SPECIAL ISSUE ON GLOBAL SETTLEMENT SERVICES

Overview: Devolution in Post-Multicultural Society

Michael Lanphier

The devolution of services for newcomers resettling in a host country takes its place as one of many structural changes in post-industrial societies during the 1990s. This restructuring appeared inevitable from the early 1990s in Canada and even earlier in the United States. The state as distributor of goods and services to various recipient populations has been responding to uniquely high deficits and an economy which has failed to support the level of service deliveries which the Canadian, and more generally, post-industrial population has come to expect as a customary right.

Newcomers to Canada have experienced difficulties as a result of cutbacks in government services, and their situation is exacerbated by low prospects for gainful employment. Canada has rarely known an (official) unemployment rate below nine percent since 1990, and it has reached as high as eleven percent within this decade. Unofficially, the employment rate is much higher. Many job seekers have become dispirited over futile jobsearching and have "dropped out," no

longer even considering themselves a part of the employment market. Still others who may be younger and somewhat marginalized have had to move about or in desperation have taken to

the street, and likewise, remain uncounted.

Among newcomers, unemployment remains chronically high. While estimates vary, a recent study of the

Somali community in Toronto revealed
unemployment among eligible males to be
in the order of 50 percent (Opoku-Dapaah
1995). Newcomers are experiencing, in
even more acute fashion, the desolation of
state services slipping away at the same
moment that gainful employment in
society remains a distant dream.

An Organizational Question

The papers summarized in this issue
propose to examine two important features
of the changing pattern of the organization
of settlement services to newcomers: the
new conservatism as (non-)ideology
governing allocations; and secondly, the
funding crisis: challenge for *U* renewal"
of settlement mandates. While these two
currents are linked causally, they are
separable analytically, and they differ in
their

Inability of governments to extend their
influence through the purse has become
mixed with normative statements about
the undesirability and inappropriateness of
government subsidies. Principles of
welfare-state funding which have guided
governance since World War II, now
appear problematic if not altogether
misguided. Institutions engendered by that
very welfare system are now prescribed to
seek independence not only in mandate
but in financing.

At the popular level, tax-protest
meetings throughout Canada in the early
and mid-1990s signified only the
grassroots aspect of a phenomenon
which has seized public consciousness and
irreversibly set an agenda for politicians
and their governmental administrations.
These protests have affected both
working- and middle-class life

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implications for the outcomes of pat-
terning of service deliveries to new-
comers.

Because of the massive size of gov-
ernments in Western societies, and notably
in Canada, government budgets and
spending are conspicuous elements of the
public economy, elements which public
opinion contends to have grown beyond
popular or administrative control.
Considerable concern has been expressed,
for example, that interest expended to
service the debt at the federal level in
Canada amounts to one quarter of the total
indebtedness of the state. By implication,
taxes and government assets should be
redeployed to debt reduction with com-
mensurate cutbacks in expenditures on
goods and services.

Simultaneously, reframing the role of
government and public spending has
aroused everyday curiosity as well as
given support to more formal affirmation
of a new wave of conservatism.

situations, so that they have come to
resemble a social movement. No politician
may remain immune to such protestations,
nor can civil servants long hide behind an
administrative shield for protection
(Maclean's, 13 February, 1995).

There is no single expenditure re-
sponsible for governmental indebtedness.
Expenditures on social welfare rise to
prominence both because of their massive
size in the aggregate and because of the
absence of a material product associated
with the expenditure for which government
might have contracted. Welfare
expenditures appear easier to cut: those
who receive them tend to have lower social
status and lack networks and resources
through which they might dissuade
politicians from their course of reduction.
Especially in short-term political exercises,
a cut in welfare expenditures appears to
yield a quick saving to the

public purse, whatever the consequences to former recipients.

Increasingly, consequential cuts in welfare and social-service expenditures have become the primary choice for politicians who depend on popular support during electoral campaigns or in the early months of their administrations. It is significant that two Canadian premiers elected in the mid1990s, Ralph Klein of Alberta and Mike Harris of Ontario, both announced and effected critical budgetary reductions early in their respective administrations. The magnitude of these budgetary reductions amazed not only the general public but the conservative economic planners as well *(Maclean's,* 13 February and 31 July, 1995).

Explanations of cuts in welfare expenditures find their sources both in the global system of which Canada forms an integral part as well as in the domestic political economy particular to Canada. This linkage does not happen as a chance "historical accident" but occurs as an outcome of important late 20th century societal developments.

It is impossible to trace minutely the sequencing of events responsible for the present situation. Nevertheless, we signal two important social currents, the new conservatism and the admin

istrative funding crisis that have had a pervasive impact in steering political

and administrative events in post-industrial societies into an apparently irreversible course, atleast in the shortto medium-term. To these currents is added yet another dimension, particular to Canada: the decline of multiculturalism as a social ethic and the emergence of an era characterized as "post-multiculturalism." These currents are introduced below very briefly.

The New Conservatism

It may be premature to speak of new conservative" ideology. " We have witnessed systematic practices, in Canada and elsewhere, of governmental "reform" of wide-ranging curtailment and change in patterns of services funded by government among nearly

Linda Bolmes Memorial **1ribute: Remembering Linda Holmes**

GerlrUd.Neuwirth

Linda Holmes
1949-1996

It is with deep sadness that we have to inform our readers that Linda Holmes passed.~waY'OIlDecember 10,1996 after a.1ong battle with cancer.

A social worker by profession, Linda joined the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission in September, 1982. She moved into the Settlement Branch, January, 1985, where she held various positions, including Director of Settlement. Linda's contributions have made a lasting impact on the evolution of newcomer settlement and integration services. She iIlitiated thefIOSTprogram and wasinstrumental in developing LINC-Overseas and the orientation materials for newcomers which are distributed overseas and in Canada. Linda realized the importance ofNGOs in assisting Ilewcomer settlement and integration and was particularly supportive of smaller organizations. Linda loved her work in settlement, devoting to it energy and time, well beyond her official obligations. Linda only slowed doWIl slightly atthe onset of her illness and durmghertreatments. Shehecame a specialadvisor to the Director General of Settlement and helped establish the 3/9 sponsorship program for refugees from the former Yugoslavia in response to UNCHR'sappeal for additional resettlement. In her final position with Citizenship and Ilnmi gration Canada, Linda worked on the revitalization of private sponsorship.

LiI1d~wiUPe .gre~tty~sedby.all Qf us.i[hose of us who have been privileged to know Linda personally will always remember her for her forthright advice, her inner strength, her kindness and her sense of humour.

all governments of the day. These curtailments may often be the result of one government copying another's practice without articulating position papers or even providing much advance notice. Alternatively, an "ideological statement," so to speak, may eventuate as part of a political campaign. The new ideology, however, may reduce to

point holds especially for NGOs mandated to serve those who are not yet well integrated in the host society and who may be seeking access to goods and services enjoyed by the established population. These organizations now find their mandates are in question. Their income-generating abilities, never known to provide more

While cutbacks due to funding in traditional service deliveries remain a matter of serious concern, it is important to examine whether this *prima facie* financial contraction may bear any longer-run salutary possibilities in the challenge they present. Salutary outcomes are by no means guaranteed, of course. Every organization delivering services is forced to re-examine its fundamental mandate, however, in view of possibly re-configuring its operations. "Renewal" thus becomes more than a trite entry in the managerial lexicon: it is a challenge, forced or otherwise. Some organizations may find opportunities in the "renewal" exercise. Without obvious sources of funding support, however, such possibilities appear minimal. It remains to be seen whether the stringent cutback regime brings with it new or revised organizational formats for service deliveries.

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a slogan which appears deceptively easy to understand and is short enough to dominate even the shortest "sound byte" on newscasts.

It may be argued that we are nearing a new mode of relationship between state and populace, replete with a new division of rights and responsibilities. This *laissez-faire* mode places the onus for support on individual and family units, with minimal or limited assistance through organizational interventions. In this modality, the role of government should be directed increasingly to the assurance of a certain minimal level of public expenditure for institutions which are not supported through private enterprise, individual or organizational. Individuals maximise their own personal or familial gain, regardless of the interests of others or of the state. Failure to succeed thus eventuates from insufficient individual initiative or motivation. Concerns relating to structural inequalities of individuals in contemporary society appear irrelevant or do not get represented at all.

It appears equally obvious in a *laissez-faire* mode that self becomes increasingly attenuated from others in an interpersonal social sense. While responsibility for maintenance and integrity of self is embodied in this new form of conservatism, the importance of assistance of others in different social circumstances and in more distant social or spatial regions diminishes.

Correspondingly, implications abound for client-serving non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This

than a group-solidarity function, become key to survival in the face of declining governmental subsidy.

The Funding Crisis

For the funding crisis, the very practical exigencies of financing services, most of which are linked to personnel costs, appear of first moment to those directly involved in front-line settlement services or in the allocation for same. The pressure stems from two major sources. Above all, governments are subject to extensive budgetary reduction. Their departments are forced to cut back or to eliminate direct service deliveries altogether. Indirectly, service deliveries are even more threatened by curtailment because of withdrawal of governmental funding programs which subsidise service deliveries through non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The second source may be even further endangered in terms of core funding or other support which NGOs receive from their parent organizations: churches or other benevolent organizations.

While a certain portion of the funding curtailment now appears as a *fait accompli*, implications from these pervasive changes remain to be considered in detail. The spectre of a slow death warrant or a challenge for "renewal" probably represents oscillating alternatives to those persons directly involved in service deliveries or their management. In any event, the sheer *quantity* of cutbacks has assured a *qualitative* change in the organization of settlement services to newcomers.

Post-Multiculturalism

Certain features of the new conservative approach to fiscal restraint and budget cutbacks are well evidenced. In terms of social development, these phenomena appear to be a derivative of "Post-multiculturalism." This important political feature has already been signalled by the present researchers and in related publications (Adelman et al., 1994). Post-multiculturalism refers to the present era in which governments in Canada and Australia (to cite only those countries which have officially espoused multiculturalism as governmental policy) have become incapable of delivering the type of services required for a society so designated. While popular culture and official governmental pronouncements continue officially to proclaim multiculturalism as prevailing among the population, it becomes increasingly difficult to marshal evidence that governmental process indeed implements its stated policy. Neither government nor popular culture appears willing to renounce the policy of multiculturalism. Yet guiding principles of respect and support for cultural diversity have been

bypassed in favour of maintaining a social order with primacy on affairs and concerns closer to one's own home, kin and locality.

We assume that the increasing irrelevance of official multiculturalism policy as enshrined in the 1988 Canadian Parliamentary Act lies not in any determined effort to effect social change so much as the incapacity and inability of Canadian society and government to deliver on a policy which promises to be both extraordinarily expensive and complex if fully developed. The present transitional phase, we hypothesise, represents a direction, presently without any clearly articulated goal point.

Likewise as noted above, a new *distance is being created between self and other*. On the individual, or micro, level, there has appeared a resurgence in xenophobic reactions and discriminatory practices toward newcomers with occasional acts of violence. At the

and above those in other societies which may serve as their hosts or "partners." In the corporate sector, administrative authority supplants representational suffrage or popular opinion for rationale. Decisions are made with less sensitivity to "other" than to interests which represent local or organizational goals specific to the interested players. Such activities may be accountable only in a fiscal sense: in that they lead to a positive or advantageous outcome on an annual balance sheet.

Global Context

The global context impinges on our concerns in at least two important ways. Directly, global needs for resettlement are of course mediated through the several and disparate information channels which NGOs and governments characteristically use. There is no resettlement "problem" unless it is so communicated. More

actions taken in the local service organizations with which they are networked.

Given this overall *problématique*, this issue introduces the reader to the dilemmas and possible resolutions of the NGO sector and their relation to governments, parent organizations and the wider public, which are elaborated in full measure in the forthcoming book. The focus on devolution is framed within the wider perspective of the new conservatism and the global context, especially as mediated by INGO and related agencies which have a vested interest in international migration.

The papers are drawn from a workshop held at Centre for Refugee Studies at York University in 1996. The workshop "Devolution of Settlement," highlights an issue of relevance to the late 90s, with important changes in the organization of service deliveries constituting a part of the agenda of governments in Canada and beyond. Drawing together scholars, administrators and practitioners from the governmental and non-governmental organizational sector, the workshop focused upon an assessment of the organization of services during the initial stages of a devolution scenario. The drama of devolution continues. It is one which researchers and practitioners follow with consuming interest and, above all, concern. ■

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organizational level, systemic discrimination pervades our institutions, with implicit or explicit forms of favouritism toward those already established in the existing social order. Correspondingly, arrangements designed to facilitate integration of newcomers are no longer portrayed as part of the constituent mandate of responsible government.

Governments and nation-states should in any event not be singled out, however easily identifiable their activities. Both constitutionally and operationally, of course, they represent prevailing social sentiments and currents. Corporate activities, by comparison, not only reflect similar tendencies; they may well lead the way in the assertion of self-interests over

indirectly, most NGOs are linked to networks of larger institutions and international NGOs (INGO) both for information, as indicated above, and mutual support. It is often the reports of INGOs which inform Canadian NGOs of the magnitude and urgency of resettlement needs throughout the world of states in upheaval.

The INGO perspective, however, of necessity differs from that of local or national NGOs. Not only are their respective information sources different, but their constituencies have been independently developed. Yet, their view of the global situation of international migration, forced (our special focal interest) or otherwise, will not only shape their own activity but determine to a large extent the kinds of

References

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Three Tales of Modernity

Howard Adelman

Abstract

The impact of globalization on the provision of assistance to newcomers is assessed in this paper. It takes a philosophical view of civilisation and argues that, a culture of caring is not an oasis in the emerging "global civilisation," but the source of its renewal. This culture of caring is contrasted with a more individualistic conception of isolation. Intervention of the state is required for curbing exploitative activities on isolated individuals. In contrast, the paper argues that civilisation might temporarily disrupt cultural values such as those geared to redistribution of wealth and the welcome we render to newcomers. However, recovery is possible through a set of moral rules and regulations which are independent of the state.

Précis

Cet article traite de l'impact de la globalisation sur l'assistance apportée aux nouveaux arrivants. Il se fonde sur une vision philosophique de la civilisation et développe une argumentation selon laquelle une culture du soutien (culture of caring) ne doit pas être vue comme un sorte d'oasis isolé dans la "civilisation globale" en émergence, mais plutôt comme la source vive de son renouvellement. Cette culture du soutien est ici mise en contraste avec l'isolationnisme individualiste. Généralement, c'est l'intervention de l'état qui est invoquée quand il s'agit de freiner l'exploitation intensive à laquelle l'individu isolé est exposé. Se plaçant quelque peu en porte-à-faux face à cette conception, l'auteur développe une

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argumentation selon laquelle la civilisation pourrait bien se mettre à bousculer temporairement certaines valeurs culturelles reçues, telles celles préconisant la redistribution des richesses ou l'accueil inconditionnel des nouveaux arrivants. Cependant, un rajustement demeure possible via un ensemble de règles morales et de réglementations, indépendantes de celles émises ou préconisées par l'état.

The dominant narratives of modernity and the development of the English-speaking nation-state address the issues of the mind, the body, and how the mind and bodies of each individual and a multiplicity of individuals are made to cohere in the body politic.

As we approach the end of modernity and the old age of the nation state, it is well to recall the three different versions of the origin of the nation-state at the dawn of modernity. We can use the theories of British origins to illustrate those different narratives. One theory, rooted in the body, is that the nation-state is forged in war. Its theoretician is Thomas Hobbes—the body politic is formed when men, to secure themselves, that is, their bodies, both from outsiders and each other, make a compact whereby the will of the majority (a democracy), or the will of a specific elite (an oligarchy or aristocracy), or the will of one (a monarchy or dictatorship), is taken to be the will of every man in order to have a sovereign authority. In that way, a nation state is born (*De Cive* 1:3). In that nation-state, individuals retain one absolute right in the civil society—the right to self-defence and self-preservation.

In historical/empirical terms, Linda Colley in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* depicts the development of Britain from an Act of Union between England, Wales and Scotland in 1707 through the succession of wars with Catholic France culminating in the Napoleonic Wars and the battle of Waterloo to forge the British nation. Men and women from different ethnic and social backgrounds found a unity in the imperial destiny of Britain. Ironically, in the twentieth century, state-engendered nationalism and the product of a nation-state forged in war, is most characteristic of those states of Africa that won their independence from empires.

In a second version of national origins, the development of the state is *sui generis*, emerging from the unique and particular characteristics of a people. It is a story of Münchhausen who can lift himself up by his own bootstraps. Its theoretician is John Locke—the body politic is forged when men together subject themselves to the rule of law (as opposed to the rule of men in Hobbes) to secure their property and rights, the most basic being a natural right to self-preservation along the model of an independent craftsman (rather than the more passive "security" of Hobbes). The individual introduces his labour into nature to convert that nature into an artifact as extensions of self in the form of property. Though, as in Hobbes, the polis derives its power from the delegation of its individual members, those members never surrender the right to regain those powers if those in power forfeit their trust. What is even more important, the productive power of society resides in labour power, the creative energy of the individual; the regulation of such power is also surrendered and can also be redeemed if its regulation is not carried out for the public good.

Aboriginal peoples, who had rights to treaties in their quest for self-preservation in Hobbes, lost their rights in the Lockean scheme of things because they belonged to a state of nature without a cash economy and a sense of property as possession and extension

of the self. Nor did they have self-formed contractarian governments. Lockean theory thus provided an apologetic for the rape of land of the aboriginal people and the genocide of those people regarded as aliens in a state of nature. Ironically, it was also the foundation of modern human rights theory. Citizens had civil and political rights and a shared social solidarity in the state that guaranteed those rights. However, aboriginals were not citizens in this conception.

In empirical/historical terms, Liah Greenfeld (*Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*) provides the narrative for this self transformation of Britain from a group of foreigners studying together as a nation at a university abroad to a group with shared convictions differing from those of other nations, to an elite within the nation, and then to the people as a whole who are said to share these same values and thereby constitute a sovereign and unique people. Nationalism and the democratic right of a people to rule themselves are two complementary parts of the same vision. But so is the nullification of the other who is not considered to fall within the orbit of self-governance and the pursuit of property as happiness.

Though this liberal-nationalist, as opposed to state-nationalist, version of the nation-state had its roots in one version of British history, its clearest and most unequivocal example is the United States of America.[1] Nation meant a polity formed by free and equal individuals versus a polity formed by uniting adjacent territories and giving union to a people in conflict with an enemy. Ironically, in the United States, the unity of the republic had to be won by the conquest of those who opposed freedom and equality of all individuals in order to preserve the tradition of slavery. At the same time, in the name of the liberty and equality of all individuals, the aboriginal peoples were driven off the land, even when, as in the case of the Cherokees, they were agriculturalists, but their view of the land was not an extension of self conceptualized in terms of land ownership and land values, but as the ground for ancestral roots and collective responsibility.[2]
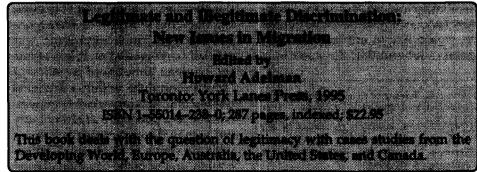
In these two versions we forge our identities in relationship either to the enemy-other or in the denial of the reality of the other in favour of the self-sufficient self. But there is a third tale. The identity of the nation-state is forged in relationship to the proximate-other rather than either the enemy-other or the other-denied as the ground for asserting the reality of a self-sufficient self. The theoreticians for this story are to be found among the Scottish common sense theoreticians of sentiment, in particular, the much-distorted Adam Smith and, more self-evidently, David Hume. They reject the foundationalism of both Hobbes and Locke while adhering to their empiricism. On the other hand, they asserted that there were *a priori* principles which were the conditions of having any experience whatsoever, a conviction that turned Kant's head around, but without his carrying on the Scottish conviction that there could be no certain foundation for truth or fundamental basis for a political and moral order. The moral (and political) order are founded on agreements of sentiments rather than a contract for self-preservation or self-protection of one's property and person. Mutuality is established when our sentiments correspond with one another. One cannot sympathize with another unless one imagines oneself in another's place. Emotional empathy or care is fundamental to justice rather than allowing care to express itself within a legal regime of justice which protects individual rights or a regime of the all-powerful state in which sentiment is deplored and rights are trampled. For Hume, the issue was the extension of the impressions on the self to enable a concern for the feelings and well-being of others to be forged.

The empirical social historian of this version of the development of the British nation, though traceable directly back to Hume's own histories, in contemporary terms is probably best evidenced in the writings of Robin Cohen (*Frontiers of Identity: The British and the Others*) and his historical account of the evolution of British sentimentality. That familiar other shifted from the Celts to the Dominions, from the Commonwealth to the Atlantic pact, but when the European, the traditional enemy-other, became the familiar other in the vision of a European Union, the extraterrestrial concept of the alien as totally other imported from Europe challenged the previously ambiguous boundaries of self and other. Ethnic-nationalism had been superimposed on Tory, Whig and Progressive Britain. ■

Notes

1. Clinton Rossiter (1953) *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty;* Louis Hartz (1954) *The Liberal Tradition in America;* Edmund Morgan (1956) *The Birth of the Republic;* Seymour Martin Lipset (1963) *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective;* Bernard Bailyn (1967) *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution;* Henry Steele Commanger (1975) *Jefferson, Nationalism, and the Enlightenment.*

2. An early version of the extensive literature that developed subsequently on this subject, Mary E. Young, "Indian Removal and Land Allotment: The Civilized Tribes and Jacksonian Justice," *American Historical Review,* LXIV, October, 1958. ◻

Legitimate and Illegitimate Discrimination: New Issues in Migration

Edited by Howard Adelman

Toronto: York Lanes Press, 1995

ISBN 1-55014-296-0; 287 pages, indexed; $22.95

This book deals with the question of legitimacy with case studies from the Developing World, Europe, Australia, the United States, and Canada.

Multiculturalism and the Millennium: Global Perspectives

Anthony H. Richmond

Abstract

The author confronts the conundrum of the "multicultural world" under attack. Can multicultural policies withstand the impact of globalization, post-modernism and the "information superhighway?" He concludes that disintegration and fragmentation are possible but not necessary outcomes. Survival is dependent on both public and private sectors working together to achieve "unity in diversity."

Précis

La question centrale posée par cet article est: la politique fédérale en matière de multiculturalisme arrivera-t-elle à assurer sa survie dans un vingt-et-unième siècle soumis à l'impact grandissant de la globalisation, du postmodernisme et de la méga-autoroute de l'information? L'auteur conclut que la désintégration et la fragmentation de la politique multiculturelle sont des aboutissements possibles mais non inévitables. De fait, les secteurs public et privé se doivent d'agir conjointement pour arriver à assurer l'unité dans la diversité.

One of the ironies of the multicultural world in which we live is that, as diversity increases, so does the temptation to impose uniformity. On the one hand majorities, and formerly dominant classes, feel threatened by the rapid social and cultural changes that undermine their hegemony. They would like to exclude people and ideas that threaten their sense of security. On the other hand, newly empowered minorities would like to impose their own agenda, determining the content of

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school curricula and rewriting history (or herstory) to fit their own ideologies. New orthodoxies battle old fundamentalisms, in religion and in politics. "Political correctness" becomes a source of intolerance—zero tolerance of prejudice and discrimination becomes an excuse for new forms of inquisition. The empowerment of minorities is no guarantee of freedom of speech, or greater tolerance of diversity. Like the White Queen in *Alice in Wonderland*, "off with their heads" is often the response of those who seek to redress past wrongs ...[1]

Multiculturalism

We need to examine more closely just what is meant by "multiculturalism."

> **"Political correctness" becomes a source of intolerance—zero tolerance of prejudice and discrimination becomes an excuse for new forms of inquisition.**

It can be a purely descriptive term indicating the extent of ethnic diversity of contemporary societies. It can also be prescriptive, setting out certain ideals, such as respect for cultural differences, equality of opportunity and freedom of expression. From a policy perspective such goals may be embodied in legislative and administrative programs. The term came into circulation in 1971, following the publication of Volume 4 of the Royal Commission on Bi-lingualism and Bi-culturalism. The latter dealt with the situation of the so-called "Other" ethnic groups, i.e., those not of British or French origin. The term "multiculturalism" was officially endorsed when Prime Minister Trudeau announced a policy of "Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework." It is important to remember that as a policy it was always subordinate to the government's concern with the status of Quebec in Confederation, and with the situation of fran-

cophone minorities in the rest of Canada.

In due course, "multiculturalism" was translated into bureaucratic offices and institutions. The first step by the federal government, in the early 1970's, was to create a Multiculturalism Directorate, under the auspices of the Secretary of State and to give it a modest budget. At first, the programs funded were of the cultural heritage type. Histories of ethnic populations in Canada were commissioned, language classes and textbooks subsidized, and folk-singing and dance groups supported.[2] Most of these grants went in support of the already well established ethnic communities in Canada, of mainly European descent. Some provinces followed suit with similar programs paralleling or supplementing the federal ones.

The second step came when the 1867 British North America Act was repatriated and became the Constitution of Canada in 1982. Attached to the new Constitution was a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which spelled out the government's commitment more explicitly. Section 27 referred to the "preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians," and section 15 embodied an "equality rights" clause, which banned all forms of discrimination, and legitimated affirmative action to remedy past wrongs. There followed, in due course, various federal and provincial employment equity programs directed toward women, visible minorities and the disabled. In turn these complemented the work of Human Rights Commissions, and complaints procedures, which had been in place even

before "multiculturalism" became official.

Later (1988), the federal government passed the Multiculturalism Act and created a separate Department of Multiculturalism with a broader mandate and promise of additional funding. New goals were articulated, among which educational and other measures to combat racism figured prominently. Lobbying by Japanese Canadians led to the promise (yet to be fulfilled) of a "Race Relations Foundation" that would undertake research and education, designed to reduce the incidence of racism in Canada. Other groups, who subsequently sought similar apologies and possible compensation for the discrimination that they, or their ancestors, had experienced were less successful in establishing their claims. Meanwhile, Provincial governments went ahead with multicultural policies and employment equity programs designed to increase access to jobs and promotion for women, the disabled and so-called "visible minorities."

However, it is now obvious that there has been a political backlash against such programs in Canada, as in the United States. They are being seen as divisive and threatening existing power structures. Globalization has brought economic insecurity, heightened competition and high rates of unemployment. These are precisely the conditions likely to lead to greater ethnic conflict and overt racism. Multiculturalism, both as an ideology and as government practise, has come under extensive fire in recent years. There are several types of criticism, which I call the radical, the liberal/humanist, the communitarian, the neo-conservative and the objectivist, respectively.

1) The radical criticism of multiculturalism applauds the means and the goals, but considers that actual policies and programs have not gone far enough and have not yet succeeded in achieving their goals. Critics in this school of thought point to the persistence of ethnic discrimination, high rates of unemployment among Black youth, together with racism in the community, and in the policing of our cities. They point to the budget cuts and the problems facing newly arrived refugees and other immigrants, together with difficulties faced by minority youth in schools.

Radical critics of multiculturalism call for more rather than less government intervention. They deplore the rise of neo-fascist movements, and the spread of hate literature, and believe that the law must be strengthened to deal with these threats. They point to the need for recognition of foreign qualifications and job experience, to assist newcomers find suitable housing, and to improve language training programs. They recognize the need for better community health services and therapy for the victims of torture, and the trauma faced by many refugees. There is particular emphasis upon the status of minority women who experience "double" and sometimes "triple" jeopardy as a result of gender, colour and immigrant status. Some critics regard government funding for independent "Black," Muslim and Jewish schools (as well as the existing Catholic Separate school system) as appropriate. Radical critics also see multicultural programming as an educational tool that is needed, more than ever, to change the attitudes of the Canadian-born and longer established immigrants.

2) The liberal/humanist criticism, loudly voiced by writers such as Neil Bissoondath (1994), insist that cultures are dynamic, self-propelled and competing in a world system, where only the best will survive. They see government programs as perpetuating a nostalgic attachment to ancestral values and identities. These, in turn, impede a successful adjustment to Canada, as part of a global system. They are critical of those who condone the continued practise of female circumcision, and other behaviour which contravenes a more universalist interpretation of human rights. Thus Bissoondath rightly insists that shared ethnicity does not entail unanimity of vision. In his view, a wider sense of humanity must prevail over the narrowness of ethnicity. The liberal/humanist critics of multiculturalism see ethnicity as a voluntary expression of identity, to be largely confined to the family and community. They do not believe that government has a legitimate role to play in its promotion. For example, Reginald Bibby (1990) suggests that multiculturalism is dividing Canada against itself, creating a form of "mosaic madness." What is needed, he argues, is a stronger sense of national unity and an end to "hyphenated-Canadianism." Immigrants and their descendants should enjoy their own language and culture in the privacy of their homes, churches and community halls, but not expect governments to subsidise them. Nor should nostalgia for an ancestral past create divided loyalties, or invoke separatist passions.

3) The communitarian critique is implicit rather than explicit in their writings. In fact, the pluralistic, multicultural character of contemporary North American society is one of the things that writers, such as Amitai Etzioni (1991), appear to ignore when they promote the idea of constitutive moral communities. The promoters of "communitarianism," appear to have the ear of some politicians in Canada, Britain and the U.S. They argue that there are too many special interest groups asserting their rights, and making claims on the state and its resources. Presumably this includes the recipients of multicultural funding! They want more emphasis to be placed on duties, responsibilities and obligations, designed to further the common good. They seek to create and strengthen local communities of place, they promote the idea of a nation as a community, and emphasize the importance of a common language and religion. They assume it is possible to generate a consensus on fundamental values, and that these values can be enforced by moral persuasion, although coercion is not ruled out. The potentially fascist implications of the communitarian movement have not been lost on those who are sceptical of its claims (Bell 1993). In its extreme

form, the "nationalist" view disapproves of any outward symbols of ethnic distinction, such as the turban or the hajib while, presumably, approving of the kilt and the stetson! Enforced conformity to a single nationalistic ideology smacks of Nazism, and easily leads to anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance.

4) The neo-conservative critics of multicultural programs see them as yet another example of unnecessary government control. Multicultural policies and practices involve interference in free market principles and individual freedoms. Affirmative action is seen as positive discrimination and contrary to the idea of "merit" as the sole criterion for admission to higher education, hiring and promotion. Employment Equity programs have been attacked as a form of discrimination against young, white males struggling to obtain a foothold, or to retain their advantage, in a rapidly changing employment market. Multiculturalism, as a state supported program, is regarded as a luxury that a debt-ridden government can no longer afford. Together with legal aid, unemployment insurance and welfare, it must face budgetary cut-backs.

5) The "Objectivist" view espoused by the followers of Ayn Rand, represents an even stronger backlash against multiculturalism, particularly as it manifests itself in schools, colleges and educational curricula. They describe multiculturalism as a "virus" deliberately injected into the body politic in order to destroy it! The increasing number of "Black Studies," "Hispanic Studies," "Native Studies," and "Women's Studies" programs, are seen as threatening what they consider to be the canon of so-called "Western culture," which Objectivist philosophy regards as inherently superior to other traditions. They accuse those who identify with these ethnically defined programs as "racist," while the "objectivists," themselves, propagate an extremist view insisting on the superiority of Euro-American languages and cultures. The followers of Ayn Rand are equally critical of the influence of postmodernism in philosophy and literature as taught in our universities today. Postmodernism, in rejecting the idea of "universal meta-narratives," is seen as relativistic and fragmenting.[3] Their answer is to reassert the primacy of so-called "western" values, particularly those of right-wing Americans.

We are all of us "immigrants to the twenty–first century." Multiculturalism is a "way of life" not just in Canada, but in the United States, central and south America, Australia, most countries in western Europe and, indeed, in Africa and Asia too. As the new millennium approaches we recognize the postmodern potential for disintegration and fragmentation … ∎

Notes

1. Fortunately, I am not yet one of those "dead white anglo-European males" whose books, according to some critics, should be removed from the contemporary canon! My books have not been banned in Canada, although one I wrote forty years ago was banned in South Africa because of its criticism of apartheid.

2. The reality of a multicultural society should not be confused with the phenomenon of "carnivilization," in which selected aspects of a traditional culture are treated as a commodity. Events such as Caribana and Caravan, which purport to celebrate the multicultural character of Toronto, are commercial by-products of the globalization of tourism as an industry.

3. The "objectivist" argument was expressed by Dr. Gary Hull at a lecture given at York University, Toronto, March 20, 1995, titled "Your Professor's War Against Your Mind: The Black Hole of Postmodernism and Multiculturalism."

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PATHS TO EQUITY

Cultural, Linguistic, and Racial Diversity in Canadian Early Childhood Education

by *Judith K. Bernhard, Marie Louise Lefebvre, Gyda Chud and Rika Lange*

Toronto: York Lanes Press
ISBN 1–55014–277–1; 112 pages,
size 8.5x11; $18.95

Paths to Equity is based on an extensive nationwide study of 77 childcare centres in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver on the cultural, linguistic, and racial diversity in Canadian Early Childhood Education (ECE). The report presents the results this study on how the ECE system is responding to the increasing diversity of contemporary Canadian society.

A fully one third of teachers interviewed in this study responded, at the time of graduation from ECE programs, did not feel that they were well prepared to work effectively with children and parents from diverse backgrounds. In this ground-breaking study, the authors have addressed teachers' views on diversity in the education programs; parents difficulties in collaborating within the current education system; teachers' difficulties in understanding many "ethnic" parents; desire of many parents for better communication with staff, preferably in their own languages, and for more information about their individual children, and chances for effective input; and the evidence of some continuing problems with racism, irrespective of the good intentions of centre staff.

Paths to Equity will be of interest to ECE faculty, policy makers, centre supervisors and staff and others interested in the inclusion of diversity content in professional education programs.

Globalization, Alienation and the Loss of Other-Wiseness

John O'Neill

Abstract

The author focuses on the impact of globalization on different aspects of civil society. He argues that the global division of labour, and the exodus of transnational corporations has resulted in a new configuration of the forces of integration and fragmentation of regional economies. Postmodernist emphasis on heterogeneity and uniqueness of cultural life has given the Radical Right justification for excluding attention to those considered as cultural minorities. Rather, we are reduced to a common denominator of economic strength as the only criterion of value and legitimacy.

Précis

Le point de mire de cet article est l'impact de la globalisation sur les différents aspects de la société civile. L'auteur développe une argumentation selon laquelle la division globale du travail et l'exode des entreprises supranationales a entraîné une fragmentation des économies régionales et une reconfiguration des forces d'intégrations. L'emphase postmoderniste mise sur le caractère à la fois hétérogène et unitaire de la vie culturelle a fourni à la Droite Radicale des justifications pour marginaliser ceux que l'on considère comme faisant partie des minorités culturelles. Pire, nous en sommes réduits à considérer le dénominateur commun de la puissance économique comme le critère exclusif de toute valeur et de toute légitimité.

The modern state owes its distinctive form to the ways in which it answers to the articulation of an industrial society. In short, the polity, economy and sociocultural institutions of modern society have assumed particular

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constellations at given stages of mercantile, industrial and post-industrial capitalism.[1] Whenever these constellations of capitalism begin to shift, we are driven to examine their history or genealogy in order to estimate their probable path. To delimit the contesting discourses that emerge in a period of paradigm shift, we are obliged to take a stand on the base grammar of capitalism. Quite bluntly, as sociologists we cannot entertain the postmodern carnival of knowledge thrown up in the cultural sector of post-industrial capitalism, while in the economic and political sectors, the discourse of the market assumes an unalloyed hegemony in the re-articulation of our state and civic institutions.[2] The globalized imperatives of the current stage of capitalism display none of the celebrated features of postmodernism—of subjectivity, of decentering, of pluralism, or of deconstructed racism and genderism. These are merely the ideological effects through which individuals misrecognize the evacuation of capital power from these very sites.

Where nothing is contested by capitalist interests, nothing is gained by identification with the fallout from the erasure and realignment of institutional relations demanded periodically by capitalist elites. If this were not so, we should have to believe that capitalist culture is a benignly self-analyzing culture either open to its consumers through the rhetoric of any of its commodities, or else intelligible to critics through its film, music, art and literature. On this view, Marx would have done better at a rock concert or a film festival than in the British Museum and Freud would have learned more in a sex shop than in analysis. But in fact the critical acclaim of Marx and Freud arises from that shift in cultural reflexivity we owe to their respective analyses of how we

appropriate capital and sexuality. We now see them as structures and histories of (un)consciousness that shape the grammar of our lives. From this critical perspective, every shift in the institutional forces of capitalism offers us an opportunity to deepen our ignorance of those forces. Indeed, our contemporary ignorance is guaranteed if we proliferate difference and drift despite the overwhelming global practice of mergers that narrow the rest of our practices.

The global division of labour, the exodus of transnational corporations whose decisions offset the nation state, has resulted in a new configuration of the forces of integration and fragmentation within and between regional economies. Yet, despite the celebrants of postmodern diversity, it is precisely Euro-American culture that provides the dominant narrative of global capitalism. This is because global capitalism is still capitalism whose global consistency still generates contradictions, foreclosures and marginalization. The flexibility of global capital may well demand flexibility from its symbolic analysts but it just as certainly instills docility in its service-end producers. The much vaunted flexibility of postmodern culturalism either celebrates or else merely reflects its own subject-position within global capitalism. As I see it, the fragmentation of the Western canon is largely the product of franchising struggles between petty cultural capitalists striving to position themselves amidst the global restructuring of the knowledge, information and entertainment industries. The artful postmodern and deconstructionist practices of destabilizing the language of property, the proper, the lily-white, does not alter the system of inequality in which the discourse of property pervades every institution and level of everyday life in capitalist society. Moreover, the sites

of these cultural tactics remain aloof from the majority of poor people, working poor and welfare poor.

Class Not Culture

Today, we are told by the New Right that our civic covenant is an immoral and profligate exercise that can only be indulged by the nation state through the blindness of its politicians to the new world order. In an explosion of Darwinistic fervour, we are called to believe that a sudden shift in our economic environment has left every one of our social institutions obsolete—except for the market. Only by downsizing our moral and political baggage can we enjoy the proper release of that lean and mean individual energy that is demanded and rewarded by the market. In short, global capitalism remoralizes us by returning us to a state of nature from which it then draws us in accordance with the absolute law that our industry be ruled by a cognitive elite. To understand what institutional re-orientation is involved here, we need to remind ourselves of the social compact that is now under reconstruction—if not dismantling.

Production relations generate class relations and state/economy relations. Production is primary in the material sense but not necessarily politically. This is because the liberal state is presupposed in the dominance of industrial over mercantile and agrarian capitalism. The liberal state may also be engaged as an imperial nation-state on behalf of the mass production phase of capitalism in which class relations are harmonised through a national pact between business, labour and government:

> A certain kind of political culture is, indeed, a condition for tripartism, one in which the state is regarded both as the instrument of civil society and at the same time as the agency for harmonizing civil society's divergent interests. Government is thought of both as the channel for procuring satisfaction for separate interests and as a force constraining these interests toward reconciliation.[3]

Tripartism has, of course, never achieved perfect balance; any partner to the pact may be seen to dominate it.

With the globalization of production relations, we are perceiving the collapse of tripartism—the erosion of unionism, the hegemony of the market and the subordination of the redistributive welfare state that we

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As I see it, global capitalism has abandoned its potential for "other-wiseness" by absorbing all otherness into a single market of success and failure. By rejecting the corporatist contract between business, government and labour that has softened class differences in the last half century, globalism now subjects everyone to the dominion of monetarism and the market, downsizing organizations and breaking unions.

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have known for the last fifty years. We can now see that the neo-liberal state was committed to growth rather than redistribution and to inflation as the price of tripartism. Inflation, however, when combined with the stagnation of the mid-1970s, began to erode the national income policies of tripartism. At the same time, the informal cooperation between the central agencies of government and the globalizing corporations was strengthened.

Finally, the conflict between the interests of international capital accumulation and the national welfare of vulnerable groups has come to a head. National governments are now subordinate to international finance institutions that enforce the new world order of production:

> The state disengages from civil society—it reverses the trend toward interpenetration and blurring of the edges between state and society that corporatism promoted—in order to force more radically the adjustment of national economies to the world economy.[4]

The result is that the civic capital expenditures of nation states are severely discounted, resulting in lower credit ratings, i.e. higher interest rates that further aggravate the national deficit. Yet, it is the welfare component of the deficit that is blamed for the overall effect. Currently, there is a con-

siderable withdrawal of the legitimacy accorded to the neo-liberal welfare state, expressed in anti-state movements, tax revolts and new elite ideologies of self-interest and zero-altruism. These events, coupled with the severe polarization of incomes since the 1980s, put considerable strain upon civil society, caught between the anomic violence of marginalized groups and a generalized antipathy towards the elite composition of new scarcities and insecurities.

As I see it, global capitalism has abandoned its potential for "otherwiseness" by absorbing all otherness into a single market of success and failure. By rejecting the corporatist contract between business, government and labour that has softened class differences in the last half century, globalism now subjects everyone to the dominion of monetarism and the market, downsizing organizations and breaking unions. Worse still, the fragmentation of social citizenship is now accelerated by the New Right's curious adoption of left cultural relativism to announce that there are no objective moral principles to guide the pursuit of social justice:

> Ideas of social justice and of basic needs, which form the threadbare clothing of contemporary social democratic movements, are of minimal help here. Criteria of desert and merit, such as enter into popular conceptions of social justice, are not objective or publicly corrigible, but rather express private judgments grounded in varying moral traditions. Conceptions of merit are not shared as a common moral inheritance, neutrally available to the inner city Moslem population of Birmingham and the secularized profes-

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sional classes of Hampstead, but instead reflect radically different cultural traditions and styles of life ... The objectivity of basic needs is equally delusive. Needs can be given no plausible cross cultural content, but instead are seen to vary across different moral traditions.[5]

The ideology of the New Right rejects any notion of the political manipulation of the allocative efficiency of the market that might redistribute income within or between nations. Just as the New Right rejects neo-Keynesian policies on the state level, so it rejects the last fifty years of state-driven development in the Third World. There is no dual economy of labour, no comparative disadvantage or non-market mentality. Economics is a general science of human behaviour—unless prohibited or violated by politics and morals. The only accountability is what is imposed by the market, namely, a rule against inefficiency but not any rule against inequality. Rather, markets encode inequalities as competitive differences that optimize social efficiency. According to the New Right, there can be no equation between inequality and injustice. The blindness of the market is the ultimate guarantee of merit and reward. Social inequality is natural whereas the policies of equality are unnatural. ■

Notes

1. John O'Neill, "The Civic Recovery of Nationhood," International Conference on Civic Society: Globalization, Nationhood and Well-Being. The Laidlaw Foundation/Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, York University, Toronto, 3–4 April 1995.

2. John O'Neill, The Poverty of Postmodernism (London: Routledge, 1995).

3. Robert W. Cox, Production, Power and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 77–78.

4. Ibid., 289.

5. John Gray, "Classical Liberalisms, Positional Goods, and the Politicization of Poverty," Dilemmas of Liberal Democracies: Studies in Fred Hirsch's Social Limits to Growth (London: Tavistock, 1983), 181–82. ❏

Globalization, Refugee Crisis and the Work of International Non-Government Organisations

Robert Holton

Abstract

The author suggests that increasing economic rationalism in the post-Cold War era has engendered a retreat from public moral responsibility along with the hardening of attitudes to refugees. While deconstructing the international refugee system, he focuses on the roles played by non-government organisations within it, arguing that the existence of NGOs does exert a moral influence on nation-states with respect to treatment of refugees. The author asserts a positive view of the role of NGOs in the changing global refugee resettlement regime and argues that NGOs form an important part of international civil society.

Précis

L'auteur explique que le rationalisme économique accéléré de l'après Guerre Froide a engendré une désaffectation envers les responsabilités morales en matière d'affaires publiques allant de pair avec un net durcissement des attitudes envers les réfugiés. En décomposant le système international d'aide aux réfugiés, l'auteur concentre son attention sur le rôle joué au sein de ce dernier par les organismes non gouvernementaux (ONG). Il développe une argumentation selon laquelle l'existence d'ONG exerce une nette influence morale sur les États-Nations en matière de statut des réfugiés. Une vision positive du rôle des ONG, dans la présente perspective de mutation de la doctrine globale de relocalisation des réfugiés, est mise de l'avant par l'auteur. Les ONG sont présentés comme étant un des importants éléments d'une Société Civile Internationale.

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Globalization and the Refugee Crisis

It is clearly no exaggeration to speak of a world refugee crisis. Whatever definition of refugee is used, it is clear that very large numbers of people, in the contemporary world, have been forced involuntarily to move from their place of residence.

If refugees are defined as "displaced peoples seeking protection," then most estimates of the numbers involved lie currently between 15–20 million. This total is not simply composed of heroic individuals experiencing personal political persecution, but involves large groups, often including political and cultural minorities.

All of the world's continents are heavily involved, whether as sources of refugees, or in the process of resettlement. As far as sources are concerned, it should be emphasized that in recent years Asia and Africa have become the major theatres of refugee crisis. This in turn is a reflection of the fact that refugee displacement primarily affects the world's poor.

It is legitimate to speak of a refugee crisis, not only because of the large numbers of people involved, but also because of a detectable hardening of attitudes to refugees on the part of the major Western nation-states. With the end of the Cold War, Western states have become almost exclusively preoccupied with economic rationalism. This has involved an increased engagement with the economic side of globalization, but an increased indifference to the global plight of refugees. Meanwhile, the international refugee system, centred on the United Nations, has limited capacities to offset national indifference.

One casualty of the combination of economic rationalism and the retreat

from public moral responsibility for refugee resettlement, has been a governmental retreat from public funding of refugee settlement. The system, as it stands, is then unable to deal either with refugee numbers, or with the global scale of refugee crisis.

The Causes of Refugee Crisis

The causes of refugee crisis are a complex issue, and I have only sketched some very general considerations here. In the first place it may seem that refugee crises are purely national or regional in origin. The immediate cause of population displacement, of large groups and individuals may be linked to a range of endogenous national causes, such as authoritarian denial of human rights to minorities and dissidents, revolution, invasion, civil war, ethnic cleansing, or ecological crisis involving famine and an accompanying breakdown of social order.

There is much to be said for this endogenous approach, but it does have the weakness of isolating individual national or regional refugee crises from the wider international and global environment. This wider environment may impact on national crises in a number of ways. In the first place, much political instability and authoritarianism in particular nations during the Cold War period was underwritten by the political "Super Powers."

Secondly, global economic inequalities between the West and many developing nations, have contributed to subsistence crises and desires for population movement. Not all developing countries lack economic autonomy, but those that do are vulnerable to Western domination, leading to the neglect of domestic priorities such as local food production in favour of production of commodities for the world market.

The twin effect of the globalization of consumer capitalism and of media representations of Western affluence has been to heighten the desire among the populations of many developing countries for entry into the West (Cox 1992). This has further increased demands to move.

But it has simultaneously contributed to the blurring of distinctions between refugees and economic migrants. In seeking refuge, it is very hard for refugees to appreciate the niceties that Western governments insist on making between escape from poverty and escape from political oppression. This is because the sources of poverty and political oppression are so often inextricably bound together, as in regimes where authoritarian politics is a vehicle for the enforcement of free market economics.

Economic globalization is not, however, simply a matter of market exchange, but also of regulation by the more powerful and wealthier nation-states. Economic globalization has been regulated in an uneven way to suit the interests of powerful nations. This means free trade in capital and commodities for Western goods, but highly restricted movements of people and labour, especially where outflows from developing countries are involved.

This approach was ratified at the recent conclusion of the Uruguay round of GATT, which established the World Trade Organisation (WTO) on a more elaborate basis. There, Western governments reacted with horror to the proposition of the Indian government that the WTO should look at free movement of labour to match the free movement of capital and commodities. This selective approach to economic globalization is linked to a recent tightening and, in some cases, closure of borders against refugees, on the part of Western nations in the European Union, Australia and North America. Increasingly restrictive policies and procedures are evident which limit both refugee numbers, and, in some cases, the countries from which "genuine" refugee applications are accepted.

Speaking in this context to a National Forum on Refugees in Australia in 1992, David Matas (1992, 189), identified a parallel between Adam Smith's famous discussion of market restriction, and the growing culture of restrictive thinking among immigra-

tion officials. I think this repays retelling.

Adam Smith, you will recall, in *The Wealth of Nations* wrote, "People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices."

Much the same, says Matas, applies to meetings of immigration officials. In his view, they "seldom meet together, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against freedom of movement, or in some contrivance to hinder protection of refugees."

Is this harsh judgement really fair and accurate?

There are undoubtedly important exclusionist subcultures within Immigration Departments, but these are scarcely by themselves the major determinants of public policy development. Rather, the causes of hardening attitudes and practices are more deep-seated. One influential argument about such causes, well known to a Canadian audience, is what Tony Richmond calls the new global apartheid. This interprets the trend toward immigration restriction, as a new form of global apartheid, in which self-interested nations with the power to do so, seal off their borders. Closed borders, in this sense, function to separate populations on the basis of national and cultural origins, protecting the rich and powerful against the poor and oppressed.

What this amounts to then is a failure of the nation-state system to guarantee security for the world's population. This failure is connected with a loss of moral nerve by the governments of wealthier countries. At worst this means that refugees are simply ignored. At best, it involves a highly conditional response, whereby intake is kept to a minimum, governments choose the kinds of refugees they want, and draconian disincentives to illegal refugee entry are adopted.

The consequences of this are twofold. In the first place, there are material effects, such as preclusion from

entry, forced repatriation, and cut-backs of services to those within. Secondly, there are what might be called discursive consequences. By this, I mean official attempts to change the way we think about refugees. Of particular importance here are attempts to limit the category of who qualifies as a refugee.

Discourse about refugees is both highly political and moralistic (for further discussion of the labelling of refugees, see Zetter 1991). Politically, there has been a detectable shift in official Western attitudes away from positive representations of refugees. In the 1940s and 1950s, European refugees were generally regarded as heroic freedom seekers fleeing fascism or Stalinism. Their resettlement was aided by post-war economic expansion and labour shortage. This positive climate has now been eroded, with the extension of the refugee crisis to Asian and African populations, at a time when Western economies are undergoing restructuring and recession. Within this situation the plight of current refugees cannot be so neatly inserted into Western meta-narratives about the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism. To resettle refugees in the West now requires greater economic sacrifices than in the past, at a time when economic difficulties have helped to fan the flames of racism.

Within this context, the term "refugee" has been given an increasingly restrictive political definition in the West. This is limited essentially to the so-called Convention refugees, namely those who can prove the likelihood of persecution in their country of origin. Others fleeing impending persecution, poverty or ecological crisis are classified as economic migrants fleeing poverty. In the new language, Governments have had increased resort to moralised concepts such as the "genuine" and the "bogus" refugee. In some ways this throws us back to 19th century discourses of the deserving and undeserving poor.

Conflict over who is a refugee reminds us of the dual significance of the term refugee as a classification. This is not only a description of those seeking refuge. It is also an administrative label applied selectively, and I would argue often arbitrarily, by governments and immigration officials to others. Whereas the former approach recognises the integrity of those desperate enough to seek security in another country often at considerable personal risk, the latter approaches refugee issues in a manner expedient to the *Realpolitik* of the nation-state. Where necessary, this involves de-legitimising the integrity of refugee claims, especially of those deemed to have arrived in an illegal or irregular manner.

To sum up so far, globalization is closely bound up with the refugee crisis. Refugee movements are manifestations of globalization, while global processes are evident both in relation to the causes of the refugee crisis and in responses to it. This kind of global focus does not of course mean that nation-states are irrelevant to refugee issues—far from it. National policies and responses have been and continue to be of considerable importance, both in terms of intake and settlement policy and in terms of the particular ways that citizenship is understood and constructed. This importance is reflected in variations of national practice which have been of historical importance, even if the current tendency has been towards a convergent hardening of policies against refugees in almost all nations. ■

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From Being Uprooted to Surviving:
Resettlement of Vietnamese-Chinese "Boat People" in Montreal, 1980–1990

By Lawrence Lam

Toronto: York Lanes Press
ISBN 1–55014–296–8
200 pages, indexed; $18.95

The saga of the "boat people" is a dramatic story, a story of one of the largest refugee movements in recent years. Canada played a significant role in the resettlement of these refugees in bringing them to Canada where they could start anew. *From Being Uprooted to Surviving* by Professor Lam, is based on ethnographic data of a sample of Vietnamese-Chinese accepted for resettlement in Montreal in 1979 and 1980, who were interviewed again in 1984–85 and in 1990–91, this book provides a longitudinal account of their experience of resettlement in Canada. This experience has been marked by successive stages of their struggle to overcome structural barriers and to negotiate a meaningful niche in Canada.

Contents: Preface, The Boat People Phenomenon, Resettlement—Issues and Perspectives, The Vietnamese-Chinese Refugees, Exodus and Transition, Resettlement Process—The First Three Years, Resettlement—Beyond the First Three Years, Conclusion.

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Family Class Immigration: Implications for Post-Multiculturalism

Edward Opoku-Dapaah and Michael Lanphier

Abstract

This paper examines the implications of post-multiculturalism for family class immigration to Canada. The authors argue that the goal of facilitating family reunification is not facilitated by Canadian immigration policy. A new, more inclusive definition of "family," one that reflects the cultural and social diversity of newcomer groups must be adopted in order for the reunification program to fulfill its mandate.

Précis

Cet article examine les implications de l'Après-Multiculturalisme sur l'immigration des groupe familiaux au Canada. Les auteurs développent une argumentation selon laquelle l'objectif de réunification des familles n'est guère facilité par la politique canadienne d'immigration. Une définition nouvelle, plus intégrante, de la notion de "famille" reflétant la diversité culturelle et sociale des groupes de nouveaux arrivants doit être adoptée de manière à permettre au programme de réunification de remplir adéquatement son mandat.

Features of Canada's Family Reunification Program

As a major immigrant-receiving country, Canada advances certain social and economic values by admitting family members as an adjunct to its primary immigration goals of economic and refugee protection (Hathaway 1994). Family-class immigrants are defined as sponsored spouses, fiancé(e)s, dependent children (including adopted children) of Canadian citizens or permanent resi-

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dents, who have agreed to support their settlement in Canada (CIC 1994, 19). Thus the general family-class category allows Canadian residents to bring to Canada "immediate family" members. Individuals who fall within this category are given priority in the processing of family reunification applications.

Historically, those admitted into Canada under the family-class category have constituted a significant feature of the annual immigrant intake. In 1984, 52,084 family immigrants came to Canada, some 58 per cent of total immigration for that year (EIC 1992, 10). By 1988, family immigration amounted to 66,898 or 43 percent of total immigration. It remained a considerable proportion of total immigration in 1989 and 1990. By 1993, family immigration surpassed all other classes of immigration to Canada. The latter formed 55 per cent of the overall admissions. The 1997 immigration plan anticipates the admission of 58,400 to 66,200 family-class members, which is about one-third of total immigration—a relative decline despite the substantial numbers.

Toward an Inclusive Definition of "Family"

Even though Canada's family immigration program has remained a significant component of total immigration, the rationale for admission discussed above appears very exclusive. Post-World War II migration waves have not necessarily marked the greatest numbers of the century; yet, they have been by far the most heterogeneous with respect to origin and ethnic background (Simmons 1992).

A majority of contemporary newcomers to Canada originate from non-European sociocultural backgrounds such as Asia, Central America and the Caribbean. Canada has taken official notice and acted in concordance with official pronouncements, the most notable of which has been multiculturalism. Yet developing a rationale for family unification which is inclusive enough for the socially heterogeneous character of Canada, along with the necessary logistics provisions for implementing culturally-sensitive rationale, poses enormous problems for administrative bureaucracy.

Newcomers intending to sponsor relatives from abroad are disadvantaged on several grounds including:
a) the definition of "close family" for immigration purposes, and
b) the standard of proof required to establish family relationship. These difficulties are examined below.

Effect of a Restrictive Definition of Family Class

Given that the general family-class category recognizes only spouses and unmarried dependent children, the question of who qualifies as family is perhaps one of the most contentious and problematic issues facing newcomers intending to reunite with family members from overseas. In several non-Western communities where contemporary immigrants to Canada originate, the definition of the family encompasses the extended family, such as varying combinations of grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces, offspring of brothers and sisters are all considered as part of the close family network (Assimeng 1981).

In addition, individuals in some of these traditional settings may only be related socially or culturally and not biologically. Several immigrant communities in Canada including Ghanaians, Somalis, Cambodians and Ethiopians, cannot comprehend the rationale behind the definition of an "immediate family" which does not include sisters and brothers. Yet, Canada does not allow such flexibility regarding the definition of family.

Refugees perhaps face the most challenges in family sponsorship. Consider the case of a refugee from a war-torn country such as Somalia, who is also the sole supporter of extended family members. Insistence on a narrow definition of the family class can place the would-be applicant or sponsor in a serious dilemma, and may even jeopardise asylum-seeking abroad by forcing the applicant to abandon his or her kin in an uncertain and precarious social and political situation.

A 1994 National Consultation on the Immigration of Family Members convened by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration also noted these difficulties in managing Canada's family reunification program. With respect to the definition of family members, the consultation argued that the current Immigration Act recognizes only intimate partners in a married, heterosexual union as members of the family class (Hathaway 1994, 3). This restrictiveness results in inequality, as other meaningful intimate relationships are excluded from the scope of the family class (ibid., 3).

In this light, how relevant is Canada's multiculturalism policy, with respect to the rationale for family reunification? Has the nature of the contemporary social and economic arrangements in Canada inhibited or overtaken the policy?

In any event, difficulties of accommodating definitions at variance with nuclear-dependent family members characteristic of English and Northern European family systems appear nearly intractable (ibid.). Suggestions for combining criteria of family organization, interdependency links among members, for example, with administrative criteria which allow continuation of state control over immigrant admissions, pose administrative hurdles too difficult to surmount at this juncture.

If immigrants from one particular cultural group were to argue successfully for the inclusion of various types of extended family members, for example, it might prove impossible for a government to award the one group admission on the basis of interdependency, while withholding admission to persons of a similar kinship relation from another cultural group who were not so interdependent. In this respect, fostering a universal definition of family for immigration purposes exemplifies the dilemma of forging a single policy from multiple cultural demands. Resultant policy implications for Canada remain ambiguous.

Difficulties in Obtaining Sufficient Proof of Relationship

The standard of proof of family relationship does not recognise varied forms of symbolic representations of relationships, such as traditional forms of marriages in some cultural contexts. In this case, newcomers from non-European Third-World origins contend that the requirements such as birth certificates, marriage license and other forms of technical and legal proofs are discriminatory. They argue that such requirements impose Western cultural norms on their customary practices. The multiculturalism ideal is cast into a Western European mould.

The custom of documentation does not exist in all societies, and where it does, completeness and quality differ. Unlike Western industrial societies, some immigrants arrive from homelands which do not require identification papers such as birth and marriage certificates or adoption papers to establish authentic family relations. Moreover, in some cultures customary adoptions, though legally and consensually recognized, are not documented. Immigrants from such a background will have difficulty proving that a person is an adopted child and therefore is within the family class. For example, a Cambodian respondent noted:

> I have lived with my uncle (mother's brother) and his children since my infancy. He calls me his son. He didn't have to complete any complicated forms or pay any fees towards this. It is fully recognised and accepted that I am his son. Yet, Canadian officers would not understand or accept such an explanation.

Somali newcomers to Canada, for their part, encounter a double-edged problem in proving their relationship to family members to the satisfaction of immigration officials. At the best of times, the country had no tradition of Western-style identification documents which, by and large, were sought only if people intended to travel abroad. Thus it is impossible, for example, for a Somali elder to understand that the proof of relationship with his or her kin hinges on a piece of paper, especially when he or she has never possessed such documentation.

More recently, proof of family ties has required evidence from deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) testing to establish family sponsorships. This requirement further reinforces governmental insistence of the existing definition of family rather than considering alternative cultural definitions. People from non-Western societies may interpret the DNA test as another bureaucratic strategy to stifle their attempts to reunite with their families.

In this connection, the Human Rights Committee of B'nai Brith Canada, has charged that the DNA test is discriminatory and reflects existing prejudices within the Department of Immigration. The Immigration Minister at the time, Sergio Marchi contended the "DNA test is recommended only as last resort-proof when no other evidence is available." But by May 1995, procedures had become so widely demanded that three Ghanaian-born immigrants reported to a *Toronto Star* journalist that it appeared from their experience the procedure has become routine for people sponsoring relatives from that country. Thus conditions, both in the home and host countries (Somalia and Canada, respectively), serve to inhibit reunification.

Delivery of Family Reunification Program

To a large extent, the effectiveness of the family unification program has been contingent upon the existence of mechanisms to counsel and also inform newcomers—the major benefici-

aries—about the operations of the program. Yet, at the official level, delivery of such services has been beset with serious problems, some logistical and others fiscal-related. As shown by the following discussions, frequent inadequacies in the services from official sources have led potential sponsors to seek assistance from community organizations.

Yet such less-institutionalized sources have also encountered numerous problems of similar nature. As a result, family reunification—an essential aspect of immigrant settlement and social integration—has become organizationally and politically jeopardized. Contemporary social and economic arrangements have overtaken the framework of multiculturalism so that difficulties are experienced with program delivery both in Canada and overseas.

In-Canada Delivery of Family-Class Immigration Program

As the custodian of immigration policy and enforcement, the CIC has also overseen the delivery of the family reunification program. Regional offices across the country have been mandated to provide information, counselling and delivery of processes integral to the family immigration program. Yet, for a considerable proportion of would-be sponsors such CIC services have become inaccessible for several reasons.

First, difficulties in structuring service delivery inhibit satisfaction of the needs of the diverse groups who constitute today's immigrant and refugee population. Many newcomers, for example, those lacking proficiency in Canada's official languages, find it difficult to approach officials and to communicate their needs. At best translations have been available in a few major languages other than English and French. In addition, people from Third-World countries where the levels of bureaucratic administration are not as advanced or complex as that in Canada tend to feel intimidated when approaching such institutions. In practice, insufficient multicultural

"bridges" or intermediate posts are available to permit access to pertinent information about family immigration. It, therefore, has become extremely difficult for authorities to provide counselling and allied services in forms which resonate to the culture of contemporary immigrants to Canada.

In the light of the numerous problems associated with accessing official assistance, would-be sponsors are often compelled to rely on informal sources, such as contacts with kin and compatriots for counselling and assistance regarding family reunification needs. Such information cannot be complete or entirely appropriate because the source persons themselves have experienced similar structural and behavioural discrimination. Therefore, they are not in the most advantageous position to offer advice in gaining access to mainstream information or programming.

Overseas Delivery of Canada's Family Immigration Program

Besides the numerous problems which impair the internal delivery of the family reunification program, the overseas delivery has also met numerous administrative obstacles including limited number of staff, difficulties in locating family members and significant delays in the processing of applications.

A major problem affecting family reunification abroad is the restricted number of Canadian embassies and staff overseas to operate family immigration programs. In some cases access to the Canadian offices is hampered; in other cases, the maldistribution of offices discourages some people to launch family reunification application. There are only three Canadian visa offices, for example, on the entire African continent. Meanwhile over 160,000 Africans have resettled in Canada (five percent of total immigration) since the early 1980s, many of whom arrived without family members (Census Report 1991).

The maldistribution of overseas services creates undue delays and

problems in applications. Most Somalis, for instance, have to deal with the Canadian embassy in Nairobi; however, some have had to travel to Cairo, depending on the geographic region within Somalia (Opoku-Dapaah 1995). Cambodians, for their part, must travel to the single embassy in Thailand. For the latter, Thai visas are needed before they can cross the border. Yet, visas are not always granted to Cambodian applicants. Cambodians in Toronto have noted that their relatives who wanted to enter Thailand for interviews were refused visas.

In sum, management of Canada's family-class immigration has proved extremely difficult partly as a result of the diverse cultural origins of immigrants. Even though Canada's multiculturalism framework preaches tolerance for cultural diversity, it appears nearly impossible to forge a rationale for family-class immigration which can accommodate the varying forms of familial relationships of contemporary immigrants. Thus authorities and newcomers alike contend with a rather narrow, legalistic and Europeanised definition which has often led to the disqualification of relatives whom immigrants deem as close family members. ∎

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Reconceiving Resettlement Services as International Human Rights Obligations

Tom Clark

Abstract

The author draws on international treaties to argue that the provision of immigrant and refugee settlement services are human rights obligations. Therefore, services such as primary health care, food, education and housing are minimum core obligations that should be available to newcomers without discrimination. The implications of this position for advocacy initiatives are substantial. Instead of pleading for services from governments, activists, supported by international committees, would hold governments accountable for implementing international human rights treaties.

Précis

L'auteur s'appuie sur les traités internationaux pour étayer l'argumentation selon laquelle la mise en place de services favorisant l'intégration des immigrant et des réfugiées sur un territoire est une obligation relevant des Droits de l'Homme. Conséquemment des services comme les soins élémentaires de santé, la distribution de nourriture, l'instruction et le logement sont des obligations minimales fondamentales dues à tout nouvel arrivant sans discrimination. Plutôt que de quémander des services aux gouvernements, les activistes, appuyés par les comité internationaux, se doivent de tenir les gouvernements légalement responsables de l'application concrète des traités internationaux sur les Droits de l'Homme.

Obligations—Significance of Rights

This section examines the extent to which rights relating to social services are established in international juris-

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prudence as applicable to all citizens and non-citizens under the jurisdiction of a State. It also notes the significance of the State obligation to "ensure" treaty rights "without discrimination." This paper draws on three generally established principles to interpret human rights treaties. The 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties article 31 placed primary emphasis on the ordinary meaning of the text in context of the entire treaty, preamble, all other articles and any subsequent agreement. From this, international courts have established a practice of interpretation in the current juridical context. Texts of explicitly related subsequent agreements have interpretive power. They include human rights case law and jurisprudence as well as UN declarations and UN treaty texts not yet in force.

1. Settlement Services and Ensuring Rights

1.1 Obligation to ensure rights without discrimination

The author has shown elsewhere that CCPR article 2 requires a State Party to take the necessary measures, including legislation, to ensure the rights in the CCPR without discrimination on any ground. The significance of the word ensure has been largely overlooked in international jurisprudence. It imposes a strong obligation. The CESCR contains a substantially similar obligation but allows discrimination by a "developing country" with respect to economic rights of non-citizens. However, for signatories of the CCPR, even this possibility falls under the free-standing right to non-discrimination in any right or benefit. And there is a legislative obligation from CCPR article 26 which requires that such non-discrimination be in law.[1] In the human rights case law of European

and Inter-American Courts of Human Rights, "in law" and "laws" respectively means legislated.

1.2 Newcomer services as measures to remove discrimination

Non-discrimination is itself a right, CCPR article 26, and consequently requires the measures necessary to ensure it. This paper argues that settlement services are best viewed as measures required of a State to ensure non-discrimination. That is, settlement services are measures which offset the existing discrimination from disadvantage of the newcomer and allow the newcomer to enjoy rights and benefits on an equal footing with others. However, settlement services can also be viewed as a "benefit." This benefit must be provided without discrimination. That is, settlement services are themselves subject to the international doctrine of non-discrimination.

2. Enjoyment of Civil and Political Rights

The jurisprudence of the UN and other human rights treaty systems has evolved considerably since 1980. In 1986, the UN Human Rights Committee, acting under CCPR article 40, issued General Comment 15[27] which clarified that in general non-citizens were to receive CCPR rights.[2] The earlier Clark with Niessen paper shows that there has been much progress, but that even permanent resident non-citizens risk continuing problems in enjoying civil rights in several areas.[3] Serious distinctions persist between permanent resident non-citizens and categories such as migrant worker and asylum seeker. Within its admissibility decision on *Joseph v. Canada* in the 1993 Annual Report, the Inter-American Commission notes that the Canadian Constitution applies to more than permanent resident non-citizens.

CCPR rights set out in General Comment 15, apply to all newcomers.

3. Enjoyment of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

The earlier Clark with Niessen paper shows that the implementation of the CESCR and regional human rights treaties for economic, social and cultural rights is less developed than that of the civil rights treaties. They are less widely ratified; the rights are not as precisely defined; there are weaker complaints mechanisms; there is less international case law; and the relevant committees have not focused much attention on non-citizens. For example, there is no counterpart to the HRC General Comment 15. Social and economic rights, like civil and political rights, are to be granted without discrimination. The main international text is the CESCR. Some of the obstacles to enjoying social rights in full equality are the same for civil and political rights. For example, there is ambiguity in the words "legally on the territory" which limits access to some rights for non-citizens who are deemed not to be legally on the territory. A second problem is that the imprecision in some of the social and economic rights makes them difficult to enforce.[4]

On the positive side, the UN CESCR Committee has developed a "minimum core obligation" of a State Party to "ensure minimum essential levels of each of the rights." A State Party in which any significant number of individuals is deprived of essential foodstuffs, or essential primary health care, of basic shelter or housing, or of the most basic forms of education is, *prima facie*, failing to discharge its obligations under the Covenant.[5] One concludes that these economic and social rights, above others, must be accessible to everyone, including all categories of non-citizens. In CESCR General Comment 3, the Committee also established a focus on certain rights which lend themselves to legal enforcement. Such rights are best enforced in combination with other rights such as CCPR article 26.[6] From the perspective of settlement

services, the selected important rights from the CESCR become special pointers to rights where it is particularly important to ensure newcomers can benefit on an equal footing. And there are similar signals from other human rights sources.

The OAS Charter, drawing from the American Declaration of 1948, promises five social and economic rights without discrimination: leisure, social security, work under proper conditions with fair remuneration, education including equality of opportunity and free primary education, and the preservation of health. Health encompasses "sanitary and social measures relating to food, clothing, housing and medical care tot he extent permitted by public and community expenses." The more recent Pact of San Salvador, Additional Protocol to the American Convention in the area of economic, social and cultural rights incorporates an obligation for legislative measures and corresponding minimum thresholds for social security, education and health. For persons employed, social security must cover at least medical care and some form of benefit for accident or occupational disease (article 9.2), and essential health care must be made available to all individuals and families in the community (article 10.2.a). The Pact is not yet in force. However, for settlement service purposes, the Pact gives some indications as to significant social and economic rights which newcomers should be assisted to enjoy on an equal footing with others.

4. The Promise of Non-Discrimination and Economic and Social Rights

Jurisprudence on the general issue of non-discrimination under a human rights treaty has undergone major evolution during the 1980s. A doctrine and tests for non-discrimination emerged, especially in the European human rights system, but also under the CCPR and, to a lesser extent, the OAS system. In 1989, the UN Human Rights Committee issued General Comment 18 on the matter.[7] In 1990 Bayefsky com-

pleted a thorough examination of the state of equality/non-discrimination in comparative international human rights law.[8] Her study provides a useful framework for examining the extent to which international human rights treaty bodies have considered social, cultural and economic rights beyond CCPR rights and how they have permitted distinctions. CCPR article 26 is a free-standing right and General Comment 18 represents a highly significant clarification. Article 26 prohibits discrimination on any ground in the determination of any right in law—including social and economic rights. Indeed, pension rights have been litigated on equality grounds under the CCPR and the European Convention. It prohibits discriminatory effects of laws whatever their intent. It insists that similarly situated persons be treated equally. Under CCPR article 26 and under the somewhat similar European Convention on Human Rights article 14, issues of social rights such as pension entitlement,[9] social security,[10] and welfare[11] can be litigated if they are provided in law. In *Moustaquim v. Belgium* the European Court of Human Rights applied the legal test to compare a non-citizen with citizens and to compare a non-citizen with another category of non-citizens.[12] (However, this author believes the test was not applied correctly.) Thus Bayefsky's analysis reveals general criteria which test differences and these criteria extend to social rights and to comparisons among categories of non-citizens.

Combined with the two primary State obligations—measures to ensure rights and an effective remedy for a violation—these findings on non-discrimination may be summarized as follows:

1. States are to adjust laws and practices to ensure citizens and non-citizens enjoy rights or benefits without discrimination between citizen and non-citizen and among status or non-citizen
2. Legitimate differentiation between citizens and non-citizens and among categories of non-citizens

must be: in law; objective; for a legitimate purpose under the CCPR; reasonable with respect of rights and other relevant aspects of the situations being compared, given the overall treaty aim of equality, and proportionate, at least in that there is no alternative which permits greater equality.

3. There must be a simple effective court remedy against discrimination *per se* in the awarding of any right or benefit.

In terms of the general theory of non-discrimination described by Clark with Niessen, a settlement service is a required measure to allow persons at a disadvantage, that is, persons who are in fact discriminated against, to enjoy especially those social and economic rights identified as particularly important on an equal footing with others. Evidently, orientation and referral are key measures if persons are to enjoy rights such as health care, shelter and to work related rights referred to above. For refugees, the paper argues below that family rights are a matter for affirmative non-discrimination.

The discrimination test regulates permitted differences among categories of newcomers with respect to access to this or that settlement service because a settlement service relates to one or more social or economic rights or benefits.

5. Rights for Persons of Undetermined Status to the Extent Possible

Generally, enumerated rights are accessible for persons allowed to enter a State party with a formal status: permanent resident; student; migrant worker; Convention refugee; Convention stateless person. While a State is exercising its jurisdiction over a person with respect to the determination of any one right such as liberty, the obligation remains to grant other rights to the extent possible. The concept of rights to the extent possible is inherent in the text of the CCPR, it is implicit in General Comment 15 and it is specifically stated with respect to the right to liberty in General Comment 21.[13] This paper argues that in protracted proceedings to determine any one right, a non-citizen must be allowed to enjoy other rights such as liberty and the right to work, limited only by objective criteria which are generally applicable in that society. Persons who remain beyond six months should be allowed to have at least immediate family members, spouses and children, join them, as is indicated by the text adopted for the Convention on the Protection of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (Migrant Worker Convention). The Convention is not yet in force.

This analysis gives insights into the categories of newcomers who must be given settlement services if these services are to be given without discrimination. It also suggests a basis for arguing for legal recourse. ∎

Notes

1. Torkel Opsahl, "Equality in Human Rights Law with Particular Reference to Article 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," in *Progress in the Spirit of Human Rights*, edited by Manfred Nowak, Dorothea Steurer, Hannes Trotter (Kehl/Strasbourg/Arlington: N.P. Engel Verlag, 1988), 51.

2. Tom Clark and Jan Niessen, "Equality Rights and Non-Citizens in Europe and America: The Promise, the Practice and Some Remaining Issues," *NQHR* 14, no. 3 (September 1996): 245–75.

3. Human Rights Committee, General Comment 15[27], The Position of Aliens under the Covenant, UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1, 19 May 1989, at 17.

4. E. W. Vierdog, "Legal Nature of the Rights Granted by the CESCR," (1978), 9 *Neth.Y.B.Intl.L.* 69 at 92–93.

5. UN CESCR Committee, General Comment No. 3 (1990), The Nature of States Parties Obligations, UN Doc. E/1991/23 (1991), E/C.12/1990/8, Annex III, at 83, at paragraph 8.

6. Màrtin Sheinin, "Direct Applicability of Economic Social and Cultural Rights: A Critique of the Doctrine of Self-Executing Treaties," in *Social Rights as Human Rights: A European Challenge*, edited by Krzysztof Drewicki, Catarina Kraus, and Allan Rosas (Institute for Human Rights, Abo Akademi University, 1994), 73.

7. The term "discrimination" as used in the [CCPR includes] any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference which is based on any ground such as race ... birth or other status, and which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by all persons, on an equal footing, of all rights and freedoms. Not every differentiation of treatment will constitute discrimination if the criteria for such differentiation are reasonable and objective and if the aim is to achieve a purpose which is legitimate under the Covenant. The law shall guarantee ... effective protection against discrimination. Human Rights Committee, General Comment 18, Non-discrimination, UN Doc. CCPR/2/21/Rev.1/Add.1, November 1989.

8. The European Commission and Court of Human Rights have formulated criteria for distinguishing justified and unjustified distinctions. Decisions such as *Lithgow and others v. UK*, 1986 of the European Court establish that persons in analogous situations should be treated equally. However, the application of the criteria has not always been followed. The UN Human Rights Committee has applied essentially this definition of a legitimate distinction in a number of its communications. The Inter-American Court has approved this approach. Anne F. Bayefsky, "The Principle of Equality or Non-Discrimination in International Law," (1990), 11 *HRLJ* 1, at 12, 14.

9. *Dietmar Pauger v. Austria*, Communication No. 415/1990, Views 1992, UN Doc. A/47/40.

10. *S. W. N. Broeks v. Netherlands*, Communication No. 172/1984, Views 1987, *S. H. Zwaan de Vries* v. *Netherlands*, Communication No. 189/1984, Views 1987, UN Doc. A/42/40, (1987) at 151,160.

11. *Salesi v. Italy* (1993), European Court of Human Rights, ECHR Ser. A. 257E.

12. *Moustaquim v. Belgium*, European Court of Human Rights, Ser. A 193, 18 November 1991.

13. Persons deprived of their liberty enjoy all the rights set forth in the Covenant, subject to the restrictions that are unavoidable in a closed environment. Treating all persons deprived of their liberty with humanity and with respect for their dignity is a fundamental and universally applicable rule. This rule must be applied without distinction of any kind. Human Rights Committee, General Comment No 21(44), Article 10, UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.3, 1992 at paragraph 3, 4. ◻

Community Health Centres: An Innovative Approach to Newcomer Settlement Services

Janet McLellan

Abstract

While NGO settlement agencies face increasing challenges to deliver both ethnospecific and larger broad-based programs for immigrants and refugees, Community Health Centres (CHCs) in large urban areas of Ontario have developed innovative means to meet the health and settlement needs of newcomers. Positive mental and physical health through access to medical and social resources, recognition of health determinants and enhanced participation in decision making are integral elements of CHC settlement and integration programs and services, all within the context of medical care. Through extensive outreach programs to newcomer communities, CHCs enhance the effectiveness of ethnospecific groups to define culturally appropriate services. CHCs provide an example of desired social change through a mainstream institutional basis.

Précis

Dans un contexte où les ONG jouant le rôle d'agences d'intégration font face à des défis croissants dans l'exécution de leurs tâches d'organisation des programmes "ethno-spécifiques" ou "généraux" pour immigrants et réfugiés, les Centres de Santé Communautaire (Community Health Centres, abrégé ici en CSC) opérant dans les vastes agglomérations urbaines de l'Ontario ont développé des façons de faire novatrices pour rencontrer les besoins en soins de santé et en intégration générale des nouveaux arrivants. Une approche positive de la santé physique et de la santé mentale via l'accessibilité aux ressources médicales et sociales, la reconnaissance des facteurs détermi-nants en matière de santé, et une participation accrue aux différents processus décisionnels sont autant d'éléments constitutifs des programmes et des services d'intégration organisés par les CSC, dans un strict contexte de soins médicaux. Par l'action systématique de programmes de sensibilisation des communautés de nouveaux arrivants à leurs droits, les CSC augmentent nettement l'efficacité des groupes "ethno-spécifiques" dans leur action visant à définir des services culturellement adé-quats. Les CSC constituent un exemple de changements sociaux allant dans la bonne direction tout en s'articulant sur la base d'une instance institutionnelle "classique".

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For over two decades, various levels of government funding in Canada have provided an array of services, both directly and indirectly, to newcomers early upon their arrival.[1] Settlement services are available to officially landed immigrants or refugees. Asylum or refugee claimants are not eligible, except for medical coverage. Settlement services provide a social "safety net," even though their programs may be impersonally administered. In large settlement agencies, services tend to be delivered on a categorical basis depending on the qualifications of the entering newcomers, rather than upon their recent experiences. The Cohort Qualification Model, characteristic of most Western countries of resettlement, provides fixed sets of services at different periods after arrival, and is premised on the assumption that newcomers go through a process that includes language skills acquisition, redevelopment of psychological well-being and financial stabilization, all of which will decrease dependence on front-line settlement as the length of stay and adaptation increase (Lanphier, McLellan and Opoku-Dapaah 1995). The liabilities of this system, however, include problems of newcomers fitting service parameters, which may not be culturally appropriate or sensitive, especially to refugees.

In present-day Ontario, increasing restrictions of government grants, cutbacks in public sector funding and generalized recessionary cost-cutting measures are threatening the capacity of settlement agencies to deliver both ethnospecific and larger broad-based programs.[2] Continuing restrictions on settlement funding adds to an escalating competition among settlement agencies to access limited government support. Within particular ethnospecific newcomer communities, several agencies may exist to provide orientation and settlement services, each claiming authenticity and unique expertise in addressing and meeting the particular needs of their members. Very few newcomer communities are homogenous, and most have numerous smaller sub-groupings differentiated by ethnic, political, class or religious differences. In Toronto, for example, over fifty-five organizations have been created within the last few years to serve African refugees, with over twenty-two of these organizations oriented to the Somali community alone (Opoku-Dapaah 1993). Not only do personnel with the ethnic communities become thinly spread organizationally, but government and other community agencies can also become confused and cynical by what appears to be excessive overlapping of multiple ethnospecific services (Lanphier, McLellan, and Opoku-Dapaah 1995).

Despite governmental guidelines for what constitutes settlement services, there is little verification if programs are being implemented within ethnospecific agencies, their effectiveness or degree of community partici-

pation. Overall emphasis remains focused on short term needs such as orientation and immediate settlement assistance. Incipient barriers to long term social participation (such as lack of communication or employment skills, extensive family and community breakdown or post-traumatic stress disorders) are frequently not acted upon effectively, leading to extensive adaptive and integrative difficulties, a situation demonstrated by McLellan (1995) with respect to Cambodian refugees.

In contrast to the universalistic Cohort Qualification Model of most settlement agencies, several Community Health Centres (CHCs) in Ontario have developed distinctive outreach approaches to immigrant and refugee communities that acknowledge and address particularistic needs.[3] As an extension of the mainstream institutionalized health care system, CHCs provide innovative avenues through which specific ethno-religious groups access available health services in culturally appropriate ways. In the attempt to help newcomers overcome linguistic, cultural and racial barriers, thereby fostering adaptive success and integration into other mainstream services and resources, CHCs are playing an increasingly crucial, but still little publicized, role in the process of newcomer settlement.

The Community Health Centre Approach to Newcomer Settlement Services

Thousands of immigrants and refugees have settled in the neighbourhoods served by CHCs, especially in the larger urban areas such as Toronto, Ottawa, London and Sudbury. Their representative participation on the CHC boards has been essential in the planning process of programs and services to meet specific needs. The range of coordinated primary health care and related social services available at CHCs are provided in a multidisciplinary manner. Individual case management within the CHC is also integrated within a broader community based network of health and so-

cial service systems. CHCs can exist independently or be part of a larger service component which may provide health, social, housing, legal and other related services.

In addition to global program funding from the Ministry of Health, CHCs receive time-limited grants from other provincial ministries (those that deal with community and social service and skills development), Health and Welfare Canada, municipal and regional jurisdictions, the United Way, Ontario Legal Aid Society and private donations. The pluralistic approach to funding (core and annual grants) enables a flexible program implementation that allows the hiring of a variety of health and social service care professionals such as doctors, nurses, chiropodists, workers seconded from other mainstream agencies, health promoters/educators, nurse practitioners, translators, community outreach workers, social workers, nutrition counsellors and ethnospecific traditional medical healers. The multidisciplinary team ensures that clients have access to a variety of services to meet their needs, that through consultation with individuals or a group the team can develop an appropriate care plan, and that internal referrals are easily made with access to the appropriate service provider on-site or with an external agency such as the Children's Aid (Ministry of Health 1993a). A patient may see more than one provider during a single visit to a CHC, whereas in fee-for-service health care provision these multiple encounters would be billed separately (ARA 1992). Ontario Hospital Insurance Plan (OHIP) numbers are used at CHCs, but for those without (homeless people, illegals or "non-insured refugees or refugee claimants"), the Provincial Ministry of Health has given extra funding (beyond the base budget) which covers all primary care services as well as consultation with specialists, lab work, X-rays and ultra sound.

Primary care services and health promotion programs at CHCs are directed towards priority populations who may require better access to care

and/or who have a higher disease burden requiring additional resources. Barriers to accessing health care may be the result of numerous factors (such as socioeconomic status, geographic isolation or linguistic and literacy difficulties) and the illness burden may be related to age, socioeconomic status, recent history (such as refugee camp conditions) or environmental factors. Contrary to the prevailing distinctions between newcomer settlement needs (immigrants, refugees and refugee claimants) and the needs of those born in Canada or those with long term residency, the CHC philosophy is to provide community-based services to all individuals without categorical discrimination. According to Richmond (1994, 17) terms such as "immigrant," "refugee," "refugee claimant" and "visible minority" are symbolic signifiers that categorize people according to particular criteria that, in turn, convey complex sets of meaning according to the historical context and specific situations. As Wong (1989) notes, classification of people often controls and facilitates techniques of administration and encourages dividing practices closely linked to patterns of domination and the unequal distribution of resources. As institutions have a direct effect on the way in which newcomers are perceived (Reitz 1988, 118), community health centre direct their policies and programs toward inclusion (in order to avoid majority-minority competition and conflict) and addressing the root causes of ill health.

Refugees are not targeted as a priority group per se but only if they encounter circumstances such as poverty, isolation, cultural and linguistic alienation or other difficulties that impact on their physical and mental health and restrict their access and participation in the resources available to them. Special programs may be provided recognizing that refugees may be survivors of torture, that certain refugee communities have high rates of women as heads-of-families, that an entire refugee community may suffer from war trauma, that within families

several members may have been killed, that many refugees have lost numerous years of education or employment due to long term residency in refugee camps or home country destabilization and that refugee youth, men and women are extremely vulnerable in resettlement.

A "Realistic Utopian Vision" of Equality and Participation

The CHC emphasis on integration and the potential for empowerment, especially for those who have largely been excluded from decision-making processes, reflects what Giddens (1990) has identified as a form of "radicalized modernity," i.e., social movements which emphasize achieving positive change in spheres such as political representation, the status of women and minorities. From the perspective of this paper, the way in which community health centres provide services and programs to newcomers is through a "dialogical" model. The dialogical model involves the making and implementing of policy through an extended process of communication between an agency and those affected by whatever issues are under consideration (Giddens 1987, 47). The CHC system is responsive to their clients, giving them greater control over health care decisions and providing them with accessible and culturally appropriate services. Through their emphasis on health promotion they go beyond traditional health care service delivery (heavily focused on illness and treatment) and attempt to understand the causes of illness, disability and determinants of health in practical ways such as employment, housing, literacy, migration and environment (Ministry of Health 1993b). CHCs encourage individuals, families and communities to take ownership of their own health and health care through more participation in addressing their particular health determinants including inequities and access issues. The emphasis is on what Beck, Giddens and Lash (1993, 23) refer to as sub-politics, the shaping of society from below in which groups hitherto uninvolved in implementing power, find a voice and a share in social arrangements. ■

Notes

1. For an overview of Canadian settlement policies see Lanphier and Lukomskyj 1994. By the mid-1980s, over 70 percent of immigrants entering Canada were from Asia, Africa, Latin/South America and Oceanic regions, and over one third did not know English or French (Boyd, de Vries, and Simkin 1987, Services such as orientation, housing, additional translators and interpreters, expanded language education, community development, individual life skills training and general assistance are delivered primarily through broad-based NGO settlement agencies.

2. In the 1994–1995 fiscal year, federal government estimates for settlement programs for immigrants totalled $271 million, of which $106 million was to be directed towards language training, $51 million to social assistance for immigrants, $14 million to the immigrant settlement and adaptation fund, $2 million to the host program, $1 million to the International Organization for Migration and $90 million direct funding to Quebec which controls its own immigrant settlement programs (Toronto Star, February 21, 1995, A9). To offset some of these costs, the federal government (in the 1995 February budget) imposed a $975 universal levy fee on all adult immigrants and refugees (in addition to the existing processing fee of $500 each for adults and $100 for dependents). By comparison, the U.S. has a $1,644 levy fee and Australia $4,575, reflecting each country's level of language training and settlement services (Toronto Star, February 28, 1995, A9).

3. Community Health Centres (CHCs) are organizations funded by the Ontario Ministry of Health. They are sponsored and managed by incorporated non-profit community boards which must involve members of the community. All staff positions, including physicians, are salaried. Employees are responsible to the CHC's community board. The sponsoring of CHCs by community-based organizations emphasizes consumer and community empowerment through grass roots health promotions initiatives and community development strategies (Ministry of Health 1993a). As of February 1995, fifty-six Community Health Centres were located throughout Ontario, twenty-four in Toronto, six in Ottawa and twenty-six elsewhere (Ministry of Health 1993b). A complete list of all CHCs in Ontario and a list of the numerous programs they provide is available from the Association of Ontario Health Centres, 5233 Dundas Street West, Suite 102, Etobicoke, Ontario, M9B 1A6.

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Wong, D. 1989. "The Semantics of Migration." *Sojourn* 4, 2–7. □

Neo-Liberal Strategies to Cut Costs in Settlement Services: Cost Recovery and Devolution

John Morris

Abstract

The author considers the range of settlement services funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) tracing the relative costs of settlement services in both Quebec and the rest of Canada. Government cost cutting and recovery strategies applied to settlement services are reviewed against an explanation of neo-liberalist ideology as it has been interpreted by the Federal government (1993–1997). Some of the arguments put forward against cost recovery are also reviewed.

Précis

L'auteur explore l'éventail des services d'intégration mis en place par Citoyenneté et Immigration Canada (CIC) en retraçant les coûts relatifs des services d'intégration au Québec et dans le reste du Canada. On passe en revue l'application des stratégies de compressions et de recouvrement budgétaires gouvernementales au cas spécifique du secteur des services d'intégration, ce qui permet de procéder à une explication de l'interprétation de l'idéologie néo-libérale à laquelle procéda le gouvernement fédéral (1993–1997). Certains des arguments mis de l'avant en matière de recouvrements de coûts sont aussi présentés.

Neo-Liberalism

The Canadian government started to follow neo-liberal economic policies in the mid-1980s. "Neo" preceding "liberal" means a new kind of liberalism. The old kind was the liberal school of economics that became famous after the publication of English economist Adam Smith's, *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776. Liberal economics advocated the

John Morris, PhD, is Assistant Professor of Geography, Nipissing University, North Bay.

abolition of government intervention in economic matters. Free trade was seen as the best way for a nation's economy to develop; no restrictions on manufacturing, no barriers to commerce, and no tariffs. Such ideas were "liberal" in the sense of no controls. When applied to individuals it encouraged free enterprise and free competition without limits on profits or capital accumulation as would be argued for by varying stripes of socialists.

Economic liberalism prevailed in Canada and North America through the 1800s and early 1900s. With the Great Depression of the 1930s economist John Maynard Keynes was able to successfully challenge liberalism as the best policy for capitalists. He argued that full employment is necessary for capitalism to grow and it can be achieved only if governments intervene to increase employment. Through the post-World War II period North American economies grew quickly because of the age structure and export opportunities elsewhere. From the 1970s onward, however, with an older age structure and increased world competition, profits shrank inspiring the corporate elite to revive economic liberalism, making it thus new or neo-liberalism.

Four important concepts central to neo-liberalism are the following: cutting public expenditure for social services like education and health care; deregulation of government activities that might diminish profits; privatising government run businesses, for example utilities, hospitals; and eliminating the concept of "the public good" or "community" and replacing it with "individual responsibility." These are the concepts that are the basis for most governmental decision-making in Canada.

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Deficit Fighting by the Federal Government

In the mid-1990s debt in the Federal government has become a terrifically serious concern. In 1996 government debt equalled 100 percent of the country's total output; total debt is over $550 billion. The only time in Canada's history the ratio of debt to economic output was as high was in 1946 at the end of the Second World War. A concerted effort was made to reduce debt to GDP until 1974 (though the period did also see ongoing economic expansion) when debt reached a low of 20 percent of GDP (Turner 1996). From here politicians began to spend wildly, and the rate of economic growth began to decrease to the point where very serious government spending cuts—and extreme neo-liberal policies—are now seen as the only way to bring deficits and debt under control.

Canadians grudgingly support the need to reduce the deficit in a neo-liberal way. Social policies and programs built during the Keynesian era, an era that sought to rectify the injustices of capitalism, are being dismantled. Policies such as universalism—that all should receive the same fundamental services without regard to personal income—and equality in service—that all should receive the same standards of service—are being abandoned. For those who lived through the Great Depression and World War II these values were deemed a sacred trust. With an aging population, however, it appears that the experiences of hardship and values developed through hardship are waning in popular sentiment. For this older population generous social policies were sacred. Times and values, it appears, have changed. A poll conducted at year's end in 1996 reported that a majority of Canadians expect that within the next decade Canada will have a two-tiered (public and private) health care system and private universities; two institutions that previous generations successfully avoided (Wilson-Smith 1997). The neo-liberal agenda is being implemented

through the Federal budgets, the 1996 February budget is a case in point.

The Budget of 1996 as an Example of Neo-Liberal Policy Implementation

When arriving in office in late 1993 the Liberal government inherited an annual deficit of $42 billion from the Conservatives. By 1997 they expect to shrink that operating deficit to $17 billion (Wilson-Smith 1997). Much of the deficit reduction program was announced the previous year in the government's February budget of 1995. Beyond modest budget cuts that included a 9-percent reduction in government program spending by 1996–97, the Government implemented and proposed tax and revenue increases of 6.5 billion in the period from 1994 to 1998. One and a half billion of this is coming from user fees and cost recovery items such as the Right of Landing Fee (ROLF) for immigrants. The result for Canadians is that the nature of living and doing business in Canada is changing (Corcoran 1995).

Another dimension of the neo-liberal ideology is to reduce the size of government. In the February budget of 1996 the Government proposed the devolution of powers to the provinces in forestry, mining, labour market training, and recreation. Further, it promised to negotiate and dialogue in other areas such as social policy programming (e.g., child care and health care) that had previously been a non-negotiable Federal domain. One of the purposes of devolution is to save the devolving organisation money. A pattern that can be identified is that increased powers through devolution also means decreased funding. For example transfer payments to the provinces for health, social services and education have become less tied but are also scheduled to see reductions in funding by nearly one third or $6 billion by 1997–98 from about $18 billion in 1995 (*Western Report* 1995).

Devolution is seen by the Federal Government as the most hands-off kind of arrangement it can foresee in

service delivery. On a continuum of Federal government involvement devolution is found at one extreme. At the other is complete government control. In between are different configurations of partnerships and consultations (Rodal 1995, 13). To the Federal government devolution means the passing along of service delivery, program/service design, evaluation and adjustment to some other party while the government retains control of policy development, standards, monitoring and oversight (ibid.). ■

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Breaking Ground:
The 1956 Hungarian
Immigration to Canada

Edited by
Robert H. Keyserlingk

Toronto: York Lanes Press, 1993
ISBN 1-55014-232-1, 117 pages, $6.99

This book is a collection of personal and archival-based memories on the selection, transport and settlement of about 40,000 Hungarian refugees in Canada in one year. It is a source of primary record as well as scholarly reflection on one of the most significant refugee movements to Canada after World War II—the 1956 Hungarian refugee movement.

Functions and Service Delivery of Non-Government Organisations for Immigrants in Australia

Rosario Lampugnani

Abstract

This paper evaluates the functions and service delivery of NGOs for immigrants in Australia. It argues that the radical economic restructuring in Western nations has been characterised by massive processes of deinstitutionalisation and decentralisation, with an associated move towards privatisation and the targeting of disadvantaged groups. This has led to a significant reliance on the voluntary sector to assist in the provision of settlement services for immigrant groups. As result in most immigrant receiving nations the use of NGOs as an extension of the state is common.

Précis

Cet article procède à une évaluation des fonctions et des services assurées par les ONG ciblant les immigrants en Australie. Il développe une argumentation selon laquelle les restructurations économiques radicales des nations occidentales se sont caractérisées par une progression massive de la désinstitutionalisation et de la décentralisation des services, auxquels s'associent à la fois les privatisations et un ciblage plus net des groupes défavorisés. Cette conjoncture a entraîné un accroissement significatif de la tendance à miser sur le volontariat dans la mise en place de services visant à l'intégration des groupes d'immigrants. Conséquemment, dans la majorité des nations receveuses d'immigrants, le recours aux ONG comme à une véritable extension de l'état est un phénomène de plus en plus courant.

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The views expressed in this paper are those of the author, not necessarily those of his institution.

Theories of NGOs

Croft and Beresford (1992) indicate that beyond the immediate economic concerns, theories of NGOs should take into account ideas like the nature of participation and involvement of different sections of the population in relation to social policy. In a society in which immigration is a major government-sponsored policy and practice, the relationship of immigrant sections of the population (especially those of non-English-speaking background) to NGOs and to their participation and involvement in mainstream society is particularly salient.

NGOs tackle problems which may be looked at by governments or may be ignored by them. They provide welfare services to immigrant groups which are often marginal to mainstream society, disadvantaged and disenfranchised. These immigrant groups experience deprivation of resources, lack of access to the channels of communication and they have low levels of skill in negotiating with people and organisations in the dominant society such that they are unlikely to obtain entry to mainstream services.

Functions of NGOs

NGOs are a "natural," "spontaneous social phenomenon" which "act, or react, to certain types of action undertaken by institutions with the purpose of improving the overall or global quality of the functioning of these institutions" (Moles 1983, 3; Unikoski 1978; Radecki 1979; Lampugnani 1993). At the same time, these NGOs have been set up to fill a gap in service delivery.

Cox (1991) suggests that NGOs' functions are to provide immigrants with information, material assistance,

emotional support, and social and sporting activities. They may also encourage the harmonious integration of immigrants who come from different cultural backgrounds by, for example, promoting the social interaction of immigrants within their own group and with other immigrant groups, as well as with the host society. In this capacity NGOs are the bridges between the recipient society and the individual immigrant. They may model the new cultural ways to be found in the receiving society and sanction ways of behaving among immigrants which are considered by some too "different" from the norm. That is, NGOs act as a socialising agent and, as such, play a decisive role in the social integration of immigrants while assisting them in preserving their own language and culture. They moreover act as "mediators" or perform a "buffer" function in which NGOs "acting either singly or in combination, interpose themselves between the ethnic community and the institutions of the state, and act as interpreters of both to the other" (Jackson 1991, 48).

Petruchenia and Green (1986) provide a useful review of the functions of NGOs in Australia. They identify four major roles often associated with NGOs. These are:
1. *Vanguard:* the organisation's purpose to pioneer and test programs which eventually were taken over by the government.
2. *Improver or advocate:* organisations which operate as "critics" and pressure the government to extend, improve or begin needed services.
3. *Value guardian:* organisations which are established to promote citizenship, develop leadership and to protect the interests of social, religious, cultural and other minority groups.
4. *Service provider:* organisations which mainly provide services that the government is either unable or unwilling to provide (Petruchenia and Green 1986, 7).

These functions are similar to those recognised by the Wolfenden Committee (1978) in England. At the same time,

other scholars indicate that in some countries the role of NGOs is mainly one of human rights activism (Battistella 1993). The major functions of these NGOs are:
• *Empowerment of the impoverished*— that is, to help the underprivileged to understand and gain their rights in order to develop countervailing power;
• *Securing accountability* of those in power;
• *Participation* in key decisions affecting resource allocation or technology choice; and
• *Asserting values,* especially "the social values and ethical principles which should underlie the much-needed restructuring of social orders" (Dias 1993, 202).

The Committee of Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services in Australia (the ROMAMPAS Report) indicate that NGOs are central in the welfare field, where they undertake a diversity of roles (1986, 204). They are providers of human services in such fields as health, housing, education, employment and training, arts and culture, legal aid, information, advice and referral, advocacy, research and innovation and community education. NGOs carry out information dissemination about the nature of the host society, public liaison and education. This is accomplished through activities such as briefings, personal contact, consultations, conferences, seminars, and regular newsletters. This is important because issues such as culture shock, post-migration adjustment and cultural conflicts are of intense interest to service providers, to other organisations and to educational institutions (ROMAMPAS 1986, 259–60).

Similarly, the Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies (CAAIP) states that community structures and networks "have proved critical in bringing essential services and information to groups in transition towards participation in the new society, and they have often operated to nurture these groups beyond the settlement stage" (CAAIP 1988, 64). The

report further indicates that despite some criticisms about immigrant structures, "there is much evidence that they are simply essential transitional support for newcomers, providing a sense of community, security, maintained traditions and language environment" (CAAIP 1988, 64–65). Ethnic organisations have had a major impact on Australian politics, "particularly in fighting for equity and access," and have played a major role in the development of social policies (CAAIP 1988, 65).

Thus, while ethnic organisations have been important in fighting for access and equity, integral to the principles of access and equity is the development of "small ethnic self-help groups and ethnospecific large welfare organisations" (Mitchell 1992, 12). The Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs (ACMA) in Australia claims that NGOs are independent and generally community controlled. Nonetheless, "many function as an extension of government insofar as they are publicly funded to provide services to the community, either directly or in some cases indirectly as advocacy agents" (ACMA 1988, 52). Therefore, proper funding of NGOs, particularly ethnic-specific ones, is a major requisite of an Access and Equity Program. However, funding is conditional on NGOs' adherence to Access and Equity principles in terms of their management, staffing and service provision (ACMA 1988, 52).

In essence, NGOs are seen as a significant element of the social justice strategy (Doyle and Visano 1987). Yet ethnic welfare organisations, particularly those established by smaller, newly arrived migrant communities, least well-resourced but most in need of help, are those that are not being funded by government departments (ACMA 1988, 53). As Chu points out, despite all the arguments of social justice and Access and Equity, and the recognition of the major role played by NGOs, since the mid-1980s the Federal Government has adopted a laissez-faire approach in funding ethnic welfare organisations which has favoured

some, i.e., the most conservative ones, and has discriminated against others (1993, 6–17).

Further, NGOs are faced with a number of problems. In the first instance, they are confronted with strong competition among themselves as well as with some government organisations in the provision of some services, and in attracting donations and volunteers from the public (Lyons 1993, 28). At the same time, governments use grants as a mechanism with which to control the activities of NGOs. Sometimes they facilitate these activities. At other times they "shape" the aims, objectives and the work of NGOs. When this happens, many organisations have to divert and even abandon their own objectives for a specific kind of service and "operate according to guidelines of a government funding program if they are to provide a service at all" (Lyons 1993, 30). ■

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Asylum: A Moral Dilemma

By W. Gunther Plaut
Toronto: York Lanes Press
ISBN 1-55014-239-9
192 pages, indexed; $19.90.

Every year the refugee landscape changes, but only in that more problems are added, fewer are solved, and all become constantly more urgent. Fuelled by the explosion of the world's population, the quest for asylum is one of the most pressing problems of our age. Refugee-receiving nations—located frequently, but by no means exclusively, in the Western world—have to respond to masses of humanity searching for new livable homes. Human compassion for these refugees can be found everywhere, but so can xenophobia and the desire to preserve one's nation, economic well being, and cultural integrity. The clash between these impulses represents one of the great dilemmas of our time and is the subject of Plaut's study. In exploring it, he provides a far-ranging inquiry into the human condition.

The book presents political, ethnic, philosophical, religious, and sociological arguments, and deals with some of the most troublesome and heartbreaking conflicts in the news.

Contents: *The Issues*; Questions Without Answers; Definitions; Religion, Natural Law, and Hospitality; A Look at History; Some Ethical Questions; Through the Lens of Sociobiology; Community and Individual; Contended Rights: To Leave, Return, Remain; *The Practice*; Refugees in Africa; Four Asian Lands; Glimpses of Europe and Central America; The North American Experience; The Sanctuary Movement; A Final Look; Bibliography; Index.

Asylum—A Moral Dilemma is simultaneously published in the United States by Praeger Publishers, and in Canada by York Lanes Press.

The Ideological Conflict between Mainstream and Ethnospecific Agencies

Miranda Pinto and Lydia Sawicki

Abstract

This paper examines the conflict between ethnospecific immigrant serving organisations and so called "mainstream" organisations. The author argues that most of the criticisms raised against ethnospecific organisations are ideologically based and are meant to consolidate the positions of mainstream organisations. Through "neutral policies" such as fiscal restraint, ethnospecific agencies are increasingly peripherized in the service provision market. This piece concludes that attempts to resolve the conflict have only led to further and wider polarisation.

Précis

Cet article examine le conflit existant entre les organisations assurant des services ciblant des immigrants de groupes ethniques spécifiques (organisations "ethno-spécifiques") et les organisations dites "classiques". L'auteure développe une argumentation selon laquelle la majorité des critiques soulevées contre les organisations ethno-spécifiques sont orientées idéologiquement et visent exclusivement à consolider la position des organisations classiques. Par le biais de "mesures neutres", comme par exemple les restrictions fiscales, les agences ethno-spécifiques se voient de plus en plus repoussées à la périphérie du marché de la diffusion des services. L'exposé se conclut sur le constat que toutes les tentatives visant à résorber ce conflit ont mené à une polarisation encore plus profonde et plus accusée des groupes en présence.

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The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors, not necessarily those of their institutions.

Immigrant and refugee settlement agencies service the largest percentage of the countries' new arrivals in the expanding and restructuring City of Toronto. Although little data exist on the inflow of newcomers to the city, the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) in Toronto finalised 2,363 claims up until the third quarter of 1996.[1] With unquestionable personal sacrifice those involved in settlement agencies provide through the work they do a bridge between a wide array of distinct cultures, facilitating their introduction to the Toronto mosaic. For the purpose of this discussion, we describe two kinds of agencies that newcomers can access upon their arrival as polarised, that is, we see that new arrivals make a choice at this fork in the road of the settlement process between two opposing types of agencies.. Broadly speaking then, they decide between "mainstream" and "ethnospecific" immigrant integration agencies. These organisations are structurally different in scale of operation, role in organisational networking, levels of professionalism, and further, they have different funding sources and proportions, and therefore, they are ideologically-opposed.

The ideology that promotes these two very different goals, assimilation or acculturation, is key in the allocation of funding and in the promotion of certain settlement programs over others. When assimilation into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture is the goal, then mainstream agencies are favoured for their largely Eurocentric philosophy (sometimes religious) and programs—meant to help absorb the immigrant into the dominant culture. Ethnospecific agencies in their philosophy and in their program design promote acculturation, the continuation of the original cultural identity in the long run and less intrusive adaptation services in the short. From these different ideological perspectives, mainstream and ethnospecific agencies enter into conflict with regard to the allocation of funding and with regard to who best offers settlement services within the decreasing fiscal budget. While under the pressure of servicing a rapidly-changing ethnic composition, and within the framework of fiscal constraint and restructuring, these agencies offer two very different types of *modus operandi*, different funding sources and different ideological positionings. As they compete for some of the same funds, nevertheless, one benefits over the other in the exchange. This discussion leads to the exposure of the ideological conflict between both the agencies and within the machinery of fiscal distribution.

Until the 1970s, most immigrants came from Europe. During the 1980s, in contrast, 63.5 percent of immigrants were so called "visible minorities" and came from a Third World country (Samuel 1990). The 1990s have continued to see large numbers of African and Asians entering Canada with ethnospecific needs and two kinds of settlement agencies have risen to meet the changing needs of the arriving communities in Canada: mainstream and ethnospecific. An ever-evolving array of communities test the refugee and immigrant settlement infrastructure with very specific needs and goals that range from language, employment, housing, health and those that rise from Canadian racial discrimination.

Immigrants and refugees require culturally-sensitive, integrated programs in order to achieve their goals quickly and effectively in the underfunded settlement process and come through with some sense of identity at the end of the day. Funding restraints ensure that shorter and shorter adap-

tation periods occur as immigrants and refugees are expected to be almost instantly self-sufficient, both socially and economically, and well-integrated into Canadian society. In order best to address evolving immigrant and refugee needs, settlement agencies have varying approaches in their program design that accommodate cultural differences and the desperate need for an integrated array of services.

In order to address the conflict arising from the ideological differences between mainstream and ethnospecific agencies in Toronto, this paper begins by discussing the structural differences between the two categories of agencies in terms of size, programmatic and operational characteristics. Next, a comparison of funding sources and proportions is made in order to see where opportunities for loyalties and oppositions can be found in collaborative efforts. This exercise leads us to conclude how ideological differences are at the root of the conflict between these two types of agencies and how the ideological conflict underpins a larger debate about the duplication of services, collaboration between agencies and the long-term goals of assimilation or acculturation.

The structural differences between mainstream and ethnospecific agencies in terms of size, programmatic and operational characteristics are key to our discussion because these specifics establish power differentials in the service provision arena. Mainstream agencies have the advantage of having been longer in the arena and have built up larger agencies that are able to fund a wider array of integrated programs, with superior levels of professionalism. Ethnospecific agencies rise to meet particular settlement needs as they come up and in order to offer culturally-appropriate services, less developed levels of professionalism are prevalent. It is because these agencies possess different strengths that collaboration is a solution to some aspects of the conflict. While new Canadians can potentially access culturally-sensitive counselling and culturally-appropriate programs from ethnospecific

agencies, they can also access integrated language, job skills programs and highly-trained professionals. But as funding competition mounts as the result of shrinking budgets and ideologically-backed restructuring, tension around collaborative efforts is becoming the subject of much discussion.

A comparison of funding sources and allocations between the two categories of agencies shows where loyalties and confrontations are founded in the conflict mounting in the service provision arena. Mainstream agencies are more successful in securing larger federal and provincial funding because they have more experience and leverage in offering competitively-integrated programs, often through collaboration with the ethnospecific agencies themselves. These collaborative efforts are marked by tension as a result of the agencies' need to firstly, protect the leverage achieved to date, and secondly, meet the conflicting demands for collaboration and non-duplication of services. The restructuring of the service provision arena requires all agencies to create innovative solutions that require less and less of the shrinking budget as they address growing and changing immigrant and refugee needs. Mainstream agencies not only service large numbers of new Canadians but they also often attend to the needs of the growing numbers of the country's poor, while scrambling to meet the requirements of government and private funders.

Ethnospecific agencies, on the other hand, feel the impact of funding adjustments and shrinking even more acutely from a disadvantaged position with less structural flexibility and capacity, less experience in the competition and relatively higher costs due to these same characteristics. Further, ethnospecific agencies must also find the larger percentage of their funding from private sources within communities that are themselves usually suffering more severely in the midst of fiscal restraint. At the end of the day, collaborative efforts are more necessary because of government funding de-

mands that these efforts be made, and because the agencies' differing characteristics necessitate collaboration in order to provide the services that new Canadians require upon arrival. The needs must be met and in Canada, NGOs are the only providers of services to newcomers during what is a long integration period.

This analysis leads us to conclude that ideological differences are at the root of the conflict between these two types of agencies because the agencies must structurally, programmatically, and ideologically define their long-term goals of assimilation or acculturation. Funding sources back or challenge the agencies' long-term goals and so far, the restructuring balance sheet has the final word in the conflict. More discussion in the service provision arena must occur in order to address more purposefully the growing levels of tension between the agencies, cries of overlapped service spending and evolving demands for collaboration. We hope that this paper, if nothing else, opens the discussion about the conflict between mainstream and ethnospecific agencies to those involved in those agencies themselves, academics who focus on immigrant and refugee settlement, and government funding agencies. ∎

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Toward a Community-Based Approach to Healing: A Case Study of the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture

Mulugeta Abai and Lydia Sawicki

Abstract

This paper provides insights about the operations of the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture (CCVT). It argues that unlike clinical approaches to health care, the Centre's strategy is unique in that it is oriented toward "breaking the circles of silence and building circles of solidarity." The CCVT provides direct services to clients as well as providing linkages to other services, including networking with lawyers and officials involved in the refugee determination process. The paper draws attention to the needs of victims of torture and spe-cific groups such as women, and the many reasons why there is often a time delay before they seek services.

Précis

Cet article fournit des informations à propos des opérations du Centre Cana-dien pour les Victimes de Torture (Canadian Centre for Victims of Tor-ture—CCVT). Il développe une argu-mentation selon laquelle la stratégie du Centre est à la fois unique et totalement distincte de l'approche clinique des soins de santé, puisqu'elle se fonde sur une orientation visant à "briser les cer-cles du silence et construire les cercles de la solidarité". Le CCVT fournit des services directs à sa clientèle mais aussi établit la liaison entre sa clientèle et d'autres services, ce qui inclut notam-ment les prises de contacts avec les ju-ristes et les officiels impliqués dans le processus d'obtention du statut de réfu-

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The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors, not necessarily those of their institutions.

gié. L'article attire l'attention sur les besoins des victimes de tortures, et, parmi celles-ci, de certains groupes spé-cifiques comme les femmes, en attirant notamment l'attention sur les raisons qui expliquent le laps de temps que ces victimes doivent parfois laisser se dé-rouler avant de se décider à réclamer du support.

The discourse around fiscal restraint and restructuring efforts conceptual-ises refugees and immigrants only as a costly burden to the public purse. Lit-tle discussion prevails regarding what the influx of newcomers has histori-cally contributed and continues to con-tribute in the shape of our evolving ethnic composition. Certainly, this country's potential for a just, harmoni-ous and prosperous twenty-first cen-tury is embedded beyond this question. Through its service delivery approach and grassroots political ac-tivity, the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture (CCVT) challenges a conceptualisation of a racist, anti-im-migrant sentiment. It does so by a com-munity-based approach to healing that effectively breaks the silence and stigmatisation related to immigrants in general, through its focus on the healthier integration into Canadian society of victims of trauma and torture.

The CCVT provides long-term di-rect services to clients living in the City of Toronto and beyond. By contribut-ing an integrated network of programs and services that are culture- and situ-ation-sensitive, involving the family and the community in the process, the CCVT has assisted more than 8,000 survivors of torture and war from 99 different countries since it began in 1983. Community involvement in the CCVT is characterised by volunteers,

staff members, a wide array of professionals who provide expertise and services, the clientele itself integrating and supporting the programs and supporting each other, and the Canadian public that helps finance and participates in the workshops and information sessions. Many of these participants are torture or trauma survivors themselves and are able to provide a sensitive and effective approach to service design and practice. The vulnerable and isolated conditions of victims of torture or trauma necessitate a highly sensitised, community-based approach to healing, as the CCVT has managed to finance up until now. While the atmosphere maybe politically charged, CCVT still must focus unreservedly on the needs of clients and their problems. Faced with fiscal restraint and restructuring and its appropriate discourse, CCVT struggles to facilitate successful community integration and enrichment through service delivery and educational programs and policies.

This chapter provides a closer look at the programs and operations of the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture (CCVT). It argues that unlike clinical single-faceted approaches to health care, the Centre's strategy is unique in that it is oriented toward breaking the circles of silence and building circles of solidarity within the family and the community. These circles not only serve to assist with the needs of new Canadians living out prolonged post-traumatic phases but they also serve to inform more and more sectors of Canadian society about torture as a prevalent and persistent scourge.

The first task this paper undertakes is to outline some specific needs of victims of torture and trauma and the even more specific needs of women, children and the elderly. It will note how the CCVT's service delivery mandate and program design have ensured the utmost sensitivity and best possible effectiveness with regard to those needs. That is to say, by discussing the CCVT's programmatic and service delivery approach, this paper will show how the integration of the

community best addresses the needs of large but silenced populations of new Canadians and ensures a harmonious and prosperous integration.

While the lingering effects of traumatic experiences, often called Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, demand a very specific array of services within the refugee community, women, children and the elderly are often even more isolated and in need of culturally and situationally sensitive services. All tortured and traumatised refugees and immigrants not only require a unique array of services to ensure successful integration, but how those services are delivered is also extremely important. For example, due to life threatening and degrading previous experiences, trust is a key issue for many of the CCVT's clients and is an obstacle to unconstrained service delivery and of the smooth integration of this population. Both the Canadian Medical Group of Amnesty International and the CCVT "agree that the goal of torture is to destroy personality, not to extract confessions" (Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues 1988, 85). Therefore, special efforts must be made to assist in the healing of that personality damage and in addressing its accompanying distrust.

The CCVT reports that tortured and traumatised newcomers suffer not only the physical after-effects of torture but they also suffer

> [p]sychological symptoms [that] frequently include anxiety, depression, irritability, paranoia, guilt, suspiciousness, sexual dysfunction, loss of concentration, confusion, insomnia, nightmares, concentration difficulties, impaired memory and memory loss. (CCVT Introductory Literature)

Service delivery, in light of these conditions, must be delivered with extra sensitivity on the part of the health-care professional and sensitive counselling is often needed in order to rebuild the patient's identity, personality, self-esteem, confidence and their capacities for social interaction. The CCVT's community-based approach to healing ensures that barriers are broken down that isolate the tortured or

traumatised client, using a network of community members that befriend, counsel, heal, listen to, advise, refer. Further, the CCVT goes further to advocacy and education by both informing the client and the community at large about torture in the world and its after-effects in victims and by participating in policy discussions with other advocacy groups and the Federal and Provincial governments.

Other concerns must address women, children and the elderly who require even more specific approaches to healing and integration. Although women and girls make up a large portion of the refugee population in Canada, few of those that have been tortured or traumatised come forward for help. This is often because the torture inflicted on women and girls renders them even more seriously stigmatised as it not only involves rape but the torture of women and girls jeopardises the culturally-specific role of men protecting women family members. The CCVT makes efforts to reach women and girls who are experiencing physical and psychological pain and are isolated within their communities and their families due to these experiences. The Centre's community network takes special time and care in the program design and delivery to breakdown those barriers and encouraging better understanding and relationships within the community.

The restructuring and spending restraints within the refugee service sector threaten these programs, the victims of torture and trauma, and the communities that are unable to offer the adjustment assistance that is so evidently needed. All levels of government are responsible for ensuring that this internationally renowned, innovative and cost effective centre count with adequate resources. The CCVT has become a flagship for Canada and is the only centre that offers comprehensive and appropriate services and programs for victims of torture and trauma. ∎

A Snapshot of Newcomers: Final Report

Joseph H. Michalski, PhD, Usha George, PhD, School of Social Work, University of Toronto

Reviewed by Madeleine Wong

This report, funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, provided a descriptive summary of the challenges and problems encountered by newcomers who had been in Canada for five years or less, and were permanent residents or Canadian citizens. The objectives of the study were:

1) to seek information about how newcomers find out about settlement services;
2) to determine what settlement services are accessed;
3) to find out what sources of information other than formal settlement services newcomers access; and
4) to learn what newcomers think in retrospect would have facilitated their settlement in Canada.

A total of 248 newcomers were interviewed, of whom the majority (62%) were from Metropolitan Toronto. The remaining newcomers were interviewed in Ottawa, Windsor and Thunder Bay. Of those interviewed, 53.2 percent were males and 46.8 percent were females. The results of the survey and interviews show that a preponderance of newcomers demonstrated a heavy reliance on support networks of families and friends for access to social amenities—health, school, housing, as well as employment opportunities. Community and government agencies were relied on for access to language training, social assistance, legal aid, community services, and employment initiatives.

Most of the newcomers interviewed had completed the equivalent of high

school and had a working knowledge of English. There are some geographical variations with respect to the problems encountered by newcomers in Canada, but these were not significant. In Toronto, the major obstacle newcomers faced was securing housing, followed by the lack of Canadian experience as a requisite for securing employment, poor job market, language barriers, and discrimination and prejudice. In Ottawa, the number one problem newcomers faced were language barriers, followed by problems in securing housing and employment in a poor job market. In Windsor, housing problems, discrimination and prejudice were the major obstacles while, in Thunder Bay, employment problems, discrimination and prejudice were the major obstacles encountered by newcomers. In general, the biggest challenge facing newcomers, upon arrival in Canada, was securing employment. The most common helpful hint for adjustment to Canada suggested by the newcomers was learning English or French, followed by advice on job seeking, job opportunities and availability.

This report, as the title aptly points out, gives only a snapshot of the experiences of newcomers in Canada and, as such, some significant aspects of newcomer integration are overlooked. Even though the study indicated that the participants interviewed came from different source countries, the results of the interviews homogenized these newcomers and their experiences of integration. However, characteristics such as age, class, culture, and migration experiences, among other characteristics, can differ among

newcomers. Furthermore, although the authors maintain that it was not the intention of the study to capture the full range of behaviour, attitudes and emotions that might be indicative of different facets of integration, it should be noted that newcomers adapt to the host society in ways that reflect cultural values and norms, time of immigration, social and demographic characteristics, housing and labour market conditions, and the perceptions of the dominant society. In failing to elaborate on these characteristics and issues, this study lacks analytical significance.

A further limitation of this study is that the variables and results in the survey are not broken down by gender, thereby obscuring the different integration experiences of men and women newcomers. Finally, the fact that most of the participants in this study were recruited at Citizenship and Immigration Canada offices, where many were applying for Canadian citizenship, privileged a certain cohort (those who would be accessing Citizenship and Immigration) over other newcomers, for example, refugee claimants many of whose claims are still being processed. In addition, the fact that the interviews were conducted in English privileged a specific class of newcomers—the highly educated. Because of these limitations, I doubt whether the participants in the study constituted a representative sample of newcomers to Canada. I also have reservations about the claim that the information collected can possibly be an adequate representation of the experiences of newcomers. ■

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Books

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CALL FOR PAPERS

CONFLICT, POPULATION DISPLACEMENT, AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The Centre for Refugee Studies will soon publish a special issue of *Refuge* on "Conflict, Population Displacement, and Conflict Resolution." The issue will address topics such as:

* Principles of conflict and conflict resolution emerging from displacements
* The role of national, regional and international organizations in conflict resolution
* Current conflicts, population displacements and conflict resolutions

Contributions with abstracts are invited. They must be received not later than June 22, 1997.

Papers should be typed, double-spaced, and referenced in proper academic form. They should not exceed 16 pages or about 4000 words. Short papers of about 900 words are also welcomed. Word-processed submissions may be sent on disc or by email.

Les rédacteurs acceptent aussi des articles en français. Le style doit conformer aux normes exigés pour les articles rédigés en anglais.

Deadline: June 22, 1997.

For further detail, please contact:

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