

CURRENTS

Volume 4, No.3

READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

Summer 1987

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MINORITY ACCESS TO SERVICES?

Also

City Hall:
where is it?

**Immigrant
Women
and Health Services
Second Class
Services**
to immigrants and minorities

Visible Minority
women and employment

**Systemic
Discrimination**
in the provision of social
services: Toronto, Montreal
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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works toward encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multi-racial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focusing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

The work of the organization is carried out through working committees such as: Educational Institutions; Legislation; Media; Law Enforcement.

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Equality of Access

Most people today now acknowledge that racial discrimination is a fact of Canadian life. Organizations providing services to the public and members of the "helping" professions are also prepared to accept that they must often deal with the consequences of the racial discrimination of other institutions.

However, they are appalled by the suggestion that their own efforts might be tainted with racism. To suggest the need to recognize that existing policies and programmes within one's own organization or industry may not be equal to meeting the needs of racial minorities tends to raise an enormous amount of defensiveness and scepticism. As a consequence, discussion of racial origins, rights and aspirations continues to be shrouded by an excessive amount of caution, embarrassment and at times, overt hostility.

A fundamental problem in being able to develop appropriate policies and programmes is this reluctance to address race in an explicit manner. The majority of institutions have developed a whole battery of sophisticated arguments for refusing to move beyond the mere abstinence of racial discrimination as the solution to equality. As a result, agencies and institutions with not only established race relations policies but an evident determination to actively promote the interests of racial minorities are still very rare in this country.

Rather than directly addressing and removing the barriers to racial equality, one is constantly forced to retreat to the initial stage of justifying the special needs of racial minorities to a skeptical audience. What then are the strategic approaches of those institutions with little real concern about the position of racial minorities in society?

Clinging to Myths

Equality, it is argued, is best achieved by treating everyone the same. Likewise, common human needs are said to demand common remedies.

The achievement of equality rests on a refusal to perceive racial differences. Not noticing whether clients are black or white is therefore proof of not only being non-racist but also ensures equality of treatment.

In addition, it is frequently claimed that there are no problems which minorities do not share with numerous poor and disadvantaged white people, and that sufficient attention to cultural differences is guaranteed because of the importance the human services profession attaches to the individual.

Others may argue that recognition of cultural differences will only perpetuate them to an undesirable degree when the goal should be integration in which the social arrangements of the majority are pre-eminent.

For the "converted", as well as for those who do recognize special minority needs within their particular profession or institution, the suggestion is still frequently made that it really is not politically feasible at this point in time to discriminate positively in favour of minorities. And the final clinching argument is that unfortunately, there is no money for any new initiatives (unless, of course, you can get Multiculturalism Canada to bankroll it). But it is precisely in this prevailing climate of bottom-line thinking, in these times of financial constraint and diminishing resources, that improvements in practice and more appropriate use of resources should be a particular priority.

The attitude that one's services are available to all, that an institution's programmes and policies are 'colour-blind' cannot be accepted as a sufficient answer. It is at best a well-meaning self-deception and at worst a convenient stance for deliberate non-action. Such a position makes the patently false assumption that everybody in Canada has exactly the same requirements. It is a denial of the significant differences in the values, cultures, and historical traditions that

exist within our multicultural and multiracial society. Such an approach denies minorities a part of their identity and leads to a mono-cultural view of social dynamics.

Need or Demand?

It is within this context that one should beware the institutional strategy of only providing interpreter and translation services as the solution to the problem. The institutional attitude is that there is nothing wrong with the service being provided per se, it's just that minorities don't know about it.

Barriers to access are viewed not as an institutional problem but as a deficiency of minorities themselves. A multilingual public relations strategy is therefore seen as the be-all to end-all, a mechanism which will overcome their personal ignorance of the service being offered.

The question of whether services are appropriate and relevant to the needs of racial minorities is still not being addressed today. In addition, minorities may under-use services not because of their lack of awareness but because of a long history of exclusion. Other possibilities may include a distaste for the style of delivery, difficulties with the language, attitudes and level of understanding of the people providing the services, or unfamiliarity with the concept of a welfare state.

Recording and Monitoring

It may seem superfluous to state that the first step for every policymaker is to establish the need for a service. It is clearly of major importance that the needs of the community be accurately assessed. There is no substitute for rigorous needs assessments based on systematic surveys.

Secondly, to establish the relevance of services for minorities there is a need to monitor their provision. A regular check must be made to ensure that a correspondence between need and service does in fact exist. This assessment must also include the collection of data on the racial origins of clients, staff and those involved in the decision-making process if agencies

are to be properly informed about the effects of existing practices.

Mix and Match?

Another dimension which is raised from differing experiences and perspectives in a number of the articles in this issue of Currents is whether satisfactory service can only be affected by separate provision. Would separate agencies along ethnic and social lines meet minority needs, or would they further fragment the delivery system? Would matching rather than mixing racial and ethnic clients provide more emphatic help to people in need?

Whether one talks about two solitudes or a two-tier system, separate must not be a euphemism for segregation. However, there is a surprising degree of unanimity by the contributors to this issue of Currents that suggests different has indeed become a synonym for inferior. Expecting far too much for far too little, minority agencies have been exploited as the expedient way to deliver services to minorities.

Among the many questions that this issue raises is one which argues that non-profit, minority community groups need to be a lot clearer about their own goals and objectives, and a lot more adamant about what they should and should not be doing on behalf of their members.

Access

The organizational arrangements within institutions, both public and private, determine to whom services are provided, facilities are made available, and resources are allocated. The attitudes, actions and practices of those who run these institutions determine who gets what, where and when. With people from racial minorities generally absent from the key decision-making processes within these organizations and in the delivery of services, to what extent do these institutions treat minorities less favourably?

To what extent have the different and special needs of minorities been identified and quantified? And to what extent have they been adequately considered and provided for? To what

extent have existing resources been redirected in favour of minorities as part of a commitment to equality? Within a framework of genuine equal sharing of resources, it is suggested that the scale on which this has been done to date by any agency or institution in Canada is insignificant in redressing the imbalances caused by racially discriminatory policies and programmes.

The principle of equality of access is a fundamental and universal right in Canadian society. It is one of the central pillars of both federal and provincial multicultural policies. Yet while minority access to the mass media has received recent attention, and while guidelines and operating principles have been established for initiating and implementing employment equity programmes, initiatives taken to measure and address inequalities of access on the part of racial minorities to public programmes and services in Canada have been very tentative, piecemeal and lacking in strategy.

Initiatives should not be dependent upon another grant from Multiculturalism Canada, nor should they be temporary, ad hoc responses which have a tendency to be cumbersome, expensive and in the long run generally unproductive. To ensure that the multicultural and multiracial dimension is institutionalized into the corporate decision-making process in a comprehensive and systematic manner is really not that complex. But if it is not addressed directly, the notion of assumed equal access will continue to be a major obstacle to achieving equality of opportunity and will continue to contribute to the relative disadvantaged position of racial minorities in Canada.

Tim Rees

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Native People and Racism

Inequalities Within the Service Delivery Systems: A Case of Cultural Insensitivity

Robert Doyle and Livy A. Visano

Access to basic social and health services is a form of universal entitlement. The denial of equitable participation in the service delivery system reflects an insidious expression of discrimination. A disturbing issue which continues to plague race relations is the differential treatment of a significant segment of our society — members of diverse racial and cultural groups. An even more troublesome feature is the failure of service providers to respond adequately to this social problem.

Essentially, providers of health and social services fail to move beyond the myopic practice of identifying obstacles. Strategies designed to dismantle a wide array of obstacles in the service system are noticeably absent. Regrettably, institutional discrimination incorporates blasé attitudes and a lack of commitment in seeking effective remedies on the overall fragmented orientation towards social justice.

Far too frequently, institutional discrimination has been overshadowed by a concern for more deliberate and blatant forms of racism. Nevertheless, institutional discrimination should not escape public scrutiny. Institutional or patterned exclusion also perpetuates discrimination by denying the multicultural realities of our society. The priorities and practices of many organizations are not consistent with a sensitive appreciation of the difficulties encountered by refugees, visible minorities and immigrants who require the assistance that these organizations provide. As professionals in a democratic society, service providers are required to be committed to the much heralded values of impartiality. A standard of service is expected which

gives meaning to the otherwise hollow rhetoric of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism, as a process enhancing respect for diversity, is embedded within a wide array of relations. Multiculturalism becomes reduced to trite clichés whenever it is solely shouldered by a few agency workers or by ethno-specific agencies alone. Likewise, the strategy of recruiting minorities is a promising but nonetheless a limited solution. A genuine commitment to diversity implicates minorities in *all* aspects of service delivery from community outreach to policy making and board representation. A failure to adopt a more longitudinal, multi-tiered and widespread program of action erodes the confidence in and credibility of agencies.

In this article, the conditions and consequences of cultural factors as impeding access to health and social services will be explored and the perspectives of service providers, informants familiar with ethno-specific agencies, and clients will be analyzed.

Methodology

Interviews were held with respondents in 135 mainstream organizations in Metropolitan Toronto using two survey instruments. A "face to face" questionnaire obtained perceptions on barriers to access, specific measures that organizations had taken to improve access, and strategies which respondents felt should be taken in the overall system of services. A "self-administered" questionnaire was left with respondents to collect data on their respective organizations regarding the existence of "multicultural" policies and measures, composition of staffing and personal patterns, and linguistic and planning data.

Forty interviews were held with key informants involved with ethno-specific organizations. In addition, 160 interviews were held in six languages with consumers of services.

The study used a community development approach, involving participants in a variety of ways throughout the process of the research. In this action research, participants were involved in diagnosing problems, collecting information to make the necessary changes and evaluating the effectiveness of changes recommended. All participants became advocates for reform and education.

In our research, mainstream agencies refer to those organizations that offer services to everyone in the community that meet general eligibility criteria, not based on membership in a particular cultural or racial group. Ethno-specific agencies include those organizations which provide services to people on the basis of general criteria which emphasize membership in a particular cultural or racial group.

The term "access" is considered to be an operational indicator of equality. In our study, availability is the actual existence of services for clients/consumers. On the other hand, access refers to whether a service is actually secured by a customer.

Access includes two aspects: a) client access, the extent to which consumers are able to secure needed services, and b) organizational access, the extent to which consumers (in this case, members of diverse cultural and racial groups) are represented and/or participate in the planning, development, delivery and administration of those services.

It is important to look at organizational access as it relates very closely to the purposes and effectiveness of voluntary organizations. These agencies should reflect the diversity of communities they serve while also being culturally sensitive to consumers who seek their help.

Interviews confirmed that a majority of "multicultural" consumers experience difficulties in securing access. However, they tend to attribute obstacles to factors such as lack of information, styles and techniques of interaction,

and lack of knowledge and understanding of cultural and linguistic factors which complicate delivery patterns.

Although agencies are favourably assessed, there is a widespread discontent among consumers about the staff and the services obtained. The most frequent criticism directed at staff concerns their failure to appreciate the predicament experienced by newcomers from different cultures. Visible minorities encountered problems which are common to other consumers but are more intensified or more acute for them. These include problems of limited knowledge or rights and entitlements; limited language ability which renders it more difficult to secure services; and cultural differences which make them more susceptible to misconceptions and negative judgements. These respondents risk double exclusion, making it difficult for them to be considered as full and equal members of society.

Obstacles To Access

i) The limited access to information

Mainstream voluntary agencies have a mandate to deliver services which meet the needs of the more disadvantaged members of a community. They operate within an orientation that acknowledges "benevolent" intervention and multiculturalism. But these lofty ideals are difficult to attain as long as identified obstacles remain overlooked.

The equitable provision of assistance presumably depends in large measure on the active and well-informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, including those who require these services. According to our data, 87% of service providers admit quite readily that the general public does not know what services are available. Additionally, 81% of providers indicate that information about services is available in English only. Obviously, information is not universally available.

Many clients, therefore, are inhibited from making meaningful decisions in seeking appropriate assistance. Clearly, the dissemination of

information is a responsibility of agencies especially since they alone know what services they provide. Also, they have the expertise to impart knowledge about their respective resources. Services are restricted to those who are fortunate enough to be English-speaking or alternatively well-informed because of their social networks. It is unrealistic to expect newcomers to be aware of the myriad of available services. The discovery of information about health and social services on the basis of fragmented knowledge contributes to a sense of discrimination; an exclusion from a process that is ostensibly designed to serve them. Consider, for example, the following excerpts:

"I didn't even know that there were agencies. Nobody told me."
(a young woman who arrived from Jamaica in 1980)

"Manpower told me to use the phone book. Nobody sent me anywhere. They could have helped."
(a middle-aged man who arrived from Vietnam in 1980)

"How are you to know? It's hard to get it when you don't know all that much."
(a young woman who arrived from Ghana in 1975)

This uncertainty of benefits contributes to feelings of exclusion. Despite their overwhelming admission of informational barriers, service providers have not adopted strategies to inform and reach out to many prospective clients. Of the 135 agencies, only 36 (27%) employed the culturally sensitive media; 22 (16%) made representations to ethno-specific groups, and only 7 (5%) providers used E.S.L. or citizenship classes to communicate information about their services.

Despite these limited advances, agencies were encouraged to suggest possible system-wide improvements to alleviate this problem. Surprisingly, even at the level of hypothetical suggestions, that is, discussions which addressed systemic or structural changes, service providers remained reticent in proffering solutions. Only 50 (37%) agencies indicated that the

delivery system ought to provide literature in various languages. In general, most agencies failed to adopt immediate solutions to the problems which they have articulated. Moreover, many were reluctant to suggest, even at the level of conjecture, any possible system-wide improvements. A commitment to access is of dubious value unless both words and deeds are framed within a logic that strives to overcome barriers.

ii) Understanding culture

As previously argued, it is unfair to expect clients to seek services when only limited or no information is made available. Equally, it is unrealistic to expect providers to remove obstacles when they continue to be culturally ill-informed. A failure to appreciate cultural diversity ultimately leads to distorted communication. According to our data, 82% of providers agreed that the ways in which services are delivered are inappropriate for some cultures. In addition, 83% of providers indicated that the service delivery system is frustrating and confusing. Sixty-five per cent of providers noted that the forms used in direct service are long and confusing and 67% mentioned that forms are in English only.

This negative assessment was fully corroborated by the clients in our study. Clients repeatedly noted that they felt discredited and discouraged because of cultural barriers. They consistently commented on their feelings of alienation, which in turn contributed to fear, frustration, confusion and passivity. Witness, for example, the following comments which highlight how the above anxieties prevented clients from fully participating in encounters with providers.

"I didn't feel good when I was there. I was afraid so I did what they wanted."
(a young man who arrived from El Salvador as a refugee in 1983)

"What's the use if someone can't understand you. I was afraid to bother them, so I said nothing."
(a middle-aged woman who arrived from Hong Kong in 1974)

"I'd tell the truth. It comes close to racism if the agency doesn't care to understand."

(a middle-aged woman who arrived from Ghana in 1975)

"They should get to know more about our culture, our accent too."

(a young woman who arrived from Jamaica in 1983)

According to two clients from Jamaica and India, providers rudely admonished them for not speaking "proper English" and for speaking too quickly.

Key informants concurred with the sentiments expressed by clients. In addition, key informants from ethno-specific agencies cautioned against the routine practice of mainstream organizations to transfer clients to smaller, poorly-funded and under-staffed ethno-specific agencies. This phenomenon tends to inferiorize clients by disempowering them from basic health and social services. Consequently, a state of two solitudes is re-enforced.

To reduce cultural barriers, mainstream voluntary organizations have adopted a number of strategies. Eleven (8%) agencies translate intake forms; twelve (9%) have used intake workers who have a multilingual capacity; 32 (24%) providers have simplified forms.

When asked to comment on possible systemic changes to overcome cultural barriers, 28% of providers felt that there ought to be strategic placements of multicultural workers; 16% felt that an increase in representation from diverse groups was necessary; and 16% noted that staff training would be essential.

The most frequently cited strategy related to the training of agency workers. Although commendable as an immediate response, this solution appears to relegate this onerous responsibility attendant with access to a few organizations' actors. Cultural problems cannot be eliminated by solely hiring a handful of well-trained workers. A wider investment which more directly implicates boards of directors and the executive of an agency is warranted.

The involvement of an agency's board signifies a more genuine com-

mitment in investing resources. According to self-administered questionnaires, providers were asked to elaborate on specific strategies adopted by their respective organizations in meeting the needs of diverse cultural and racial groups. This commitment can be measured by examining the actual number of agencies which have policies established and approved by their respective boards in reference to a number of areas. For example, with respect to hiring and staff training, only 15 and 18 agencies respectively have board approved and established policies; nine do in regards to membership; seven in Board development; 12 in volunteer recruitment; 15 in community outreach; and 22 agencies have fully developed policies in the area of inter-agency links. Apparently, the majority of agencies did not indicate the existence of such policies in most areas that would enhance access.

An accurate evaluation of services/programmes requires a profile of clientele, staff, and volunteers. When asked to provide information about specific compositions in self-administered questionnaires, only 25% of respondents provided these specific data about their agencies. This low level of compliance indicates that either agencies are poorly informed about their clientele or simply refuse to communicate this information to anyone interested in seeking solutions. This reluctance to share organizational data constitutes another barrier. The failure to disclose such information anonymously despite repeated requests raises considerable suspicion about the levels of commitment.

A Look To The Future

The ideology of multiculturalism, as evident in the proliferation of public policy announcements, encourages diversity. Whenever the institutional means for attaining this mosaic do not advance these wider cultural goals, strain develops. Multiculturalism is increasingly interpreted by relevant stakeholders as a myth laden with rhetoric and not based on concrete demonstrations.

In this study we discovered that only a few providers devoted much

energy to affecting change by adopting measures which reduce barriers. Clients consistently felt discouraged from fully participating in the health and social service systems. Access at the institutional level is contingent upon a sensitivity towards racial, cultural and linguistic diversity. A program for action at four interrelated levels is necessary in order to ensure access. Changes within individual organizations, improving linkages between organizations, and improvements at the systemic and societal levels need to be implemented to ensure access for racial and cultural minorities.

There is no single panacea or initiative such as cross-cultural training or consciousness-raising that is alone sufficient to ensure such access. Rather, a comprehensive program — a set of directed and inter-related activities — is warranted in order to make improvements in agency policy, program and services, training, representation of minorities in the work force and management structures of agencies, and in other areas such as outreach, information and awareness.

Only when racial and cultural minorities are reflected in the cultural and racial composition of the population serviced and in the work force and volunteer leadership of service agencies will consumers enjoy the full rights of citizenship within our community.

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*This article is a revised version of a larger research project by the authors R. Doyle and L. Visano, **A Time for Action and A Program for Action**, Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1987.*

Ethnic Minorities and Accessibility to Services in a Two-Tiered Social Service System: The Case of the Chinese in Montreal

Kwok B. Chan

Discriminatory Canadian immigration policies and legislation, have been instrumental in shaping the Chinese communities across Canada. A series of restrictive federal legislations displayed overt racism against the Chinese and culminated in the Canadian government levying a head tax which increased from \$50.00 per head in 1885 to \$100.00 in 1900, and to \$500.00 in 1903. When these heavy taxes failed to halt the flow of Chinese immigrants into the country, the Chinese Immigration Act (or the Chinese Exclusion Act as the Chinese oldtimers preferred to call it) was implemented on July 1, Dominion Day, 1923 which effectively put an end to the entry of the Chinese into Canada. It was a dark day in Canadian history and in the history of the Chinese in Canada, an event remembered by generations of Chinese as "Humiliation Day."

The Act of 1923 was not repealed until 1947 and it was reported that only 44 Chinese were allowed to land in Canada in the interim. Its passage had serious and profound demographic consequences for the Chinese communities, among which was the delay in the formation of families (wives were not allowed to be brought into Canada to join their pioneering husbands) and the delay of the birth of the second generation. The unbalanced sex ratio among the Chinese resulted in a 'male bachelor society' consisting of male migrants deprived of normal family relations.

The Chinese remain as the only ethnic group in the history of Canada who were levied a head tax upon entry into the country. They were also the

only group who were debarred from seeking immigration into Canada by a federal measure because of their race.

Chinese Response to Racism

Close to a century of overt racism against the Chinese in Canada on the part of provincial and federal politicians as well as leaders of labour and professional groups had left the Chinese vulnerable and unprotected. This in turn created the need to establish their own institutions in Chinatowns across the country to protect and safeguard their civil, social and legal rights in their transactions with the outside society. Homeless and without a family, the Chinese looked upon the many family and clan associations as "surrogate parents." Historically, these associations served three major functions: first, to represent the Chinese in their transactions with the outside society; second, to protect and safeguard the legal and human rights of the Chinese; and third, to mediate, arbitrate and settle disputes and conflicts among the Chinese themselves. From a socio-historical standpoint, one might want to argue that these family and clan associations were created by a unique set of political and economic forces and circumstances emanating from intergroup transactions. In reality, however, they existed because of one overriding factor: racism. Chinatowns and their many voluntary associations can be seen then as instances of collective coping with racism on the part of the Chinese in Canada.

Emergence of a Two-tiered Approach

In the 1970s, the province of Quebec witnessed a series of concerted efforts to develop, rationalize and decentralize the system of social services. Programs of a social service nature were quickly becoming more and more community-based. While the overall goal was to ensure better and more direct accessibility of users to services, members of the ethnic minorities, including the Chinese, did not seem to benefit from such an "improved accessibility" and "decentralization" movement. They continued to be unable to utilize services furnished by the mainstream social service system because of linguistic deficiencies and other cultural and psychological barriers.

In response to these deficits and barriers, new types of local voluntary groups and associations initially funded by short-term local initiative grants, sprung up in Chinatowns across Canada in the latter half of the seventies. They were there to replace the old-fashioned, mutual-aid type family and clan associations. Their mandate and function were clear: to provide alternative services to those Chinese too handicapped by lack of facility with both official languages or by other cultural and psychological reasons to avail themselves of services in the mainstream social service delivery system. Between the seventies and the eighties, one thus saw the creation and perpetuation of a two-tiered social service system: one for members of the mainstream society and one serving as an alternative for members of the ethnic minorities. The imagery of such a two-tiered arrangement, with two rows of things parallel but one above another, merits some close scrutiny since it raises some serious questions about accessibility to services.

Local Service Agencies Hampered by Problems

Ten to fifteen years after their inauguration in the seventies, how effective have these local agencies been in discharging their functions as a social service alternative striving to

meet the needs as well as to overcome the cultural and language barriers of the Chinese?

It is the thesis of this article that the effectiveness of these local agencies in meeting the needs of the Chinese community has been hampered by an assortment of both internal and external problems, the most severe of the external problems being their structural relationship with their primary funding sources, the federal and provincial governments.

The local social service agencies in the Chinese community have always depended considerably upon government funding. Fundraising drives among members of the agencies as well as the community itself have never constituted the bulk of the funding revenues. The excessive dependency on governmental funding on the part of these local agencies has often meant that among other consequences, organizational autonomy and independence is compromised. The agencies frequently have to decide whether to implement a specific program because there is a community need (but no funding), or because there is funding from a particular governmental program but the need from the community seems less pressing or urgent. As long as the needs of the community remain 'externally' constructed and prioritized by the two levels of government, there is the ever-present danger of the agencies losing sight of whom they are supposed to serve — the government or the community?

Dependency on governmental funding also severely curtails the ability of these agencies to do advocacy work for the community (e.g., confronting governmental departments concerning various human rights and employment equity issues). You simply do not bite the hand that feeds you. This relative inability to undertake community advocacy measures and to monitor government casts the agencies and the community they are mandated to serve in to a perpetual state of status quo. One might even argue the agencies contribute to the maintenance of the status quo. In meeting only the superficial and short-term needs of the

community in a piece-meal, ad hoc manner, the agencies put their clients through a 'revolving door', forever dependent on a community which is not in a position to structurally solve their long-term problems.

Unlike the older family and clan associations in the Chinese community which were often led and run by well-off Chinese merchants with no formal training in delivering social services, these local agencies are of the new breed. They are often led by a board of directors who themselves are Western educated professionals, and staffed by recent Chinese graduates from schools of social work or community service. And the increasing professionalization of the local agencies has one serious consequence: the social service delivery system in mainstream society, the upper tier, can quite conveniently dismiss or ignore the need of hiring bicultural or biculturally trained staff precisely because of the availability of the lower tier, the local agencies as an alternative. At the same time, the local agencies cannot put pressure on the mainstream social service system to be biculturally equipped in their delivery because of their own difficulties in enacting the role of community advocate.

Bicultural Re-education

One major conclusion of an analysis of this 'two-tiered' social service system is that full guarantee of total and direct accessibility of members of the ethnic minorities to services in the mainstream social service system is possible only with the doing away of the two tiers or with the integration of the two tiers into one, a better and healthier product of synthesis. The vision of such a 'no-tier' social service system is one in which, first, members of the ethnic minorities are proportionally represented at all levels of decision-making and management; and second, all members of the staff undergo bicultural re-education so that they become better trained to cope with the realities of an increasingly multicultural and multiracial society.

Paradoxically, the more effective the local agencies are in discharging their functions in terms of working

toward ensuring full accessibility of their clients to public social services, the more likely they will render their own future existence redundant and irrelevant. Before they get there, and there is every reason to believe that they will, the implications of this two-tier system demand vigorous and vigilant examination and analysis.

A further conclusion of the analysis is that, intentionally or not, this new breed of local Chinese agencies seems less effective in their protective, advocacy and mediating functions than the earlier voluntary associations they replaced. One reason for their ineffectiveness, among several others, can be attributed to their structural relationship with government. At the turn of the century, a Chinese worker could count on the support of the many mutual aid societies in Chinatowns. Today, that same worker has no place to turn to.

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A version of this article was presented at the First Intercultural Symposium on 'Accessibility of Mainstream Services for Ethnic Minorities: The Case of Chinese in Montreal', sponsored by the Chinese Family Service of Greater Montreal (December 5, 1986) at Palais des Congrès, Montréal, Québec.

A Systematic Approach to Discrimination in the Provision of Social Services: South Vancouver

David Sangha

The provision of public services to visible minorities is tainted with discrimination. In earlier times, the discrimination was blatant and the intent to harm members of certain groups was very obvious. Now, many of the sources of discrimination are unintentional, often very subtle and result in practices which are largely the result of two factors. First, the allocation of resources which do not reflect the changes in the cultural and racial make-up of the country, and secondly, the improper use of discretionary power by social service workers. These two factors have produced discriminatory effects in the provision of social services.

Resource Allocation

Social service administrators have continued to allocate their resources to programs directed at the majority society. This is often done in spite of the fact that the potential consumer base of their agencies is increasingly from ethnic/cultural minority groups for whom these programs have little meaning. At a means level, governments continue to allocate the same proportion of funding to these mainstream organizations while continuing to distribute either little or no funding to agencies providing specialized services to the growing ethnic and racial minority populations.

One example of this function of systemic discrimination in social service delivery at a more micro level can be found in the social service delivery system presently in place in South Vancouver.

South Vancouver is a community which has undergone a dramatic demographic change in the last twenty

years. During this period, Indo-Canadians have gone from about one per cent to almost 10 per cent of the population of this area. If one were to include other visible minorities, the proportion may well be close to 16 per cent.¹

However, the programs offered by individual organizations, the four community centres, and the two libraries in the area, do not adequately reflect the changing composition of the population. None of these organizations have specialized programs which meet the needs of these new groups and their staffs do not reflect the ethnic/racial composition of the area. The staff of the two Ministry of Human Resources offices in the area are almost all from the majority culture, and therefore do not reflect the multicultural reality of their client population.

The one "mainstream" agency which has made some changes in its delivery system is the South Vancouver Neighbourhood Home. In a presentation to the Special Committee on Visible Minorities, the director of Neighbourhood House noted the commitment which the House has exhibited towards the Indo-Canadian community through the establishment of an ethnic worker position to provide services (such as English as a Second Language) to the Indo-Canadian community. But upon closer examination of this program, we find a less clear commitment to serving the needs of minorities than might at first appear.

The ethnic worker's position is one of the very few in the agency which is reliant solely on various federal government work schemes. The salary is comparatively low and the reliance on grants ensures a tenuous existence

for the program. It is not surprising, therefore, that the agency has had difficulty attracting professionally trained workers for the position. Because of the weak financial base, the range of services offered by the ethnic worker has been limited to a few programs for immigrant women. As a result, the implementation of services for other important target groups, such as immigrant children and adolescents, have thus far not been attempted.

Further to this, other generic programs for youth, seniors and adolescents would appear to have undergone few changes to make them more attractive to a culturally different clientele. It would also appear that Neighbourhood House does not have any future plans to develop programs to meet the specialized needs of various sectors of the ethnic client "market" such as heritage language programs, literature groups, etc. If the needs of the ethnic/racial groups are not being met by these "mainstream" organizations, then where are they being met?

In the main, the social service needs of these groups are either being met by the local temples or by the Immigrant Services Centre. It is important to view the work of this latter agency from the macro perspective of its position in the South Vancouver social services delivery system to show how it serves as a symbol of the exploitation of immigrants by various levels of government.

The Immigrant Services Centre serves virtually all of the social service needs of the Indo-Canadian community in South Vancouver. Besides providing integrative services such as English as a Second Language and citizenship classes, the Centre also provides counselling, job training and advocacy services. A reasonable argument could be made that other agencies should also be able to undertake at least some of these services in order to meet the multicultural reality of the area.

However, the clearest example of this lack of change on the part of agencies is the fact that the bulk of the activity of the Centre's staff focuses on translating and providing cultural information for other statutory agencies

such as the Ministry of Human Resources, the local Canada Employment Centre, the Vancouver City Police and Health and Welfare Canada (e.g. pensions and family allowance applications). When one considers the obvious differences in funding and number of staff, it is remarkable that none of these agencies has been willing and/or able to recruit a multicultural, multilingual staff to handle these situations to date.

Thus, despite the fact that much of the Immigrant Services Centre's work has to do with a provincial government agency (Ministry of Human Resources), the provincial government provides no funding for this agency. The federal government has provided year-to-year funding for one position (at sub-standard wages) and the City of Vancouver provides funding for one other position. And despite the multiplicity of roles which the Centre provides, including facilitating other agencies to fulfill their mandates, its case is typical of other immigrant serving agencies and organizations forced to function on a year to year basis. As is the case with the ethnic worker position, one cannot help but wonder how such a state of flux and tenuousness will affect the abilities of immigrant serving agencies and their personnel in the long run.

Discretionary Powers

The second major complicating factor lies in the improper use of discretionary power by social workers employed by statutory agencies such as the Ministry of Human Resources (M.H.R.). These workers are often given mandates which allow them a great deal of freedom and discretion to intervene in various situations in ways which are clearly not in the best interests of visible minorities.

From a systemic view, the issue is not so much the attitudes of social workers but rather the lack of appropriate training in cross-cultural situations and the wide discretionary powers afforded them under the present Family and Child Service Act and accompanying regulations.

The Ministry of Human Resources also has considerable discretion in

deciding the appropriateness of various support services for families in crisis. Interestingly enough, the M.H.R. has rarely, if ever, entered into a special services contract with any of the local ethnic self-help groups, despite their history of excellent service provision which has often been provided on a voluntary basis to the Ministry. Instead, the M.H.R. prefers to pay other "mainstream" service providers for the provision of services to racial and ethnic minorities even though they often lack the same level of expertise.

Further to this, a great deal of discretion is afforded to financial assistance workers in the provision of income assistance and specifically in deciding which applications are entitled to "crisis grants". According to the experience of a B.C. senior social worker in the M.H.R., this discretionary power has been used to disallow (proportionately) a larger number of Indo-Canadians from acquiring these grants. Again from the systemic view, the problem revolves around the vague regulation surrounding the provision of such grants.

Systemic Remedies

Despite their tax dollar "investment" into the "welfare state", it appears that Canada's racial and ethnic minorities have been left virtually unserved by the country's social service systems. Most agencies have not changed their staffs or service delivery systems to meet the needs of the changing populations they are supposed to serve, as illustrated by the case of South Vancouver's Indo-Canadian community. Instead, these agencies leave much of the task to immigrant service agencies which are funded on the most tenuous of bases.

Perhaps more serious still is the fact that although social workers have traditionally seen their profession as being in the vanguard of the movement for better conditions for immigrants, they may nevertheless be using their discretionary powers to hinder immigrants rather than help them.

If social workers are to become part of the solution, they too will have to advocate for systemic remedies. With solid research and a partnership with

previously disaffected groups, social workers can play a leading role in beginning the process of dismantling systemic barriers to adequate services for all groups in Canadian society.

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Footnotes

- 1 Reg Robson, *Ethnic Conflict in Vancouver*, p.15.

Where Is Toronto City Hall Accessibility Study Findings

The Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations had heard of problems encountered by members of racial and ethnic minorities in getting access to municipal services, but felt that there was insufficient data for recommending changes. In an effort to address this issue, representatives from the South Asian, Chinese, Black, Portuguese and Filipino communities were consulted as part of a Community Consultation Project throughout 1984 in order to give City staff a better understanding of their ethno-specific needs and to assist them in developing and improving the responsiveness of City services in a multicultural and multiracial environment.

The project attempted to meet the following objectives: a) compile information on racial and ethnic minorities' perceptions on the use of City services, the need for new services and directions for adaptation of existing services; b) develop a model for City services outreach in a multicultural milieu; and c) raise awareness about the Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations as a resource for the racial and ethnic communities.

As a result of the consultations, four major issues were identified. The first was a general lack of information on City services. Many ethnic and racial community members are not aware of the services the City provides, which services are offered in languages other than English, whether specific services can be obtained after normal office hours, and who the contact persons are for these services. This gap is further intensified by the second issue which concerns the underutilization of the ethnic media as well as ethnic community agencies in disseminating information on City services and programs.

The consultations also revealed an insufficient number of multicultural/

multilingual staff working in direct City services provided by City departments. The under-representation of such staff ultimately affects the cultural and language appropriateness of specific City services and programs. Once again, this results in the underutilization of these services by ethnic and racial community members.

And finally, community representatives voiced concern that there was inadequate sensitization on the part of receptionists and other City staff to cultural and language differences of their clientele. In many instances, this results in perceived racial overtones, discrimination and inhibition by those ethnic and racial community members who are seeking access to City services.

Project Recommendations

A number of recommendations came out of the final report of the Community Consultation Project and of these, nine were designated as needing priority attention. The criteria used in determining these priorities were a statement of high priority by the community; a degree of support already expressed by appropriate departments; and the probability of implementation of recommendations which could be accomplished by minor changes to existing programs and initiatives.

Priority Recommendation 1:

That the Department of the City Clerk translate "The Directory of Services for the City of Toronto" into Portuguese, Hindi, Urdu, Italian, Greek, Chinese and Spanish.

Priority Recommendation 2:

That the Department of the City Clerk conduct workshops in the racial and ethnic communities, in appropriate languages, on "How City Hall Works" with a view to develop the capability of ethnic organizations to influence the political process and have access to City departments.

Priority Recommendation 3:

That the Management Services Department design and implement a race relations training programme for City employees.

Priority Recommendation 4:

That the Commissioner of Planning & Development, in consultation with the key members of the communities consulted, provide recommendations to the Mayor's initiative in youth employment for Toronto, on employment of minority youth in the City's own departments and with other employers in the City.

Priority Recommendation 5:

That the Planning & Development Department include the following as part of the initiatives of the Small Business Development Assistance programme adopted by City Council:

a) conduct workshops in the racial and ethnic communities on relevant government programmes for employment creation, small business development, the Business Improvement Area programme (B.I.A.) and methods by which these programmes could be utilized; and

b) conduct a fact-finding visit to successful minority business areas in Toronto and elsewhere and report on appropriate entrepreneurial models for consideration by City Council and minority business groups.

Priority Recommendation 6:

That the Public Health Department improve the distribution of Public Health nurses with appropriate language skills in different geographic areas of the City.

Priority Recommendation 7:

That the Public Health Department translate the Canadian Food Chart into Portuguese, Italian, Greek, Chinese, Hindi, Urdu and Spanish and that these charts then be made available to ethnic newspapers and ethno-specific community agencies.

Priority Recommendation 8:

That the Housing Department develop and disseminate information in Portuguese, Italian, Greek, Chinese, Hindi, Urdu and Spanish on Cityhome projects including availability, eligibility and application procedures. Such information could be made available to ethnic newspapers and ethno-specific community agencies.

Priority Recommendation 9:

That the City Nominating Committee continue to ensure better representation of racial and ethnic groups on the Cityhome Board.

In addition to these priority recommendations, several ethno-specific recommendations were made by individual communities. It is essential that these suggestions be treated as seriously as those mentioned in the priority category as members of ethnic and racial communities do not all have the identical needs. While it certainly holds true that these groups have been collectively denied equal access to City services, it must be remembered that each community has its own particular concerns in addition to their generalized need for access. The following examples of their specific requests illustrate this necessary distinction.

Three of the five communities consulted offered recommendations to assist members of their immediate groups. For example, the need for small business development and successful entrepreneurial models contained in the subsections of priority recommendation number 5 came from members of the Black community.

Representatives of the Portuguese community recommended that the City provide more assisted housing, more shelters for battered immigrant women and more housing for senior citizens in the City's west end. They also requested that the City provide information and conduct seminars in the Portuguese community on Property Assessment and Assessment Appeal in the City of Toronto.

Toronto's Filipino community was also concerned about housing and recommended that City Council review the "Bachelorettes" policy in the Parkdale area which has resulted in eviction, displacement, hardship and limited access to affordable rental housing for many members of their community. They also asked that City Council review and adapt the standards and laws on overcrowding to suit the cultural needs of immigrant communities. The interpretation and execution of existing standards and laws on overcrowding by landlords has also resulted in the eviction, and

thus the disintegration, of numerous Filipino families in the City. And finally, they recommended that the Department of Parks and Recreation provide more tennis courts in Parkdale and St. James Town to improve accessibility to such recreation facilities for residents in these areas of the City.

Minority Input

The community consultations indicate that there are a number of City services where tangible results can be realized to provide better accessibility to racial and ethnic communities. While these communities supported the premise behind the consultations, they also expressed apprehension about whether their concerns would receive serious attention from City

Council, City departments and the Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations. It is therefore imperative that the co-operative spirit and willingness to participate in the initial consultations on the part of these agents be followed up with progressive initiatives for change.

As well, many of the recommendations submitted by the communities, such as cultural differences in housing standards, raise issues which merit some further analysis and consideration. It is evident from their concerned response that racial and ethnic minorities want more input into the development of City services and policies. Ensuring that their access to such services is on an equal footing with the rest of society is the first step in that direction.

Minorities in Ontario Newsrooms: How Equal is the Opportunity?

Adam Mayers

Minorities are virtually non-existent in the newsrooms of Ontario's newspapers. This is the major finding of a study* conducted between September and December, 1986 that examined the recruitment procedures, promotion channels and employment levels of women and minorities at the 41 English language daily newspapers in Ontario.

Methodology

A two-stage questionnaire, adapted from one developed and copyrighted by Dr. Harish Jain of McMaster University, was mailed to all papers which consisted of 32 questions and one data table.

Section I contained 13 questions and was designed for all papers regardless of whether they had affirmative action (AA) or equal employment opportunity (EEO) programs. It requested information about circulation and size of local community, number of employees in total and the news-

room, type of ownership, channels of recruitment and attitudes toward the costs and benefits of AA and EEO programs.

Section II contained 19 questions and was designed for those papers with AA or EEO programs. It asked about program targets, reasons for the program, how it is administered and by whom, why it was implemented and its goals.

Thirty-one of the papers were sent the questionnaires by mail. Initial response rate was 9 out of 31, or 29 per cent. Two weeks later a follow-up letter was mailed which elicited one more response. The respondents in this group were nine publishers and one newspaper general manager.

The 10 largest papers which account for 85 per cent of the province's aggregate daily circulation and one-third of the nation's were also mailed the questionnaires, but the information was gathered either in person in the case of seven papers, or

by telephone interview in the case of the remainder. The response rate from this sample was 10 out of 10, or 100 per cent. For the sample as a whole, it was 20 out of 41, or 48.7 per cent.

The respondents in this latter group were four senior editorial managers, three personnel professionals (one of whom had a background as an editorial manager), one general manager and two vice-presidents, one in charge of an AA program and the other a group vice-president of human resources. Two of the personnel managers reported they used multiple sources to respond to the questionnaire.

Definitions

Affirmative Action was defined as a proactive structured process to redress imbalances in staffing. It was further defined as a process of self-examination and remedial action designed to eliminate employment discrimination within organizations.

Equal Employment Opportunity, a more passive mechanism, was defined as a mechanism to ensure that all groups have equal access to jobs and equal opportunities for training and promotion.

Managers were defined as senior editors (Editors-in-chief, Executive Editors, Managing Editors, etc.) and their deputies and assistants. As well, department editors (city, news, entertainment, business, etc.) and their assistants, who in addition to a title, have a responsibility for directing the work of one or more people were also included.

Findings

Across the entire sample, visible minorities, the disabled and Native people, were negligible as newsroom employees. Of the 1,731 full-time newsroom employees in the sample, 30 fell into those classes, or 1.7 per cent of the total. There were no minority newsroom managers reported.

The study also revealed that recruitment channels at the large newspapers (circulations more than 50,000 per day) are narrow, well-defined and likely exclude a wide range of suitable applicants. Candidates generally become aware of jobs through a word-of-

mouth grapevine which leads to an application and hiring away from other papers. Those potential candidates not plugged into the pipeline rarely hear of the opportunities. Journalism schools and summer intern programs are also frequently used sources of recruitment among the larger papers. Smaller papers followed a similar pattern, but because of their size and less attractive locations, they are forced to advertise.

Promotion channels across all papers tended to be from within, reflecting the specialized structure of the newspaper industry where knowledge of the particular market, the paper's culture and relationship with its community are extremely important.

None of the papers surveyed (with one exception) saw minority representation or lack of it, as an issue. The editors felt that establishing programs at a cost in time and energy for so small a group was a misuse of resources. This, despite the fact that as the *Equality Now! Report* noted, over 2 million Canadians can be classified as a visible minority, and in Metropolitan Toronto alone, the visible minority population has been estimated to be anywhere between 12 to 18 per cent.

The respondents said there were too many other pressing day to day issues. They also noted that there is not the same public pressure from large, vocal minority groups as there is in the United States. The attitude was essentially this: We will do something when we have to and not before.

An Exception To The Rule

Only one of the 41 newspapers surveyed, the Toronto Star, has instituted an Affirmative Action program, and is believed to be the only paper in the country to do so.

The Star began toying with the idea in 1982 and prime among its movers were Torstar chairman Beland Honderich and president, the late Martin Goodman. In 1985, the Star set up a multi-department Affirmative Action committee chaired by its operations vice-president Bruce Taylor, and six other mid and senior level executives in recognition of the increasing importance of the issue.

Although the Star's prime target is advancing women within its opera-

tions, a policy statement makes it clear that the programs apply to everyone. According to the document, their purpose is to "remove barriers to employment and advancement of women and visible minorities; eliminate stereotyping; . . . (and) increase the number of women and visible minorities at all levels of management, while ensuring that fair employment practices are utilized at all times."

The Star reports its goals through policy statements to managers and its progress toward them in its internal newspaper, StarBeat. Its long run goal is to have its staffing mix of men, women and minorities reflect the community where it publishes.

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**This article is taken from a summary report of a 1986 MBA study on the representation of women and minorities at newspapers in Ontario.*

Minority Access To Employment Services

Patricia M. Daenzer

The labour market dysfunction of the early eighties meant an escalation of involuntary joblessness and a de-skilling of the labour force. The jobless number according to Statistics Canada rose to an all-time post-depression high in 1983 of nearly 12% (many suggest it was much higher). In addition to the decreased demand for labour, many middle-income, blue-collar, unionized jobs were eroded, and replaced by tenuous marginal jobs. Those who traditionally occupied mid-range secure jobs were either pushed down the occupational scale into the service industry and casual part-time jobs or displaced altogether from employment.¹ The more marginally employed became the new class of the severely occupationally disadvantaged.²

It was in response to this complex labour-market dysfunction that the federal government established the Canada Jobs Strategy program in 1985 to increase the labour demand and prepare the employment disadvantaged for new industrial challenges.³ However, apart from the many other flaws that have since been levelled against the Canada Jobs Strategy (C.J.S.), it is the hypothesis of this article that immigrants and racial minorities are excluded in disproportionate numbers from access to the job training and skills training services provided under this six-part program initiative.

The first factor that may contribute to a disproportionate exclusion of racial minorities is the narrow definition of the concept of "employment disadvantaged". Many of the most occupationally disadvantaged members of the minority and immigrant community are trapped in menial marginal work which is casual and part-time. However, casual and part-time workers

are not eligible for any of the programs of the Canadian Jobs Strategy. The exclusion of the marginally employed and the underemployed from accessing programs aimed at enhancing employment stability, mobility and competitiveness means that minority immigrants do not have the same opportunities for occupational survival as do others in the labour force.

the Strategy have defined "severely occupationally disadvantaged" to mean long-term unemployment i.e. having been unemployed for 24 of the last 30 weeks.⁴ Those who fit this category may be assessed for need and if deemed suitable, may be eligible for a combination of job readiness training and employer-based, on-site work experience.

The eligibility criterion of 24 weeks of unemployment for the Job Development program inadvertently excludes many minority immigrants from participating in this national labour market development scheme; for example, persons who enter Canada under the Foreign Domestic Program work as domestics for a two-year period under a special work permit.

Canadian Jobs Strategy: The Programs

Program	Target	Activity
1. Skill Investment	The employed. Workers' jobs threatened by changing technology and economic conditions	Workers learn new skills before layoff
2. Job Entry/Reentry	The unemployed. Young people entering the workforce. Women re-entering after three year absence	Training and work experience for (re)entry of labour market
3. Job Development	Long-term unemployed	Individualized skill development & on-the-job employment experience
4. Skill Shortages	The employed. Employers requiring workers with particular skills	Subsidy to employers to retrain employees in new skills
5. Community Futures	Communities facing chronic high unemployment	Special projects to selected communities with high unemployment
6. Innovations	For ideas and research re: labour market improvement	The purchase of ideas to ease labour market problems

Issues of Access

The six aspects of the "Strategy" are proposed to meet the needs of both those who are employed and whose displacement is imminent, and those who are unemployed (see table). Job Development is one such program which is aimed at assisting the most severely occupationally disadvantaged back into the workforce. The authors of

Following this two-year contractual period, they are eligible to apply for immigrant status and to seek other work in the mainstream labour market. Of the approximately 15,000 persons who entered Canada under this program in 1985/86, none have been eligible for the opportunity to break out of the role of indentured servants through the Job Development program. Since the period of domestic

service would naturally be considered employment, they would not fit the 24 out of 30 weeks criterion.

What this means is that these persons must leave domestic work and enter the secondary labour force without the benefit of the culture-specific training offered by the Job Development program. They cannot afford to stay out of the workforce long enough to qualify for this benefit. They become trapped in tenuous, low-paying, non-unionized jobs, often in related occupations such as chambermaids, dishwashers or cleaners.⁵

Secondly, the eligibility criterion defines a severely employment disadvantaged person as somebody with "problematic work habits, attitudes and motivation problems, a serious lack of education/training, prolonged periods of institutionalization, functional illiteracy, or who has a long history of drug or alcohol abuse". In other words, the focus of the program is on those with personal disabilities. Such a focus ignores the long-term unemployed who are discriminated against in the labour market as a result of being a member of an ethnic or racial group.

Sponsored immigrants whose first language is not English face an equal injustice. A sponsored immigrant is not eligible for the subsidized language training offered to independent immigrants or to government-sponsored refugees. The Canada Employment Centres do not provide services in languages other than English and French. Highly trained and qualified immigrants with language barriers must therefore undersell their labour in an exploitative market in order to provide for their families. The Job Development program cannot meet the employment needs of these immigrants for whom employment is crucial and who require language facilitation to access the services.⁶

Quite apart from the language barriers, the sponsorship agreement is one which requires that the sponsoring relatives be responsible for the economic needs of the sponsored person for a specified period of time (usually 5 years or more). Many immigrant families who sponsor rela-

tives have themselves been relegated to economic marginality and cannot afford to sustain family members during periods of unemployment. Yet, the only way to access this program geared to the employment disadvantaged is through long-term unemployment.

Occupational Displacement

Refugees too often face the double barriers of insufficient preparation to function successfully in the mainstream Canadian workforce, and the means necessary to remove themselves from exploitative work situations to await program access eligibility. Those who become refugee applicants after entering Canada must be careful to demonstrate their ability to become economically self-sufficient. This often means accepting and holding the most menial jobs accompanied by the constant threat of occupational displacement. They have no bargaining power within the workforce, and must begin life in Canadian society as seriously disadvantaged persons. They too are denied access to the Job Development program which purportedly assists the employment disadvantaged in minimizing barriers to mainstream employment.

The Job Reentry program (cited in the preceding table) specifically designed to meet the needs of women, does not serve the needs of new immigrant women because of similar eligibility criteria. A woman must have been absent from the workforce for three or more years to access the service of Reentry. Understandably, immigrant women who have been sponsored or are refugees, (the two most common classes of minority immigrants) cannot absent themselves from the workforce for even short periods without enduring extreme hardship, much less the three-year unemployment period stipulated. In choosing to work rather than to be subjected to the indignities which accompany unemployment, they are excluded from this "geared to women" program, and become locked into the most menial and undesirable jobs.

Neither the Job Development nor the Job Reentry programs meet the needs of the immigrant community's

underemployed. Underemployment is the most serious form of disadvantage endured by minority immigrants. It is not a concept which is acknowledged either implicitly or explicitly in the Canadian Jobs Strategy. In order to meet the eligibility criteria of the two programs, one would have to leave the workforce and resort to general welfare (if eligible) during the waiting period.

If the Canadian Jobs Strategy program is to meet the needs of the minority immigrant community, then many of the eligibility criteria must be changed. The definition of "employment disadvantaged" must be widened to include those trapped in, or condemned to, a lifetime of marginal employment. While the aim of the C.J.S. is to prepare the Canadian workforce to meet the changing needs of a technological society, present practice has the ultimate effect of reinforcing the current racially-stratified labour force, which segregates minorities in low-paying occupational ghettos.

The C.J.S. strategy places greater emphasis on the privatization of industrial training (part of the collaborative strategy between government and business) through the increasing use of the wage subsidy mechanism. Minority access to employment development programs cannot depend on the goodwill of private enterprise. Experience has shown minority Canadians that the "will" of the private sector does not work in their favour.⁸

Employment services to new immigrants should include language facilitation regardless of the immigrant category. The investment thinking which undergirds present newcomer services suggests that independent immigrants are more worthy of the Canadian expenditure than are immigrants sponsored by relatives. The policy is underpinned by a punitive, residual disincentive which imposes the most injurious hardship on families who sponsor their relatives to join them in Canada. The implicit intention of the policy is the discouragement from bringing new family members unless one has the economic means to launch them in

Canada. The criterion for language and employment assistance should simply be legal presence in Canadian society. The discrimination against "sponsored" immigrants, who are mostly from the minority ethnic groups, should cease.

It is unpardonable that Canada Employment Centres do not provide counsellors who speak the languages represented in our mosaic. It is still the expectation that charitable ethnic organizations will fill this gap in service. Various poorly government-funded community organizations provide interpretation and referral services to those new immigrants wishing to access the employment mainstream. Since funding of these agencies is categorical and limited, this residual practice results in a denial of access to employment services.⁹

Since categorical funding may be used as a means of withholding and controlling services, and consequently access to equal life chances, we should demand one system of national service structured to accommodate equally the economic needs of a multiracial society. Small community branch Canada Employment Centres governed by the same mandate and policies and providing the same quality of services should replace the various goodwill community agencies who now struggle to meet ever increasing needs. Front-line and management staff of these centres should represent fairly the ethnic variations of people using the services provided.

The program criteria of the Skill Shortages and Skill Investment programs of the CJS (see table) should be amended to focus on those underemployed minorities who are ghettoized in low-paying jobs. If minority immigrants are to be liberated from the "last hired/first fired/most dispensable" category within the labour market, then some positive discriminatory policy has to first ensure their skill enhancement and technological preparation. The Federal subsidy provided to ensure training under the Skill Shortages and Skill Investment programs should be conditional upon underemployed minorities receiving equal access to training.

The Community Futures program,

which is very poorly defined at the moment, should be used as a "group" designated rather than "geographic" designated program. The program is directed at one-industry towns and rural communities and ignores any population group within urban centres suffering disproportionately high levels of unemployment. Targeted groups within the national employment community who currently suffer extreme deprivation no matter where they reside should be funded for quality technological upskilling which would ensure a meaningful occupational future. A group such as domestics, attempting to liberate themselves from an occupation which has traditionally been devalued, should receive training priority under the Futures program.

The present arrangements under the Canadian Jobs Strategy programs only apply to "some" workers. Many of the most highly employment disadvantaged are excluded from opportunities (however limited) for occupation enhancement. The Canadian Jobs Strategy must be freed of these exclusionary limitations. The entire labour force is entitled to services and opportunities which will enhance their survival in a technologically determined economic milieu.

The suggested trend within the existing delivery criterion of C.J.S. programs of institutionalizing the exclusion of minority immigrants from equal access to employment services must be addressed and reversed. Ignoring this critical issue will result in the reinforcement of the marginal existence of many minorities.

We need to have the data which could expose the otherwise hidden injustices faced by minorities who struggle painfully to enter the work force. Systems need to be in place which could identify and monitor the participation rates of minorities in employment training programmes. Without such knowledge, we cannot demand accountability.

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Footnotes

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9. Community Coalition on the Canadian Jobs Strategy, Ibid.

Immigrant and Visible Minority Women in Ontario: Barriers To Employment

According to the 1981 Census, approximately 963,000 immigrant women were living in Ontario, representing 53% of all immigrant women in Canada. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture's statistics show that of a total of 243,545 immigrant women entering the Province between 1971-81, 56% settled in Toronto and the Caribbean and Guyana accounted for the major source of immigrant women (16.8%). (MCC, 1986:12).

The years between 1971-81 saw a change in the immigration pattern so that the British Isles, which accounted for 1/3 of the total number of women immigrating prior to 1971, accounted for only 13.8% during this time. The 1971-81 period saw fewer numbers of immigrants from most European sources, except Portugal, and an increase in numbers from Asia, particularly India and the Philippines (MCC, 1986:6-11).

As a result of this change in immigration patterns, traditional women's employment issues of access to well-paid jobs, pay equity, childcare, training and compensation for housework, etc., are often exacerbated by barriers of language, racial prejudice and cultural differences.

Visible Minority Women

At their 1983 Ontario conference, visible minority women defined themselves as non-white, ethnic minorities in the context of a predominantly white society (Ontario Women's Directorate et al, 1983). In Ontario, when we refer to visible/racial minority groups, we generally refer to a group of people that are visibly different from the dominant group, fewer in number, and with little or no access to social, economic, political or religious power within our society.

The visible minority population

represents 5% of the total Ontario population.¹ Chinese women constitute the largest proportion of visible minority women in Ontario at 25% followed by Black and Native women at 18% each. About three-quarters of visible minority women in Ontario live in the Toronto area including members of the Black, South Asian, Indonesian, Filipino, Korean, Chinese and Japanese communities. Visible minority women constitute 10% of the total population in the Toronto area. (Women's Bureau, 1983).

While it is often the case that immigrant women may also be of a visible minority group, this is not necessarily always true. A second and third generation visible minority woman may continue to face problems of racial discrimination. This discrimination, moreover, is often expressed on two levels: overt, based on prejudice or bias; or systemic, which is impersonal or institutional.

The former type of discrimination can be illustrated by examining the results of research into hiring practices in Toronto which have found that white applicants had three times the opportunity of being offered employment as black applicants (*Who Gets The Work?*, Henry and Ginzberg, 1985). The latter, systemic type is harder to pinpoint, but is apparent in requirements for 'Canadian experience' or knowledge of English when such requirements may be unrelated to the performance of a particular job. As a result, the central issues for visible minority women as they relate to full and equal participation in the Canadian labour force, are overlaid with barriers of racial and sexual discrimination.

Barriers To Advancement

The following issues will be discussed as they relate to immigrant and

visible minority women: occupational segregation; access to language and training programs; access to information; recognition of qualifications (certification); and childcare.

Occupational Segregation

While the issue of labour force segregation is common to all Canadian women, the situation of immigrant women is characterized by their location at the top and bottom ends of the labour market. In the Ontario professional/technical sector, a slightly larger proportion of jobs are held by immigrant women (21.7%) than by non-immigrant women (25.3%). (MCC, 1986:40). This is partly due to the immigration selection process which chooses women with this type of training and experience. (Seydegart and Spears, 1985:44). However, a disproportionate number of immigrant women are located in the lowest paying sectors of the Canadian labour force where they outnumber non-immigrant women by three to one (*ibid*).

At the core of most employment issues affecting immigrant women in Canada — ghettoization, low wages, inaccessibility of training, and deprofessionalization, (under or non-utilization of professional qualifications) — there is often the assumption that immigrant women accept and deserve to stay at the bottom of the employment totem pole because of their low educational status. Although immigrant women constitute nearly one quarter of Ontario's population (4% are women of colour), current affirmative action programs which address sex and equality do not deal explicitly with the issue of race and ethnic origins. In addition, employers are now beginning to ask that visible minorities be included in affirmative action plans that previously targeted only women.

In Ontario there is a striking concentration of some groups of immigrant women, particularly those who do not speak English (ie. principally Portuguese, Italian, Latin American and Chinese) in the "processing", product packaging and service occupations, which are characterized by low pay and poor working conditions.

Immigrant women comprise 15%

of the total workforce in processing and manufacturing whereas non-immigrant women represent only 6% of this job sector.

The employment patterns of immigrant women in Ontario are also characterized by an occupational segregation based upon their geographical origins, so that:

- 36.5% of women from North and Central America and 31.1% of women from South East Asia are located in the managerial, administrative, professional and scientific job categories, whereas 7.8% of women from Southern Europe and 13.7% of women from South America are located in these categories of employment;
- 60% of women from Southern Europe and South America are located in processing, manufacturing and service occupations;
- Women from Africa, the British Isles, the Caribbean and Guyana have high percentages in the clerical and related occupations. (MCC, 1986:36).

The incomes of women in Ontario of different origins shows a similar pattern to the above:

- the lowest average employment income is earned by women from South America (\$7,431) followed by women from Southern Europe (\$8,262);
- the highest average employment income is earned by women from Central Europe (\$10,331) and South East Asia (\$10,017) (MCC, 1986:43).

Many immigrant women who settle in Ontario have high levels of education. Yet their incomes are not commensurate with their qualifications.

- the highest incomes of women with university educations are found among those from Eastern Europe (\$16,594) and the British Isles (\$16,495);
- the lowest incomes of women with university educations are received by women from South Asia (\$12,210) and South America (\$10,798, *ibid*).

Employment Equity

Visible minority women consider employment equity to be a major priority because of its potential to eliminate overt and systemic discrimination. The solution sought is two-pronged: the need for equal opportunity to allow visible minority women to seek and find employment which utilizes their educational skills and experience; and the demand for equal pay for jobs which require similar effort and skills as those of men and non-visible minority women.

A 1981 study on job segregation in Metropolitan Toronto found that women of West Indian origin earned \$6,000 less than "majority Canadian" women and \$3,000 less than the women of Portuguese origin. When education and factors such as language and work experience were taken into account, visible minority women earned less by several thousand dollars. (Reitz et al, 1981:14).

A number of reports such as *Immigrant Women in Canada, A Right to Recognition* (1981), *Equality Now!* (1984), *the Royal Commission Report, Equality in Employment* (1984) and *Beyond Dialogue* (1985) have all recommended employment equity programs for visible minorities and others. The Royal Commission Report, which was partially implemented in 1985, extends employment equity policy to visible minorities in Crown corporations, federally regulated employers and federal contractors. As of April 1986 at its third reading, no enforcement clauses had been included in Bill C-62 as article 33-2 of the Canadian Human Rights Code is said to empower the Canadian Human Rights Commission with the ability to initiate complaints regarding employment equity.

Visible minority women are also demanding that affirmative action programs be mandatory as voluntary programs have to date had little impact on changing the overall position of women.² The Ontario Human Rights Code Section 13 - (1) and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms Section 15 - (2) make specific provisions for programs such as affirmative action and employment equity. The Ontario provision permits: "The implementation of a special program designed to

relieve hardship for economically disadvantaged persons or groups to achieve or attempt to achieve equal opportunity."

Language & Training Programs

a) Language

There is an unquestionable relationship between the employment status of immigrant women and their ability to speak English. Without fluency in French or English, they face the prospect of having to take "dead-end" employment in domestic work, piecework, assembly work and janitorial work.

The proportion of immigrant women unable to speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation varies from 1.2% of early immigrants (pre-1946) to 14.0% for the most recent immigrants (1971-1981) (MCC, 1986:25).

Those immigrants who do not speak English are forced to rely on relatives and friends for assistance in securing employment. The limitations contained therein are obvious. In addition, they are unable to express their need for better working conditions and remain confined to cheap labour ghettos. As a result, there is also an identified need to include discussion on race relations issues in English as a Second Language and English in the Workplace training.

In their consultations across Canada, Seydegart and Spears identified three groups of immigrant women who would benefit from language instruction in French or English: recent immigrants who have no knowledge of English or French; immigrants who have been in Canada many years without learning the language and who now have life patterns which make it difficult for them to acquire a new language; and immigrants who speak a dialect of English or French other than standard Canadian English.

At present, through a federally sponsored program, a fulltime, six-month language training course with a training allowance is available to those who are "destined for the labour market", require English or French to find "suitable" employment, and are independent immigrants.

Successive briefs from immigrant women's groups, conference proceedings and reports on the special needs of immigrant women have identified what are perceived to be problems with the federal programs. Many immigrant women do not pass the three hurdles mentioned above. In the first place, it is felt that Canada Employment Centre counsellors make decisions which often have the effect of excluding a woman with children from working outside of the home. Second, because many immigrant women have low levels of education, employment counsellors may decide that "suitable" employment for these women is located in job sectors where knowledge of English or French is unnecessary. In many cases, a woman may not know that she should discuss with or inform the counsellor of her personal goals. Third, while sponsored female immigrants may be eligible for language training, they are not eligible for a training allowance or a travel allowance.

The majority of new immigrants now fall into the sponsored category.³ This is significant because even if they are allowed to enter a program, they cannot afford to do so without a training allowance. The cost of transportation and child care which is not included in the allowance is also a burden to immigrants.

In addition, the training allowance itself is below the welfare level and is therefore inadequate, especially in urban centres such as Toronto, where housing consumes the major portion of a low income. While part-time language courses are available in many communities, most immigrant women must begin to work full-time soon after their arrival and find the double burden of housework and wage work prevent their attendance at these courses.

English-in-the-Workplace Programs (EWP) have as their purpose the improvement of communications in multicultural workplaces. There has been a determined effort in some quarters to move the emphasis away from traditional ESL at the workplace to a new EWP approach which places responsibility on the employer as well as on the employee to address issues of

communication at the workplace. EWP courses are now being made increasingly available for both workers and supervisory staff within multicultural workplaces, but it is a program which is still being developed.

The purpose of EWP is threefold: to assist organizations to respond to a changing workforce and to make adjustments in procedures and policies; to enable immigrant workers to participate more fully at work; and to enable supervisors to communicate more effectively with immigrant workers.

b) Training

Immigrant and many visible minority women are among the groups of workers most affected by changes in the labour market. Adaptations to changes in the workplace as a result of the constant technological innovations of the 1980s have had a major impact on the "secondary" labour force, of whom immigrant and visible minority women form a part. In addition, the potential impact of the introduction of free trade upon these groups of women may be significant. A large proportion of these women work in the textile industry in Ontario. If free trade is introduced, it is likely that most of these women will need to be retrained.

A lack of fluency in English or French combined with a limited education and sponsored status, prevents many immigrant women from participating in the skill training with allowance programs offered by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC).

In addition to these obstacles, immigrant women confront other more generalized barriers to access to training. For example, it is felt that immigrant women are often steered away from training programs, both by Canada Employment Centre counsellors and by their own contacts and that information about such programs often does not reach these women. Furthermore, many skills training programs lack a focus on non-traditional occupational training and do not provide childcare, thus limiting the participation of many immigrant women. There is also inadequate support for

special bridging programs that in the past have successfully provided necessary orientation to the demands of the changing, highly technical labour market.

Access To Information

One of the key factors forcing immigrant and often visible minority women into a disadvantaged position in Canadian society is the difficulty they confront in accessing information concerning labour laws, human rights, education, employment opportunities and related services. Immigrant women seeking employment are dependent upon an immigrant services counsellor, or as is frequently the case, the hearsay of their acquaintances.

Canada Employment Centres often do not provide services in a third language (e.g. Italian or Portuguese in Toronto). In addition, ethnic agencies which do provide information in third languages suffer from understaffing due to lack of funding. In many cases their staff are undertrained and sometimes insensitive to women's needs.

While the Race Relations Division of the Ontario Human Rights Commission is involved in a number of public education activities with racial and ethnic communities, the problem of access is still cited.

In addition, because of the particular situation of many immigrant and visible minority women, it is felt that specialized information should be developed for them containing listings of training programs of short duration, community outreach programs and literacy and language training.

Recognition of Qualifications/Certification

It is generally recognized that the issue of certification is one which requires extensive study. While the problem is keenly felt by many immigrant women, visible minority women feel their problem is exacerbated by discrimination based on ethnicity or race. Although complaints could be dealt with through the Ontario Human Rights Commission, it is generally felt this is not the most effective way with which to deal with the problem.

Overall, there is a large proportion of immigrant women who are less well educated on average than Canadian

born women: 33% of immigrant women in Ontario have less than a grade 9 education versus 17% of Canadian born women. However, 6% of immigrant women in Ontario have a university education — the highest educated originating in South Asia and South East Asia (MCC, 1986:35).

Whereas, on the one hand, an inability to speak English and lack of education may relegate immigrant women to the lower end of the labour market, on the other hand, higher levels of education and language fluency may not have the opposite effect. Many immigrants who are accepted by Canada Immigration for their education and skills find that employers mistrust foreign qualifications. In addition, the professional organizations entrusted with legislated rights to grant accreditation of non-Canadian credentials, underestimate training from non-Western countries and create barriers to entry into professional occupations.

Newcomers who lack Canadian experience or an "equivalent" standard of education may be forced into manual or entrance level professional jobs. This dampens their process of integration and in some cases creates permanent barriers to their occupational mobility.

It was also found that a lack of "Canadian experience" was often cited as an excuse for not hiring visible minority or immigrant women, and even when a woman might be accepted into Canada because of her qualifications, those same qualifications were not considered the equivalent of Canadian experience.

Child Care

The lack of affordable childcare in the community and at educational institutions offering training and language programs, make the participation of women in these programs difficult. Although 33% of immigrant women in Ontario have no children, the average immigrant woman has a slightly larger family than the Canadian born family. The high participation rate of immigrant women in the labour market and their low average earnings have made affordable childcare a major employment

issue for immigrant and visible minority women, as it is for Canadian women generally.

Human Rights

Studies show that in 1983, one-third of all complaints to the Canadian Human Rights Commissions (CHRC) were based on race, colour and national/ethnic origin. In addition, 57% of complaints regarding harassment were on these grounds. However, these statistics may not be an adequate reflection of the true extent of the problem since visible minority women have consistently asserted that they do not regard the federal or provincial human rights commissions as a viable means of redress, and claim that there seems to be a general sense of disinterest in their situation.

While this problem is not exclusively related to employment, it is frequently cited by visible minority women as being an additional and serious barrier with which they must contend in achieving their employment goals.

What Lies Ahead?

In highlighting the major barriers to employment for immigrant and visible minority women, the resultant very real and special needs of these groups of women will have to be addressed by governments at all levels, by the private sector, and by society as a whole. Piecemeal and individual solutions or programs can help but are ultimately only bandaid measures. It is therefore recommended that each province develop a strategy for dealing with the special needs and concerns of their immigrant and visible minority women populations, and that a meeting with the federal minister responsible be held to discuss specific fiscal and program measures which could be implemented to address these barriers to employment. It is evident that a comprehensive approach is needed if this critical issue is to be effectively dealt with.

This article is drawn from a larger paper prepared by the Women's Directorate, Government of Ontario, May 1986.

Footnotes

1. Immigrant women who are not considered "visible minorities" but suffer similar degrees of discrimination have begun to work together with visible minority women. They feel that in many situations they confront the same problems as visible minorities. For example, some Portuguese women may suffer discrimination that is not unlike that suffered by a "visible minority."
2. Ontario Women's Directorate, Ontario Human Rights Commission and Race Relations Division. *Proceedings of the Visible Minority Women Conference on Racism, Sexism and Work, 1983* and Coalition of Visible Minority Women. A brief to the Hon. Ian Scott, Attorney General, Province of Ontario January 27, 1986.
3. In 1983, 55% of immigrants to Canada were sponsored and 66% of those sponsored immigrants were women. (Immigration Statistics 1983, Seydegart & Spears 1985).

Immigrant Women and Health Services

Ana Bodnar

Immigrant men come to Canada to better the economic situation of their families or to flee racial, political or religious persecution. Immigrant women are allowed to enter as part of the "family package".

Yet these women, whatever their class or religion, have to deal with the repercussions of a sexist immigration policy and a sexist society. Survival translates into enduring many forms of pain and exploitation. For one thing, women usually come as "family class" or "assisted relative" immigrants, and are thus not entitled to federally funded intensive language training, which is provided to male heads of households. During the long period of sponsorship (five to ten years), they are not entitled to welfare or family benefits. This forces many women to stay in marriages where their physical and mental health is in jeopardy.

Language and Stress

Language is the single most important factor in making immigrant women's lives more difficult as compared to those of other Canadian women. Not speaking English or French means that your contact with all institutions, including health services, is reduced to what is interpreted for you or what is available in your own language (usually nothing). It means living in a reduced world where you depend on others. It means being isolated from society at large including, as time goes by, from your children, who start to replace your language with English.

Dependent on husbands and family because of language, immigrant women are also made dependent by a policy that denies them welfare assistance if they are sponsored. When one woman wanted to leave her husband because he was assaulting her, she was denied welfare by the government, was

threatened with deportation by her husband and was forced to stay in the marriage. By law, she could only get welfare if her husband broke the sponsorship, which he refused to do. Eventually she was able to leave her marriage through the intervention of a community agency, get welfare and join one of the very few support groups for immigrant battered women.

Unhealthy work, family pressures and isolation take their toll on the well-being of immigrant women. Anxiety, headaches, insomnia and other ailments are common. But when immigrant women seek out health and social services to deal with these problems, they find that there are few available in their own language or that relate to their needs and experiences.

The Health Care System

It is hard for any woman to find non-sexist doctors and therapists who won't prescribe tranquillizers or make her feel entirely responsible for a marriage gone awry. Good therapists do exist (although not for women who can't afford to pay them), and referral services have been established to help some women find them. But if immigrant women want medical help, especially psychological help where the language difficulties are most daunting, they have to go to one of the few doctors or psychiatrists who speak their own language. Service agencies sometimes have counsellors who speak a second language, but even then the woman has no choice; she must take the counsellor offered.

With no decent services to which to refer women, workers in immigrant settlement services end up doing a great deal of personal counselling, even though they are not funded to do this. But there are many problems which, because of their severe or

medical nature, cannot be properly dealt with by these centres.

Even a city like Toronto, famous for its multicultural face, has only four or five Spanish-speaking psychiatrists for a population of more than 100,000 Hispanics. A 1979 study of mental health services for immigrant women found that most of them had brought their traditional analyses of women's problems to Canada, and treatment for marital problems took the form of medication, guilt production and telling women to buy negligees to woo their husbands and make life happy once again. If a woman is experiencing severe depression, she could be admitted to hospital for electroshock treatment without discussion of alternatives or warning of effects.

Women are seldom told that they can refuse treatment, seek a second opinion or act without their husband's permission. These facts are particularly important for women who come from countries where they did not have these options.

In hospitals, women have been misdiagnosed because they can't communicate with doctors and given surgery when none is needed. Anxiety attacks have been treated by injections of tranquillizers in emergency rooms, with no investigation of cause or recommendation for follow-up treatment. Hospital staff who speak a second language may be called upon to interpret specific facts, such as telling a woman about her medication. These interpreters are often kitchen or housekeeping staff who have insufficient understanding of medical procedures and who are busy with their own jobs.

A number of health and social services have become aware of their limitations in meeting the needs of immigrants and have pushed to get more multilingual staff or have in-service training that focuses on the history and culture of the main ethnic groups they see. But very few include in this training a discussion of the concrete social and economic problems that create emotional and physical illness for women. When problems are not seen in this light, the solutions proposed are personal or cultural. The focus is on helping a woman "cope"

with a bad situation rather than on changing the situation.

There are some community-based centres with women's programs, and many women working in immigrant agencies are trying to set up specific programs to help battered women, provide birth control information, and so on. These centres are in the best position to understand the needs of immigrant women, and workers who are themselves immigrant women are obviously ideally situated to help other immigrant women without condescension or cultural bias. However, these centres are few in number, underfunded and overworked. Besides, their mandate (according to the funding guidelines of Employment and Immigration Canada) is only to work with immigrants for an arbitrary three-year period. After that, immigrants are supposed to have adapted and are not expected to use the agencies. But for

women, problems continue to arise, especially emotional problems. The pressures of initial adaptation turn into the chronic pressures of a life they didn't bargain for.

Government agencies and health services cannot be counted upon to meet the needs of immigrant women. Immigrant women have to organize themselves across ethnic, class and religious lines in order to press for and demand what they need. In Toronto, a Coalition of Visible Minority Women has been formed, and Women Working with Immigrant Women (an umbrella organization of twenty services) continues to provide a voice for immigrant women.

The other positive change is that many organizations in the women's movement are beginning to see the need for incorporating the views of immigrant women in their programs. Rape crisis centres, women's health

clinics, counselling centres — all of these organizations have a responsibility to provide, as far as their funding allows, services, leaflets and counselling in the languages of the main ethnic groups in the community. The resources of the women's health movement have to be accessible to all women, regardless of language or ethnic origin. Only in this way will immigrant women gain their rightful place in our society.

Ana Bodnar is of Hungarian background and grew up in Latin America. She is a community worker in Toronto and is active with the health committee of Women Working with Immigrant Women.

This article is based on a longer article on immigrant women which appeared in Broadside (Vol. IV, No.4), pp. 8-10.

Age Concern

Patrick Robinson

Left my homeland so long ago
What I was coming to
I did not know.

I had so many dreams so many plans
But as each day went by
They all began to fade.

Old age was a million years away
It's caught up with me today.

Pension of consolation
Can't make ends meet
Can't afford to buy the food
I'm accustomed to eat.

Meals on wheels
Can't do justice
to the way my stomach truly feels

If only the Authorities would
understand
that my needs and ways
are different from the natives of this land.

I can no longer endure
this Loneliness and Isolation
nor the constant Victimization.

Never thought that prejudice
would still exist

Was going to spend my old age
in total bliss

Separated from family and friends
placed in a home where I can't relate
where there is no respect — only hate.

OLD AGE WAS A MILLION YEARS AWAY
IT'S CAUGHT UP WITH ME TODAY.

United Way Multiculturalism Project: A Challenge To Action

John Medeiros

This article provides an overview of the United Way of Greater Toronto's multicultural initiatives since 1982, with special emphasis on the current Social Services Multiculturalism Project.

Toronto's social service agencies are under increased pressure to undergo multicultural change. This change means dismantling barriers which impede access to the agencies' services by persons from diverse ethno-racial backgrounds. The chorus of criticism is increasingly vocal and focused. At least two social service multicultural coalitions have recently been formed to articulate the issues and bring about change.

At the centre of the controversy lies the perception (available data is scarce because most social service agencies do not keep ethno-racial information) that traditional agencies, by and large, ignore the linguistic, cultural and racial needs of the majority of Metro's population. As everyone knows, Metro's ethno-racial diversity has grown by leaps and bounds in the past thirty years. Toronto is one of the most cosmopolitan metropolises in the world. The diversity of languages, cultures and races is enormous. One in three residents of Metro now identify their mother tongue as other than English or French, and 57% claim an ethnic origin other than British.

United Way Multicultural Initiatives

The United Way's primary mission is to raise funds in the community and to allocate those funds to 150 social service agencies in Metropolitan Toronto.

To arrive at its allocations decisions, the United Way's Board of Trustees establishes an annual set of priorities

based on "current and emerging human service needs of the community", and relies on the recommendations of community volunteers — citizen review panels — who scrutinize the applications of each agency.

In the early 1980's, community groups started to put pressure on the United Way to admit agencies recently formed to serve the settlement needs of immigrants. The other issue raised was the traditional agencies' lack of adaptation in meeting the needs of ethno-racial communities. Family service needs were the major focus of attention.

In 1982, the United Way established a Task Force on Ethnic and Native Communities to address these issues. The Task Force acknowledged the lack of services to ethno-racial and native communities in Metro Toronto, and made, among others, the following recommendations:

"That the criteria for allocations make explicit that member agencies demonstrate their responsiveness to the changing cultural patterns of their communities."

"That the Board of Trustees review its admission policy with a view of admitting new agencies which serve ethno-cultural and native communities."

"That United Way continue to actively recruit individuals who reflect the changing ethno-racial make-up of Metro to serve as members of the Board of Trustees and its committees, and as volunteers for Campaign and Allocations."

These recommendations were reinforced in 1983 when United Way Board of Trustees approved "broadening the base" as one of its strategic

directions. The creation of the Ethno-cultural Development Committee was a first step to reach out to Metro's ethno-racial groups. Subsequently, specific Development Committees were formed by individuals from the Black, Chinese, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish-speaking and South Asian communities. The committees, which vary from each other in terms of volunteer involvement and activities undertaken, have assisted the United Way with fundraising events, communications, recruitment of volunteers and needs assessment. Their contribution to the United Way has been quite significant. They not only bring in more money, but have also sharpened the United Way's awareness of the diverse ethno-racial community needs.

Moreover, ethno-cultural services have been high on the priority list of the United Way for the past four years. Funding of ethno-specific agencies has significantly increased through one-year grants, and as many as nine of those agencies have been admitted to the United Way family since 1982. But, more than anything else, those committees have helped to diversify the volunteer structure of the United Way. As an example, its Board of Trustees and committees include a larger number of members from diverse backgrounds than ever before.

But despite the internal progress the United Way recognizes that more needs to be done about representation. The recently adopted Multicultural Policy challenges the United Way to reach further in that direction.

Another issue that the Ethno-cultural Committees keep raising with the United Way is the fact that most social service agencies have still not made a visible effort to accommodate the needs of the multicultural community. For its part, the United Way has come to the realization that probing agencies to find out if they are responding to the multicultural reality is not enough. Many agencies, even if willing to change, are not sure how to start the process and succeed.

The two-year Social Services Multiculturalism Project, which began in January 1986, was initiated to demonstrate exactly how the United

Way and other social service agencies can respond in more effective ways to the multicultural reality.

Multiculturalism Project

The Multiculturalism Project aims at addressing the issues of representation, program adaptation and communications. Its stated goal is "to enhance the capacity of social service agencies to respond effectively to changing needs resulting from Canada's increasing multicultural diversity".

The six agencies involved in the project had already identified the need to improve their services to diverse ethno-racial groups. It was on that basis that they were invited by the United Way to participate in the project. The agencies are: Canadian National Institute for the Blind (CNIB), Huntley Youth Services/Big Sister Association, Ontario March of Dimes, United Way of Greater Toronto, West Scarborough Neighbourhood Community Centre and WoodGreen Community Centre.

Early in the process, each agency established a Multicultural Committee to carry out the work of the project for the two years. Each committee is made up of a cross-section of volunteers and staff from different levels of the agency. The chairperson is a board member.

Throughout the project, the Multicultural Committee will continue to involve as many people as possible from the agency. This participatory approach is used to generate a sense of ownership and commitment necessary for implementing a multicultural policy.

The Multiculturalism Project is divided into three distinct phases: self-assessment, development of change strategies, and implementation.

Phase One includes an assessment of the current situation and the identification of barriers which may prevent the agency from serving diverse ethno-racial groups effectively. The assessment involves a comprehensive analysis of the following areas:

- **Demographics** of the area served by the agency;
- **Representation** of diverse ethno-racial groups in the agency structure (volunteers, staff, clientele);

- **Communications;**
- **Programs/Methods of service.**

In Phase Two the agency informs its volunteers, staff and community of the findings from Phase One, and consults with them to explore the most appropriate strategies. The outcome of Phase Two is a multicultural policy containing specific recommendations and an action plan. The policy addresses key areas studied in the assessment phase such as representation, communications, programs and methods of service delivery. It also addresses who in the agency will be responsible to ensure that change happens; what resources will be required, i.e. staff, dollars, etc. and how ongoing evaluation will be done.

Phase Three is concerned with the implementation process. It takes time and resources to achieve the goals expressed in a multicultural policy. Setting yearly multicultural objectives helps to achieve those goals within a period of three to five years. An annual progress report will indicate any adjustments necessary to the program.

Areas for Multicultural Analysis

The United Way Project is based upon the assumption that social service agencies benefit for reflecting the community they serve in their structure and programs.

A comprehensive multicultural analysis of the agency starts by gathering information on ethno-racial representation, communications, programs/methods of service, and demographics.

1) Representation

The first step is to find out the current ethno-racial composition of staff and volunteers in the agency. It is important to distinguish between different levels of volunteer participation, such as board members, advisory committee members and program volunteers. Likewise, the staff composition is analyzed according to their functions, such as management, program and support staff.

The whole area of personnel and volunteer recruitment is also checked to uncover barriers which may prevent persons from certain ethno-racial backgrounds from becoming part of

the agency.

Finally, staff and volunteers are queried about their level of readiness to communicate and understand the values of clients from diverse backgrounds. The need for multicultural training is directly assessed from their answers.

2) Communications

Clients often need to know and trust an agency before they will feel confident to come and ask for services. Effective communication is essential to achieve these objectives. If the agency uses the English language and large media as its only vehicles for communication, large numbers of people from some ethno-racial groups will be left out of the agency's services. Analysis of the English language capacity of such groups is the first step to improving communication. The assessment may discover the need to translate materials into other languages or to take advantage of their most utilized media.

Language analysis of staff and volunteers may also indicate major gaps in communications, particularly at the reception, intake and direct service levels.

Finally, communication materials, such as flyers, brochures, illustrations, audio-visuals and language itself, need to be analyzed to check if they are biased or insensitive.

3) Programs/Methods of Service

The number of participants from diverse backgrounds serviced by an agency is an important indicator of its response to the multicultural community.

A multicultural review of an agency includes discovering any major discrepancies between the background of participants as compared to the ethno-racial composition of the community. If large ethno-racial groups are conspicuously absent or under-represented in the agency's programs, it is important to discover the reason — and there are a multitude of them — before any changes are suggested.

A genuine dialogue with the target community helps the agency with its analysis and with designing the most appropriate strategies for change.

4) Demographics

Agencies need to know the ethno-racial composition of the population they serve. This information is absolutely necessary to plan programs accurately, to hire staff with the required linguistic and cultural skills, and to prepare appropriate communication materials.

In addition, agencies should investigate the most salient characteristics of diverse ethno-racial groups, such as English language efficiency, family structure, dominant values, levels of education, main occupations and community organizations. This however, must not lead to stereotyping. It is important to recognize that there are major cultural differences within each ethno-racial group.

Naturally, an agency which serves only a specific age group (youth), or a special needs group (disabled adults) may have to know more detailed information about that group.

5) Support and Resources

Agencies need some time to discuss and understand the multicultural issues. For example, they need to know what multicultural change means to the agency structure. Then they need to know about training programs for staff and volunteers, recruitment strategies, effective multicultural outreach and communications. The United Way project offered the participating agencies seven workshops which addressed these topics.

Agencies also need guidelines to focus on the major multicultural components, as well as instruments to help them collect the necessary information. Guides to Phase One and Phase Two, demographic information, questionnaires and a list of resource people were some of the instruments that the United Way project developed for the agencies.

Finally, agencies need advice and support during the implementation of

the multicultural review. The United Way Project Co-ordinator is available to the agencies for advice or to connect them with key resources according to their needs.

There is no question about it. If social service agencies wish to become effective in a multicultural/multiracial society, they need to abandon their monocultural ways of operating. The multicultural reality is here to stay. The United Way is challenging itself and its member agencies to action, knowing full well that multicultural change requires time, resources, but above all, commitment.

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(The views expressed in this article are the author's only).

The City of Toronto Reaches Out Accessibility of City Services to Ethnic and Racial Minorities

The recent report on the access of city services to the ethnic and racial communities of Toronto (see separate article "Where Is Toronto City Hall?") revealed a growing need on the part of City departments to develop an appropriate service response to these communities. In answer to this report, the City of Toronto undertook a survey of existing services to determine what could be done to ensure greater equality of access.

Nine City departments were studied based on the criteria of those who had decentralized services and/or who had direct face-to-face contact with the public. An Interdepartmental Implementation Committee was formed to review the recommendations of this survey and their implications, determine the departmental ability to respond and estimate resource requirements

and time frames. The Committee was comprised of the following departments: Public Health, Housing, Buildings and Inspections, City Clerk's, Public Works, Planning and Development, Management Services, Parks and Recreation and Fire.

As a result of the Committee's review, it became apparent that a number of initiatives are being taken in the City to facilitate the access of racial and ethnic groups to City services, but that neither the community or other departments are necessarily aware of these activities and services. In an effort to fill this gap in knowledge, highlights of the major initiatives undertaken by each department during 1985 and 1986 are described below, many of which have since been integrated into ongoing departmental priorities, budgets and action plans.

1) Public Health

The Department of Public Health has developed a policy, program, and set of activities to address the barriers to access, with the intent of bringing staff closer to the community and the community closer to staff. The partnership is intended to ensure that "everyone has a right to equal treatment and equal access to services, goods, facilities, accommodation and employment without discrimination."

The process of policy development began with an intensive community consultation undertaken by the Department to create a blueprint for public health services entitled "Public Health In The 1980s". During the consultation, a nine member field team contacted hundreds of community groups in 1977 to elicit their concerns about public health and the results laid the foundation for the policy on accessibility to services.

Following the reorganization of the department in 1982, equal opportunity was incorporated into its management policies. The Department annually reviews its multicultural programs and activities in conjunction with reporting on equal opportunity initiatives. This

process presents a strategic look at its proactive efforts to facilitate access to services for citizens for whom there are barriers by virtue of language, culture, sex, age and/or disability.

As a result, the Department's policy on accessibility has led to program thrusts in four broad areas: communication, training and development, community development and advocacy. In terms of communication, the Department is recognized as perhaps the leading force among public health units in Ontario in creating innovative approaches through health education and promotion.

For example, the Department distributes health information material, mandated by the Ministry of Health, in English, French, Italian, Chinese, Portuguese, Greek, Vietnamese and Spanish through the production of booklets, leaflets, posters, and brochures. Currently, a review is underway of all printed materials with literacy level and graphic presentation as major considerations.

In addition to a multilingual staff with the capacity to communicate in 32 languages, the Department has produced audio-visual materials which include slide-tape shows, films, radio programs and public service announcements.

The Department has also offered specialized intercultural training for staff over the last four years and has made an extensive commitment to community development as a vehicle for facilitating access to services. This commitment has resulted in hundreds of small, localized efforts, ranging from pre-natal classes in Chinese to a refugee assistance program and has encompassed individuals from the Southeast Asian Task Force, the Multicultural Health Centre and the Multicultural Health Coalition. Alongside these larger efforts, the Department provides staff support to health committees in the Portuguese, Salvadorean, Black/West Indian, Chinese, Vietnamese, East Indian, Native Canadian and Greek communities.

Finally, the barriers to access are, in some cases, systemic and structural, which call for advocacy at all levels of government. Two recent initiatives in which the Health Department has

involved itself are the licensing of foreign health professionals and refugee housing.

2) Housing

Cityhome projects have always been designed to fit in with the local community and information on the availability of these non-profit co-op housing units is distributed in print form in several languages on a weekly basis as well as being posted in public libraries and circulated in property tax mailings.

Currently, staff in the Housing Department are only able to respond to requests for information in another language if it is a written request. However, the Department's Information Officer does provide information and presentations to all groups requesting such materials. Recently, an outreach strategy has begun in order to provide information on availability, eligibility and application procedures to the Portuguese, Italian, Greek, Chinese, Hindi, Urdu and Spanish communities.

In addition to the above initiatives, the Housing Policy Review Committee prepared a draft report as of August 1986 which included many recommendations for action and revision to new housing trends and government intervention. Of particular note in this document is the focus on the housing needs of refugees.

3) Buildings and Inspections

The ethnic and racial communities of the City of Toronto are provided with information regarding the building-permit process, building regulations, by-laws and available grant programs, both in their own languages and by members of their own racial group in approximately 60 community and ethnic newspapers and brochures.

In addition, the Department's staff is multilingual and has the capacity to handle direct inquiries in approximately 18 languages in district offices across the city.

The Department also administers various programs in conjunction with both the provincial and federal governments which provide financial assistance to homeowners to repair and upgrade their properties, including termite control. A pamphlet outlining these programs is available in French,

Italian, Portuguese, Chinese and Greek, as well as in English. As well, departmental Program Officers are active in program promotion and attend community outreach meetings to provide information, often with the assistance of translators.

4) City Clerk

The Department of the City Clerk provides translation and interpretation services to Toronto's five major non-English speaking groups: Chinese, French, Greek, Italian and Portuguese. There are five full-time translators on staff, one for each language, and together they provide a combined translation, information and interpreting service to the public, City departments and members of City Council. They also attend public and committee meetings when required.

In addition, the Translation Bureau maintains a list of City employees with other language capabilities who are willing and able to offer interpreting assistance on an informal basis to other City departments and offices. At present there are 467 employees included on the list serving 48 additional languages, including sign language, to the five previously mentioned. As a further back-up, translation and interpreting services are arranged through outside agencies to assist a resident or visitor in any language, as required.

The City Clerk's office averages 800 written translations a year with approximately 12,000 public inquiries in a language other than English. The position of Interpreter/Neighbourhood Information Officer was specifically created to provide information and assistance in accessing city services at a local site office.

Finally, the Department of the City Clerk also advertises regularly in some 23 community papers and in 80 ethnic publications regarding announcements for refuse collection, change to daylight savings time, adequate heating requirements during the winter, etc.

5) Public Works

A printout of employees who speak languages other than English is maintained and is available to staff who may require it for interpretation and translation in emergencies and complaint situations. Letters or im-

portant notices are translated on an "as needed" basis, for individuals or entire communities i.e. letters affecting the Chinese Business Community, the Merchants in Kensington Market, the Greek Business Community, etc.

Specific announcements regarding items such as parking permits, garbage collection, snow and ice removal are published in at least five other languages besides English.

6) Planning and Development

The following documents are regularly translated for distribution throughout the city: notices of public meetings, neighbourhood surveys and program evaluations, assessment appeal information, business improvement area information materials and meeting notes and minutes.

One initiative in which the Planning & Development Department is actively involved is the small business sector. In addition to consulting with business groups on physical and design improvements to commercial areas, Department staff give seminars on marketing, window displays, interior store design and business area promotion. In ethnocultural areas, specific efforts are made to reflect the community in the name of the Business Improvement Area, in promotional materials and in symbols such as logos and street signs. Examples include the Danforth (Greek), Portugal Village, Gerrard Indian Bazaar and Little Italy, with more than half a million dollars being spent in 1986 for such improvements.

The Department provided staff coordination to the Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations from 1981 to 1985, and as a result of this involvement, considerable expertise now exists within the Department in the field of multicultural and race relations. Staff have advised and continue to assist numerous organizations including the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police and the Greater Toronto Region Working Group on Policing Multicultural Multiracial Urban Communities.

The Department also participated in the design and implementation of the City's Centretown senior managers

programme on human rights, employment equity and race relations in the workplace and offered a workshop in conjunction with the Mayor's Committee for the Black community on how to start a small business. A resource kit and video is available for other groups interested in small business development in the hope that outreach programs of this type will continue to be offered.

7) Management Services

A number of programs presently exist which ensure that employment practices and policies are equal for all employees and applicants and that training is available to ensure that staff are sensitive to cultural and racial diversity. These broad-based areas include policy research, recruitment, employment equity, contract compliance, training and development.

In May 1985 for example, City Council authorized the Management Services Department to develop affirmative action guidelines to increase the hiring of women, minority groups and the disabled from external sources into the permanent and non-permanent workforce (i.e. casual, temporary and contract hiring).

At the end of the same year, City Council also approved a Contract Compliance program for the City of Toronto which began for public contract recipients on January 1, 1987 and will commence on July 1, 1987 for private contract recipients. This Contract Compliance program will require that recipients of public funds, civic agencies, grant recipients and all private companies seeking to provide goods or services to the City must declare their adoption of a policy of non-discrimination and are required to provide data on staff composition and salaries.

In addition, various multiracial training programs have been initiated by the Management Services Department such as Workplace Discrimination, English in the Workplace, Intercultural Communication and Coaching and Counselling in an Equal Opportunity Environment.

8) Parks and Recreation

Following the reorganization of the Recreation division in January 1985,

steps have been taken to meet the multicultural challenge, one being the geographic decentralization of services and administration. The Division can now provide recreational services on the basis of eight geographic areas, each of which accounts for approximately 70,000 people. This structure increases the Division's ability to be responsive to local community needs which will enable specific ethnic groups and their recreational needs to be more clearly identified.

Each of the Recreation Division's 24 community recreation centres has its own Community Advisory Council which reflects the ethnic composition of the local community. As well, four Community Service Administrator positions were created after the reorganization of the Division. In addition to increasing the contact between ethnic minorities and the Division, these positions have also helped to raise awareness of ethnic concerns and issues.

Funding from the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation will also be utilized to hold multicultural "awareness raising" workshops with Division staff. The major aim of the workshops will be to familiarize staff with the problems and techniques of working with different ethnic groups.

Through its decentralized approach, area marketing studies, special initiatives and community service administrator work, the Department plans to continue to assess and respond to the needs of ethnic minorities, both at the local community level and on a City-wide scale.

9) Fire

Although the Fire Department did not have a representative on the Implementation Committee, they were included in the report because of the nature of the service which they provide to the public. Examples of the kinds of multicultural activities which they have been involved with over the past year include street fairs, outreach programs in ethnic communities for staff selection and fire safety and prevention messages inserted in ethnic newspapers.

On The Road To Freedom

Eyes On The Prize: America's Civil Rights Years 1954-1965.
Juan Williams,
Penguin Books Canada Limited,
1987.

*I know one thing we did right
 Was the day we started to fight
 Keep your eyes on the prize
 Hold on, hold on.*

— a traditional civil rights movement song

The time was the 1950s when racial segregation was a pervasive way of life in the American South. The fight was undertaken through the unified efforts of black and white men and women who came together to formulate the civil rights movement. The prize was freedom, a prize to which every American citizen was entitled but in actual fact was little more than a catch-phrase for half the country.

The book that tells the story of America's civil rights years from 1954-1965 is ***Eyes On The Prize*** by Juan Williams. A national correspondent for the Washington Post, Williams has managed the herculean task of condensing the history of the civil rights movement in the United States into just under 300 very readable pages. The fact that the book is the companion volume to a six-part PBS television series by the same name which aired earlier this year takes nothing away from the author's efforts. ***Eyes On The Prize*** is a fascinating, inspiring and anguished look at a time in history when racism was at its zenith, a time, no doubt, that many today would prefer to forget.

Although the fight for civil rights began long before 1954, this year, and the date May 17, 1954 in particular, is more or less considered to be the official beginning of the movement. It was on this date that a landmark decision was handed down by the Supreme Court which outlawed segregation in public schools (*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*).

Prior to this date, schools throughout the country had operated under the "separate-but-equal" doctrine, a legal theory which, in Williams' words, "lay at the very heart of institutionalized racism in America". According to a Supreme Court ruling established in 1896, separation of the races was deemed to be within the bounds of the Constitution so long as equal accommodations were made for blacks.

What this 1896 ruling did in essence was to sanction the practice of institutional segregation in every aspect of American life. In addition to schools, every public facility and many private ones practiced total separation of the races. From restaurants and lunch counters to beaches and theatres; from all forms of transportation and housing to drinking fountains and laundromats, they all practiced what came to be known as the "Jim Crow" way of life, named after a black minstrel caricature popularized in songs during the 1830s. These ordinances ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous. For example, the state of Florida went so far as to require "Negro" and "white" textbooks, and in South Carolina black and white cotton-mill workers were prohibited from looking out the same window.

But the real power behind the separate-but-equal doctrine lay in its ability to deny many blacks any access to services whatsoever. Although all "Jim Crow" States had white and black elementary schools, high schools and colleges, most states lacked separate law schools, medical schools and other graduate school programs for blacks because so few were able to continue beyond college. Those few who were in a position to continue found that they had nowhere to go, nowhere that is, until the day in 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled that blacks were to be treated as equals in public schools. From that point on, they had nowhere to go but forward. Civil rights proponents had found the basic tool

they would use to finally win justice — the Constitution of the United States.

Yet despite the magnitude of this legal decision, no instructions were issued on how exactly the desegregation order was to be implemented so most of the country continued to function as if nothing had happened. This was particularly true in the southern States where segregation was defended as a southern "tradition".

However, this waiting in limbo did not last long. A segregationist backlash began to sweep across America hitting Mississippi the hardest, a place Williams refers to as "unarguably the most supremacist and segregated state in the U.S." Of particular note was the brutal lynching and murder of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old black youth who was killed for addressing a white woman as "baby".

It came as no surprise when the two white men accused of the murder were found not guilty by the all-white jury. Yet the horror of the Till case provided one of the historic turning points in the struggle for civil rights. Emmett's murder jarred the black community into action. The public viewing of the body showed them that even a child was not safe from racism, bigotry and death. And for the first time, they saw black people stand in a court of law and testify against whites, an event analagous to signing one's own death warrant during that era.

Meanwhile, as segregationists continued to be pitted against integrationists, violence and propaganda intensified the movement. Racially motivated beatings, burnings, lynchings and murders were on the rise and civil rights activists were frequently accused of being either Communists or Communist sympathizers. Yet the underlying premise of the movement was based on massive nonviolent action tactics and passive resistance, a factor which would ultimately determine its success.

Williams has adeptly combined the events of eleven long years of struggle with the stories of a countless number of individuals who fought for the legal right to be equal into one comprehensive volume. He takes the reader back to the victorious bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama which lasted

for nearly thirteen months, and then uproots us to the crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas which saw the federal government call out the National Guard to enroll nine black children at a white high school. He recreates the terror and the heroism of the interracial "Freedom Rides" which took place on interstate buses in the South and recounts the details of the historic March on Washington in 1963 which attracted over a quarter of a million people. Through the cumulative effects of Williams' research, what the book ultimately does is to emphasize how it is the movement of people which can and does effect change, and not just the actions of one or two leaders. The result is a valuable and essential record of one of the most crucial times in U.S. history.

Although we do not have a comparable experience of civil rights activities in this country, there is still much to learn from the American movement. Just as the Constitution of the United States provided the framework within which people could act to change their lives for the better, so is the role of our own Charter of Rights and Freedoms taking on increasing social and legal importance. But before we start to congratulate ourselves on how 'different' we are from our neighbours to the south, it bears reminding that Canada is not exempt from a history of racism, slavery, or segregated schools (the last one was closed down in Ontario in 1965) any more than the United States. Today, many Canadians of racial and ethnic background continue to eye the prize from afar.

Michele DuCharme

Police, Race and Ethnicity:

A Guide For Law Enforcement Officers.

Christopher O'Toole and Brian Cryderman,
Butterworths, Toronto, 1987.

This is an interesting and at the same time a frustrating book for those who have some knowledge of the role of the police in dealing with newcomers to Canada. In the first place, it does include some well researched materials, particularly the sections written by experts like Dr. Daniel Hill and Marvin Schiff and by Dr. Sam Ifejika of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Their discussion of the nature of policing reflects considerable knowledge of this aspect of Canadian society. These writers stress the need for police officers to have increased training and understanding. In this respect, the authors should be given high marks.

The other side of the coin, however, is quite different. The book glosses over the complicated picture of Canadian immigration policy and practices. It suggests that Canadian immigration policy is benign and based on humanitarian principles, or at worse, that policies are neutral. There is little indication of racism and hostility toward many Southern and Eastern European immigrant groups. Practically no attention is given to the concept, voiced by one of Mackenzie King's ministers, to the effect that "Canada is a white man's country".

The book deals with a number of the larger racial and ethnic groups in Canada, but only in a superficial manner. These groups include the Blacks, South Asians, Chinese, Portuguese, Italians and Native people. The authors paint a rather simple picture of the experiences of these groups in their attempt to become a part of the Canadian mosaic. They simply cover too much material in too brief a

manner. Many books have been written on the experiences of each of these groups, yet few of these provide a complete picture of their experiences.

Policing in this age of transition is treated simply as a problem of cultural understanding. Obviously police officers need to know more about the basic nature, structure and goals of the Criminal Code of Canada. But police officers also need to possess a much more complete knowledge of the role of policing ethnic and racial communities than they will find in this book. For example, nothing is said about the role of the R.C.M.P. in the removal of the Native peoples from their lands in this country, and particularly in the west; nor are the horrors of the slave trade and incidents of slavery in early Canadian society mentioned.

A discussion of the intense racism which has characterized much police work in Canada has also been omitted, as well as an acknowledgement of the fear and hostility of many groups, particularly the non-white immigrant groups, toward members of many police forces. Police officers are treated merely as "good guys" performing essential duties in an almost perfect manner, giving the impression that there is only a need for a little more knowledge and understanding. Regrettably, these attitudes are not presented in any understandable manner.

However, perhaps the above is too critical. Perhaps this reviewer expected too much from a book on policing in Canada's multicultural society. For the beginner, it may serve a useful purpose if its contents are viewed as a non-threatening introduction to helping police officers to understand race and ethnicity in Canadian society. The serious student of race and ethnic relations, however, will need to supplement the contents of this book with more indepth study.

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In the next issue:

Race Relations in Canadian Boardrooms