis mine) (Walters et al., 2004). However, proponents of the economic system have not acknowledged that this is a significant flaw of this system. Rather they have turned the economy’s failure into education’s failure, claiming that not enough skilled workers are being produced (Walters et al., 2004). This demand has coerced many public institutions into redefining their educational priorities to accommodate the needs of industries, a phenomenon that is notable within the European Union (Walters et al., 2004) and strongly supported by the OECD which advocates for the integration of supply and demand in adult education. The OECD refers to supply as the training that is provided by public and private institutions and demand as the training being sought by individuals. The argument here is that supporting the development of new adult education programs will produce better skilled workers which will improve the economy, and eventually lead to economic well-being and prosperity for all. This, however, does not necessarily hold true because if this follows the logic of capitalism, as educational programs are commodified, they will inevitably fall into the spiral of over-investment, over-capacity and over-production as discussed earlier by Walters et. al (2004). Despite this argument, the international community is actively developing policies to implement this strategy.

According to the Canadian Education Association (2008), education policy in Canada is set up separately by each provincial and territorial jurisdiction. The federal government does, however, play a role in shaping educational policy through funding and programming ("Policy Landscape," 2008). The two federal Government departments "most actively involved in matters influencing education policy" ("Policy Landscape," 2008, para 2) are Industry Canada and Human Development and Resources Canada. Critics of the modern practices of adult education view this relationship as unfavourable to the field of adult education. Collins (1998), for instance states that

modern adult education practice, steered by technical rationality, is narrowly preoccupied with methodology (pre-packaged standardized learning modules and formulaic approaches to program planning and evaluation), takes on a corporate agenda (human resource development) and plays a role in reproducing patriarchal (andragogy versus androgyny), repressive structures of a (post?) modern global society (p. 54).

One of the conclusions from the OECD's international conference *How Adults Learn* in 1998 was to launch a cross country thematic review of adult teaching and learning with the expectation that it would be a "valuable tool for understanding the role of policy and institutional environment in promoting adult learning and drawing policy lessons from different national experiences" (OECD, 2002, p. 3). One of the ten OECD countries that participated in the review was Canada. Each country had to provide a background report following guidelines set out by the OECD prior to the review. A team of three reviewers and two members of the OECD Secretariat visited each country. In Canada, the team visited Quebec, British Columbia, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan. The team also worked collaboratively with HRDC (now called HRSDC) and various government officials. Four themes emerged from the review: incentives for participation; developing integrated approaches to the provision of adult education; improving quality, pedagogy and variety of learning in adult education; and, coherence and effectiveness of policy (OECD, 2002).

According to the review, in terms of incentives for participation, Canada provided a number of subsidies, grants and loan options for adult learners. Albeit good incentives, Canada was criticized for not having sufficient adult education programs to meet the needs of its adult learner population, for inadequate access of programming and for a disproportional number of employment-gearred programs compared to non-occupational programs (OECD, 2002).

The review states that Canada is not meeting the needs of its adult education population because the supply is not meeting the demand (OECD, 2002). This conclusion was reached by the facts that, even though adult education is dominated by employment-related training, the number of firm-sponsored training was insufficient (OECD, 2002). For example, results from the Adult Education & Training Survey (AETS) show that 42.2% of Canadians have literacy skills “...deemed too low for modern roles as workers, citizens, and family member” (OECD, 2002, p. 17). Even though it is noted that in order to reach the required literacy levels to function in today’s world would require 6-12 months of full-time schooling under the best conditions, most programs did not provide this service. Under present conditions, it would take 3-6 years to reach the required levels of proficiency (OECD, 2002). The review pointed out that the current programs being offered under-serve those with low literacy, Aboriginal peoples and the working poor; and concluded that “an adult education policy that ignores...non-occupational aspects of adult life will remain relatively limited” (OECD, 2002, p. 15).

The second theme - developing integrated approaches to the provision of adult education - reviewed the availability of programs and services that adult learners required as well as how effective the transition was between programs. Results from the review revealed three issues. First, the variation between the provinces made it difficult for training and credentials to be recognized. Second, although there are partnerships between institutions, they are not always successful due to a lack of resources and weak incentives for participants. And third, there needs to be a greater effort made in the areas of outreach and information (OECD, 2002).

The third theme - improving quality, pedagogy and variety of learning in adult education - was aimed at determining how suitable the content and pedagogy were to the

needs of adults. Results showed that although there have been innovations in these areas such as partnership with firms and Aboriginal pedagogy, these areas remained generally neglected. Results from the review also indicated that there was little information on the effectiveness of adult education, an absence that hinders acquiring information regarding which programs should be privately or publicly sponsored, which methodological approaches to various types of education and training are most effective, and assisting local programs in detecting problems so they can work to improve them (OECD, 2002).

The fourth theme - coherence and effectiveness of policy - explored the notion of how coherent and systematic the creation of policies were. The findings from the review suggested that the lack of policies focusing specifically on adult education, the rift between the federal and provincial governments and the variation of practices between provinces carry consequences for adult education. These were the inability to prioritize different programs and developing measures of effectiveness (OECD, 2002).

The review provided an extensive description of the current condition of adult education in Canada. Although there are policies in Canada that focus on post-secondary studies, there is an absence of policies focused on adults which serve to neglect the special needs of adults and also places adult education in a vulnerable position as governments change (OECD, 2002). According to the review, until the federal and provincial governments "...develop principles that are widely accepted, a coherent policy toward adult education will remain elusive" (OECD, 2002, p. 44).

This overview of adult education in the four provinces in Canada has provided the background information required for understanding the current condition of the field in Manitoba. Understanding this provides a clearer picture of where and how adult EAL language training programs fit into context. Briefly, it appears that there is no coherent adult education policy in place and, according to Abu-Laban (2007), absence of policies carries many implications. These implications will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Section 6: Theoretical Frameworks

According to Howlett & Ramesh (2003), an effective policy analysis requires a theory. I have chosen critical political studies theory (CPST) and critical race theory (CRT) because both lend themselves to the context of this thesis with respect to the political science arena and the field of education, respectively. Both theories also share common elements such as recognizing the absence of voice from marginalized communities in decision-making processes that impact their lives, advocacy and challenging systemic barriers to bring about change.

Critical Policy Studies Theory

According to Orsini & Smith (2007), our changing world is bringing with it new issues that demand attention. Some of these issues include border screening, global warming, and the rise of new technologies (Orsini & Smith, 2007). These issues are now coming to the public policy agenda and, thus, changing the face of the traditional public policy arena. In addition to these new items on the agenda, there are new and non-traditional theories, such as feminist analysis and queer theory that have traditionally been neglected or ignored, that must now be taken into account in the policy-making arena. Furthermore, within a Canadian context, policy issues “associated with risk, compensation, sexuality, and Aboriginal people...have not been generally accorded their rightful place in the study of public policy” (p. 5). The recognition and acknowledgement that the arrival of new issues coupled with the necessity to include past neglected issues has called for a re-examination of traditional policy making toolkits. From this, critical political studies have emerged. According to Orsini & Smith (2007), “critical political studies ... is an orientation to policy analysis inspired by ... a desire to speak the truth to power” (p. 1). Other scholars in the political science arena who share this notion have presented various arguments and discussions in anticipation of beginning the process of addressing areas of public policy that have either been given very little attention or largely ignored altogether.

One pervasive theme that I was able to extract from the political science literature is voice. This notion of voice, however is very complex and plays out in various aspects of the policy making process. It ranges from the impact of globalization on the role of the state and

the implications of that on citizens (individuals) and how they perceive their “invitation” to participate in the policy making process. Not only is this linear, as a hierarchy exists from the global level to nation state to citizenry, but it is also spiral as each level is compounded and intertwined with the other, resulting in a very complex process that must be contended with.

Abu-Laban (2007) points to the fact that globalization is not new, in the sense that “...for many centuries ... merchandise, human power and ideas [have moved] across human borders and political barriers” (p. 139). However, she asserts that what is unique to today’s globalization is the intensity and magnitude of these processes. These processes now have a claim on policy due to growing regional integration such as the European Union (EU) and the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA). She asserts that policies of member states, and even potential member states of the EU are influenced by the policies of the EU. This observation is pertinent because of the relationship between state and society, as it challenges the autonomy of the nation state (Abu-Laban, 2007). This is examined in further detail by Graefe (2007) in his discussion on the relationship between the state (politics) and the market (economics) and the role played by the political economy in policy making.

According to Graefe (2007), political economists fail to acknowledge that “the organization of the economy affects the shape of policy and policy outcomes” (p. 20) due to the fact that “policies are adopted within the context of a capitalist economy” (p. 22). As he observes, the division made between the political and the economic in this approach is “a peculiar feature of capitalist social formations” (p. 22), a feature that not only ignores, but also simultaneously condones class relations (Graefe, 2007). Within the context of social relations, this means that some groups and individuals are more enabled and empowered by the position they hold in the social web (Graefe, 2007). Despite this criticism, political economists maintain, that in fact, “power is sufficiently diffuse[d]” (Graefe, 2007, p. 22) and that there is opportunity for the less powerful to organize and gain influence in various areas of decision-making; a claim, made evident by the visible and active role of feminism in the political arena (Graefe, 2007). This argument, however, does not account for other unequal social relations such as race/ethnicity and sexuality (Graefe, 2007).

In his proposed intersectional approach, Graefe (2007) calls for an intermeshing of these social relations, for as he points out, such relations do not exist outside the realm of politics and economics but, in fact, “in all realms of social life” (p. 22). A key element of this approach is that it challenges state policies by way of interrogation of various power structures such as “symbols, discourses and forms of knowledge” (Graefe, 2007, p. 24) which serve to unveil unequal social relations. This is supported by Abu-Laban’s (2007) assertion that “...the dominant examination of governance and its consequences by political scientists has tended to be shaped by a selective understanding of Canadian society” (p. 137), which according to Tilly (1984, as cited in Abu-Laban, 2007, p. 139) is a narrow understanding of so-called Canadian society and must change theoretically and conceptually.

Public policy not only reproduces the social relations but also serve to institutionalize these relations, a process that the state participates in (Graefe, 2007). Graefe views the state as a space where “social actors struggle to represent themselves and their projects through the creation and transformation of institutions and public policies” (p. 26). In other words, it is not the state that acts, but rather social forces act through the state. He cautions, however, that this space is not an empty space or a clean slate so to speak because of the inherent dominant social forces it stores. In other words, all the actors are present in the space but as they move around some will take less space as they lose power thus creating opportunities for weaker actors to gain more power. The amount of space remains constant, however, the amount of space an actor can claim will vary.

To illustrate this concept with an example, Graefe states that within the space lies the potential for existing hierarchies to change places. Thus, it is possible for an agricultural agenda to switch places with an international trade agenda as social forces can act through the state to bring various agendas to the table. However, he remarks that there is still a context of uneven power relations that exists both within and outside the state and it is within this context that the existing hierarchy must be challenged. He argues that the dominant social forces “rally subordinate social forces to their program through a series of partial concessions [which] may provide points of leverage for subordinate actors to exercise power through the

state” (p. 28); however, these are compromises and the institutional arrangements within the state are set up to serve the relatively dominant actors over the relatively dominated actors (Graefe, 2007). Thus, while some social forces struggle to put an agricultural agenda in front of an international trade agenda, the hegemonic social force for the international trade agenda will likely dominate. In the event that the agricultural agenda manages to move higher up the hierarchal scale, it will be compromised with elements of the international trade agenda.

Through the examination of social relations, Graefe (2007) presents the struggle of social actors within a space of hegemonic social forces. Where Graefe’s substantiated discussion is abated, both Abu-Laban (2007) and Laforest & Phillips (2007) continue, although on different strands of the discussion. While Abu-Laban speaks to the historical context of Canada as a settler colony and the legacy of colonialism on policy making today, Laforest & Phillips speak to the input of the citizenry in the policy making process and how it has evolved since the 1970s. Although these scholars address different aspects of the policy process with respect to globalization, the state and the citizenry, there is a strong connection between these elements.

Laforest & Phillips (2007) state that citizenship engagement was a deliberate move by the Canadian government (which began in the 70s) in their efforts to create a space where citizens can participate in the policy process. In their discussion, Laforest & Phillips examine how the views of citizens are represented by political parties and interest groups and how each of those are manifested in representative and deliberative democratic policy processes.

In a representative democratic policy process, citizens are given the opportunity to participate in the policy process by political parties and by interest groups (articulation). Citizens expect their interests will be articulated and hold elected officials and members of interest groups accountable as they are viewed as a conduit between citizens and government (accountability). The populist version of democracy, however view such groups as interfering and overloading the government with conflicting demands. In addition to articulation and accountability, another key feature of this model is that it aggregates interests. This feature has been criticized for representing minorities conservatively. Further criticisms of this model

include political parties only being active during election campaigns, legislators toeing party lines and poor access to elected officials. The criticisms of this model led to the emergence of the deliberative democratic policy process (Laforest & Phillips, 2007).

In the deliberative model, active participation became key, with the claim that political representation as was the case in the representative model, was not enough (Laforest & Phillips, 2007). Essential elements of the deliberative model include reciprocity (dialogue between citizenry and government), transparency (everything is made public) and, accountability (both citizenry and government accountable to each other) (Laforest & Phillips, 2007). In fact, the deliberative model was tied to accountability, an aspect that was taken seriously (Laforest & Phillips, 2007). In addition, in this model, all citizens have the opportunity to participate in the process including those who will be affected by the decisions, a notion, that in principle is exemplary, but hard to achieve in practice (Laforest & Phillips, 2007). Although this model created a space for citizen engagement, it is not without its criticisms either. One of the principal criticisms is the diminution of interests groups (Laforest & Phillips, 2007).

As Laforest & Phillips (2007) explain, the immediate regard for accountability led governments to call on consultants to find out and report the public's voice. These agents were often for-profit and were not responsible to the public. In addition, some of the contractors included interest groups, whose position became conflicted as they were expected to report from all areas, not only and even excluding their own interests, which led to a mistrust of the public who began to view these groups as agents of the government. Even though this model presented opportunities for more public participation, there was no link to show how this participation impacted decision-making; a connection that is necessary for citizens to feel empowered. In addition, in Canada, there is a lot of deliberation, however, it is not entirely a true democratic deliberative process (Laforest & Phillips, 2007).

Furthermore, these scholars reveal that even though citizenship engagement has created a space for dialogue, it is only at the input level of the policy process. They maintain that there has been little done to include citizens at the output level. Although the

accountability aspect of the deliberative model has gained momentum out of which emerged guidelines for measuring outcomes, the citizenry do not have the skills or time to effectively “...review, analyze and compare policy outcomes...” (p. 82), a role that was once given to intermediary voluntary organizations/interest groups (Laforest & Phillips, 2007).

Laforest & Phillips (2007) observe that in both the representative and deliberative models, intermediary voluntary organizations are being “...squeezed out in the redesign of citizen engagement and policy development ...” (p. 82), and caution that this is the only forum for citizens to have their voices heard. They contend that where these organizations once brought citizenry together, their changing roles coerce them to produce scientific empirical research, which not only minimizes and ignores experiential knowledge, but also makes them another source of data generation and puts them in the position as a partner of the state, leading to further mistrust from the citizenry (Laforest & Phillips, 2007). In both models, there is a lack of voice which makes it difficult for individuals to “...truly exercise influence or have any real sense that participation makes a difference” (Laforest & Phillips, 2007, p. 80).

Abu-Laban’s (2007) approach to the argument of the state’s role in policy making comes from two perspectives. Her first perspective, as presented earlier, asserts that the forces of globalization coerce nation states to invoke policies that fulfill the interests of memberships to factions such as the EU or NAFTA; a position supported by Graefe (2007) who directly states that politics and economics are intertwined (Abu-Laban, 2007; Graefe, 2007). Abu-Laban extends this argument stating that Canada as a settler colony “...maintained the power and advantage of white males...through policies and practices...” (p. 143), and it is now important to acknowledge the impact of colonialism in social relations in Canada (Abu-Laban, 2007, p. 145).

From her second perspective, Abu-Laban (2007) draws the connection to colonialism and racism. She argues that race and ethnicity are not real variables but are “...the outcome of historically specific social processes...” (p. 144). Quoting Razack (2002), “racial hierarchies come into existence through patriarchy and capitalism, each system of domination mutually constituting the other” (as cited in Abu-Laban, 2007, p. 143). Both Abu-Laban and Razack share

the notion that race, class and gender are integrated and interact and should therefore not be seen as unidimensional. Abu-Laban adds that racial/ethnic classification systems such as that found in the census serve to uphold the myth that these aspects are unidimensional, a myth that must be deconstructed to address the processes of racism in policy analysis. To further strengthen her position on this issue, Abu-Laban notes that non-policy is also implicated in the processes of racism. In her example she discusses that the absence of a national childcare policy affects women, poor women, and immigrant women; the latter who often come from the developing world “... undertake the insecure and poorly remunerated care work... (p. 151), as they typically lack Canadian citizenship. Abu-Laban’s two-fold argument traces how Canada’s historical context holds legacies of colonialism which impact on current policy making processes that have repercussions for groups identified as racial and/or ethnic minorities.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Critical race theory (CRT) originated in legal studies in the United States. It began with the relationship between property rights and race, and evolved into a theory which depicted the inequality in schools and schooling (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005b). It was introduced into the field of education by Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate. Other scholars who strongly support Ladson-Billings and Tate are Daniel Solórzano and Tara J. Yosso.

According to Matsuda et al. (1994, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a), CRT shares six common themes in the legal field and in education: 1) CRT recognizes that racism is a pervasive and permanent part of American society; 2) CRT challenges dominant claims of objectivity, neutrality, colour-blindness and merit; 3) CRT challenges ahistoricism and insists on a contextual/historical analysis of the law; 4) CRT insists on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of colour in analyzing law and society; 5) CRT is interdisciplinary; and 6) CRT works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005b, p. 1).

According to Dixson & Rousseau (2005a), three significant themes of CRT are relevant in the field of education. These are voice, restrictive vs. expansive views of equality, and colour-blindness.

Voice

Voice refers to the experiential knowledge of people of colour. Dixson & Rousseau (2005a) caution, however, that the use of the word voice in the singular does not mean that there is one voice that is representative of all people of colour. Delgado (1990, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a), reiterated this sentiment by pointing out that it is the experience of racism that is common, not the voice. It is this common experience of racism that structures, and thus allows for the use of the term voice (Delgado, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a)

In the field of education, voice plays out at different levels of education, from the K-12 system to higher learning institutions, and among students and teachers/professors of colour. In a study conducted by Duncan (2002, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a), he juxtaposes the stories of black male students and other students and faculty to illustrate the fact that the black male students were excluded and marginalized. By comparing the perspectives of other students and faculty of black male students to the counter-story from black male students, Duncan noted that the majority society had written off the black poor. The constructs that are associated with this view lead to a justification of the marginalization and exclusion of black male students rather than a concern; carrying the sentiment that the condition of black male students is “... a ‘predictable, albeit unfortunate, outcome of a reasonably fair system’” (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a, p. 13). As Dixson & Rousseau point out, the results of this study goes beyond reporting, and serves to provide a space in which the system can be challenged and provide a movement toward action, a key element in CRT.

In studies conducted by Solórzano (2001, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a), students in a higher education setting expressed the microaggressions they experienced on a daily basis which they described as “...subtle, automatic or unconscious racial insults...” (Solórzano, 2001, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a, p. 12). Graduate students reported similar experiences, describing their perspectives as being ignored and invalidated (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a). This also holds true for scholars of colour who have had similar experiences; as they often raise issues related to race and ethnicity, they are criticized by academics to be

lacking in neutrality and objectivity, and as such, viewed as illegitimate (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a). This is supported by Tate (1994) who emphasizes the importance of ensuring that the voices of people of colour be heard in academic discourse in order to "...help others think in different ways about complex, context-dependent domains like schools..." (as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a, p. 12).

One strategy used in CRT to give voice to people of colour is storytelling (Ladson-Billings, 2005). This strategy, according to Calmore (1995), "...allows our experiences and lessons, learned as people of colour, to convey the knowledge we possess in a way that is empowering to us..." (as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a, p. 10). In addition, storytelling, is a means to challenge the dominant discourse "...of social reality that claim universality" (Dixson & Rousseau, p. 11). The essence of voice is to acknowledge people of colour as sources of knowledge, and story-telling provides a venue for this (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a). Ladson-Billings cautions that the meaning denoted by the storytelling can get lost by the storytelling itself. To illustrate, she gives the example of a woman finding the bill of sale for her enslaved great grandmother (Williams, 1991, as cited in Ladson-Billings, 2005, p. 117). Ladson-Billings makes the case that what the story illustrates is the significance of the bill of sale and the contract that it represents. Thus, the story not only relays the grandmother's experience but equally as important it relays how such a contract is embedded socially to the point that it is acceptable even though it simultaneously oppresses one group and bolsters another (Ladson-Billings).

The examples described above illustrate how the voice of people of colour can be used in juxtaposition to the voice of the dominant society which challenges the dominant discourse and simultaneously creates a space where now it is possible to give voice to the silenced.

Expansive and Restrictive Views of Equality

Crenshaw (1998, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a) asserts that there are two views of equality that play out in the field of law. Rousseau and Tate (2003, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a, p. 14) suggest that these views also play out in the field of education. These authors believe that these views are constructs that are used to understand the nature of

equity. In their line of argument, they state that the expansive view of equity stresses equality as a result while the restrictive view of equity treats equality as a process and minimizes the significance of actual outcomes. To illustrate with an example, treating students equally as an approach to ensuring equity, is restrictive, as it does not focus on the actual outcomes. This approach views the equality of treatment as equity. However, the outcomes for the students may not be equitable as a result of the equal treatment that they receive. Tate and Rousseau argue that if equality of treatment is viewed as equitable, then the outcomes are not even questioned. In his example to illustrate how equality of treatment has led to different outcomes, Donner (2005) introduces the notion of educational malpractice to strengthen his conviction as to the pertinence of outcomes in his analysis.

Donner (2005) discusses educational malpractice in CRT within the context of African-American football scholarships. He argues that African-American athletes are promised free tuition and other costs associated with schooling, plus costs associated with being on the team, and a college education while simultaneously playing for college teams. Donner points out that academic achievement of African-American athletes compared to their White counterparts is significantly lower and perpetuates many racial stereotypes. He makes a strong argument for educational malpractice by stating that the school has, in fact offered a contract to these students and are failing to fulfil their part. He makes an analogy to the medical profession stating that in that field, failure to produce what you promised would lead to accusations of malpractice. Ladson-Billings (2005) supports Donner (2005) by referring to the significance of a contract and the weight it carries in society. She suggests that “...schools as institutions who promise certain knowledge and skills – literacy, numeracy, civic competency, vocational preparation...” (Ladson-Billings, 2005, p. 118) set a contract and “the students are entitled to this knowledge and skill regardless of personal and cultural resources” (p. 118). Ladson-Billings continues her argument to say “... athletes are offered a tender in exchange for their athletic services” (p.118), and the colleges’ not meeting this is in fact a breach of contract.

This example depicts the restrictive view of equality because all athletic students receive the same contract, yet the outcomes of the White students at the end of the program

of studies differ from their Black counterparts. Not only were the academic achievement of the Black students lower, many of the Black students also took longer than White counterparts to complete their course of study and their graduation rates were lower (Donnor, 2005). In an expansive model of equality, the outcomes for all the students in the above case would be consistent. This consistency, however, would stem from *not* treating students equally as an approach to ensuring equity. In other words, “...equal treatment is not equitable if it leads to differential outcomes” (Rousseau & Tate, 2003, p. 212). To illustrate this point, one question that Rousseau & Tate recommend teachers reflect on in the context of equity in school mathematics is, “How do students’ linguistic, ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic background influence their learning of mathematics?” (p. 216). They suggest that reflection on these elements is associated with a social reconstructionist tradition which “...focuses specifically on the implications of practice for equity and justice” (p. 211) and “...is necessary in order to improve the educational experiences of poor students and students of color” (p. 211). Thus, the expansive view of equality shifts the focus from using social factors as a scapegoat to justify discrepancies in outcomes and points to how teaching practices induces such discrepancies. In addition, the expansive view of equality calls for accountability mechanisms, such as social reconstructionist reflections so that equity can be moved from the margins to the mainstream (Rousseau & Tate, 2003).

Colour-blindness

As Gotanda (1991, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a) explains, a colour-blind analysis of race fails to recognize the connection between race and social conditions which serves to maintain a system of white privilege. Adding to this, Dixson & Rousseau (2005a) convey the concept that in race, accepting the notion of whiteness as normal, by default, makes not white abnormal. Furthermore, they suggest that in polite, middle class mores, it is “impolite to see when someone is *different*, abnormal, and thus, *not white*” (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a, p. 16), and can therefore lead to internalization of a sense of abnormality for people of colour. In a study conducted by Rousseau & Tate (2003, as cited in Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a), they observed that teachers’ refusal to acknowledge race-related patterns

of achievement coupled with teachers' restrictive views of equality resulted in teachers being unable to reflect on how their practices played a role in the under-achievement of students of colour. In other words, the teachers failed to recognize that their colour-blind perspective perpetuated the under-achievement of their students of colour. Failure to make this connection challenges the faith of a system that is meant to provide equal opportunity for all but "...fails to advance the cause of justice for people of colour" (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a, p. 16).

The notions of voice, restrictive and expansive views of equality and colour-blindness are interdependent and must be recognized and understood as a whole. It is within this context that critical race theory is able to "...provide an entrance into how large political structures [schools, universities, and sports] influence opportunity without minimizing the role of individuals as important actors in the access and opportunity process'..." (Tate, 2003, as cited in Donnor, 2005, p. 52). This is where a link can be made between CRT and CPST. Critical political studies theory recognizes the need for the space to be created and for voices to be heard. Both theories assert that "...modern racism and racial inequity is systematic because it privileges and normalizes 'cultural messages and institutional policies and practices' that function to advantage whites—both directly and indirectly..." (Donnor, 2005, p. 52), that racism has its roots and structure in colonial systems still present today (Abu-Laban, 2007) and that these structures need to be deconstructed to establish a level playing field (Abu-Laban, 2007; Graefe, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2005).

Summary of the Theoretical Frameworks

Graefe's position on the hierarchy of space and power in relation to the political economy combined with Laforest & Phillips's discussion of citizen engagement and Abu-Laban's assertion of the impact of colonialism on racism in policies, illustrate not only the importance of voice, but simultaneously the necessity for "blank" spaces that are participatory and welcoming to be created where voice can be asserted. These understandings are also mirrored in CRT. As discussed in the previous section, CRT stresses the importance of creating space as a forum where voice has the opportunity to not only be expressed, but that the space in which it

is expressed must be one where the deconstruction of the systemic barriers can occur. It must be a space that goes beyond a theoretical critique and “...provide[s] the basis for a change in practice” (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a, p. 17). Thus, the underlying themes of the theoretical perspectives are voice, space and change in practice. These three elements are connected and dependent on the other. Conceptualizing these as a “package” will provide the framework for the policy analysis of this thesis.

Although both theories have legitimate grounding in their respective fields, they are not without criticisms. The primary criticism against critical race theory is that it lacks objectivity and neutrality as it focuses on narrative (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005a). As this theory is born from the field of law, critics have commented that it strays from a “...system of exact, predictable, formal rules and teaching, [and] instead, is full of indeterminacy and veiled, clashing interests” and therefore deemed as dangerous (“Critical Race Theory - Criticism,” n.d., para 3). Another criticism challenges the theory’s critique on equity suggesting that claims that the current system is Eurocentric and the current distribution of wealth was improperly gained is an inaccurate accusation as there are some minorities such as Asians and Jews whom have been very successful in the current system (“Critical Race Theory - Criticism,” n.d.).

Critical political studies theory has also received criticisms from scholars in the political science arena such as Evans (1995, as cited in Campbell, 1998) who see the state as a “facilitator of economic development” (p. 103). Evans calls for embedded autonomy, a philosophy that suggests “...states must provide the appropriate incentives for entrepreneurial firms to flourish and become strong enough to compete effectively in the global market place” (p. 104).

Critics of these two theories are likely to ascertain that current public policies are designed to improve the country’s economic position and that they provide equal opportunity for all. Hence, they would view the perspectives that the theories bring as interfering with systems that are functioning as they should.

Conclusion

In this Chapter, I provided summaries and descriptions significant documents and theories that will frame, contextualize and conceptualize this thesis. The concept of my approach assumes that there exists a causal relationship between the structural and historical contexts and the design and the accountability mechanisms of the policy in addition to spiralling and compounding relationships. I therefore chose to examine global factors such as membership to the OECD, national factors such as Canada's immigration history and its policy process, and the local factors such as the role of adult education on existing programming in Manitoba through the lens of critical political studies theory and critical race theory.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

In Chapter Three, I have laid out how I will use a document analysis research methodology to review the structural and historical contexts and the design and the accountability mechanisms of the Canadian immigration policy through the lens of critical political studies theory and critical race theory. Using a matrix recommended by Rist (1994) combined with two theoretical frameworks - critical political studies theory and critical race theory-I have examined the formation, implementation and accountability phases of this policy. An examination of the policy from these three aspects and guided by these theories can provide some insight as to what some of the dynamics are which could account for the discrepancy between the expected economic outcomes and the actual experiences of new Canadians. An awareness of these dynamics has served to provide some insight as to how the policy tools are determined for this community. I learned that there is a link between the immigration policy, the types of programs being supplied, in particular the educational programs, and the socio-economic conditions of immigrants and refugees in Manitoba.

Data Collection Technique: Document Analysis

The data collecting technique used in this thesis is document analysis. Document analysis is a qualitative method of data collection. It is a method used frequently in political science using written records as data (Johnson, Reynolds, & Mycoff, 2008). A document analysis is an integral part of my work. Documents such as government policies, newspaper articles, and other official documents are records that “embody prevailing ideas and attitudes ... within a range of ideologies acceptable to the dominant society” (Ford, 1996, p. 18). The ideology represented in the documents provides a base from which we can begin to understand not only the reasons why the policy came into effect in the first place but also it can lead to an understanding of the types of programs and initiatives that were put into place as a result of the policy. Furthermore, I believed that this method would add another perspective to already existing data in this area. There has been several quantitative data such as *Portraits of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Canada: Regional Comparisons* (Mulder & Korenic, 2005) and *Manitoba Immigration Facts: 2007 Statistical Report* (Manitoba Labour and Immigration,

2008b), which report statistically various aspects of the experiences of new Canadians, including language and employment training. There have also been qualitative methods of data collection, such as *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: Progress and Challenges of New Immigrants in the Workforce 2003* (Chui & Tran, 2005) and *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: Process, Progress and Prospects* (Statistics Canada, 2003) which correspond to the statistical information. The findings from these data also reveal a number of barriers new Canadians face. Some of these barriers include insufficient and inefficient language and employment training programs. Although these barriers have been acknowledged, and attempts to resolve the specific issues have transpired, there does not appear to be any research that goes beyond the “surface level” to determine what could account for these barriers. As the main purpose of my thesis is to learn what could account for these barriers, I hope that an analysis of Canada’s immigration policy and other relevant documents might provide some answers to this query.

As discussed in Chapter Two, political ideology is reflected in policies and policies eventually determine and shape programs. Therefore, an analysis of the policy from two perspectives will present an opportunity for comparison. The first would be to understand the policy “as is.” In other words, reading it simply from the perspective of the stated goals of the policy (or at least of those who drafted the policy). The conditions that have been identified and need to be addressed are Canada’s population, its age, and its labour market. Reading the policy with this in mind should answer the questions as to whether or not the policy is addressing what it aims to achieve.

The second reading of the policy would be through the lens of critical political studies theory (CPST) and critical race theory (CRT). Howlett & Ramesh (2003) report that it is customary for policy analysis to have a theory such as the models of public choice, welfare economics, corporatism, to name a few. My rationale for choosing critical political studies theory is that it aims to examine policies from a perspective that is “inspired by a desire to speak truth to power” (Orsini & Smith, 2007, p. 1). Critical race theory shares some common elements with critical political studies theory, but adds the dimension of race and ethnicity.

This is an important component to add to this discussion as immigrants and refugees are primarily visible minorities and are therefore more likely to be vulnerable to institutionalized/structural racism. CRT examines the structures that are in place which reflect the hegemonic values and beliefs of the dominant homogenous group and “challenges dominant education theory, discourse, policy and practice” (Solórzano, 1998, as cited in Aleman, 2007, p. 528). Thus, examining the policy from CPST and CRT perspectives will add new dimensions by which to understand the policy and its goals. One such perspective that is of relevance is based on the fact that many new Canadians are often people of colour and therefore unstated outcomes of the policy (planned or otherwise) could unintentionally perpetuate lower socio-economic conditions experienced by visible minorities.

Data Sources

The primary data sources that I have drawn upon are Canada’s Immigration Policy, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement and Annual Reports from Manitoba Labour and Immigration. Secondary sources of data such as federal expenditures and existing statistical data has been included in the discussion of the analysis as supporting documents to help determine how effective Canada’s Immigration policy is in meeting the needs of new Canadians. It was my intention to also examine the Manitoba Adult Education Policy as I speculated that language and employment training programs for adult immigrants would fall under that umbrella. However, to date, Manitoba does not have an adult education policy. However, there is an Adult Learning Centres Act, an Adult Learning Centres Regulations, an Adult Literacy Act and an Adult Literacy Regulations (*Adult Learning and Literacy: Acts, Regulations and Policies*). In lieu of this, I have presented the earlier discussion on the current condition of adult education in Canada and have discussed the implications an absence of such policy in Manitoba. A brief summary of my primary and secondary data sources will now follow.

Summary of Data Sources

According to Rist (1994), during the policy formation process, the policy maker must be aware of the problem or condition that exists that is calling for a policy. For Canada, the

conditions that needed to be addressed were Canada's population, its age, and its labour market. The course of action generated to address these was to increase immigration (Dolin & Young, 2004m). Canada's immigration policy describes the framework and goals of the immigration program. Canada's immigration program is based on the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), its regulations, decisions of the courts and the Immigration and Refugee Board, and Immigration Manuals. In addition to strengthening Canada's position as a nation committed to multiculturalism, Canada's immigration program's three main purposes are social, humanitarian and economic. While the social component is based on the principle of family reunification, the humanitarian component is based on Canada's obligations and responsibilities as a signatory to the UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the UN Convention Against Torture. The economic component is based on the fact that Canada wants to improve its economy and fill its labour market demands. Thus, the goals of the immigration program have been identified as potential solutions to address the nation's age, population and labour market challenges. To assist the federal government from taking on this task single-handedly, some of the provinces have signed agreements with the federal government. One such agreement is the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement.

The Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement states what the roles and responsibilities are for Canada and Manitoba based on a set of guiding principles. The Agreement states that Canada and Manitoba will coordinate and work in partnership to promote Manitoba as well as recruit into the Province based primarily on labour market information. In addition, Manitoba must take responsibility for facilitating the integration of new Canadians to Manitoba and as such include the involvement of various stakeholders such as those involved in health, education, employment, etc. Canada has also agreed that it will recognize where Manitoba might face resource restrictions and will assist when necessary.

Under the Agreement, Manitoba is responsible for the language and employment training programs for adult immigrants. As noted earlier, I assumed that this would fall under the jurisdiction of adult education. However, since Manitoba does not have adult education policies, I inquired by e-mail to Manitoba Labour and Immigration to find out if there were any

policies pertaining to the language and employment training programs for adult immigrants under the department's umbrella. The response to my e-mail suggested I check the department's website on which, after much scrutiny, I was unable to find any policies for language and employment training programs for adult immigrants. I followed up with a second e-mail restating the information that I was seeking and indicating that the website did not have the information I sought. I did not receive a response for the second e-mail. Since there are no policies to date for the language and employment training programs for adult immigrants, I will speak to the implications of this omission in the data analysis in Chapter Five.

Study design

Rist (1994) proposes using a matrix when conducting a policy analysis. He suggests asking specific questions of each phase of the policy cycle to determine the effectiveness of the formation, implementation and accountability phases of the policy process. In addition, Howlett & Ramesh (2003) maintain that a policy analysis must have a theory under which it should be evaluated. Thus, I will use Rist's (1994) matrix analysis and a combination of the theoretical frameworks of critical political studies theory and critical race theory to analyze Canada's immigration policy.

Rist (1994) presents three phases of the policy process - policy formation, policy implementation and policy accountability. Although he is writing within the context in which he advocates for the need for qualitative research to be more present in the policy process arena, his dissection of the policy process provides a strong framework from which one can begin to understand and analyze the policy process and as such making it accessible for use in other contexts. Rist further sub-divides each of the three phases of the policy cycle into what he terms "clusters." Each phase has three clusters which are essentially groups of questions that a policy maker should ask in order to optimize their understanding of the problem or condition. These questions are as follows and are also presented on a matrix in Table 1.

Formation Phase

1. Understanding the policy issue at hand (definition of the policy problem).
2. What has taken place previously in response to this condition or problem?

3. What is known of the previous efforts and their impacts that would help one choose among every day options? (Rist, 1994)

Implementation Phase

1. What are the day to day realities of bringing a new program or policy into existence?
2. What is the problem or condition that prompted the policy or program response in the first place (tracking the condition)?
3. What are the efforts made by the organization or institution to respond to the initiative? (Rist, 1994)

Accountability Phase

1. What did the program or policy accomplish or not accomplish?
2. What changes (if any) may have occurred in the problem or condition?
3. What is the capacity of the organization to mobilize itself to provide effective service to its clientele? (Rist, 1994)

Table 1
Questions for reading the policy.

	CLUSTER 1	CLUSTER 2	CLUSTER 3
FORMATION	Understanding the policy issue at hand (definition of the policy problem)?	What has taken place previously in response to this condition or problem?	What is known of the previous efforts and their impacts that would help one choose among present day options?
IMPLEMENTATION	What are the day to day realities of bringing a new program or policy into existence?	What is the problem or condition that prompted the policy or program response in the first place (tracking the condition)?	What are the efforts made by the organization or institution (Governments of Canada and Manitoba) to respond to the initiative?
ACCOUNTABILITY	What did the program or policy accomplish or not accomplish?	What changes (if any) may have occurred in the problem or condition?	What is the capacity of the organization to mobilize itself to provide effective service to its clientele?

In order to understand what some of the factors are which could account for the discrepancy between the expected economic outcomes and the actual experiences of new Canadians, I posed questions pertaining to the role the structural and historical contexts, the design and the accountability mechanisms of the policy could play in the socio-economic outcomes of new Canadians.

In gathering my data, I approached it from opposite ends of a spectrum. On one end, stand the politics/contexts that frame the policies and on the other end stand the outcomes of the policies. In my literature review (Chapter Two), I have presented some of the factors that contribute to the context that inform policy making such as global and national forces. In Chapter Four, I make the connections to the global, national and citizenry as discussed by examining the documents from the OECD, the governments of Canada and Manitoba within the framework of the three phases of the policy process: formation, implementation, and accountability. In Chapter Five, I categorized my findings from Chapter Four areas: Policies, Promises and Practices which I analyzed using critical political studies theory and critical race theory.

This strategy allowed for a clearer understanding of the outcomes of the policy tool. Policy tools are used to achieve policy objectives. A policy tool can be “a grant, a subsidy, a tax credit, a new regulation, the creation of a government-sponsored enterprise, or the provision of direct services ...” (Rist, 1994, p. 553), to list a few. One of the policy tools that is a directive from Canada's immigration policy is the Employment and Language training programs for adult immigrants and refugees. I therefore took an in depth look at the annual reports (1999 to 2007) from Manitoba Labour and Immigration, Adult Language Training Branch. Thus, by reading the outcomes “as is”, and from the perspectives of critical political studies theory and critical race theory, I was able to gain some insight into the various aspects of Canada's immigration policy that I set out to learn more about. The first is to come to an understanding of how the political structure and historical context within which Canada's Immigration policy has been developed plays out in policy regulations and statutes. The second is to determine to what extent Canada's immigration policy was designed to incorporate

specific strategies aimed at developing and sustaining the well-being of new Canadians after their arrival in Canada. The third is find out what mechanisms of accountability are in place specific to the economic well-being of new Canadians in the immigration policy.

CHAPTER 4: DESCRIBING, CATEGORIZING AND MAPPING THE DATA

In this Chapter, the link between Canada’s Immigration policy and adult language training in Manitoba is discussed in a manner that connects the policy’s goals to the mandate of federal Settlement and Integration programs and the objectives of the Adult Language Training Branch in Manitoba. Although this might appear to be a linear structure, it is more interconnected. As Rist (1994) points out, there are factors such as time, funds, resources and political support that contribute to the complexity of the policy making process deeming it as “multidimensional and multifaceted” (p. 546). Rist reveals this complexity by dividing the process a “problem” or “condition” undergoes to become a policy into three phases: policy formation, policy implementation and policy accountability and further subdividing each phase into clusters of three. I will examine the patterns and trends I have gleaned from my data sources as the context within which I will discuss how each phase of Rist’s policy process applies to the OECD, Canada’s Immigration policy and education and training for new Canadians in Manitoba. I continue this discussion in Chapter Five, where I re-organized the patterns and trends into three areas: Policies, Promises and Practices. I will discuss these from both critical political studies theory and critical race theory perspectives (See Figure 2).

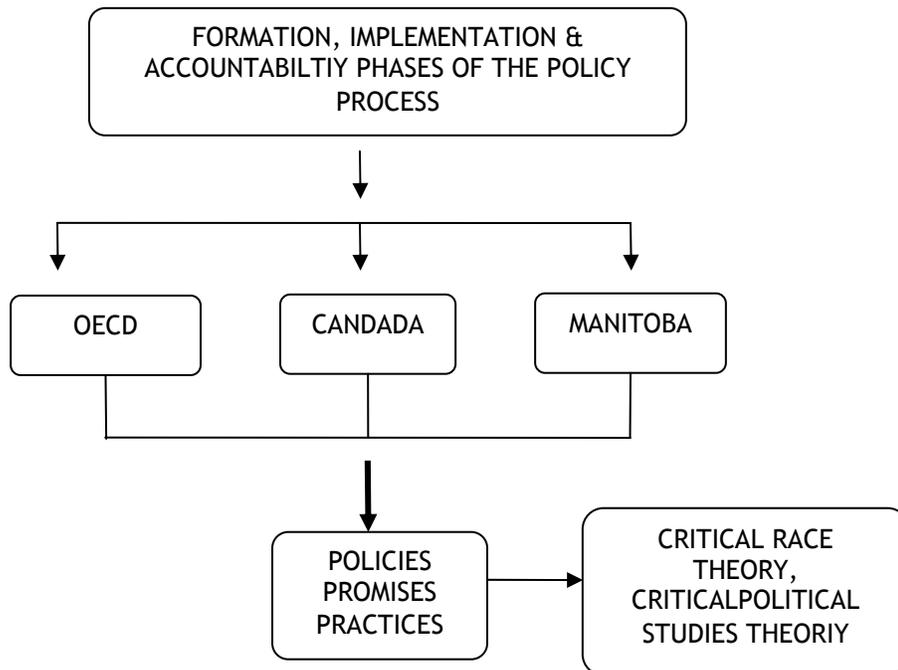


Figure 2. Mapping the data.

Formation Phase

In the policy formation phase, a diverse set of actors who represent the government, special interest groups and groups from other constituents from outside the governmental arena are involved (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980, as cited in Rist, 1994). Members of these groups voice their concerns and issues to formal policy makers who include “ ... elected officials, legislators, and high level administrative appointees, each of whom must follow prescribed paths to make policies” (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980, as cited in Rist, 1994, p. 548). The first cluster of the policy formation phase suggests that the policy maker understand the problem or the condition. The second cluster proposes that the policy maker be attentive to what occurred previously in response to the problem or condition. The third cluster indicates that the policy maker be aware of the impact of the previous efforts that addressed the problem or condition. According to Rist (1994), an understanding of the problem or condition from these perspectives might lead to the emergence of different intervention strategies.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

After WWII, both Europe’s economic and political power began to seep into the United States as the European economy began to flounder and its colonies began the process of “de-colonization.” In order to retain some of its power, both politically and economically Europe began to reorganize itself. One initiative in this process was the Bretton Woods Conference (1944) which focused on addressing the world economic crisis. The developed countries present at this conference eventually evolved into the OECD in 1960 forming a quasi-political coalition. One outcome of Bretton Woods was the Marshall Plan which was professed as the model for economic stability asserting a move from “national-centred economic behaviour to internationally co-ordinated finance and trade” (Hewitt, 2000a, p. 291). Another outcome of the conference was the founding of four institutions which were to be responsible for regulating the financial, economic and political state of affairs of the world (Hewitt). According to Hewitt (2000b) the most crucial of the four institutions was the GATT whose role was to regulate international trade and stabilize world commodity prices. However, the GATT

did not fulfill these obligations which resulted to simultaneously favour the economies of the industrialized North and hinder the economies of developing countries (Hewitt, 2000b).

With respect to the formation phase, the OECD identified the problem or the condition as a weakening world economy that needed to be restored to its original state. Historically, the previous response to this condition was colonization. Europe was able to maintain its economic stronghold prior to the Second World War as resources from the colonies were consolidated and traded resulting in economic prosperity for the colonizing nations. However, as colonies sought independence, European colonizers no longer had access to the colonies' resources thus destabilizing the bloc's economy. Thus, in choosing a present day option to establish and maintain economic conditions, the OECD continues in its efforts to unify nations in various trade agreements that follow a very specific mandate; stating that "... sound financial policies are the life blood of every country's economic growth and prosperity..." (OECD, 2010).

Canada

The condition that the government of Canada has identified is the inability for its current demographics to meet the country's labour market demands. This is due to the country's stagnant population growth and its aging population. Historically, Canada has used immigration as a remedy for addressing a decline in population and for boosting the economy. Previous efforts have always proved to be successful as it resulted in increasing the country's population and stimulated economic growth.

Over the past decade, Canada's immigration levels have averaged approximately 200,000 permanent residents a year. Numerically speaking, immigration levels have been consistently increasing, however, by percentage it has hovered at less than 1% of the country's population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009a). For example, in 1998 there were roughly 175,000 new Canadians, which was 0.6% of the country's total population. In 2005, total immigration exceeded 250,000, which was 0.8% of Canada's population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009a; Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). There appears to be an agreed upon notion that an increase in the country's population will serve to strengthen the country's economic position. This notion has also gained momentum at the provincial level with

many provinces opting to make deliberate efforts to increase their respective immigration levels with expectations in economic success. Manitoba is one such province.

Manitoba

In its efforts to address its economic decline and slowing birthrate, the government of Manitoba has engaged in an active process to increase the province's population via immigration which is regarded as "integral to Manitoba's growth and prosperity" (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2007b, p. 2). It is very recent that Manitoba has been strategic in employing an aggressive immigration directive. On average, Ontario has received 50% annually of the total number of new Canadians with Quebec and British Columbia ranking second and third respectively in regards to the total percentage of immigrants each province receives annually (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). For example, in 2007, Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia combined received 82.5% of the total immigrants to Canada (47.0%, 19.1% and 16.4% respectively) (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). Comparatively, Manitoba has averaged 2.0% of the total immigration intake prior to 2004 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009a). However, in 2007, this figure was 4.6% and accounted for a 2.6% increase in Manitoba's population. This renders Manitoba's growth more significant than Canada's relative to the province's ratio of the country's population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009a; Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). Manitoba accounted for 3.6% of Canada's population in 2007, yet 4.6% of new Canadians who entered Canada that year came to Manitoba (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b), in comparison to Saskatchewan which is similar to Manitoba in terms of population (3.0% of Canada's population in 2006) and received 1.5% of immigrants who entered Canada in 2007 (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2009; Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). This is a result of Manitoba's mandate to recruit 10,000 new immigrants annually, thus accounting for the difference between the two provinces. This also mirrors the national immigration policy which seeks out immigration as a tool to address stagnant population growth and unfavourable economic conditions.

To sum up, Rist's (1994) three clusters in the formation phase of the policy cycle suggests that the policy maker understand the problem or the condition, be attentive to what

occurred previously in response to the problem or condition and be aware of the impact of the previous efforts that addressed the problem or condition, in order to learn what new strategies, if any can be applied to the identified condition. The condition identified by the OECD and supported by Canada is the necessity for consistent economic growth. The OECD has established various means to meet this goal which has been mirrored in Canada and in the province of Manitoba. Canada's immigration policy has a clear mandate to address Canada's labour market demands through immigration. There has been an increase in Economic Class immigrants to Canada and to Manitoba, indicating that immigration is being used as a tool to improve economic activity both nationally and provincially. This reflects the OECD's prevailing economic mandate.

Implementation Phase

Policy implementation is the second phase of the policy cycle where the initiatives and goals determined in the policy formation phase are transformed into programs, procedures and regulations (Rist, 1994). In the first cluster, "the concern becomes one of how to use the available resources in the most efficient and effective manner in order to have the most robust impact on the program or condition at hand" (Rist, 1994, p. 550). The second cluster conveys the importance of the policy maker to be aware of the problem or condition that prompted the policy or program response in the first place (i.e. has the condition changed?). The third cluster asserts that the policy maker must be aware of the efforts made by the organization or institution in response to the policy initiative. As summed up by Rist, it is critical that the expertise and qualifications of those responsible for the implementation be addressed in order for organizational goals to be met.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

The capability of the OECD to transform its policies' goals into procedures and regulations can be described as efficient and effective. The organization is strategic in its operations. One example is in its selection of members.

The Council under an accession process determines membership (OECD). The applicant country has to demonstrate its willingness to adopt the main principles of the Organisation such

as an open market economy, democratic pluralism and respect for human rights (OECD). The OECD maintains that this is not an imposition of particular social or macroeconomic policy but rather should be viewed as objective and flexible to incorporate the specific characteristics of each country (OECD).

In May 2007, the Business and Industry Advisory Committee (BIAC) to the OECD began two initiatives: the Enlargement and the Enhanced Engagement (BIAC, 2007). The Enlargement countries: Chile, Estonia, Israel, Russia and Slovenia, also referred to as five emerging economies expressed interest in becoming members. In May 2010, Chile signed on as a member (OECD). The Enhanced Engagement countries are Brazil, China, India, Indonesia and South Africa, also referred to as five major emerging economies and are being courted by the OECD to become members (BIAC, 2007; OECD, 2007b). It is notable that the five major emerging economies that are being courted by the OECD have not readily succumbed to their suitor and arguably position them (if they were to align) to threaten the power of the OECD. It is in the interest of the OECD to sway these economies into becoming members as their membership would seal the OECD's economic agenda globally. The response of these five countries to the OECD's invitation will be critical to the future of the world economy. Another point of interest is that the five major emerging economies are members of the Group of 77, a group established to counter the OECD in order to provide "the means for the countries of the South to articulate and promote their collective economic interests and enhance their joint negotiating capacity on all major international economic issues within the United Nations system" ("The Group of 77 at the United Nations,"). Whether or not these five nations will remain loyal to their original agenda and use their emerging power to re-tip the scales to begin the process of balancing the world's economy remains to be seen. On the other hand, acceptance of the five major emerging economies to the OECD would secure the organization's global economic power, as it would encompass the strongest economies on each continent.

The OECD's membership selection process is one piece of evidence that illustrates the organization's capacity to implement regulation effectively to support its economic mandate. The organization is well-prepared to accomplish this as it was established almost half a century

ago and still retains as much power today, if not more; and it is set up in a manner that requires member states to follow the OECD's mandate. In addition, the OECD manages to tweak aspects of its mandate to reflect changes in the conditions while upholding its economic mandate. For example, a recent video clip on the OECD's website speaks to the organization's commitment to environmental protection (OECD). Thus, with respect to implementation of programs, procedures and regulations, the OECD seems to have all angles covered.

Canada

Similar to the OECD, Canada does have experience in using available resources efficiently to impact on the identified condition, has the capacity to observe the condition and has made concentrated efforts to respond to the initiative. This is demonstrated in how the country selects prospective residents, the signing of federal-provincial/territorial agreements, and financial support to settlement and integration programs.

As discussed in Chapter Two, tied to the principal objectives of Canada's immigration program are the policy's social, humanitarian and economic components (Dolin & Young, 2004n) resulting in a system that classifies prospective residents as family class, refugees or economic class, respectively. The first noticeable pattern in Canadian immigration over the past 25 years is the decline of Family Class immigrants and Refugees entering Canada as permanent residents and an increase of Economic Class immigrants. Table 2 provides a brief overview comparing the figures (in percentage) for 1984 and 2008. While Family Class declined from roughly 45% to 23% (respectively) and Refugees from 23% to 9% (respectively), Economic Class increased from 29% (1984) to 64% (2008) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009a).

Table 2
Immigrants to Canada, by Class in 1984 and 2008

	Family Class	Economic Class	Refugees
1984	45.3%	29.4%	22.7%
2008	22.5%	63.9%	9.3%

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009a.

This shift demonstrates that the government is responding to the initiative by targeting Economic class immigrants. This significantly influences the Canadian economy as the financial assets required for entry into the country is considerable. A business immigrant can fall into one of three categories: investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed. Investors must show a net worth of at least \$800,000, half of which is deposited to the federal government and returned to the investor interest free after five years (Dolin & Young, 2004v). An entrepreneur must confirm a net worth of at least \$300,000, own at least one-third of a Canadian business, create at least one full-time job for a person unrelated to them, and actively participate in managing the business for a minimum of one year (Dolin & Young, 2004v). The Canadian government is currently (June 2010) proposing a change for investors. The new change would require that investors have a net worth of \$1.6 M and a minimum investment of \$800,000 which will be returned after five years, interest free (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010a). Furthermore, Table 3 depicts the amount of funds skilled workers and professionals are required to submit with proof with their applications for residency in Canada. The increase in Economic Class immigrants is one example that illustrates the Government of Canada's commitment to implementing regulations to meet the policy's goals.

Table 3
Skilled Workers and Professionals, Proof of Funds

Number of Family Members	Funds Required (in Canadian dollars)
1	\$11,086
2	\$13,801
3	\$16,967
4	\$20,599
5	\$23,364
6	\$26,350
7 +	\$29,337

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010b.

Another example which demonstrates the Canadian government's capacity to implement procedures and regulations is the signing of federal-provincial/territorial immigration agreements. British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, the Yukon and Prince Edward Island have signed immigration agreements with Citizenship and Immigration Canada. British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Yukon and the Northwest Territories have signed Provincial Nominees agreements. To date, Nunavut is the only province/territory that has not entered into any joint federal agreements. As these Agreements have prevailing economic agendas, this could be viewed as coercion from the federal government to the provinces to adopt stronger economic agendas. For example, increased federal funding was extended provincially with Manitoba being allotted basic settlement funding from \$8.8M in 2005-06 to \$21.1M in 2008-09, an increase of 140% over the past five years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007). In Manitoba, for the 1999-2000 fiscal year, the Citizenship and Multicultural Division's⁵ actual expenditure was \$7.6 M compared to the Division's expenditure in the 2007-08 fiscal year which was \$24.4 M (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2000, 2008a).

Regardless of provincial/territorial-federal agreements that bring significant financial endorsements, the federal government has recognized the importance of settlement and integration services and has allocated funding for the following programs: Language Training, Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), the Host Program, and Immigrant Loans Program under the government's Horizontal Initiative. This denotes that these programs have been allocated funds that exceed \$100M, are a government priority and have a high public profile (Fitzpatrick, 2004, para 5). Table 4 provides a summary of the funding allocated to each program through the Horizontal Initiative from the years 2003 - 2008.

At face value, national financial reports, as depicted in Table 4, could be interpreted as the federal government's commitment to their stated position that learning one of Canada's

⁵ Now called the Immigration and Multiculturalism Division.

official languages is integral to successful integration to Canada (Dolin & Young, 2004j). The federal government has increased its expenditures for Settlement and Integration programs. For example, Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC) programs saw an increase in funding from \$93.2 M in 2003-04 (planned spending) to \$190.1 M in 2006-2007 (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2007) even though immigration figures have remained consistent at a national level during this period (less than 1% of the total population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009a)).

The government of Canada has a clear mandate to address Canada's identified economic condition by way of immigration. The government has made significant efforts to implement the programs and initiatives that were directives of the immigration policy. These are increasing Economic Class immigrants, signing provincial/territorial agreements and increase in funding for settlement and integration programs.

Table 4
Horizontal Initiative Expenditures for Settlement and Integration Programs

PROGRAM	START/END DATES	YEAR	PLANNED SPENDING (RPP)	ACTUAL SPENDING (DPR)	TOTAL FEDERAL ALLOCATION
Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC) ⁶	1992/ Terms and conditions must be renewed by March 31, 2010.	2003-04	\$93.204 M	\$92.691 M	Ongoing \$ 100.4 M \$ 181.4 M \$ 174.7 M
		2004-05	\$ 94.6 M	\$ 94.0 M	
		2005-06	\$109.7 M	\$93.5 M	
		2006-07	\$190.1 M	Not reported to date	
		2007-08	\$174.7 M		
Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) ⁷	1992/ Terms and conditions must be renewed by March 31, 2010.	2003-04	\$34.970 M	\$35.346 M	Ongoing \$ 44.8 M \$ 98.1 M \$ 173.6 M
		2004-05	\$ 38.4 M	\$ 38.4 M	
		2005-06	\$ 53.7 M	\$ 42.9 M	
		2006-07	\$ 103.0 M	Not reported to date	
		2007-08	\$ 173.6 M		
Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) ⁸	1998/ Terms and conditions must be renewed by March 31, 2010.	2003-04	\$41.7 M	\$40.4 M	Ongoing \$ 44.5 M \$ 44.6 M \$ 49.6 M
		2004-05	\$ 43.9 M	\$ 42.5 M	
		2005-06	\$ 44.5 M	\$ 39.7 M	
		2006-07	\$ 44.6 M	Not reported to date	
		2007-08	\$ 49.6 M		
Host Program ⁹	1984/ Terms and conditions must be renewed by March 31, 2010.	2003-04	\$2.818 M	\$2.878M	ongoing \$ 2.8 M \$ 6.7 M \$10.0 M
		2004-05	\$3.1 M	\$3.1 M	
		2005-06	\$ 3.1 M	\$ 3.3 M	
		2006-07	\$ 7.4 M	Not reported to date	
		2007-08	\$10.0 M		

Note: The information in this table was compiled from the following sources.

⁶ *Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC)*. Retrieved September 10, 2008. from http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rma/eppi-ibdrp/hrdb-rhbd/dep-min/cic/linc-clic/description_e.asp.

⁷ *Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP)*. Retrieved September 10, 2008. from http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rma/eppi-ibdrp/hrdb-rhbd/dep-min/cic/isap-peai/description_e.asp.

⁸ *Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP)*. Retrieved September 10, 2008. from http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rma/eppi-ibdrp/hrdb-rhbd/dep-min/cic/rap-par/description_e.asp.

⁹ *Host Program*. Retrieved September 10, 2008. from http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rma/eppi-ibdrp/hrdb-rhbd/dep-min/cic/hp-pa/description_e.asp.

Manitoba

Having adopted the notion that increased immigration is the panacea for its economic quandary, Manitoba has made notable efforts to demonstrate its capability for implementing procedures and regulations. One such effort is the province establishing itself as a leader across the country in developing and implementing the Provincial Nominee Program. In addition to this, the province has implemented a number of programs that matches the federal government's mandate for settlement and integration initiatives.

While the national pattern that has emerged over the past 25 years has shown an increase in Economic Class immigrants to Canada, a trend that has slowly been emerging in Manitoba is an increase in PNPs in the province in the last decade. As discussed in detail in Chapter Two, the Economic Class category is sub-divided into Business, Federal Skilled Workers and Live-in Caregivers; and more recently stemming from the Economic Class is the Provincial Nominee Programs. PNPs are agreements between Canada and various provinces for selecting prospective immigrants¹⁰ to the respective provinces. Although each province has a unique agreement with Canada, a significant common element is the provinces' autonomy to assess and nominate candidates to meet specific labour-market needs with the federal government maintaining its power to exercise the final selection with respect to legislative requirements. Manitoba was the first province to develop a Provincial Nominee Program in 1998 of which the purpose was "to attract a greater share of immigrants and increase the distribution of immigrants across Canada" (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b, p. 9). Over the past decade the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP) has been modified. The Manitoba Labour and Immigration website states that the MPNP selects applicants based on their eligibility to "make a positive contribution to Manitoba's economy and society as permanent residents" (Government of Manitoba, 2009c, para 3). This is determined based on education and training, work experience, enough English or French to start a job soon after arrival, a connection to Manitoba, settlement supports and the intention to settle permanently in

¹⁰ The government of Canada uses the term "immigrant" to refer to all persons who has entered Canada as a permanent resident regardless of their classification.

Manitoba (Government of Manitoba, 2009a). There are six streams through which a potential applicant can apply under the MPNP. These are General Stream, Family Support, International Students, Employer Direct, Strategic Initiatives, Dependents and Business Immigration (Government of Manitoba, 2009a).

In relation to Canada and other provinces, Manitoba, under the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement, pulls in more immigrants under the PNP. In 2007, 28.3% of all new Canadians to Canada came under the family class, 11.8% came as refugees and 55.4% were under the economic class. Of this 55.4%, 7.2% were Provincial Nominees. When compared to British Columbia which ranks second in Canada in PNP immigration levels, statistics show that in 2007, of the national total of PNPs, Manitoba accounted for 45% and BC accounted for 14.7% (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). In the same year, of the new Canadians to arrive in Manitoba, 12.3% came as family class, 10.7% were refugees and economic class accounted for 76% of which 70.2% were Provincial Nominees (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). Furthermore, when compared to British Columbia in 2007, 32.4% were Family Class, 4.8% were Refugees and 60.0% were Economic Class. Of that 60%, only 6.5% were PNPs. Table 5 provides a summary of immigrants by class to Canada, Manitoba and British Columbia in 2007. In 2005, 57.4% of immigrants came under the MPNP, 49.9% in 2006, and 45.0% in 2007 ranking Manitoba as first for Provincial Nominee landings from 2005-2007. Manitoba's significant increase in Economic Class immigrants mirrors the national trend and at the same time depicts the significance of the PNP with respect to immigration in the province.

Table 5
Immigrants to Canada, Manitoba and British Columbia, by classification, 2007.

	Canada	Total #, Canada	Manitoba	Total #, Manitoba	British Columbia	Total # BC
<i>Family class</i>	28.3%	67,078	12.3%	1,343	32.4%	12,611
<i>Refugees</i>	11.8%	27,970	10.7%	1,170	4.8%	1,883
<i>Economic Class</i>	55.4%	114,174	76%	8,330	60.0%	23,391
<i>PNPs</i>	7.2%	17,095	70.2% (provincial) 45.0% (national)	7,689	6.5% (provincial) 14.7% (national)	2,519
<i>Other</i>	4.4%	10,441	1%	112	2.8%	1,071

Source: *B.C. Immigration Trends: 2008 Highlights, 2008*; Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b.

In addition to the PNP, the province has taken action in other areas mirroring the federal government's mandate with respect to settlement and integration by streamlining settlement and integration programs.

In Manitoba, Settlement and Integration falls under the Immigration and Multiculturalism Division. Prior to 1999, this Division was called the Citizenship and Multiculturalism Division and in September 1999, was integrated with the Department of Labour in Manitoba changing the department's name to the Department of Labour and Immigration (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2000). The Immigration and Multiculturalism Division currently delivers its programs and services through the following branches the Executive Administration, Strategic Planning and Program Support Branch, Immigration Promotion and Recruitment Branch, Settlement and Labour Market Services Branch, Adult Language Training Branch, Labour Market Strategy for Immigrants Initiative and the Multiculturalism Secretariat (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2006, 2007a). The responsibilities of these various branches include providing "managerial support and leadership to divisional programs" (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2007a, p. 44); increasing skilled and business immigration to Manitoba which matches the "...current and future labour and economic development needs of the Province" (Manitoba

Labour and Immigration, 2000, p. 64); providing settlement related programs and services to assist in the economic and social integration of immigrants; coordinating, supporting, delivering and funding language acquisition programs that are responsible for orientation, settlement, labour market service and integration activities; working collaboratively with other government departments such as Labour and Immigration (LIM), Advanced Education and Literacy (AEL) and Competitiveness, Training and Trade (CTT) “to coordinate and enhance services, and improve skills recognition and labour market integration of immigrants” (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2007a, p. 50); and, identifying priorities for action which incorporate the principles of multiculturalism within government departments and agencies (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2000). The initiatives, activities and programs of the various branches of the Division are all interconnected and reflect the promises made to new Canadians. For example, it states in Canada’s immigration program that language proficiency in either English or French is an integral aspect for successful settlement (Dolin & Young, 2004j). Thus, availability and access to language programs could attribute to the socio-economic conditions of new Canadians.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will focus on the initiatives, activities and programs of the Adult Language Training (ALT) Branch which is responsible for language training in Manitoba.

The objectives of Adult Language Training (ALT) Branch are to:

- coordinate and fund the delivery of accessible, flexible and effective Adult EAL programs throughout Manitoba in order to assist immigrants in developing competency in English so that they may pursue their personal, academic and employment goals, and attain lives of dignity and purpose in Canada;
- meet the diverse needs of newcomers by providing EAL programming in school and college-based programs, community-based language training, English at Work, English for Specific Purposes, and regional adult EAL programming;
- facilitate the delivery of EAL training to the maximum number of immigrant learners in the most appropriate settings by enhancing EAL teaching and coordinating capacities and expertise;

- support the establishment of joint initiatives among service providers and other partners; and
- promote successful learning outcomes for immigrants in academic, vocational and workplace environments (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008a, p. 46).

ALT Branch has categorized language training programs as follows: Core Adult EAL programs, Employment Language programs, Neighbourhood EAL programs, Volunteer Programs and Online Learning (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). Figure B1 provides a more detailed overview of these programs. Although there is no breakdown available as to the amount of funding the Branch allocates to each of these programs, the Annual Reports from the Department indicate that funding has increased over the past 10 years for language training programs. In the 2003-04 fiscal year, the Adult Language Training Branch provided approximately \$4.5 M in financial support for language training programs (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2004). This amount reached \$10 M in 2007-08 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008a).

Although an active immigration recruitment policy is fairly new to Manitoba, the province has made notable efforts in recruiting new Canadians and in implementing settlement and integration programs. This is due mainly from strong federal support both financially and remaining consistent with the economic agenda that this course of action is meant to serve.

To sum up, activities for the OECD, Canada and Manitoba clearly indicate that all parties are committed to the belief in economic growth as they have engaged in implementing procedures and regulations they believe will assist in achieving this goal.

Accountability Phase

In the third phase of the policy cycle, policy accountability determines whether the program or policy objectives were met. The first cluster states that the policy maker must establish whether the policy or program objectives stayed in place throughout the implementation stage. The second cluster calls for the necessity of the policy maker to know if there were any changes in the problem or condition that the policy was intended to address to

determine the relevancy to the current problem or condition. The third cluster upholds that the policy maker determine the accountability of the organization in the implementation of the program or policy. In other words, did the organization have the right supervision and leadership “with clear goals in mind ... to implement the policy initiative effectively? (Rist, 1994, p. 552). Rist points out that it is essential that these aspects be studied as the information gleaned is “ ... central to subsequent decisions on the potential selection of a policy too l...” (p. 553).

Organization of Economic and Co-operative Development (OECD)

From the OECD’s perspective, it may be argued that the policy or program objectives are being met. For example, currently, the OECD countries’ share of the world’s population is 18% and its share of the world’s trade is 75% (OECD, 2005, p. 6). The organization continues in its efforts to expand on this as noted in its deliberate endeavours to bring on board the five major emerging economies. Although the condition that the OECD has identified has not changed, what has changed is the trading power of the five major emerging economies. Until recently, these five economies were viewed as weak. Now that they are independently strengthening, the OECD is aware of the economic benefits of these economies.

The following statement made by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, at the General Debate at the 62nd Session at the United Nations General Assembly, could indicate that nations such as Brazil might not be easily swayed into uniting with the OECD:

“We must overcome the apparently pragmatic and sophisticated notion, which is actually anachronistic, predatory and senseless, that profits and wealth can grow forever, at any cost. There are prices that humanity cannot afford to pay, at the risk of destroying the material and spiritual foundations of our collective existence. At the risk of self-destruction. The preservation of life must prevail over mindless greed. The world will not correct its irresponsible relationship with nature, however, until we change the way development relates to social justice” (da Silva, 2007, p. 1).

Statements such as the above could be viewed as a challenge to the OECD with respect to the accountability of the organization. As it currently stands, the OECD does not appear to be accountable to any party. In fact, as a member, it becomes the member state's responsibility to have its policies inline with the OECD's. In fact, it may be argued that the OECD "holds all the cards" as membership automatically yields delivery of the organization's directive and puts the onus on the member state to be accountable to the OECD. It is possible that with a non-member such as Brazil (which the OECD is interested in) declaring a strong commitment to social justice, can provide a space to initiate a conversation regarding the OECD being accountable to its member states. In other words, turning the tables where potential member states will request that the OECD meet particular criteria before they join.

Canada

Not unlike the OECD, the government of Canada could state that the objectives set out by its policy are being met. Immigration has been consistent as there have been deliberate initiatives to increase Economic Class immigrants, stimulating the country's economy. Although the condition has remained constant, what has changed is immigrant status. According to Rubenson (2007), immigrant status may play a role in the decision for participation in self-directed training. As Dolin & Young (2004h) state, highly educated and skilled independent immigrants will not necessarily make the same sacrifices as immigrants in the past, a point that Rubenson reiterates claiming that this could lead recent immigrants to resort to learning on their own in order to improve their employment opportunities in Canada. Rubenson makes another important observation stating that in the context of adult formal training, White employees are more likely to receive employer-sponsored training resulting in non-White immigrants having to take the responsibility to train themselves. Self-directed and independent learning is an OECD directive and has become a significant component of formal adult training in Canada. As discussed in Chapter Two, immigrants face many barriers to employment such as the lack of recognition of foreign credentials and insufficient English language proficiency. Added to that is the responsibility to self-train. Given all these factors, it becomes questionable how long it will take to meet the required skills to enter the workforce and,

furthermore, how will these results be measured? As pointed out in Table 4, the federal government has demonstrated its support for settlement and integration by increasing financial support for these services. However, it could be argued that the government has to take more responsibility for such services by mandating programs that are effective and efficient in meeting the needs of new Canadians. In other words, the federal government should assume more direct responsibility for what appears to be mandatory re-training and education of new Canadians.

Manitoba

As Manitoba is consistent with Canada with respect to increasing immigration to improve economic conditions, the policy or program objectives have remained constant. In Manitoba, the change has been an increase in Economic Class immigrants as well as the number of immigrants to the province. In order to effectively serve this community, the Adult Language Training Branch (ALT) has made considerable effort to modify its objectives as well as develop and deliver education and training programs for new Canadians and service providers of this demographic group.

From 1999 to 2008, a number of initiatives were undertaken by ALT Branch that are noteworthy as they mark the Branch's commitment to modifying its objectives. Not only have the objectives become narrower in focus, but also the language used has shifted to language that speaks directly to the needs of new immigrants which is more reflective and representative of Canada's Immigration Program's stated goals. Thus, in the 1999-2000 Annual Report, the Branch's primary responsibility was stated as: "... facilitates integration of new immigrants to Manitoba through the development, coordination, support, delivery and funding of language acquisition programs that also deal with orientation, settlement, labour market service and integration activities" (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2000, p. 66). However, in the 2007-2008 Annual Report, one of the objectives of ALT Branch is stated as:

coordinate[s] and fund[s] the delivery of accessible, flexible and effective Adult EAL programs throughout Manitoba in order to assist immigrants in developing competency in English so that they may pursue their personal, academic and employment goals, and

attain lives of dignity and purpose in Canada (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008a, p. 46).

The comparison over time shows that efforts have been made at the provincial level to match the mandate of the federal directive.

A second observation that demonstrates the Branch's response to the changing community is the continuous changing of names of various language training programs as well as an increase in the number of programs. In 1999, language training classes were categorized as *Community Based Language Training* and *Workplace Language Training*. In 2000, a new category was added: *Regional Adult ESL Programming* which focused on rural activities. In 2001, *Workplace Language Training* was changed to *Language and Communication for the Workplace* and *School Division and College Programs* was added as a new category. In 2002, *Language and Communication for the Workplace* became *English at Work* and a new category was added: *English for Specific Purposes (ESP)*. In 2005, seven different program streams were reported and categorized as follows: *the ENTRY Program, Adult EAL for Schools and Colleges, Community-Based Language Training; English at Work, Enhanced English for Employment Purposes; Regional Programs, and Resources and Special projects* (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2006). These have remained so to date. Thus, over the past decade, ALT Branch has made efforts to be more succinct in identifying the language training needs of new Canadians and in development and delivery of such programs.

In addition to streamlining its objectives and programs, ALT Branch has made considerable changes to address the education and training for new Canadians. First, the Branch has been delivering more programs as well as diversifying the programming. Second, the Branch has taken on the responsibility for the education and training of service providers who work with this community.

Education and Training for New Canadians

The Branch has taken initiatives to respond directly to specific language needs of the community it serves as is indicated by the names of the seven programs offered by the Branch (*ENTRY Program, Adult EAL for Schools and Colleges, Community-Based Language Training;*

English at Work, Enhanced English for Employment Purposes; Regional Programs, and Resources and Special projects). What has changed over the past decade in terms of language program delivery is an increase in language training for employment purposes, independent learning and EAL literacy.

Annual reports from Labour and Immigration show an increase in the number of employment related language training programs to meet the diverse needs of the immigrant community. Activities have involved collaborative efforts between ALT Branch and institutions such as Red River College and the University of Winnipeg.

Training programs. One initiative that has gained some ground within the Adult EAL professional community is the “benchmarking” of courses and various training programs. This means that a Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) level is used as a language proficiency criteria for entering specific programs. For example, a learner who wishes to enter in the Childcare Worker (CCW) training program at Red River College must have a minimum CLB benchmark level (designated by RRC) in order to gain entry into the program. ALT Branch has worked with service providers such as Red River College to benchmark courses and occupations and continues to do so. In 2004-05 fiscal year, ALT recommended that CLB levels be used for admittance to the mature high school diploma program at Adult Learning Centres in Manitoba.

English for specific purposes. Another initiative from ALT Branch that pertains to employment training is the on-going development and delivery of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) classes. This has included programs such as *English for Health Care Aides, English for Pharmacists, and English for Taxi Drivers* (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2002). In addition, *Workstart* was initiated in 2006, a program that boasts “... a new approach to serving EAL learners looking for entry level employment” (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2007a, p. 50). Furthermore, from 2003-2007, the Enhanced Language and Training Initiative of CIC provided funds for development and delivery of new language training programs that “... focused on integrating groups of internationally trained professionals ...” (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2005, p. 59). With this increase in funding, one noticeable observation is the number of learners served by EAL classes which almost doubled from 3,825 in 2003 to 6,500 in

2007. However, from 2004 onwards, specific figures of the number of learners who participated in various streams (community-based, employment language programs, etc.) were no longer reported in the Annual Reports; only the total number of learners that received language training annually was reported. The challenge with this system of reporting is that it is not known how significant the increase is over the years of the number of learners who received language training for employment purposes. One can only assume that the number of learners being served has increased because the types of programs for employment training have increased.

Online learning. In addition to language training for employment purposes, ALT has put some emphasis in developing online learning. First, the Branch has on-going development (from 2002-2008) of its *Learning English section* on the Department's website. On this site, learners can find links to online learning forums that focus on English language acquisition. Second, in 2005-06, 3000 self-study guides were developed and distributed for "adult EAL learners to practice their English on their own using the internet and other community resources" (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2006, p. 55). And third, a website was created in 2006-07, *Canadian English for Professionals*, tailored for independent learning (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2007a). In this area, ALT provided resources for independent learning for both general/core English and English for Specific Purposes. Although it is difficult to make a reasonable assessment as to the benefit of independent learning activities, it is necessary to note an increase in their occurrence.

EAL literacy. A third area, in terms of language learning that ALT had addressed is EAL literacy. In 1999, the Adult English as a Second Language (A/ESL) literacy objectives for Manitoba were developed and presented and a draft of the Canadian Language Literacy Benchmarks was prepared for field-testing at a national level (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2000). The following year, ALT Branch funded and supported the development of the revised document (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2002). A/ESL Literacy programs draw mainly refugees whose life circumstances have often been such that they have received little or no formal education, or interrupted schooling resulting in little or no literacy skills in their

spoken language(s). The A/ESL Literacy programs combine literacy and English language and thus providing an opportunity for the learner to develop both literacy skills and English language proficiency.

These programs show that there have been efforts by the province of Manitoba which address both the various needs of new Canadians in the province and the federal government's interest in promoting self-directed/independent learning.

Education and Training for Service Providers

Given the influx of new immigrants to Manitoba annually, it is reasonable to expect an increase in the demand for services specific to the needs of this community. While one of these services is language training, another is training for those who supply services to this group. Three significant areas where ALT Branch has put its efforts into delivering training are professional development for service providers, training volunteers and cultural proficiency training.

According to the annual reports, during the fiscal years 2000-2001, 2003-04, 2004-05 and 2007-08, the Branch has been involved in the development, coordination and delivery of professional development for EAL (English as an Additional Language) teachers and other service providers across the province. This has included participating in Teaching English as an Additional Language (TEAL) Conferences as well as numerous workshops on teaching strategies and techniques. Information sessions to other service providers focused on coordinating and enhancing services in order to be more efficient and effective in service delivery. In addition, the Branch was responsible for training and certifying assessors to administer the Canadian Language Benchmarks Placement Test. In 2002-03, 17 assessors were trained and in 2007-08, nine were trained. Of those trained in 2007-08, some were trained with the intention to work in Brandon and Winkler thus eliminating travel to Winnipeg for assessments for residents of those communities (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008a). From 2005-2007, Winkler and Brandon ranked second and third respectively after Winnipeg in terms of the number of new immigrants to each town/city (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b).

In the past eight years, one area where ALT Branch has made significant efforts in supporting its directive is in the coordination and support for adult ESL volunteers. From 2000 to 2008, training, coordination and support were offered to over 2,800 adult EAL volunteers. In addition, a resource guide *Learning Together: A Resource Guide for Adult ESL Volunteers* was developed and distributed. This document continues to be revised every two to three years, the most recent revision in 2005-06 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2006).

ALT Branch conducted cross cultural awareness and intercultural communication workshops in 1999-2000 for managers in volunteer, non-profit organizations and businesses (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2000). From 2006-2008 the Branch coordinated "...the development and delivery of an intercultural specialist training program" (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2007a, p. 50, 2008a). Manitoba's Labour and Immigration website indicates that this service can also be provided upon request. Some of the topics include *An Introduction to the Role of Culture*, *Culturally Sensitive Supervising*, and *Inclusive Communication in a Diverse Workplace* ("The Diversity and Intercultural Training Program of Manitoba," n.d.). Although cultural proficiency training has not been consistent, it has been acknowledged and appears to be a slowly emerging trend.

This overview of the activities of the Adult Language Training Branch illustrates that the Branch has the capacity to serve its clientele. The Branch has achieved this through several programs and initiatives that address a number of aspects that pertain to both the language acquisition and integration processes. This has included streamlining its objective, supplying a range of EAL classes, from literacy to on-line independent learning, as well as, provide training to various groups that are frequently engaged in activities with new Canadians.

In terms of accountability, it appears as though the province is supplying a variety of programs to meet the diverse needs of the communities it serves. One question that needs to be considered is whether this is sufficient programming?

The OECD, Canada and Manitoba have all demonstrated that each has implemented various initiatives to meet their respective policies' goals. Although these efforts are well-intentioned, it is unclear what the measures of accountability are. For example, if there is not

sufficient programming, how does a new Canadian address this? Another example is if Canada has to follow the OECD's mandate - eg. independent learning - and Canada recognizes that this does not address the needs of the new Canadians, how does Canada address that with the OECD?

To sum up, in this chapter, I linked the policies of the OECD to Canada's Immigration policy and adult language training in Manitoba. The OECD appears to be a governing body with respect to its membership thus bestowing upon the organization decision-making power that have influenced the political and economical realms of its member states (Abu-Laban, 2007). This has led to member states shifting national policies to reflect the OECD's. Add this to the complexity of the policy process itself, which undergoes three phases, one can observe that multidimensional and multifaceted "nature" of the process. I discussed how each phase of Rist's (1994) policy process applies to the OECD, Canada's Immigration policy and education and training for new Canadians and service providers in Manitoba. I continue this discussion in Chapter Five, where I re-organized the data into three areas: Policies, Promises and Practices which I will discuss from critical political studies theory and critical race theory perspectives.

CHAPTER 5: INTERPRETATION OF DATA

In Chapter Four, I discussed Rist's (1994) three phases of the policy cycle within the context of a global economic system, Canada's immigration policy and language training for new Canadians in Manitoba. With respect to the OECD, Canada and Manitoba, these bodies have demonstrated their capabilities to formulate and implement programs, procedures and regulations as required by various policies. One aspect where the capabilities appear to be weak is in the area of accountability. Extending from Chapter Four, I have organized this chapter into four sections: Policies, Promises, Practices and Consequences which I will discuss from critical political studies theory and critical race theory perspectives. Using these perspectives as a basis, I present my interpretations on how various factors impact on the livelihoods of immigrants in Canada.

Policies

According to Graefe (2007), the manner in which the economy is organized directly shapes policy and policy outcomes. Furthermore, Abu-Laban (2007) insists that the autonomy of the nation state is compromised particularly when the state is a part of a regional bloc such as the EU or NAFTA as the policies of the bloc influences policies of the member state. As presented in Chapter Two, Canada resides in this position as a member of the OECD. To recap from Chapter Two, the OECD's mission is "... to help its member countries to achieve sustainable economic growth and employment and to raise the standard of living in member countries ... in order to contribute to the development of the world economy" (OECD, 2007a). The government of Canada is transparent that immigration is one remedy that could cure the country's economic predicament although to some, immigration is a nostrum. However, immigration does indeed bring financial assets to Canada and to provinces such as Manitoba. For example, at the federal level, in the fiscal year 2000-2001, processing fees paid by immigrants amounted to \$297.3 million and right of landing fees amounted to \$166.9 million, totalling \$464.2 million. During this period, the Government of Canada spent \$336.4 million on settlement and integration (Fontana, 2003). Fontana's report also pointed out that "...CIC's

total spending has been decreasing, going from 46% in 1997-1998 to 41% in 2000-2001” (p. 6). Manitoba has seen a 140% increase in funding for basic settlement from CIC. In addition, as shown in Table 6, Nunavut is the only province/territory that saw a decrease in funding from CIC during the period 2005 to 2009. However, as presented earlier, Nunavut is also the only province/territory that has not signed an immigration agreement or a Provincial Nominee agreement with the federal government.

Table 6
Basic Settlement Funding Allocation¹¹

Province or territory	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	% increase from 2005-09
Newfoundland & Labrador	\$892,475	\$1,244,276	\$1,311,252	\$1,391,455	56%
Prince Edward Island	\$327,800	\$424,744	\$773,702	\$990,367	202%
Nova Scotia	2,127,778	\$2,722,534	\$3,380,925	\$4,967,025	133%
New Brunswick	\$1,012,201	\$1,305,218	\$1,785,240	\$2,709,592	168%
Manitoba	\$8,819,850	\$13,101,588	\$14,952,888	\$21,142,831	140%
Saskatchewan	\$2,577,750	\$3,247,595	\$3,985,192	\$5,560,039	116%
Alberta	\$15,940,875	\$25,123,492	\$30,591,991	\$47,199,829	196%
Northwest Territories	\$150,000	\$203,647	\$306,142	\$271,915	81%
Nunavut	\$109,248	\$137,812	\$215,056	\$102,523	-6%
British Columbia	\$40,401,285	\$63,288,495	\$75,427,732	\$104,368,395	158%
Yukon	\$150,000	\$195,513	\$287,427	\$219,345	46%

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007

Thus, with respect to improving Canada’s economic position and that of most provinces and territories, immigration does play a significant role. And, in fact, it could be argued that immigration in itself is an industry. It is the *needs* of immigrants that result in stimulating the economy. Their need for settlement and integration services, such as language programs,

¹¹ Quebec and Ontario do not appear on Table 6 as their funding allocations are administered through the Canada-Quebec Accord and the Canada-Ontario Agreement on Immigration respectively (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007).

housing, etc. create a demand for services that need to be supplied. Thus, from an economics perspective, immigration does indeed stimulate the economy. For example, according to Ryan (2008), statistics gleaned from the Manitoba Economics Highlights report (2008) show that there has been significant increases in various niches in the Manitoba market. She points out that housing costs increased 14.1% (3rd highest in Canada), retail sales increased 9.4% (above the 5.8% increase for Canada) and furniture and appliance stores saw a 15.7% growth (Ryan, 2008). These examples are clearly tangible, material and measurable. However, there are other demands (services) that are not as tangible such as those required for the delivery of language training programs.

As presented in Chapter Two, Walters et.al (2004) take the position that capitalism as the dominant modern economic system asserts that individuals and firms seek to maximize their profits. They argue that this system is flawed since what usually results is over-investment, over-capacity, over-production and falling profits (Walters et al., 2004). Furthermore, this leads to claims that not enough skilled workers are being produced (Bhola, 1998; Walters et al., 2004). This demand has coerced many public institutions into redefining their educational priorities to accommodate the needs of industries, a phenomenon that is notable within the European Union (Walters et al., 2004) and strongly supported by The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) which advocates for the integration of supply and demand in adult education. The argument here is that by supporting the development of new adult education programs, this will produce better skilled workers which will improve the economy, and eventually lead to economic well-being and prosperity for all. This promise and other such promises will be discussed in the next section.

By taking the position that the OECD is a regional bloc, Canada's membership coerces the Canadian government into adopting a strong economic agenda into its policies. Even though Canada has been consistent with immigration in general, what is particularly noticeable is the change in immigrant category. As presented earlier, there has been a significant decline in family class immigrants and refugees and an increase in economic class. Although the application and processing fees are the same for all categories, economic class immigrants,

depending on their category must show a net worth from \$300,000 to \$800,000, some of which must be held in trust to the government for five years and returned to the investor without interest. Skilled workers must also have enough cash to show that they can be self-sufficient for at least six months (roughly \$10,000 +). Thus, from a financial perspective, millions of dollars is being poured into the economy annually demonstrating that the increase in the economic class immigrant supports an economic agenda. It therefore appears as though Canada is following the OECD's directive which supports Abu-Laban's (2007) theory that membership to a regional bloc will provoke a nation state to lose its autonomy.

Furthermore, from a CPST perspective, the shift in economic class immigrants means a resource drain from countries of origin. Canada's stringent screening of potential immigrants ensures that formally educated, wealthy and healthy individuals be admitted as permanent residents. This leads to a loss of these resources from the source countries. This drain of resources strongly resembles colonial behaviour. During the colonization period, many countries were robbed of their primary natural resources and human resources as well. The benefit of human capital is strongly advocated by the OECD (OECD, 2003). Even though human capital theory was discredited in the 1950s, it has resurrected into mainstream economic thinking in the US ("Education Policy," 1998). This example supports Abu-Laban's argument that the systemic 'nature' of colonization remains intact in Canada's political system. It is within this context that the OECD's policies and Canada's immigration policy are developed and now operate under. These political structures and institutions are one of the many legacies of colonialism; another legacy is the promises made.

Promises

According to Isbister (1998) at the turn of the twentieth century, the people of the Third World began to reaffirm their sense of importance and dignity by responding through nationalist and revolutionary political organizations. As countries became independent, their leaders " ... proclaimed that the poverty of their countries was due to centuries of colonial exploitation ... and promised the people's labour would now be used for their own progress, not for the enrichment of foreigners" (Isbister, 1998, p. 4). At the same time, a promise was also

made by leaders of rich countries “ ... that the rich would work together with the poor for economic development” (Isbister, 1998, p. 5). Unfortunately, neither promise has been kept. In the case of the third world, the economic problems remained after independence because “ ... many of [its] economies were dominated by export crops that faced uncertain markets and depended on cheap labour to remain competitive in world markets” (Isbister, 1998, p. 145). In addition, there was an unwillingness among leaders “ ... to deal with the ways in which oppression was exercised within the nation, ... so in most cases, it was just avoided” (Isbister, 1998, p. 106) which resulted in a reframing of exploitation, instead of an ending to it; the new regimes therefore could neither bring about economic development nor alleviate poverty (Isbister, 1998).

Rich countries were also unable to meet their promise as Europe lost its economic momentum after WWII. Subsequently, America transitioned from colony to economic superpower, and, through multilateral trade agreements and capitalist motivated foreign policy, became a de facto colonizer itself (Isbister, 1998). During the Cold War, the US spent its dollars on the military and in supporting those countries that were of strategic military importance. Following the Cold War, US foreign policy, for the most part, continued to be influenced by strategic concerns rather than by benevolence. Isbister sums up America’s attitude to aid as follows: “[w]hen foreign human rights and foreign profits have come into conflict, Americans have always chosen profit” (p. 207).

Isbister (1998) firmly believes that rich nations “ ... have an obligation to act on behalf of those who most need their help and support” (p. 207). He also suggests that the first priority for development be that of basic human needs - shelter, clothing, nutritious food, health and medical care, and basic education. He suggests that global human society is analogous to an organism whose survival is dependent on its overall health. If one part of the organism is weak, it compromises the survival of the entire organism. It is therefore in the best interest of the organism to protect and take care of its weak part in order to ensure its overall survival. As Isbister puts it, “even if the rich are not motivated by a spirit of fraternity, they should be motivated by an instinct for self-preservation” (p. 241).

With respect to immigrants in Canada, a parallel can be drawn between Isbister's view of the conditions and responsibilities for poverty at a global scale and that of new Canadians. Prospective immigrants are promised "a good life" in Canada. As discussed previously, Canada's policies reflect the convictions of the OECD. When it comes to employment, education and social welfare, the OECD states that it is responsible for ensuring equal access to education for all, fighting social exclusion and unemployment and bridging the "digital divide" between rich and poor (OECD). This is echoed both in Canada's Immigration Program and in Manitoba's Immigration Agreement. CIC states that the department's approach to immigration, responds to the needs of communities in all parts of the country by creating opportunities for individuals to come to Canada to make an economic, social, cultural and civic contribution while also realizing their full potential, with a view to becoming citizens (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009b).

This is also reflected in Manitoba. In fact, one trend is the work being done by ALT Branch over the years to continuously redefine its objectives so that they more resemble the national immigration's objectives. One of ALT Branch's objectives is

the delivery of accessible, flexible and effective Adult EAL programs throughout Manitoba in order to assist immigrants in developing competency in English so that they may pursue their personal, academic and employment goals, and attain lives of dignity and purpose in Canada (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008a, p. 46).

Whether a promise (and in fact an actual outcome for immigrants), such as "attaining lives of dignity" can be achieved, remain dubious. Arguably, measuring this would be a great challenge. However, there are economic values that are used to measure intangibles such as poverty. One could take the position that one is not living a life of dignity if one is living in poverty, relative or absolute. To measure poverty is complex. The OECD itself uses several indicators to measure and identify poverty. This is further complicated by different types of poverty. One indicator the OECD uses to assess poverty is income disparity, measured by the Gini coefficient. The Gini coefficient uses a scale from zero (0) to one hundred (100), where zero indicates that "each share of the population gets the same share of income" (Förster &

d'Ercole, 2005, p. 9) and a 100 indicates “all income goes to the share of the population with the highest income” (Förster & d'Ercole, 2005, p. 9), with OECD member countries showing an average of 30.6. Such an average taken at face value seems impressive as it suggests that the income disparity is as more equitable than inequitable. However, before jumping to such conclusions it is necessary to understand how the OECD conceptualizes poverty.

Although the OECD recognizes the complexity of how poverty can be conceptualized, the organization uses a consumption-based model for assessing poverty. This indicator is determined by access to goods and services. Furthermore, the OECD sees the distinction between relative and absolute poverty as minimal. Analysts and experts in the field of development studies are continuously trying to agree on a single definition of poverty. For example, Escobar (1999) and Gafar (1998) claim that some of the indicators of poverty were lack of access to employment, education and healthcare. Yet others have suggested poverty means being “excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities” (Thomas, 2000, p. 13). Critics have pointed out that in industrialized countries this could mean not being able to afford a TV and, therefore, defining poverty as one’s capability to participate in acquiring consumer goods as opposed to having basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, education and healthcare met (Thomas, 2000). Despite this criticism, this interpretation has gained popularity. However, as Shipler (2007) points out poverty is not just income; it is also debt and a sense of helplessness.

The federal government has acknowledged that “... immigrants arriving in the 1990s were initially less successful economically than previous arrivals, despite having higher levels of education, on average, than Canadians” (Dolin & Young, 2004b, para 6). Hum & Simpson’s (2004) study of immigrant earnings report that immigrant men and women generally see a decline in earnings for more recent arrival cohorts and “... men’s earnings were found to be generally higher in Toronto, Ottawa and Hamilton, and lowest in Montreal and Winnipeg” (Ryan, 2008, p. 18). Picot & Hou (2003, as cited in Ryan, 2008) found similar hardships for recent immigrants (defined as in Canada for 5 years or less) across all categories, and especially more difficult for women. They report that according to Statistics Canada, African

immigrants regardless of their duration of time in Canada have “... consistently higher unemployment rates than Asian, European or other immigrants” (as cited in Ryan, 2008, p. 18).

A longitudinal study conducted by Statistics Canada surveyed and collected statistical data on participants who landed in Canada during the period of October 1, 2000 and September 30, 2001. Participants represented different categories of immigrants, resided in different provinces, were 15 years old or older, and surveyed at three points: six months, 2 years and 4 years after landing in Canada. The survey looked at four challenges to integration: housing, accessing healthcare services, accessing education and/or training and finding employment (Statistics Canada, 2005). A brief overview of the survey shows that in general all categories of immigrants are happy to be in Canada and are satisfied with their current circumstances. However, this does not deter from the fact that the majority of new Canadians face a number of challenges in the integration process. When describing their overall financial circumstances after six months in Canada, more than one-half (56%) of the respondents in the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) reported having just enough money; “about one-third (34%) reported not having enough money and almost one-tenth (9%) reported having more than enough money to meet their basic needs” (Statistics Canada, 2005, p. 81). However, when examined by immigration category, 58% of refugees reported that they did not have enough money and 37% of skilled workers (principal applicants) reported not having enough money. Only 16% of economic immigrants other than the skilled workers reported not having enough money while 23% from that category reported having “more than enough money” (Statistics Canada, 2005). The financial situation of new Canadians appears to correlate to their employment conditions.

The employment rate for new immigrants is 44% which is lower than the Canadian average of 61%. In addition, the unemployment rate for newly arrived immigrants is 37%. By category, the unemployment rate for skilled worker (principal applicants) and family category is 34% (for each category) and 51% for refugees (Statistics Canada, 2005, p. 60). Furthermore, results from the survey reveal “... the most common jobs held by new immigrants are classified as lower skilled occupations” (Statistics Canada, 2005, p. 66). For example, six months after

arrival, the three most common occupational groups were sales and service (13%), professional occupations in natural and applied sciences (11%) and clerical occupations (11%). However, these were not often the intended occupations. Some reasons for taking these jobs include waiting for credentials assessments and language development/improvement (Statistics Canada, 2005). In addition, many immigrants reported working two or three jobs. Among all the immigration categories, it appears as though the worst off are refugees. For example, to immigrate to Canada, skilled workers must show a savings account of \$10,000 plus \$2,000 for each dependent. In addition, this group has the credentials and experience that reflect the labour market needs in Canada. Government-sponsored refugees on the other hand must repay the government of Canada expenses incurred for transportation and other fees. This means that a government-sponsored refugee arrives to Canada in debt. The result of these circumstances put skilled workers in a more favourable position than refugees. According to the Longitudinal Survey (Statistics Canada, 2005) refugees are least likely to have their credentials accepted and are also least likely to have credentials that match the labour market demand in Canada. Furthermore, refugees are more likely to require more language training. Bringing attention to this, however, is not intended to negate the challenges that other immigration categories face. In fact, Ryan (2008) makes a strong case for skilled workers in Manitoba by pointing out that there is a disconnect between the skills being “brought in” and the skills needed by employers. Often the reason given to immigrants for not getting a job is lack of Canadian work experience¹² and not enough language skills. The data gleaned from this survey and other studies discussed above show that the promises made to new Canadians regarding their prosperity (i.e. pursuing their personal and employment goals and attain lives of dignity and purpose) in Canada might not be as simple as it appears. The promises being made to all new immigrants hold elements of the restrictive view of equality, one of the facets of critical race theory. This could serve as a possible explanation as to why the government of Canada is unable to meet the promises made.

¹² For an employer to use “lack of Canadian work experience” as a reason for denying someone a job should be deemed unacceptable as it is impossible to have Canadian work experience if you have recently arrived from another country.

Rousseau & Tate (2003, as cited in Dixon & Rousseau, 2005a) state that a restrictive view of equality treats equity as a process which minimizes the significance of actual outcomes; while an expansive view of equality focuses on outcomes, stressing equality as a result. Thus, while Canada's immigration program stresses that an outcome of immigration is the importance it plays in building a multicultural society and the many benefits to the Canadian social fabric, it simultaneously supports a restrictive view of equality. To elaborate on this, after arrival all new Canadians are treated "equally" or the same even though the criteria used for selecting each category of immigrant differs significantly. Once in Canada, everyone follows the same procedures to obtain health cards, SIN cards, undergo the same process for credentials assessments, etc. Furthermore, placements in EAL classes are determined by language proficiency and do not take into account immigrant status. As discussed earlier, refugees face more barriers than other classes of immigrants. They are least likely to have their credential recognized as well as least likely to have credentials and experience that match the Canadian labour market gaps. As a result, their outcomes will be different from other groups. For example, an economic class immigrant will have a better chance of finding employment in his/her area of expertise than a refugee. Furthermore, an economic class immigrant will have more financial resources than a refugee, thus the two are not on a level playing field. In addition, all new Canadians face barriers to finding adequate employment such as not having the proper credentials, no Canadian work experience and not enough English language skills. In fact, recent immigrants with university degrees, considered as least vulnerable compared to other immigrant categories, "were just as likely to experience low income as non-immigrants without high school diploma[s]" (Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 2008, p. 2). Therefore, to place all new immigrants on the same playing field as non-immigrants and expect them to "compete" in that context is another example of the restrictive view of equality as their outcomes will be different. In an expansive view of equality, all new Canadians and each category of immigrant would be treated in a manner that reflects their diverse needs. Affirmative action processes is a close example of an expansive view of equality in action. However, this has not been well received and is often viewed as a "hand-out."

It is within this context that initiatives and programs are being undertaken with the purposes of addressing the needs of new Canadians. Under the present system, the promises made by the government of Canada to new Canadians are unlikely to be fulfilled should current activities continue to run as is.

Practices

In terms of practices, there are many initiatives by ALT that demonstrate that the objectives of the Branch are carried out. The two major areas that the Branch focuses its activities on are language training for immigrants and training service providers.

In terms of addressing language needs, ALT Branch provides a variety of programs. For example, both core English programs and employment related English programs are delivered. Furthermore, the Branch has been continuously developing its online learning medium, as well as putting efforts into developing and delivering an EAL literacy program. According to Manitoba Immigration Facts 2007, 53 % of immigrants have English language ability, and 3% have French language ability (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2008b). In 2007, about 44% (4,811 individuals) who arrived spoke neither English nor French. This figure however, should be used with caution, as it does not separate pre-school, school-aged and adults. Of the 10,955 new Canadians to Manitoba in that year, 3,039 were school-aged (5-19 yrs old) and 947 were pre-school (0-4 yrs old), thus by subtracting this total (3,986) from 10,955, we can figure out that the number of adults (20-99 yrs old) who arrived that year is 6,969. From the statistical information published, it is not clear, what percentage of adults did not speak English or French. However, in 2007, out of 4,767 principal applicants (who are all adults), 955 did not have English or French language ability. Thus, approximately 20% of principal applicants spoke neither English nor French. This figure is actually higher as it has not yet taken into account language ability of principal applicants' partners. For argument's sake, let us assume that 955 partners (to match the principal applicant's figure) spoke neither English nor French. This would mean about 27% (albeit a crude figure) of adults who arrived in 2007 require language training. This is a significant number when it comes to delivery and practices of EAL classes. Furthermore, this figure does not yet take into consideration those who require supplementary

language training (i.e., low CLB levels). Although these figures are crude, they do help to play a role in generating a general picture of the demand for EAL training in Manitoba.

Table 7 provides an overview of the number of adult learners to receive language training in Manitoba from 1999-2007. Although ALT Branch boasts 6,500 learners received language training in 2007, this number should be viewed with caution. Using the 27% figure as an average, applying it across the board for the past five years (2003-2007), and aggregating that figure, the crude total of learners who had neither English nor French ability and required language training would be roughly 7,359. Again, this does not take into account those who require additional language training. Prior to 2004, ALT Branch reported the number of learners that participated in each type of language programs (Core English, Community-based EAL, etc); subsequent to 2004, the Branch reported this information as one sum which prevents a clear picture and therefore clear understanding of what types of classes learners are attending. Also not reported is the number of hours of language instruction that learners were able to participate. Without question, ALT has made efforts to diversify in the types of EAL programming as well as increase the number of seats available for learners which matches with policy objectives, however, it remains questionable as to whether or not learners' language needs are met to the extent that is needed.

Table 7
Number of learners who receive language training from 1999-2007 in Manitoba¹³

		1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
# of CLB Assessments administered	Winnipeg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,742
	Regional Areas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	190
	Manitoba	2,257	2,083	2,208	2,444	2,975	3,108	2,800	3,246	3,932
# of learners served by EAL classes delivered by School Divisions & Colleges (Core Adult EAL Programs)	Winnipeg	1,400	1,443	1,380	1,489	1,500	-	-	-	-
# of learners served by Community Based EAL classes (Neighbourhood EAL programs)	Winnipeg	589	513	535	597	510	-	-	-	-
# of learners served by Language for the Workplace Classes (Employment Language Programs)	Winnipeg	475	400	300	300	400	-	-	-	-
	Regional Areas	91	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	820
# of learners served by Community Based & Language for the Workplace classes, combined	Regional Areas		398	406	570	750	-	-	-	-
		n/a	71	201	336	663	-	-	-	-
# of learners served by English for Specific Purposes EAL classes	Manitoba	2,555	2,825	2,640	3,292	3,825	4,600	5,660	5,660	6,500
TOTAL # of learners that received language training										
Total number of Immigrants	Winnipeg	2,908	3,506	3,704	3,782	5,120	5,891	6,134	7,641	8,386
	Regional Areas	794	1,078	884	839	1,372	1,536	1,963	2,410	2,569
	Manitoba	3,702	4,584	4,588	4,621	6,492	7,427	8,097	10,051	10,955

¹³ These figures were compiled from the Annual Reports for Manitoba Labour and Immigration starting from the 1999-2000 Report to the 2007-2008 Report. Information was also drawn from the *Manitoba Immigration Facts: 2007 Statistical Report*, 2008.

Returning now to the arguments of scholars in the field of critical political studies, such as Abu-Laban (2007) and Graefe (2007), whose views are shared by other agents, as is noted in the *International Encyclopedia of Public Policy and Administration*:

policy makers have decidedly nailed themselves to the economic policy mast in ways that have completely obliterated the social policy effects of education (in terms, for example, a concern for matters of democratic citizenship and values of humanity and social justice) ("Education Policy," 1998, p. 739).

This statement links social policies to economic policies. Although there is no education policy, per se, for adult EAL language training, there is a directive that comes from the immigration policy via the Settlement and Integration programs that calls for mandatory language instruction for newcomers. This provides an example of how intertwined social and economic policies have become. In Manitoba, the Adult Literacy Act became effective in January 2009. One of the components of the Strategy is English as an Additional Language (EAL)/Immigrant Focus ("Manitoba Adult Literacy Strategy," 2009). Adult Learning and Literacy¹⁴ (AL&L) does have a document that provides Adult Learning Centres (ALCs) with guidelines for enrolling EAL learners and Refugee Assistance Program (RAP) clients ("Acts, Regulations and Policies," 2009) which is part of the policy guide for Adult Learning Centres (ALCs). This regulation "*strongly recommends* (emphasis mine) a level of Benchmark 7...as the minimum entrance requirement to high school levels (grades 9-12)" ("Canadian Language Benchmark Levels and Refugee Assistance Program Clients- Relevance to Adult Learning Centres," 2006, p. 1). The policy guide also states that "[p]rospective learners who are also RAP clients are not required to get "permission" to attend an ALC" (p.2) as Citizenship and Immigration Canada "... recognizes that attending an ALC may be a very good option for some RAP clients" (p.2). It is not clear from the context of the document if this means that RAP clients do not need a CLB assessment.

What is evident here is the absence of a specific policy for EAL programs. These programs are actually *policy tools* that stem from the national immigration policy. To

¹⁴ AL&L is the provincial government department responsible for adult learning and literacy programming, excluding EAL

complicate matters, Manitoba does not have an adult education policy, resulting in EAL programs not fitting “anywhere.” This raises accountability concerns. A range of providers delivers programs from community based to universities. It is not clear to what extent these organizations are accountable, and whether they are accountable to ALT, their own private bodies or both.

Abu-Laban (2007) makes a strong argument in her discussion that the absence of a national childcare policy affects women, poor women and immigrant women, as they are ones who are typically employed in this sector. From her perspective, patriarchy and capitalism have paved the way for the racial hierarchies that currently exist, and therefore the absence of policy perpetuates such systemic racism. She argues that the repercussions of no childcare policy are serious. A parallel can be drawn with this example of the absence of policy in the field of adult education in Manitoba, under which language training for adult immigrants could fall. The groups that are affected by this policy (or lack of policy) are identified as racial and/or ethnic minorities; and their circumstances in Canada are affected by a historical social process (Abu-Laban, 2007). As discussed in the *International Encyclopedia of Public Policy and Administration* education policy should be “... a provision made by government on the grounds of a need to improve the life chances and social mobility of sizable sections of society” (“Education Policy,” 1998, p. 739). Currently, there is no clear adult education policy in place in Manitoba and the potential that any new policies will incorporate a strong economic agenda is high and therefore unlikely that new policies will take on such responsibilities as recommended above.

The absence of policy has two major implications. The first is a lack of accountability and the second is the risk perpetuating a racist patriarchal capitalist status quo. In the first case, there appears to be no accountability mechanisms in place. As already presented in Chapter Two, the Humanitarian Accountability Partnership defines accountability as involving three sets of principles and mechanisms:

1. Mechanisms for planning and implementing actions in a responsible manner, with consideration to the needs and desires of the clients. This requires organisations to consult, listen, enquire and generally engage with clients before taking action;
2. Mechanisms by which individuals, organisations and States account for their actions and are held responsible for them;
3. Mechanisms by which individuals, organisations and States may safely and legitimately report concerns, complaints and abuses, and get redress where appropriate (HAP-I, 2006, p. 9).

The first mechanism in essence requires *consulting, listening and engaging* with clients before taking action. ALT Branch's activities over the past decade certainly show that there has been a change in the programs that the Branch delivers to its clients. This is evident, as depicted in Table 7. For example, there is an increase in the number of learners taking EAL classes, there are more EAL classes being offered in regional areas and there are more ESP classes as well, to list a few. Although there is no documentation to suggest that ALT Branch consulted and engaged directly with clients before initiating these programs, it is probably reasonable to assume that this might have taken place either formally or informally. Even if ALT did not directly engage with clients, there is an abundance of published research that indicate the needs of their clients, thus it is possible that such information could have been used in some of ALT Branch's decision making processes.

The second mechanism of accountability state that individuals, organisations and States *account* for their actions and are held responsible for them. It is not easily discernible if and how this is being practiced. The federal government (the State) has passed on a huge proportion of the responsibility of immigration to the province of Manitoba via the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement. The province (Labour and Immigration) has delegated the duties and responsibilities of the Agreement via the various branches within the Immigration and Multiculturalism Division (the organization). The Division constitutes of six branches all accountable to the Assistant Deputy Minister. What is known is *to whom* the branches are accountable to, what is not known is *precisely how* their accountabilities are measured.

The third mechanism of accountability allows for *concerns, complaints and abuses* to be reported in a safe and legitimate environment by all parties (individuals, organisations and States) as well as provide an opportunity for redress when necessary. The only mechanism that seems to be in place is through citizen engagement.

As already discussed in Chapter Two, Laforest & Phillips (2007) state that citizenship engagement was a deliberate move by the Canadian government to create a space where citizens can participate in the policy process. Among the various attributes of both the representative and deliberative democratic policy processes, the importance of a forum where citizens can voice their concerns and the necessity for mechanisms for accountability stood out. In a representative democratic policy process, citizens determine their political representatives through voting and expect their interests to be articulated and therefore hold elected officials accountable (Laforest & Phillips, 2007). However, one of the key features of this model is that it aggregates interests which have resulted in criticisms for representing minorities conservatively. The criticisms of this model led to the emergence of the deliberative democratic policy process where the key elements were active participation, reciprocity (dialogue between citizenry and government), transparency (everything is made public) and, accountability (both citizenry and government accountable to each other); with accountability being its most prominent feature (Laforest & Phillips, 2007). Furthermore, this model created a space for citizen engagement where all citizens, including those who will be affected by decisions to have the opportunity to participate in the process; a feature that is exemplary in principle but hard to put into practice (Laforest & Phillips, 2007). Even though this model presented opportunities for more public participation, the link to show how this participation impacted decision-making was absent, which left citizens feeling disempowered (Laforest & Phillips, 2007).

Furthermore, Laforest & Phillips (2007) point out that even though citizenship engagement has created a space for dialogue, it is only at the input level of the policy process where little has been done to include citizens at the output level. In addition, in both the representative and deliberative models, intermediary voluntary organizations are being

squeezed out of the process, which warrants caution as it is the only forum for citizens to have their voices heard. In both models, there is a lack of voice which makes it difficult for individuals to “... truly exercise influence or have any real sense that participation makes a difference” (Laforest & Phillips, 2007, p. 80).

Laforest & Phillips’ (2007) discussion does not bode well for the opportunities for citizens to engage in the policy process in a safe and legitimate forum. This is further complicated by the fact that new Canadians are *not eligible to be citizens* until they have been permanent residents for at least three years. One of the rights of a Canadian citizen is the right to vote. This means that new Canadians are completely “out of the loop” and must rely on special interest groups to voice their concerns. Again, Laforest & Phillips point out that such groups are being squeezed out of the policy process. With little or no representation, this reinforces Abu-Laban’s point that racial and ethnic minorities are affected by these actions or more precisely, inactions resulting in the perpetuation of institutionalized racism because the outcomes of these policies and policy tools uphold the marginalization of these groups.

There are two prominent factors then that must be taken into consideration when addressing the language needs of new Canadians. First, is whether there is sufficient programming to meet the demands of learners? Second, is the accountability factor which brings attention to the possibility that new Canadians might not have a strong enough voice in the political arena to express their needs and therefore decisions around their language learning requirements are left in the hands of governments.

The second area of *Practices* that was identified is Training for Service Providers. There are professional development opportunities for teachers, training of volunteers who interact with new immigrants and cultural proficiency workshops being offered to businesses and other groups who are interested. What is interesting to note is that these are all initiatives that benefit, for the most part Canadian-born citizens. One of the objectives of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act is “to support the development of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy in which the benefits of immigration are shared across Canada” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010b, Art. 3.1 (e)). The initiatives undertaken by ALT fit into this

objective as providing professional development to teachers, training volunteers and cultural proficiency education do benefit new Canadians as well as those receiving training. For example, better trained teachers would presumably deliver better classes and increased cultural proficiency could improve cross-cultural interactions. However, it is questionable whether or not what is being done is sufficient given the number of immigrants entering the province annually. A mandate to bring 10,000 new immigrants to Manitoba annually means that more Canadian-born citizens will need to be employed as teachers, as cultural proficiency experts, etc. It is worth mentioning that the influx of new immigrants has provoked more earnest work in the professionalization of EAL teachers. In Manitoba, teachers working with adult EAL learners are still marginalized in terms of benefits compared to their counterparts in the K-12 system. More services to the industry include the training of volunteers and the creation and publication of volunteer training manuals. These practices resemble elements that favour the industry that has been created by immigration more so than those which favour the interests of new immigrants.

Consequences of the Policies, Promises and Practices

In this thesis, I set out to ascertain the impact of Canada's Immigration policy on new Canadians. In my study, I decided that it would be important to come to an understanding of the contexts that could have played a role in shaping the policy. I hypothesized that an examination of the political factors both globally and nationally could give some indication of what could influence policymakers.

Historically speaking, the purpose of Canada's immigration policy and agenda (before there was a policy) has remained consistent: to increase the country's population and to stimulate and improve its economy. Over the years, various "types" of immigrants were targeted in relation to their perceived potential to contribute to the success of the country's economy. Prospective immigrants were also selected based on the beliefs that they would be suitable to the customs of the colony, reflecting French or British values. Over the years this has changed but remains predominantly favourable to European values and beliefs. In fact, in the past and to some extent today, the immigration program has been criticized as being racist

as many prospective immigrants were deemed not suitable to adapting smoothly into Canada. This notion of adaptability represents a “melting pot” approach to multiculturalism. Such an approach expects immigrants to blend in and fit into the existing environment. In other words, the conditions of the host country would remain consistent and the change would come from those who are new.

In terms of multiculturalism, Canada is culturally and linguistically diverse, a benefit of the immigration program. Both the social component (Family class) and the humanitarian component (Refugees) have played a major role in the country’s diversity. As reported earlier, there has been a significant increase in Economic class immigrants who are selected primarily on their financial assets. This system could in fact be seen as non-discriminatory based on factors such as race or ethnicity, as the socio-economic status of Economic class immigrants is regarded as a good indicator of “surviving” in Canada. So although one could argue that the conditions of the host country have changed over the years in terms of cultural diversity, the “melting pot” ideology has not. All immigrants, regardless of their immigration class, are expected to “fall in.” As such, the Settlement and Integration programs are designed with that in mind. For example, foreign credentials are assessed based on Canadian standards and work experience outside of Canada is not recognized as valid. Even though the language used - i.e. integration - resembles and implies an equitable process, the actual practice differs. This is not to undervalue or dismiss the current services that are in place to assist the integration process, but rather to understand what is happening below the surface. As presented earlier, CRT states that a restrictive view of equality neglects to focus on the outcomes of processes which then serve to perpetuate racial inequality. Settlement and integration programs based on a restrictive model of equity will have the same result. Studies cited in this thesis have revealed that immigrants do not share the same standard of living as most Canadian-born citizens; with refugees being lowest on the socio-economic scale than other categories of immigrants.

It has been pointed out, and acknowledged by the federal government, that “immigrants arriving in the 1990s were initially less successful economically than previous arrivals, despite having higher levels of education, on average, than Canadians” (Dolin &

Young, 2004c, para 6). There may be numerous reasons for this situation, including: inadequate systems for evaluating foreign education and credentials, insufficient provision for any necessary upgrading, a reluctance of Canadian employers to hire workers without Canadian experience or less than complete language fluency, and negative attitudes on the part of some employers toward hiring newcomers, particularly visible minorities. Some have argued that, until these problems are ironed out, it would be fairer to potential immigrants to keep immigration levels modest, or at least provide better information to prospective immigrants.

The three most commonly cited reasons for immigrating to Canada are “...to improve the future for their family (30%), to join family or close friends already living in Canada (27%), and for education purposes (11%)” (Statistics Canada, 2005, p. 18). In 2001, 30% of recent immigrants living in Winnipeg had university degrees, compared to 16% of those born in Canada. Yet, research shows that recent immigrants are more likely to “work for low wages, have lower skill jobs for which they are overqualified, lower employment rates, higher unemployment rates, and lower average earnings and incomes than the Canadian born” (Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 2008, p. 2). Furthermore, the poverty rate among recent immigrant children in Manitoba was 51.2% in 2001 which is more than double compared to the whole province (Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 2008). High rates of poverty carry consequences to both families and children. First, children from lower income families have worse developmental outcomes than children from higher income households (Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 2008). Second, the stresses associated with integration by parents impact their children. Many immigrants work longer hours for lower pay and therefore have less time for family activities. Many youth are faced with greater responsibilities, such as “staying home alone, caring for siblings, grocery shopping and cooking, translating and interpreting for their parents, and finding paid employment to supplement their parents’ incomes” (Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 2008, p. 3). Such conditions are an indication that improving the future of one’s family, one of the primary reasons given by immigrants for coming to Canada, is not being met.

By way of understanding a policy issue at hand, the first step, according to Rist (1994) is to understand the problem or the condition that the policy will aim to address. The major conditions that need to be addressed, according to the government of Canada, are Canada's population, its age, and its labour market. The course of action generated to address these conditions is an increase in immigration (Dolin & Young, 2004m). This course of action dates back to when Canada was a French colony at which time it was believed that immigration played a key role in sustaining the colony's economy. After France conceded the colony to the British, the ideology remained that development of primary resources would lead to industry and commerce which led to active recruitment of agriculturalists over any other class of immigrants (Knowles, 2007). After Confederation (1867), these sentiments remained intact and continued after WWII. In fact, one of the incentives used by the government to promote immigration was that a larger population meant greater productivity and more economies of scale (Knowles, 2007). Today, this notion remains integral to Canada's immigration policy. This is effective from the perspective of the government, as Canada's immigration program does indeed accomplish what it proposes to do in that it does provide a solution to the conditions that have been identified. In terms of addressing Canada's stagnant population growth, its aging population and its labour market deficiencies, pragmatically speaking, Canada's immigration policy attains its goals in that the arrival of new immigrants increases the country's population, fills labour market shortages and stimulates the economy.

My position on this issue, however, is to discern how the lives of new immigrants are affected after arrival in Canada. As presented above the socio-economic conditions of some immigrants do not match that of Canadian-born counterparts. Although the policy itself does not take responsibility for this, settlement and integration programs, which are the policy tools, do. The government of Canada recognizes the importance of services to assist immigrants to settle and adapt to Canada and has made it an integral part of the immigration program (Dolin & Young, 2004d), and therefore has a responsibility for the livelihood outcomes of new Canadians.

As discussed previously, Canada as a member state of the OECD could ideally adapt the organization's mandate that "the aim [of education] is to ensure that education systems avoid perpetuating social and economic disadvantage and that they contribute to growth and social stability" (OECD), and proceed with some strategies to emancipate those who are economically vulnerable. In fact, the World Bank (WB) proposes a poverty reduction strategy which asserts that economic development is a panacea for poverty reduction/eradication. The report suggests three key elements in addressing poverty reduction: promoting opportunity, facilitating empowerment and enhancing security (World Bank, 2000-01).

The first element - promoting opportunity - points to the encouragement of private investment and expansion of international markets, which according to the WB report, suggests that as long as job destruction is managed, the opportunities to help build up poor people's assets will present themselves without perpetuating the current inequalities that pertains to gender, race/ethnicity, infrastructure, rural vs. urban, etc. The second element - facilitating empowerment - proposes to tackle political, legal and social barriers that exclude the poor by promoting and creating inclusive development which will lead to empowerment by "reducing bureaucratic and social constraints to economic action" and therefore fostering upward mobility" (World Bank, 2000-01, p. 9). The third element - enhancing security - seeks to reduce "vulnerability to economic shocks, natural disasters, ill health, disability, and personal violence" (p. 7) by developing national programs that will have not only a preventative role, but will also serve to prepare people to deal with shocks. According to the report, the ability to cope with such shocks puts poor people in a better position to "take advantage of emerging market opportunities" (p. 7).

This model focuses on economic development as the solution to poverty reduction, a strategy that is not shared by everyone. However, the inequalities, disempowerment and insecurities faced by those in lower socio-economic conditions described by the WB's report are accurate. It also holds true that improved socio-economic circumstances would help to alleviate some of these issues, as demonstrated in Shipler's example presented in Chapter One. Thomson (2001) suggests a sustainable livelihood (SL) framework as an alternative to poverty

reduction strategies that rely primarily on economic growth. Although she speaks from the context of poverty in the Majority World, Thomson's concept could be viable in Canada. Livelihood is defined as "comprising the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living" (p. 25). The sustainable livelihood model (SL) is a holistic approach that incorporates five main elements - human, natural, financial, physical and social - which are considered as livelihood assets. Human assets refer to the physical capacity to work for others (the poorest people only have this, not natural, physical or financial). Natural assets are access to fruit trees, forests, vegetable garden or homestead. Financial assets are the money, and other physical assets such as using one's house as a form of savings. For example, the house might have a tin roof, but in dire financial need, the tin could be sold. Social assets are the networks within the community that could be drawn upon. The sustainable livelihood approach "takes an open-ended view of the combination of assets and activities that turn out to constitute a viable livelihood strategy" (Ellis & Biggs, 2001, p. 445).

In addition, Thomson (2001) presents six principles of the approach. These are: people-centred, holistic, dynamic, focusing on strengths and assets, "achieving livelihoods that are sustainable in economic, social, environmental and institutional terms," and emphasizing empowerment and participation (p. 25). Furthermore, she proposes a framework for analysis when engaging in the SL approach. She calls for an analysis of the causes of vulnerability, assets, the contexts within which livelihoods evolve, livelihood strategies and the resulting livelihood outcome. By examining these five areas she presents a more holistic approach rather than focusing only on the economic factor. In fact, it details that shocks and stresses in the economic, social and political contexts should be examined. An analysis of the various factors leads to a better understanding of the conditions and therefore could result in the development of strategies that will foster sustainable livelihood outcomes. According to Adato & Mermgen-Dick (2002), sustainable livelihood outcomes are more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and sustainable use of the natural resource base.

How then can an SL approach be linked to Canada's immigration policy, if at all? First, it is necessary to come to an understanding of Canada's immigration policy by way of Canada's position as one of the world's most powerful nations economically and politically, as had already been discussed throughout this thesis. It is equally important to understand how this has manifested over time as Canada was a colony but with a significantly different "post-colonial" experience from other colonies. One of the primary reasons for Canada's current "status" compared to other colonies is that Canada was a White settler colony¹⁵ while other colonies were non-settler colonies (Childs & Williams, 1997). As Young (2003) points out "White culture was regarded (and remains) the basis for ideas of legitimate government, law, economics, sciences, language, music, art, literature - in a word civilization" (p. 2). This historical context sets the stage for understanding the "mindset" within which Canada's immigration policy was developed and it also presents the opportunity for a discussion as to whether or not this still has an impact on current policy decisions. Ngũgĩ (1986, as cited in Childs & Williams, 1997), speaks of the process of de-colonization which is not only "...stripping away the material effects and structures of the colonial power and period" (p 227) but also includes a psychological and attitudinal stripping as well. Thus, if Canada as a White settler colony has not gone through its own de-colonization process relative to its own experiences, then it could be argued that it stills holds the structures of the colonial powers and therefore the effects-material, psychological and attitudinal-persist.

A parallel can be drawn to global poverty and the plight of immigrants in Canada as their circumstances stem from similar systemic structures and institutions. Isbister (2006) speaks of the responsibility of the wealthy to the poor. He suggests that "this responsibility arises from the common humanity of all people [and that] we are a single species" (p. 26). He also points out that this responsibility is "recognized by most ethical and religious systems" (p. 26). Furthermore, he states that where efforts have been made, third world leaders and military regimes have sometimes abused these. However, despite this, it does hold true that "prosperous countries and their institutions - their governments, armed forces, corporations,

¹⁵ Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America were also White settler colonies.

voluntary associations - powerfully affect the constraints within which the third world must determine its future” (p. 27). What Isbister offers is a destiny that is respectful and lies in the hands of the peoples of the third world where the wealthy take responsibility by “[reforming] their own institutions, to lend a hand that is open, not clenched, to be helpful and not harmful”(p. 27). This can also be applied to immigrants. Their destiny should lie in their hands, however those responsible for the circumstances of new Canadians should take measures to address those.

I believe that the essence of this thesis points to the power discrepancies both globally and nationally that have served to silence the voices of many. I have illustrated that settlement and integration processes reinforce a restrictive view of equality, that proposed poverty reduction strategies focus on economic outcomes and that Canada’s deliberative model of citizen engagement has not been able to function ideally to give citizens the level of participation required for empowerment. Nonetheless, the possibilities for change remain infinite. Hence, my discussions on an expansive view of equality, a sustainable livelihood approach and an open space for negotiations. I believe though that to begin this process of change, there needs to be a forum using various participatory processes to challenge the dominant discourse.

One approach that can be used to challenge the dominant discourse is to establish a more level playing field by creating a balance of power through negotiation. Although Leeuwis (2000), Hendricks (2001) and Caffarella (2002) speak from the contexts of adult education and program planning, I believe that the concepts behind their models are applicable to other contexts where there are power discrepancies. Leeuwis suggests that decision-making and social learning models often neglect to address the fact that “... differences in (or conflicts of) perception are not just cultural or accidental, but are intricately intertwined with social interests and practices” (p. 940). The relevance of the social aspect to the field of adult education is pointed out by Hendricks (2001) who claims that, “adult education program planning is a social and political process involving the negotiation of interests with others of various power relationships...” (p. 220). Walters et al. (2004) state that because hegemonic

arrangements are always being negotiated, there is space that provide “... opportunities to appropriate the dominant discourse for transformative ends” (p. 148). This then provides a window of opportunity for those involved in planning to not only have their voices heard but also to have a say in decision-making. Although interests and power play significant roles in planning practice, Hendricks (2001) suggests that negotiation is central to program planning because as planners negotiate, they “... seek to meet their own interests and redefine their relationships of power” (p. 221).

Leeuwis (2000) suggests that adopting a negotiation strategy will improve the “... capacity to deal with the conflicts that will always emerge wherever meaningful change of the status quo is striven for ...” (p. 947). Caffarella (2002) discusses two levels of negotiations that people engage in during program planning: meta-negotiations and substantive negotiations. Umble, Cervero, & Langone (2001) define meta-negotiations as that which try to change the frame factors that shape curriculum and substantive negotiations as that which shape the details of the program such as content, audience and format. Meta-negotiations can be further sub-divided into those about power relations and those that are about frame factors. While meta-negotiations about power relations seek to change power relationships at the planning table for programs; meta-negotiations about frames seek to establish or change a program’s conceptual (main purpose, values) or material (funding, other resources) frame factor. By definition, frame factors are factors that “... constrain the intellectual space and space for action within a process ...” (Umble et al., 2001, p. 129). The actors involved in such a process either have no influence or perceive that they have no influence in the process. While an example of meta-negotiation about power would be creating a planning committee to represent various stakeholder interests; meta-negotiation about changing a conceptual frame factor would be advocating a change in the overall goals of a program and meta-negotiation about changing a material frame factor would be negotiating for more time and budget for a program (Umble et al., 2001). An example of substantive negotiation would be recommending that certain content is included in a program in order for it to reach its main purpose. Although it may appear that meta-negotiations and substantive negotiations occur linearly, they in fact

occur simultaneously, and as cautioned by Caffarella (2002) can bring ethical dilemmas and contradictions.

These dilemmas and contradictions, however, should not be used as a deterrent to ethical issues in program planning, but in fact should serve as the foundation for program planning, a position strongly advocated by Cervero and Wilson (1996). These authors suggest that in the field of adult education, good technical skills have been equated with good planning practice. They maintain however that “... effective practice depends upon substantively involving all the people who should be involved” (p.2) and recommend three questions that every planner should consider when sitting down at the planning table: 1) which people will represent the range of possible interests? 2) are those invited to the planning table legitimate ones, and 3) do the representatives at the planning table the best planners under the circumstances? (Wilson & Cervero, 1996). Addressing these questions thus increases the likelihood of effective program planning practice.

To sum up, one could glean from the discussion above that although organizations with power and influence dominate agendas, through negotiation strategies and strong ethical convictions, there are opportunities to challenge the status quo. The negotiation strategy described above within the context of program planning in adult education can be applied to other contexts. It encompasses elements of CPST and CRT as have been discussed in this thesis. Both theories speak to having a space where voice can be heard. The method of negotiation suggested by Leeuwis (2000) presents such opportunities. If the Government of Canada has any inclination to improve the livelihoods of new Canadians, the first step will be to invite this group to the planning table.

If the Canadian government remains adamant on the idea that immigration is a good strategy to boost the country's economy, then those sitting at the negotiation table should include advocates for policy tools that will improve the livelihoods of new immigrants. I predict that there will be changes in the faces of those sitting around the negotiation table, and those faces will in fact advocate for the well-being of new Canadians, especially in the province of Manitoba. As the goal is to increase immigration numbers to 20,000 within ten years in

Manitoba, what will naturally occur is an aggregate of new immigrants. Three years after arrival, permanent residents can become Canadian citizens, thus giving them the right to vote. As new Canadians learn what their rights are, they are likely to start advocating for themselves and prospective immigrants.

I return now to my opening remarks in Chapter One where I stated that the specific purpose of my thesis is to gain some understanding as to what factors could account for the inequities that exist within the immigrant/refugee community. I felt that by understanding this, a new space could be created that has more than the absence of the inequities but rather a space that encompasses new ideas and new strategies for creating social justice not only with the immigrant community but with all other marginalized communities as well. I suggested a shift to a new paradigm which would create a new vision of what justice would look like. I believe that if the government were to take the focus away from economic development and employ strategies that focus on a holistic model for poverty reduction/eradication that encompasses an expansive view of equality, the outcomes will be positive.

One major challenge will be accountability. As was revealed in this study, accountability mechanisms are not currently built into policies to the degree to which they are needed. In the new context, accountability will also have to be addressed. In theory, one could argue that the first step is to determine within the sustainable livelihood framework what equitable outcomes would look like, then have a system for “measuring” those outcomes. To carry this out however is complex and beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail. I remain optimistic however that possibilities are infinite and that there are forces that can come into play that will provide opportunities for this recommended model for equality to materialize.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

As I approached the writing of this thesis I was constantly challenged by the disconnect between my personal convictions on social justice and the academic exercise that required scientific measurement. I felt I needed to corroborate and justify the emotional aspect of my convictions. I eventually managed to find a balance between the two. In order to reach that point, I had to come to a clear understanding of where my convictions were rooted. It is with this that I begin and then proceed to link various events and circumstances over the past three decades that have informed my frame of reference to the present.

I began this thesis from a microscopic view, in the sense that I isolated my family's experience as immigrants to Canada and built on that. It is microscopic in scope because we are one family, from one small village, from one country, from a particular period of time. Without question, our experiences as immigrants differ from the experiences of other families who share the common experience of being immigrants in Canada. There are many factors that contribute to this such as: age, education, ethnicity, profession, financial resources, and language, to list a few. What is remarkable about this is the fact that as immigrants we are all selected, almost randomly, to be potential citizens of Canada via a system based on a particular set of beliefs and values. It is expected that we will all settle and integrate at essentially the same rate and have similar levels of success.

The purpose of this thesis has been to ascertain what could account for the discrepancy between the expected economic outcomes and the actual experiences of new Canadians in Manitoba. I believed that a closer examination of Canada's immigration policy would identify some factors that could be attributed to this discrepancy. My underlying assumption was that there is a systemic structure that is in place based on certain principles which were at the core of the policy. Based on this, it then stands to reason that the essence of these principles will be reflected in the initiatives mandated by the policy hereby having a direct impact on the lives of new Canadians. I have learned from this study that there is a hegemonic economic agenda which carries with it a restrictive view of equality.

I have presented a discussion that illustrates that the impact of some of the immigration policy initiatives on the livelihoods of some new Canadians is not favourable. In fact, the policy is not particularly concerned about the actual outcomes of the livelihoods of new Canadians but rather is focused on the outcomes of an economic agenda such as the goods and services required by new Canadians. In fact, these practices favour the industry that has been created by immigration more so than those which favour the interests of new immigrants.

In addition to housing, clothing, food, furniture and other such necessities, education is also a service that is required. As discussed in Chapter Two, the role of adult education has shifted, whereas once it held an emancipatory role, it now finds itself as part of the system where it has to meet the demands of productivity. In other words, it is now also a commodity. Although it could be argued that some of these goods and services can improve the socio-economic conditions of new Canadians, it is not so easily attainable. As discussed previously, from the restrictive view of equality, treating everyone the same does not mean that their outcomes will be equitable. As immigrants are not on a level playing field, those entering Canada with substantial financial assets, formally educated and strong proficiency in English are more likely to be less vulnerable than those who do not share similar accomplishments. Thus, current settlement and integration programs appear to be based on a restrictive view of equality which provides an explanation as to why the promises made by the Canadian government cannot materialize.

In addition, there is an absence of voice from the immigrant community in the political arena. As discussed previously, Laforest and Phillips (2007) caution that forums for citizen engagement are being squeezed out which indicate that there is an urgency for citizens to come to action to ensure that these spaces are sustained.

In coming to understand the intricacies of immigration, I have recognized that there is a larger force at play that impacts what happens “on the ground.” Under closer examination, it is observable that immigration is in fact a policy tool of an economic policy. This reinforces Graefe’s (2007) position that not only are there hierarchies at the policy making table but also there are social forces which act through the state to bring particular agendas to the table.

How do we begin to deconstruct these layers? Young (2003) frames a definition of post-colonial theory as:

Involv[ing] a conceptual reorientation towards the perspectives of knowledges, as well as needs, developed outside the west. It is concerned with developing the driving ideas of a political practice morally committed to transforming the conditions of exploitations and poverty in which large sections of the world's population live out their daily lives (p. 6).

To grasp the magnitude of Young's definition is daunting. In order to carry out what this definition proposes would require time and patience. However, I believe that by taking small, manageable steps at time, the systemic change that is required for a more equitable distribution of resources will occur over time. History shows that there is often a force or energy that can bring about change such as the abolition of slavery.

In the introduction of this thesis, I spoke of Robin Hood and his efforts to both attain and restore equality. Legendary or not, his stories and others with a similar theme remain popular in the present day. I believe that this speaks to our true nature as humans, where when we look deep within ourselves, in our truest moments of clarity, we are gentle and compassionate and will act in the best interest for each other.

Recommendations

Globally

- independent states need to take alternate positions that economic growth is not the only solution for prosperity and well-being, for example to follow the lead of countries such as Brazil
- independent states could form blocs which challenge the OECD and pressure the organization to change its economic mandate

Federally

- take more direct responsibility for the livelihoods of immigrants
- ensure immigrant voices are heard at the planning table regarding immigration policy
- take measures to ensure there is a level playing field for all immigrants
- some specific actions are: eliminating all processing fees for refugees; accepting foreign credentials as is; validating non-Canadian work experience; establishing more programs that are representative of an expansive view of equality; having a clear vision of sustainable livelihood outcomes; develop a framework that can be used as a model for sustainable livelihoods

Provincially

- Ensure immigrant voices are present when determining programs and services for the immigrant community
- Develop and implement clear policies for education and language training for immigrants
- Run educational programs for immigrants that are effective and efficient.
- Provide financial and other supports for adult immigrants to study on a full-time basis in order to improve English language skills

- Create and deliver more cross-cultural programs in order to generate cultural sensitivity to immigrants and other minority groups

Locally (Citizenry)

- Get involved in politics to understand and participate in decisions the government makes

Appendix A

Immigration and Refugee Protection Act

1. SHORT TITLE
2. INTERPRETATION
3. OBJECTIVES AND APPLICATION
4. ENABLING AUTHORITY
5. AGREEMENTS
6. PART 1 : IMMIGRATION TO CANADA
 1. Division 1 : Requirements Before Entering Canada and Selection
 2. Division 2 : Examination
 3. Division 3 : Entering and Remaining in Canada
 4. Division 4 : Inadmissibility
 5. Division 5 : Loss of Status and Removal
 6. Division 6 : Detention and Release
 7. Division 7 : Right of Appeal
 8. Division 8 : Judicial Review
 9. Division 9 : Certificates and Protection of Information
 10. Division 10 : General Provisions
7. PART 2 : REFUGEE PROTECTION
 1. Division 1 : Refugee Protection, Convention Refugees and Persons in Need of Protection
 2. Division 2 : Convention Refugees and Persons in Need of Protection
 3. Division 3 : Pre-removal Risk Assessment
8. PART 3 : ENFORCEMENT
 1. Human Smuggling and Trafficking
 2. Offences Related to Documents
 3. General Offences
 4. Proceeds of Crime
 5. Prosecution of Offences
 6. Forfeiture
 7. Officers Authorized to Enforce Act
 8. Peace Officers
 9. Ticketable Offences
 10. Debt Due to Her Majesty
 11. Collection of Debts Due to Her Majesty
 12. Transportation Companies
 13. Sharing of Information
9. PART 4 : IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD
 1. Composition of Board
 2. Head Office and Staff
 3. Duties of Chairperson
 4. Functioning of Board
 5. Provisions that Apply to All Divisions
 6. Refugee Protection Division
 7. Refugee Appeal Division
 8. Immigration Division
 9. Immigration Appeal Division
 10. Remedial and Disciplinary Measures
10. PART 5 : TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS, CONSEQUENTIAL AND RELATED AMENDMENTS, COORDINATING AMENDMENTS, REPEALS AND COMING INTO FORCE
 1. Transitional Provisions
 2. Consequential and Related Amendments
 3. Coordinating Amendments
 4. Repeals
 5. Coming Into Force
11. SCHEDULE : SECTIONS E AND F OF ARTICLE 1 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION RELATING TO THE STATUS OF REFUGEES

Figure A1. Sections of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act¹⁶

¹⁶ Source: Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. (2001). from <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/showdoc/cs/l-2.5///en?page=1>

Appendix B

Adult Language Training

Manitoba continues to develop language programming to meet the diverse needs of newcomers in schools, the community, at work and online. In 2007, 86 service providers were funded for the delivery of Adult English as an Additional Language programming under the Manitoba Immigrant Integration Program. In addition, 3,246 Canadian Language Benchmarks assessments of English language proficiencies were administered to Manitoba newcomers and 6,500 learners participated in Adult English as an Additional Language programs.

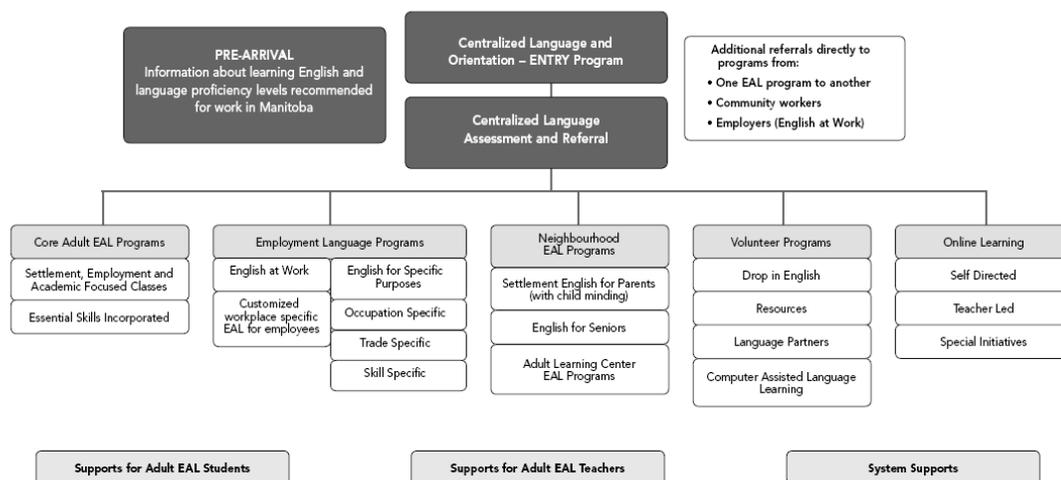


Figure B1. Overview and categorizations of language training services available to new Canadians in Manitoba¹⁷

¹⁷ From *Manitoba Immigration Facts: 2007 Statistical Report*. (2008). Retrieved November 2008. from http://www2.immigratemanitoba.com/asset_library/en/resources/pdf/mif07.pdf.

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