

Accessing ESL: An Exploration into the Effects of  
Institutionalized Racism and Sexism in Shaping the Lives of  
Latin American Immigrant and Refugee Women  
in Metropolitan Toronto

A Discussion Document

prepared by

Kathleen Rockhill  
Patricia Tomic

Department of Adult Education  
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Revised Version  
March, 1992

For the Ontario Ministry of Education



Accessing ESL: An Exploration into the Effects of  
Institutionalized Racism and Sexism in Shaping the Lives of  
Latin American Immigrant and Refugee Women  
in Metropolitan Toronto

A Discussion Document

prepared by

Kathleen Rockhill  
Patricia Tomic



...In appreciation for the work of all those who gave so generously of their time and hearts in providing us with the insights upon which this document is based. In the end, though, we take full responsibility for the analysis and interpretation that follow.

Kathleen Rockhill  
Patricia Tomic



## FOREWORD

Since writing this Report, we have received word that the "Immigration Policy and Program Development" Branch of Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC) has developed a *New Immigrant Language Training Policy* (October 1991) entitled "Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada" (LINC).

Our perusal of this document raises considerable alarm for the following reasons:

1. While funds for *Language Training* are being increased, all training subsidies are being cut. The argument is that financial support can come from other income assistance programmes (e.g. Refugee Adjustment Assistance, Unemployment Insurance, Social Assistance Recipients). These sources will discriminate against a woman, especially when her spousal status affects her eligibility and her working income is essential to the family.
2. Funds, clearly earmarked for *Language Training* up to 600 hours (15 weeks) isolate language from related educational needs and will meet only basic/minimal proficiency levels.
3. Greater efficiency in provision through the development of "standardized measures of language competency" is highly problematic. (See our Report, pp. 49-50).
4. Involvement of "groups representing the interests of immigrant learners" in defining implementation strategies is mentioned but not emphasized as a priority in programme planning and implementation. This is particularly troubling as at the time of this writing (March 1992) word has reached us that important programmes are being cut. For example, it looks like *NEW* (New Experiences for Refugee Women) may be forced to close its doors.

Kathleen Rockhill  
Patricia Tomic



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract		iv
Recommendations		v
Introduction		1
Part I:	Immigration Patterns from Latin America	5
	A. Changes in Immigration Policy	9
	B. Changes in Composition as More "Refugees" Enter from Central America	10
	C. Effects Upon the "Latin American Community" in Metro	12
	D. Gender and its Consequences for Women	15
	E. Language as a Screen for Racism and Classism	17
	F. The Community Centre as a Vital Link	22
	Notes to Part I	26
Part II:	The Contradictory Relationship Between Education and Power Faced by Latin American Women Living in Metro Toronto	31
	A. Scenarios Faced by Latin American Women in Toronto	34
	B. Issues in ESL Provision	43
	C. Recommendations	51
	Notes to Part II	53
Appendix I:	Tables	55
Appendix II:	Figures	66
Appendix III:	Organizations	69
	Sample of Community Based Organizations Serving the Latin American Community	
	Latin American Women's Organizations in Toronto	
Addendum		71
Bibliography		73



## ABSTRACT

The social construction of "Immigrant" or "Refugee" woman conceals the diversity and richness of the background of the women who come to metropolitan Toronto from Latin America. In this report, we look at changes in the incoming population and consider how the lives of the women are shaped by racist and sexist discursive practices in the areas of immigration, education and employment, and consider how these impact upon patriarchal relations in the home. We look at how gender, race and class are intertwined in the production of oppression and how women are caught up in these dynamics. We also look at the limits of ESL provision which tend to mirror stratification according to sex, race and class. Among these, we note problems of economic scarcity, accountability, minimalism and responsibility as key concerns for the (non) system of ESL provision. We also note important developments in the direction of more comprehensive programming undertaken by community-based centres as well as more specialized approaches in the workplace, both in collaboration with educational institutions.

In order to attend to the changing complexities in the composition of the Latin American "community", particularly to the situations faced by women who must contend with the dynamics of racism and sexism, we argue for situated approaches to ESL provision which integrate language skill training into a broader educational approach that attends to the dramatic changes brought about by immigration and settlement in Canada, as they are differently experienced according to social location (i.e. gender, class, ethnicity, race, age, educational background...).



## RECOMMENDATIONS

- That access to ESL, from beginning to advanced levels, be considered a right for adults whose mother tongue is not English.
- Situated ESL programmes be instituted that are operated by Latin American women for Latin American women, that can also take into account differences in nationality, educational background, class location, etc. within the population.
- Violence against women not be decontextualized from differences in race and class; its implications for ESL provision and educational programming need to be recognized with adequate backup support, including specialized programmes for men, access to Spanish speaking counsellors, specialized teacher training, etc.
- Situated ESL be taught bilingually, in conjunction with various communities, as part of a broader educational approach that includes upgrading, training, career counselling, life skills, further education and employment, as well as providing tools for analyzing and acting upon practices of racism and sexism.
- More ESL be offered by bilingual instructors, with programme offerings ranging from mother tongue literacy to basic and more advanced levels of ESL, organized through "same language" classes to allow for the possibility of more complex conversations that can address learner concerns.
- Community centres and other community-based programmes receive direct funding for a broader approach to ESL, including some "women only" classes, as well as the integration of ESL into a more comprehensive educational framework that moves from beginning to more advanced levels. These centres need to be integrated into policy decision-making and processes of resource allocation.
- Greater articulation among providers of ESL, with one ministry at the Provincial level, possibly the Ministry of Education, charged with primary responsibility for developing a coordinated inter-ministerial policy for delivery.
- The stratification of ESL provision along lines of gender, race and class be systematically studied and addressed.
- More money be allocated for women to have fuller access to subsidized ESL and training programmes that can provide employment beyond entry level.
- Specialized programmes (antiracist and antisexist) that combine ESL with credential transfer for those who arrive with degrees and credentials not recognized in Canada by employers and/or educational institutions, while simultaneously, the criteria used by these institutions to ascertain comparability are carefully scrutinized for built-in sexist and racist biases.



- Specialized training programmes for bilingual teachers of ESL that draw upon existing expertise at the community level to train teachers to attend to the complex situations faced by immigrant and refugee women.
- Further research, including: 1) longitudinal studies of refugee and immigrant women's experiences with learning English, its effects upon work, education and other aspects of their lives; 2) studies of provision to look at differences among providers, who is served what, how choices are made in the competition for scarce funds, who gets left out and what happens to them, classroom dynamics, especially how questions of sexism, racism and classism enter into those dynamics....

### INTRODUCTION

We are writing at a time when significant anti-immigration sentiment is being exhibited at all levels of Canadian society. Fairly open expressions of racism are supported by more subtle ones, such as the warnings given about the "risks" of immigration put forth by well established "research" institutions. The open expression of an anti-immigration attitude can be found in the demands of the Reform Party of Canada whose leader, Preston Manning, in a recent address to a crowd of 6,000 people in Toronto, argues for a "whiter" immigration policy, by making it more "selective" and by calling for cut backs in resources spent on immigration, immigrants and multiculturalism. Similar ideas are to be found in the more academic production of government financed think tanks such as the Economic Council of Canada. This institute, in a recent publication, New Faces in the Crowd. Economic and Social Impacts of Immigration, subtly attacks "non-white" immigration by emphasizing the "dangers" of "ethnic" strife, blaming "ethnic" immigration for racist episodes. This publication, widely and approvingly quoted by the press, recommends the cautious expansion of immigration, together with a curtailment of services to recent immigrants, so as not to offend the prejudices and intolerance of many Canadians.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps more important than the open racism of "anti 'non-white' immigration" of the Reform Party and of the subtle opposition to "non-white" immigration from the Economic Council of Canada, is the report released in June, 1991 by the Spicer Commission. The prevailing racism of large segments of Canadian society clearly comes forth in "The Citizen's Forum on Canada's Future." The Commission, a group set by the Conservative government to sense the mood of Canadians about items dealing with the future of Canada, heard the opinions of more than 300,000 people throughout the country. After listening to the opinions of many groups and individuals, the Spicer Commission issued a Report with "directions" to the governments, which like New Faces in the Crowd, attacks programmes for immigrants by recommending cuts in multiculturalism, including a reduction in heritage programmes for immigrant children.<sup>2</sup>

The common discourse that emerges from these examples suggests a move back to the ideologies of the openly racist periods of Canadian immigration policies and practices prior to the 1960s. Then, based upon the argument, "inability to assimilate," "non-white" immigrants-to-be were not welcome in Canada and the few who arrived were more or less openly streamed into the lowest ranks of society.<sup>3</sup> Today's discourse, more coherently expressed in New Faces in the Crowd, is similar:

Many Canadians see their country as a nation of immigrants, extending a welcoming hand to other newcomers...But at the same time, others fear that immigrants from new sources—in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa—will change the country fundamentally, and could even lead to social and ethnic strife...Some Canadians worry particularly about the possible erosion of cherished traditions...<sup>4</sup>

The racialization contained in this excerpt is blatant.<sup>5</sup> Clearly, historically entrenched racism is still very much alive: not everyone welcomes "diversity." The racialized anti-immigrant sentiment increases as more immigrants come from the "Third World," what has



been called 'non traditional sources.' In the historical racialized discourse of immigration, skin colour, shape of eyes, and source of immigration are equated with traditions. Through an articulate discourse that is, nonetheless racist, "white" Canada is construed as being cooperative, gender equal and peaceful, while "non-white" immigrants to be are coded as incapable of sharing these mythical values.<sup>6</sup>

In this context of escalating racism, state policies and practices affecting the immigrant and refugee communities are negatively influenced. The current blatantly anti-immigrant ideology translates in an attack against multiculturalism, a state policy that, with all its ambivalences, still embodied a political decision to attenuate open racism, both in policy and everyday life.<sup>7</sup> The (re)emergence of a (reconstituted) racist discourse and of a political validation of the premises of this discourse has and will have a direct impact on the daily experiences of immigrants and refugee claimants, among them those coming from Latin America.

Our study will address some of the problems that have begun to emerge as a consequence of the more or less open reconstitution of a racist discourse with respect to immigration and immigrants. Perhaps it is fair to say that it will address old problems tinted, reshaped and compounded by the present conjuncture. In particular, we will look at how English (and lack of English skills) is given a pivotal role in determining the social location of Spanish speaking immigrant women in Metropolitan Toronto. English (and lack of English skills) and "accent" are signified in such a way that the manner in which Spanish speaking women communicate, both orally and in written form, functions as a means of domination, streaming Spanish speaking Latin American women into low paying and low status positions regardless of their levels of education, skills and experience. Specifically we look at how women, through official policies and practices as well as the structures of their lives, are deprived of the opportunity to acquire fluency in English. We explore the dynamics of racism and sexism as institutionalized practices which shape the private and public experiences of Latin American women, and we outline policy recommendations aimed at easing sexist and racist practices, through the provision of a "situated" approach to ESL provision.

#### A FEW WORDS ABOUT DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A first step of the research centered around the identification and analysis of governmental policies and practices affecting Latin American women in Toronto and non-governmental community services available to them. This was accomplished through the collection and analysis of policy documents, statistics, legislation, and programme developments affecting the Latin American community, with particular emphasis upon immigration, refugee practices, language training, employment and services for women.

A second step centered around mapping the services geared to Latin American Immigrant and refugee women. This involved contacting and conducting interviews with community workers, both coordinators and/or community service personnel working in the areas of English as a Second Language (ESL) provision, women's programmes, and counselling. Because some services are geared to "immigrant women", others to Latin American and/or Spanish speaking communities, and most to a generalized conception of immigrant or refugee, clear boundaries are not readily identifiable. We decided to

concentrate upon those Metro Toronto programmes where the majority of the participants are Latin American Immigrant or Refugee Women. In the case of community centres that serve men as well as women, or programmes established for "immigrants", etc., we would speak whenever possible to the person most directly involved in working with Latin American women. We did not attempt to conduct an all-inclusive systematic survey, but to get a general sense, from the perspective of those interviewed, of who is doing what, the problems faced, perceptions of "need" etc. We relied upon "word of mouth" to contact potential interviewees, working from one contact to another. Most of the interviews were conducted in Spanish, the mother tongue of the workers, by Patricia Tomic, whose first language is also Spanish. In all, twelve of these interviews were tape recorded, transcribed and translated into English.

With one exception, all the interviews were conducted at the work site, with visits lasting for approximately two and a half hours each. Observations about the environmental setting in which community educational work takes place were recorded after each interview, providing some ethnographic detail of working conditions.

We also conducted many more informal interviews (some face to face, some by phone) with community members and educators working in the areas of ESL and literacy. Their insights have been crucial to our understanding of the problems in the provision of ESL.

Because of severe time constraints, it was possible to interview only two women from the "community" upon which we are focusing, one a recent refugee and the second, an immigrant woman who has lived in Canada for a number of years. The interview consisted of open-ended questions to encourage respondents to talk freely about their experiences. These interviews were also conducted in Spanish.

Because we were unable to document the experiences of recently arrived Latin American immigrant and refugee women with learning English, we focused upon the experiences of these women primarily as interpreted by community service personnel (twelve in all, four men and eight women) who work closely with the community. Boundaries are not clear however, for the majority of the community workers interviewed are Latin Americans who came to Canada as immigrants or refugees. In this sense, they are members of the "the community" (as is one of the two researchers), so that, to a certain extent, we are incorporating first hand experience of immigrants, both as members of the community and as community workers. This ambiguity in itself demonstrates the enormous problem of clearly demarcating "the community". Thus, the "first hand experience" that we draw upon is very much limited to the experiences of more middle class, educated immigrant women. As it transpires in the interviews, many of the people in this group had the privilege of an advanced education in their countries of origin, including some command of English upon arrival, and/or access to language and other forms of formal training in Canada. Most probably it is exactly this, their (our) comparative class advantage which has allowed them (us) today to be working in non-governmental organizations, advocating/and or providing services for immigrants. In that sense, a class bias may predominate in this account.

Another limitation of the study relates to the fact that because of time constraints it does not incorporate the experiences of a number of Latin American women's organizations operating in Toronto. According to our information there are at least five Latin American



women's organizations active in Toronto with different origins and representing a variety of interests (See Appendix III). Given their active involvement in issues affecting the Latin American community, their contribution to the analysis of the situation of immigrant women in Toronto would have added a completely different and enriching dimension to the analysis.

## PART I: IMMIGRATION PATTERNS FROM LATIN AMERICA

From the outset it is necessary to point out that the concept of "Latin American women" is a problematic one; it generalizes what has become part of a common sense view of the region of America south of the Rio Bravo (the border between Mexico and the United States). It is a concept which accepts a discursive practice that more or less emphasizes the sameness of people who live in a wide area and ignores obvious differences in history, class structure, "race" and "ethnic" domination and certainly nationality. The term "Latin American" in fact is to a certain extent an equivalent to the American *latinos/as*; in Canada, it is loosely defined to refer to people who come from south of the Rio Bravo and who speak Spanish and Portuguese. As we develop a profile of "Latin American women" in Toronto, we risk losing sight of a more qualified profile which would emphasize the differences and nuances in the community. While we struggle against this, there are commonalities brought about by the experiences of immigration, including ideological practices of "othering" by dominant Canadian institutions, that cannot be ignored. So it has come to be that "Latin American" is an abstraction established through discursive practices by both "Latin Americans" in Canada and by the rest of the Canadian population.

We have attempted to adapt discourse to geography and defined the Latin Americans as the people originating from the geographical region south of the Rio Bravo where Spanish or Portuguese is the official language (even when not spoken by all the population), the group of 16 officially Spanish speaking and one officially Portuguese speaking countries in North, Central and South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela). We also include three areas in the Caribbean: Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, also accepted in discourse as being part of Latin America.

Latin Americans are relatively few in Canada. In part, this is due to their recent arrival to the country. In actuality, it is only in the early 1960s that there are significant numbers of Latin Americans recorded in the statistics. The immigration pattern from Latin America to Canada has been influenced primarily by two factors, the changes in Canadian Immigration policy and practice, and the socio-political situation in the different countries that form the Latin American region. Together these two main considerations have determined a number of distinct 'waves' of immigration from Latin America to Canada. As Cumsille et al remark, "[i]mmigration does not occur in a steady flow but in waves. These waves are caused by the [Canadian] specific labour needs of each historical period, and the political and economic situations in our home countries that have forced us to emigrate."<sup>8</sup>

A primary determinant is the historical development of Canada. The political economy of Canada has been marked by a constant flow of immigration to provide a work force to satisfy the needs of capitalist development. However, it was not until the 1960s that Latin Americans joined in the Canadian labour force in any significant numbers. It was not until this period that Canadian immigration policies and practices were devoid enough of racist principles to allow "non-white" immigrants from the area to enter Canada as workers. Until this decade immigration law and practice almost completely barred entry from the Latin American region.



We will recapitulate briefly immigration history. As Satzewich has pointed out, "[i]t is no secret that until 1962 the process of immigration control in Canada was explicitly racist." Thus, during the decade 1946-1962, only 21,836 immigrants from Latin America arrived in Canada. In this same period 2,141,505 immigrants arrived in Canada. The Latin American contingent only accounted for a 0.1% of the total immigration flow.<sup>9</sup>

It must be further pointed out that even this small immigration was classist and racialized. Canada only accepted immigrants from the most industrialized countries in the region, i.e. Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and Mexico.<sup>10</sup> In these countries the upper and middle classes are largely part of "white" Latin America, which consists of European immigrants or their descendants. The Latin American Immigrants that Canada accepted were male professionals and their families.<sup>11</sup>

To elaborate, people of middle and upper class backgrounds, who are usually of lighter skin colour, had the best chances of being accepted in Canada. For example, in the period 1951-1957, 1,232 persons entered Canada who claimed Argentina as their country of last permanent residence; 874 arrived from Brazil and 648 from Mexico.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, among the first wave of immigrants from the region a large number were not "exactly" Latin Americans. Many of the professional and skilled workers arriving from the region in this period were "Europeans." According to Mata "they had ethno-linguistic links to the European pre and post-war movements to Canada. They were "originally" Germans, Italians, Portuguese, Dutch, Polish, English, Jews, and Centro-Europeans. And, in many cases, Latin America had been only a temporary residence for them on their way to Canada and the United States.<sup>13</sup>

In 1962 the selection criteria based on "race" were removed from immigration policy. To use Samuda's sentence, an "ethnic-blind selection system" was beginning to take shape. Although it was and it is not as ethnic blind as it has been purported, changes allowed the door to open for some people from "Third World" countries who felt forced to immigrate. Among other peoples of the "Third World," a moderate increase in the absolute numbers and in the percentage of immigrants from Latin America occurred during the period 1962 to 1967. In this period, 12,842 people arrived in Canada who originated from Latin America, about 1.7% of the total immigration. Perhaps the main change was not in numbers but that the number of sending countries from the region diversified to include the same 20 countries that send immigrants to Canada today.<sup>14</sup>

New immigration regulations were introduced in 1967, creating a type of meritocratic system of selection of immigrants. "The criteria...were set out for the first time, in the form of nine factors against which applicants were to be judged on their short-term and long-term prospects for successful establishment in Canada."<sup>15</sup> Education, skills, the ability to speak English and/or French, the individual's "so-called personal characteristics", occupational demand, age, arranged employment, presence of relatives in Canada were included in this "ethnic-blind" meritocratic selection criteria. While the point system eliminated blatantly explicit racism allowing an increasing number of "non-white" immigrants entry into Canada, more subtle systemic forms of racism embedded in the point system continued biases that kept a cap on numbers.

In the years to follow the legislation of 1967, a significant change occurs in terms of the geographical areas from which immigrants originate. In 1965, 86% of the total

immigration to Canada originated in Great Britain, Europe, USA, Australia and New Zealand. In 1987, the same group of countries provided a ratio of around 35%.<sup>16</sup>

Changes were not immediate and did not cover immigration from all parts of the world. As already mentioned, the modifications suffered by the immigration policy did not have immediate dramatic effects on immigration from Latin America. During the 1960s the ratio of immigration from the region only increased to 1.7% of all immigrants to Canada. However, in the early 1970s the situation drastically changed. Facilitated by the more open immigration legislation, immigration from the region to Canada increased as a result of the economic and, in particular, the political crises affecting Latin America. In the period 1970-1979 the number of Latin American immigrants jumped to around 62,000 or 4.3% of the total immigration to Canada. This leap almost tripled the representation of Latin Americans in the total immigration.<sup>17</sup>

The character of this immigration was heterogenous in class, nationality, and in educational and "ethnic" terms. As a study about the Latin American community in Toronto suggests "Latin Americans...represent a rich variety of ethnic backgrounds, cultural differences, customs, historical conditions, and geographic locations."<sup>18</sup> No doubt, an attentive examination of the inner dynamics of the Latin American community in Canada would indicate that this is a multi-faceted community with multiple problems to solve, but also with multiple strengths. Each new wave of immigration adds new complexities and richness to the community. It also contributes to the cleavages in the Latin American population in Canada, cleavages that have historical roots related to the colonial period of Spanish and Portuguese domination of Latin America. Part of this inheritance is related to racist views prevalent in Latin American countries, views that have for many years informed the relations between Latin Americans, which have not necessarily been left behind at the time of immigration. One of the researchers remembers having learned in her school years about Chileans being the "British" or "Swedish" of Latin America along with Argentineans and Uruguayans. Her memory is not exact, but the racist connotation of this common-sense idea is.

The complex aspects of the internal life of immigrant communities is generally overlooked by the dominant society. In fact, in the dominant society's eyes, in its discursive practices, the Latin American community is perceived very much as an homogeneous group, as a single category, one more "Third World" immigrant group.<sup>19</sup> Two opposite effects result from this amalgamation of all into "one". On the positive side, confronted with more or less similar experiences of racism and discrimination by the dominant society, Latin Americans begin to look critically to their historical racisms. For many, living in Canada has allowed them for the first time in their lives to meet other Latin Americans, to become aware of similar stories forcing them outside their countries, to share similar work and educational experiences in Canada, "to be in the same difficult boat". The experience of sharing a common language and, to a large extent, a common culture, has resulted in developing ties and solidarities, and has allowed the confrontation of "our own racism." On the negative side, the amalgamation of all into an homogenous whole has the effect of silencing and making invisible the grievances of the less privileged members of the immigrant/refugee communities.

Unlike the "whiter," more "European" and middle class immigration of the 1950s, some of the first immigrants from Latin America to settle in Canada as a result of the 1967



legislation came from Andean countries, countries whose populations have larger aboriginal components than countries of the Southern cone. Faced with a more relaxed immigration policy, people from less industrialized countries in the region were allowed to enter Canada, among them, people from Colombia, Perú and Ecuador. The Andean Wave joined the list of source countries from Latin America from the late sixties onwards. Moreover, since the late sixties visas were not required to enter Canada as a visitor. It was then possible to stay illegally, and many Ecuadorians and Colombians had done so. When, in 1973 the Canadian government provided an amnesty, people used the opportunity to regularize their immigration status. As a result of the government amnesty, the immigration from Colombia increased over 300% from 1971 to 1974, while Ecuadorian immigration increased even more sharply, over 800%. According to Mata, the Andean Wave consisted of "a large contingent of skilled and unskilled labourers with strong motivation for social mobility." The immigrants who came in this period were mainly people from the countryside and small cities of Ecuador, but also blue collar workers from large cities in both countries, mainly from Quito and Bogotá.<sup>20</sup>

Very close in time to this immigration, another wave occurred as a consequence of the authoritarian regimes that took over many Latin American countries. The explosive political situation of Latin America in the Southern cone is one of the other main factors affecting immigration to Canada in the 1970s, driving to Canada different types of Latin Americans. The Coup d'Etat in Brazil in 1964 initiated a series of coups and right wing, military regimes that forced new groups of Latin Americans out of the region. Military regimes in Uruguay and Chile in 1973, and repression in Argentina culminating in a military takeover in 1976, resulted in a major exodus of Latin Americans to different parts of the world. Canada was one of the many countries that accepted refugees from the Southern cone in this period.

During the period 1970-1980, there were ten Latin American countries providing immigrants to Canada. Among them, Chile with 14,553 people ranks in the first place with almost 22% of the total immigration from the region. Argentina, with 7,850 follows with 11.8%. In the meantime, economic difficulties expelled a continuous contingent of workers from Ecuador, Colombia and Mexico. Mexico with 7,186 persons, Ecuador with 6,640 individuals, and Colombia with 5,676 persons, rank third, fourth and fifth in the list of Latin American countries providing immigrants to Canada (Table 1, Appendix I). The other source countries from the region are Uruguay with 4,951 persons, Brazil with 4,891 individuals, Perú with 2,053 persons, Venezuela with 1,087 individuals, and Paraguay with 664. These are not just national differences. A large number of the Chileans who arrived in the more "political" group were urban, politicized, middle class and highly educated. Perhaps the largest impact of these differences is in terms of class background, for many of the "political" refugees were middle class. To a considerable extent the class difference meant that many had university degrees. However, confronted with the racialization (devaluation) of these degrees, most suffered severe setbacks in class location. What is significant is that many middle class Latin Americans, having done their schooling in English or French private schools in their countries of origin, were either fluent in English or French or could at least understand it, and could protect themselves better against the ravages of racism. More of this later.

In sum, Latin America as a whole doubled its representation in Canada from an average of 2% of the total immigration in the 1960s to around 4% in 1973. In the year 1978

the proportion of Latin Americans in the total immigration had reached 6.3% of the total immigration (Table 2, Appendix I).

#### A. CHANGES IN IMMIGRATION POLICY

Political refugees have had an important role in the discourse and practice of immigration to Canada in the period following the second world war. After the shameful treatment of Jews in the 1930s and 1940s<sup>21</sup> the Canadian government and the press have carefully built an image of a "compassionate" Canada. Yet, until the 1976 Immigration Act, there was not a specific criterion to allow refugees into Canada. In the past Canada had responded to refugee situations very much on an ad hoc basis through "special immigration programmes."<sup>22</sup> Still, these programmes followed practices institutionalized by the 1967 Immigration Act which classified immigrants into three major categories, sponsored, nominated and independent, using a point system to evaluate eligibility. Even under special programmes for designated countries, refugee determination had to follow the point system, though implementation was more relaxed. Chilean refugees entered Canada under one of these special programmes, the Special Movement Chile, following the route of the special movements for Hungary in 1957, for Czechoslovakia in 1962, and for displaced people from Uganda in 1972.<sup>23</sup>

The ad hoc categories were certainly arbitrary ones. They allowed the government to react to certain spectacular and politically delicate situations. However, since they were not institutionalized they were too open to criticism for arbitrariness. Moreover, the character of the refugees willing and able to come to Canada was changing. A new/old ghost was knocking at the doors of Canada. The new refugees were from the "Third World," a new code word that has replaced judgments about "ability to assimilate" in the racialized discourse of the country. Thus, careful legislation was passed to control the entry of "Third World" refugees. In the new legislation, special movement programmes were replaced by 'designated classes.'

To elaborate, in the 1976 Act (implemented and regulated in 1978), three categories or classes of permanent residents were created, i.e. family class; convention refugee class and designated class; and independent class. It is worthwhile briefly to discuss what each of these categories means and to emphasize that although there have been some changes since 1978, these have been relatively minor, and the main characteristics remain. These "classes" are code words that define who is allowed or prevented to enter the country, and perhaps even more importantly, under what conditions they are allowed to stay and what kind of benefits they are entitled to receive.

*The Family Class* consists of specified close relatives of Canadian citizens and permanent residents living in Canada. Canadian citizens and permanent residents have the right to sponsor relatives who wish to immigrate to Canada.<sup>24</sup> Although family class applicants are required to meet basic standards of good health and character, they are not assessed according to the point system. Members of the family class become the responsibility of the sponsor. An undertaking of support is signed by the sponsor in Canada, where s/he promises to provide for the lodging, care, and maintenance of the applicant and accompanying dependents for a period of between one and ten years.<sup>25</sup>



**Convention Refugees** consist of persons who meet the definition set out in the Immigration Act, based on the United Nations definition. A Convention refugee is defined as any person who, by reason of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality or former habitual residence and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, or return to, that country.

**Designated Classes** are defined as persons in refugee-like situations who do not necessarily meet the Convention Refugee criteria, but who nonetheless are persecuted and/or displaced and hence are in need of the opportunity to resettle in Canada. Both the convention refugee class and the designated class (and their dependents) may receive private sponsorship.<sup>26</sup> Convention refugees and persons in designated classes are appraised according to the same criteria as the independent class, not to award points to the refugee, but as a guideline to subjectively assess the ability of the applicant to successfully adapt to Canadian life, and whether sponsorship for at least one year from government or private organizations can be secured.<sup>27</sup> Those refugees sponsored by the government have the right to a number of services which family classes are not entitled to obtain.

**The Independent Class** consists of applicants (principal applicants) and their dependents who, with the exception of retirees, satisfy Canada's labour market needs. This class includes: entrepreneurs, investors, self-employed people, retirees, assisted relatives, and other independent immigrants. Members of the Independent Class are those who approach Canadian Immigration on their own and apply to immigrate to Canada. They are admitted on the basis of accumulating a minimum number of points from a range of factors including education, skills, experience, occupation, arranged employment, age, and knowledge of an official language.<sup>28</sup> Although admissibility is linked to labour market criteria, this class ranges from entrepreneurs and investors to retirees and assisted relatives.

Of particular importance for Latin American immigration is the group of assisted relatives. Assisted Relatives includes applicants, other than members of the family class, who are unable to qualify for selection in their own right but who have relatives in Canada willing to help them become established here. Sponsorship in this case is currently for five years. Again, being a sponsored relative would hinder immigrants' access to provisions and services.

## B. CHANGES IN COMPOSITION AS MORE "REFUGEES" ENTER FROM CENTRAL AMERICA

Let us now go back to the historical waves of immigration from Latin America. Drastic changes in the representation and composition of the immigration pattern from Latin America have resulted from an even heavier emphasis on the admission of refugees at the turn of the 1980s. In particular, the wars and brutal repression in Central America, coupled with increasing advocacy in Canada on behalf of persecuted Central Americans, have resulted in refugees becoming a large segment of the immigration of Latin Americans to Canada.

During the 1980s for the first time in the history of Canadian immigration, Latin American countries ranked among the top sending countries in the world. In this decade, pushed by political strife, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua experienced a major exodus of people to Canada. During the period 1979-1983, after a decline in the rates of immigration

from Latin America at levels near those of 1973, immigration from the region experienced a steady increase. It reached 7.2% of total immigration in 1984, and by 1986 it had increased to 9.3% of the total inflow of immigrants (Table 3, Appendix I).

Through a closer look into the immigration inflow by areas in Latin America it is possible to show how the instability in particular regions has affected the composition of the community in Canada. For example, the absolute number of immigrants from Central America is higher than the number of immigrants from South America. The ten countries in South America only represent 35% of the immigration from the region despite their much larger populations in comparison with the populations of the Central American region. In effect, during the period 1984-1988, the seven countries of Central America accumulated 60.5% of the total immigration from Latin America (Table 4, Appendix I). The case of Perú seems to represent a good example of how war and political and economic instability force particular types of people out of their countries. While during the 1970s there were not significant numbers of Peruvians immigrating to Canada (Table 1, Appendix I), in the last few years the inflow of immigration from Perú has increased dramatically. In fact, during the period 1984-1988 Peruvians represented the second largest inflow of immigrants from South America to Canada with 3,393 persons, after Chile with 4,213 individuals (Table 4, Appendix I). Although it is apparent that a major factor influencing the immigration from Perú is connected with the violent political situation of the country, in contrast with the Central American situation, Peruvians are not coming as refugees. They are mainly coming under the independent, family, and assisted relatives classes.<sup>29</sup> We will return to the analysis of the relationship between "class of immigration" and immigrant experience later on. For now let us continue our analysis of the impact of Central Americans in the Latin American community in Canada.

No doubt the political instability of the Latin American region has affected the profile of the community in Canada during the 1980s. From the analysis of the immigration statistics it becomes clear that Central America has been the sub-region most affected by war and repression in the 1980s, thus the sudden increase in members of refugees seeking peace and security in Canada. In general, the Latin American community has a higher representation of refugees than other immigrant communities in Canada. For 1987, for example, the relative weight of the different classes of immigrants to Canada was as follows: independent class 43%; family 35%; refugee and designated classes 14%; assisted relatives 8% (Table 5, Appendix I). In contrast, for the defined Latin American region, 38% of the immigrants came under the independent class; 32% under the family class; 25% under the refugee and designated classes; and 5% under the assisted relatives class (Table 6, Appendix I).

If refugees account for a large proportion of the immigrants from the Latin American region as a whole—one out of four immigrants from Latin America is a refugee—a closer look at the breakdown by sub-regions is still more striking, showing the predominance of refugees in the immigration from Central America. In fact, the composition of immigration by classes of admission varies drastically from Central to South America. In 1987, in the North and Central American sub-region, the refugees and designated classes bear the highest weight, with almost 60% of the total immigration, while for South America it only accounts for 4.6% (Table 6, Appendix I).



In sum, while during the 1970s the southern cone did send high numbers of refugees to Canada, in the last decade the largest number of refugees from Latin America have come from Central America. The shift has been so significant since the 1970s that now El Salvador alone represents 32.7% of the immigration from the region, followed by Guatemala representing 10.6% of Latin American immigration and Nicaragua with 7.3% (Table 4, Appendix I). In every year, during the period 1983-1987, El Salvador has ranked among the ten top sending countries from throughout the world,<sup>30</sup> and as Table 7 (Appendix I) shows, if we consider the period 1985-1987 as a whole, El Salvador ranks number 11 among the major source countries of immigration, while Guatemala's position is number 21.

The volatile situation in Central America has prompted the Canadian government to provide special provisions to facilitate the resettlement of Salvadoreans, Guatemalans and Nicaraguans. On March 19, 1981, special measures were taken to benefit Salvadorean refugees. The programme allowed Salvadorean visitors in Canada to apply for permanent residence. It also provided for a relaxed selection criteria for those Salvadoreans with close relatives in Canada and through special provisions it facilitated entry for Salvadorean refugees coming from Central America and the USA. In 1983 the allocations for government-assisted refugees from Central and South America were increased to a total of 2,000. Up to that moment and since the beginning of the special measures in March 1981, 1,000 refugees from El Salvador had benefitted from the provisions. The Canadian immigration post in Mexico was also strengthened in this period to expedite the processing of refugee applications.<sup>31</sup>

As well, special measures were introduced to assist Guatemalans with family in Canada. On March 12, 1984 a programme was put in place which provided for Guatemalans who had relatives in Canada and who had been displaced or were still in their country to apply for immigration under a relaxed assisted relative criteria if satisfactory settlement arrangements could be made by the sponsoring relatives. Also Guatemalans who were in Canada on March 14, 1984, could apply as family class or as assisted relatives if they had relatives willing to sponsor them. These were allowed to apply for Minister permits and employment authorizations and after a year could apply for residence if they could demonstrate ability to establish themselves successfully in Canada.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, from being almost non-existent in Canada until the 1980s, Central Americans increased their presence in the country. By the time of the 1986 census, they represented a high proportion in the Latin American community in Canada. By 1986, according to the census, there were around 14,000 people in Ontario who had been born in Central America and about 30,000 who had been born in South America.<sup>33</sup>

### C. EFFECTS UPON THE "LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITY" IN METRO

How has the fabric of the Latin American community in Canada changed with these shifts in policy? Although these should be viewed only as tentative hypotheses, requiring further investigation, from the information we have gathered it is possible to suggest a general profile of the changing community through the different waves. In general, the 1970s was a period of immigration from the southern cone, with many refugees and immigrants from Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay, characterized to a large extent as urban people, middle class and some highly trained in their countries of origin. It can be said that, to a certain

degree, the immigration from the southern cone fitted better than other "Third World" immigrants (although not even close to perfectly) the "type" of immigrant Canada has historically wanted<sup>34</sup>. Middle class backgrounds, education, training, some degree of official language ability, even some post-graduate degrees obtained in developed countries, to some extent has characterized the immigration from the southern cone. In comparison to subsequent groups, it is likely that the more "acceptable" class/"ethnic" positions of many immigrant/refugees from this period gave them some "advantage" in terms of settlement and employment opportunities in Canada. In the 1980s Central American refugees predominated. Risking again over-generalizing, it may be said that the immigration from Central America, an immigration forced by war and persecution, has been characterized as "less" urban, with an important representation of people coming from rural El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua, belonging to less privileged social classes, having lower levels of education and training, and fewer chances of speaking either of Canada's official languages upon arrival. (While this is the overall picture, see Part II for a description of how this "community" also consists of differences in social locations according to class, etc.)

Evaluating the changing profile of the community is essential, particularly for assessing needs in the community and for evaluating the provision of services and programmes. However, we insist these generalizations must be taken with caution. As we have said before, it cannot be denied that Latin Americans (one of the researchers included) have been "socialized" within the framework of racialized discourses in their country of origin, where gradations of "racial qualities/differences" are assigned to the different peoples of region. Racial ideologies, we assume, have emigrated with the individual, and although their transformation by circumstances into a single identity in the new country—Latin American—no doubt has served to challenge internal racisms, still we think we must be alert about racially biased perceptions and over-generalizations in the community.

Having said that, let us analyze further the changing profile of the community. Our interviews seem to confirm a drastic change in the overall profile of the community. One of the themes that reappears constantly in the interviews is the theme of illiteracy among Central Americans, particularly among those coming from rural areas. As one of our interviewees explained:

In El Salvador there are many illiterate people. It is very difficult because there are many young people... 16 years old...who come from Nicaragua or El Salvador who do not know anything...they are illiterate in both languages.

And it is not just the young who are illiterate, adults also are. Granted, many adults have had some schooling and would not consider themselves illiterate in Spanish or would not recognize being illiterate because of the stigma attached to it. But for all practical purposes, and in particular for the purpose of learning English as a second language in a system that generally assumes literacy in the mother tongue, illiteracy is a major problem:

When somebody does not even know the meaning of a word it is very difficult. We see this often...both in adults and in young people. People who have not studied beyond level three. In the end all they know is the names of the letters.



Another one expressed the view that the levels of education in general differ between regions and countries:

They are so very different...I think that most of the immigrants or refugees coming from Central America don't have a university education. Whereas most of the people coming from Chile, for example, may not have university but, you know, the majority still have a higher level of education...

Thus, Central Americans fit less the European image and more a "Third World" image,<sup>35</sup> the basis of the (re)constructed discourse of racism. Not only that, but because of lack of education and opportunities in the countries of origin, immigrants in this last wave urgently require basic resources to be able to integrate more fully into the new country. A large majority of Central Americans speak neither English nor French and are highly vulnerable during their first years in Canada. In the words of the Hispanic Social Development Council "without any doubt, [English language proficiency] is the major starting point for social mobility in Canada. The better is the command of the language upon arrival the greater the likelihood of educational achievement in the future"<sup>36</sup>

It is likely that, in the case of many of the Chileans, Argentineans and Uruguayans who had higher levels of education, and especially for those who had some prior knowledge of English or French, there has been more possibility of acquiring enough facility in the dominant language in order to have relative success in adjusting to life in Canada. Language learning through classroom instruction is also facilitated by higher levels of education. For many Central Americans who have no prior knowledge of English or French, greater difficulties are encountered in adjusting to Canada; learning a new language can be even more difficult if one is illiterate in the mother tongue. Again our interviewees made reference to this fact. One of them emphasized:

[When] they come here and go through the six month process [English training]...if that person is illiterate in their own language...how are they to assimilate the English Language? ESL does not take into account illiteracy. Courses for people who are illiterate in their own languages do not exist. There are very few. What are the problems...how do illiteracy and ESL mix?

The latter wave of immigration has many problems to face. They have come to Canada unwillingly, driven by terror and persecution, for many of them their whole way of life drastically changed. Used to small rural communities, many have found themselves in the large urban centres of Canada, where refugees tend to concentrate,<sup>37</sup> with no prior knowledge of the language and facing incredible difficulties. Lack of education hampers most other opportunities, even in the event of having access to English as a Second Language (ESL) programmes.

As we begin to see, the heterogeneous composition of the Latin American community in Canada has been the result of a confluence of diverse circumstances. Some are linked to a diversity in countries of origin and to clearly identifiable periods of immigration, which have forced people to emigrate. Furthermore, the shape of the Latin American community residing in Canada is also influenced by diversity in socio-economic backgrounds, levels of

education, skills, and the age of its members. In sum, the multi-faceted profile of the community is closely linked to varied historical and circumstantial differences.

#### D. GENDER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR WOMEN

The heterogeneity in terms of class, nationality, "ethnicity," and education brought about by the different waves of Latin American immigration is further compounded by gender. Women and men face a different destiny in Canada. Latin American women come from male dominated societies, face a genderized<sup>38</sup> immigration policy and practices from institutions and governments once in Canada, and often have to contend with domination by their male partners at home.

Women and men enter Canada from Latin America more or less in the same ratio. For example, in 1987, the total number of Latin American immigrants to Canada was 17,674. Of this total, there were 8,933 women, accounting for 50.5% of the immigration from the region, while there were 8,741 men or 49.5% of the total.<sup>39</sup> But general figures are deceiving. A closer look at the implications of entry under different categories of immigration is applicable here.

Over the period 1981-1986, 50.1% of all female immigrants admitted to Canada were admitted under the family class category, compared to 39.4% of all men.<sup>40</sup> Among all females admitted to Canada from Latin America in 1987, 35.5% were admitted in the family class as opposed to 27.8% of all males (Table 6, Appendix I). Further, the breakdown of the numbers into the two sub-regions, Central and South America, shows that only 19.9 percent of all females admitted from Central America were classified in the family class category. In contrast, 44.9% of all females from South America were in that category. The low rate for Central America in the Family Class category is due primarily to the heavy weight of the Refugee and Designated Class category (55.3% for all females and 60.1% for all males), as opposed to South America where the rates of admittance in the Refugee and Designated Class category are 3.8% for all females and 5.3% for all males (Table 6, Appendix I). There are important differences between Central and South America with respect to the class under which women enter Canada. This implies that they will, to a certain extent, face different experiences with respect to access to services, training programmes, dependency and sponsorship. They may also represent different backgrounds in terms of education, training, work experiences on the one hand, and in political and community participation on the other. Although the information we have is limited, it is possible to indicate some patterns of heterogeneity.

There are many more women who arrive from Latin America in the family class than men, and many more male "principal" immigrants than female "principal" immigrants. This is not a frivolous distinction since entry status to Canada, particularly refugee and family class status, has significant implications for women, particularly in terms of access to language and job training, protection from violence in the home, employment, pensions and assistance in a variety of other areas crucial to their full integration to Canadian society.<sup>41</sup> Immigration legislation in principle does not discriminate against women with respect to entry category; it is a "gender-blind" legislation. There is no requirement for men and women to apply in specific categories. In practice, however, more women enter Canada to rejoin their family, thus entering as sponsored immigrant, or if entering with their spouses, they



are less likely to be the "principal" applicant. According to administrative procedures at the time of application one person 'chooses' to be the principal applicant. The application is then processed on the basis of that person meeting the different requirements for admission. (Hetero)sexist biases, including the definition of family headship, ensure men the denomination of principal applicant.<sup>42</sup> Most likely, women are also disadvantaged in the point allocation, for they are less likely than men to have acquired the attributes deemed desirable to adaptation in Canada. Boyd notes that in 1986, 13,764 married women and 15,228 married men were admitted in classes other than the two representing spouse or fiance(é) reunification, where by definition, the person seeking reunification is the principal applicant seeking reunification with the sponsoring spouse or future spouse in Canada. Of these classes, 11,813 women over the age of 15 were admitted as spouses or 86% of the total married female population, compared to 774 men, or 5% of the total married male population.<sup>43</sup>

Whereas the family class category facilitates the immigration of married women, who under a "genderized" legislation would not qualify (education, skills, labour force destination, language skills), unmarried women are at a disadvantage. And there are a considerable number of drawbacks for married immigrant women derived from this simple discursive category "spouse," or dependency status associated to the family and assisted relatives classes. Sponsorship for example can constrain access to welfare assistance and training programmes for women in these categories. As Boyd points out:

[D]epending on the interpretation of provincial and municipal regulations, immigrant women who experience marital violence and breakdown and who need to find alternative housing and income, can be denied immediate access to legal aid, publicly subsidized housing, or income assistance until the issuing authorities are satisfied that the relationship with the sponsor is broken.

Since it is difficult for 'dependent' sponsored women to figure out when they are entitled to rights of their own in Canada, given the mixed messages of a patriarchal discourse and practice, many of them feel very vulnerable in their private and public lives. For example, many women fear that if their sponsors are deported they will be too. By Law, women 18 or older, who are Canadian citizens or permanent residents, cannot be subject to deportation order or departure notice issued to persons upon whom they are dependent. However, the legal procedures are not usually known, particularly when the person does not know the language and is not familiar with her rights in Canada.<sup>44</sup> This is only one example of the vulnerability of the dependent immigrant woman. Another fear is that if they report violence in the home, or if they leave an oppressive marriage, they will lose their right to stay in Canada, and the law is ambiguous on this point.

To further protection and self-assurance, affordable legal aide in the native language is an essential area of need for immigrant and refugee women, because of their vulnerability in both the home and the public sphere. Their sense of insecurity derives very much from an experience of discrimination and a double standard embedded in discursive practices that enforce their dependency. For example, although training opportunities may be a basic consideration for an immigrant woman to obtain a job and become independent, entitlement to basic allowances for skill training can be upset by sponsorship. Sponsored immigrants in the family and assisted relative classes are not entitled to receive training allowances

associated with the Job entry Component of the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC)'s Canadian Job Strategy Program. More of this later.

Figure 1 (Appendix II) represents the relative importance of class of admission for females from Latin America. Over the period 1987-1988, 57% of female permanent residents coming from North and Central America entered as refugees and designated Classes. In contrast, among the female permanent residents coming from South America only 4% entered under this category.

Both the convention refugees and the designated classes and their dependents may be sponsored by the Canadian government, by local groups, or by local legally incorporated organizations. When refugees and designated classes are accepted independently of any sponsorship, the Canadian government provides for their basic needs at the most for the duration of the first year of their settlement in Canada. When accepted under a sponsorship agreement, the sponsor is responsible for providing resettlement assistance for the refugee(s) for a period of one year.<sup>45</sup> We have little systematic knowledge about experiences with sponsorship. An exploratory study about Salvadorean refugees in Ottawa and Toronto provides us with a sense of the frugality or limitations of "support" for those under sponsorship. Thirty people were interviewed for the study. Only four of them indicated that they "received enough support to make ends meet." The general feeling was that they "barely managed to get by." Essential needs were not met. For example, nine could not get clothing and shoes, three did not have enough money for food, three could not afford underwear.<sup>46</sup>

Female immigrants accepted under the refugee and designated classes either meet the criteria as principal applicants or they are dependents of persons in these categories. According to Boyd, over the period 1981-1986, 36.7% of female permanent residents 15 years of age and older in the refugee and designated classes came under principal applicant status, while 52.9% had spouse status and 10.4% had dependent status (Table 8, Appendix I). We do not have the breakdown for Latin American women, but many of our informants signalled the 'dependent' status of refugee women as a major factor influencing their vulnerability, both in their private and public experiences. Newly arrived refugees in general lack knowledge about their rights in Canada, and many of them have just left traumatic experiences behind. Vulnerability and dependency are exacerbated by the lack of official language skills.

#### E. LANGUAGE AS A SCREEN FOR RACISM AND CLASSISM

Still, access to language classes is not perceived to be a "right" for adults who come to Canada. This, in spite of the fact that it is becoming evident at different levels of government that access to learning one of the official languages of Canada should be the right of every immigrant. For example the study of the Policy Analysis Directorate of Employment and Immigration on the Settlement of Salvadorean refugees claims that "linguistic adaptation, that is, the ability to acquire some fluency in the language of the host society is a necessary condition for all other forms of adaptation."<sup>47</sup> And the report of the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, After the Door Has Been Opened, in its turn asserts: "Without language, one can never enter a culture."<sup>48</sup>

No doubt, the ability to communicate in the common language of the country is one of the crucial aspects influencing adaptation and participation in Canadian society. Despite



this, immigrants and refugees are systematically denied this as a basic right by Canadian authorities. Impaired by lack of access to language education, immigrants are 'objectively' relegated to the bottom of the Canadian social ladder. Patterns of employment, isolation from society, dependency on others, incapacitation to participate are some of the direct results of the institutionalized practice of language training denial to immigrants in Canada.

Knowing a language is not an "either/or" proposition. We do not have effective indicators of facility in English or French. Immigration statistics and census data both indicate that a large number of "immigrants" have no knowledge, or very limited knowledge, of either official language. On the basis of 1986 census, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada indicates that there are 213,100 immigrants unable to speak English or French. The ability to speak English or French is derived from the following question in the 1986 Census: "Are you able to conduct a conversation of some length using English, French, both, neither."<sup>49</sup> It is very difficult to estimate with any degree of precision the extent of proficiency in language through this question. Thus, we believe that this data should only be taken as a crude estimation of the English or French language ability of the immigrant population. People who feel that they can conduct a conversation of some length in one of the official languages, still may experience enormous linguistic limitations when it comes to being able to fully function in Canadian society.

With respect to gender differentials, the census data indicate that women comprise two-thirds of the immigrant population unable to speak English or French. Refugee women are less likely to speak English or French than any other immigrant class.<sup>50</sup> Over the period 1981-1986, 22,714 (81.4%) female residents aged 15 and over in the convention refugee and designated classes reported that they had no knowledge of either English or French (Figures 2 and 3, Appendix II). Although we do not have statistics for the Latin American community, based on the information collected in our interviews, we believe that the situation for Latin American refugee women is not different from that of the rest of refugee women. This indicates the urgent need for language training for Latin American refugee women. We will discuss this further later on.

Lack of ability to speak the official language has negative repercussions in all areas of social life for both women and men. Its consequences may be reflected in lower levels of education, as well as a lower labour force participation rate than the rest of society. The study of Multiculturalism and Citizenship indicates that the labour force participation rate for immigrants (aged 15 to 64) unable to speak an official language was lower (men 75.9%, women 45.6%) than the labour force participation rate of men and women of the total population (86.2% and 65.2% respectively).<sup>51</sup>

Further work is needed to analyze the effects of limited facility in the dominant language upon employment for women. It is possible that the work of many women goes unrecorded as they do "under the counter" jobs, like cleaning, child care, piece work, etc. Based on data from the Census of 1961, 1981, and 1981, Boyd indicates that foreign born women have a higher labour force participation rate than Canadian born, although the gap is closing due to the incorporation of Canadian born women to the labour force in record numbers in the 1980s. However, foreign born women are more likely to be segregated into service, processing, fabricating, and assembling occupations. In fact, they mostly work as seamstresses in the garment industry, where limited English language facility is viewed not

as an obstacle but many times as an advantage in the operation of the machinery. The more recent the arrival, the more likely she is to be segregated into these categories.<sup>52</sup> The observations of one of our interviewees who works at job placements for immigrant women clearly coincide with Boyd's findings. As the community worker explains the situation, women who come to the centre

...aspire to be able to live and, you know, feed their children and have a decent life. They can find work and it's the job in the factories that doesn't require any language because even the people whom we talked to, the plant managers or inspectors, say language is not an obstacle. Because they [the managers] prefer they don't speak, anyway. It's the type of employment whereby you go in and it's physical labour whether you're working on the sewing machine or you're packing something and verbal communication is nothing or written communication is just not necessary because it is a manual unskilled labour; jobs with little chance for advancement or any better future.

Our study confirms the idea that immigrant and refugee women are segregated into the worst possible jobs which they have no choice but to accept. Take for example the testimony of a refugee who teaches literacy in Spanish:

...well, I have a student, she has been in Canada for seventeen years and she can only tell you her name and where she lives, in English. She used to work, now she receives a pension. Her husband used to go with her so he could show her the jobs she should perform at the factory. For this reason she was paid less than any of the other employees of the factory. She says that at least she had a job and the owners for whom she worked were Italian, also immigrants. She would say that she had the advantage of having her husband showing her what she was expected to do...but when I asked her how much she was paid, she did not know how much exactly. She knew she earned less, but since she could not read or make calculations, she felt she had to accept. Now she is retired because she became ill, in that part of the factory it appears they worked with colorants and wax and this caused her intense headaches.

Perhaps more privileged women can, on rare occasion, overcome discrimination and find work more closely related to their qualifications and experience. But in general not even higher education breaks the cycle of discrimination against immigrants. In the voice of one of our interviewees:

...for example, the women whom I see, the Latin American women who come in, they range in terms of their language ability and one woman, just as one of many examples, a very typical example, she's a chemist and a pharmacist from Ecuador and she also speaks English quite well, I mean, certainly enough to work in her field here, without having to write sort of extensive reports in English. She has enough language or English for functioning in her area. She's very attractive, she's young, there'll be no real reason for her not to, you know, she would look presentable enough in any sort of interview. But she can't seem to get an interview for the simple fact that she has no Canadian experience. So although she speaks English, has education that is recognized equivalent



or at least, you know, having the same value as a degree here in Canada, she can't get an interview because in her resumé she has her work experiences in Ecuador. People would say that she has no Canadian experience and that she probably doesn't speak English very well. And she is never going to make it to an interview. And I think that a lot of women that I've seen in my experience, that even when they do have English they can't compete with the Canadian English-speaking women who are out there with equivalent or even less experience at times, because there is this...ah...maybe not discrimination but just this...I guess it would be discrimination, a prejudice...that they won't be familiar with the Canadian way, you know, whether office procedures or drugs in her case of being a pharmacist, you know. So they won't be familiar with that and they're not really given the chance. And I think that it's extremely frustrating for educated women. Women who come here with degrees and at the centre, we have, you know, women registered who are architects, who are engineers, who are mechanical engineers, who have incredible professions...who are just going to be wasted in terms of their inability to even get an interview.

Language, or better, limited "command" of an official language is used by the dominant society to justify the segregated spaces occupied by immigrant communities. But, what constitutes enough language ability to function in a particular field is determined by "common sense" discursive practices. The person who speaks English as a second language will be devalued for having an "accent", and that accent may have no connection with the "quality" or level at which one speaks. For, "although babies are born with the ability to reproduce the necessary sounds of every language, in learning to speak their mother tongue they need to suppress some potential sounds and develop others. This exercise results in that at a later time it becomes difficult, if not impossible to reproduce the sounds of certain languages."<sup>53</sup>

At one level, it can be argued that discrimination based upon accent is a subtle form of racism. But subtlety has become more sophisticated as "inability to communicate effectively" is used as a performance criterion in "competency-based" job evaluation schemes. This can especially affect women working in health and other service-related fields. One of the community workers talks about the process of devaluation linked to speaking English as a second language:

I think this is the case of managing English. Learning English, as is the case of all languages, is a process that does not have an end—you never stop learning. It is not our mother tongue, and thus we are unable to dominate it as well as Spanish. The result is that it limits us. These limitations affect our access to jobs...Although we may be fluent we still speak with an accent. People, I believe, become scared. And if you don't have a high self esteem or a secure perception of yourself—that you know for yourself to be good in your profession—then you find that the fault is yours and not that of discrimination.

The difficulty, particularly in Canada is that, if we want to for example compare it to the U.S., is that in the U.S. racism is very open and evident, for example against blacks and hispanic immigrants. But everybody here admits

it exists, but with the politics of multiculturalism there is a more subtle form of racism and discrimination, which is much more difficult to prove...

...the fact that we have studied here and have degrees from this country, and the work experience itself, reaffirms a security in yourself, and you realize that it is not one who is incapable but rather a system that discriminates and is racist. However, there are many people who have not had the possibility to reaffirm their self esteem, and finally they begin to blame themselves.

Children also have a vision of their own, and are affected by the fact that their parents have accents, because of society. This indicates a form in which children have learned that to speak with an accent is wrong and funny. And this is a problem for both parents and children. Now, where do children learn to place a value on the accent of their parents?

The innumerable personal experiences of one of the researchers with devaluation because of her accent, as well as informal reports from many of those spoken to over the course of this study, indicate the importance of analyzing this issue further. It is, we think, one more of the endless forms in which racism manifests itself, and as all forms of racism, it is difficult to "prove".<sup>54</sup>

Unquestionably, lack of proficiency in the official language, accent, skin colour, etc. negatively affects all areas of social and personal life for both women and men of "Third World" countries. We would like to emphasize that although differences within the community exist in terms of education, social class, training, language proficiency, etc., Canada acts as an 'equalizer at the bottom' for immigrants. In general, immigrants and refugees, particularly those with training and credentials from their countries of origin, face great difficulties in finding employment according to their qualifications. Confirming what we have learned in our interviews, a government study on family class immigration indicates that "those Family Class workers—seekers who had occupational qualifications before coming to Canada rarely found employment in their expected occupations"...By and large, most immigrants entered occupations at relatively lower status than that to which they had been accustomed."<sup>55</sup> At the most disadvantage are immigrants coming from the so-called "new source" countries, or better the "non-white" countries. As Ornstein and Sharma indicate, "immigrants from Third World countries...are over-represented in the low income category."<sup>56</sup>

There is ample evidence to suggest that Latin Americans upon arrival in Canada, more specifically in Ontario and Toronto, where most live, become one of the most deprived, or poorest ethnic groups in the country. In terms of income, in 1986 only 1.8% of the Spanish speaking population in Toronto earned over \$50,000, in comparison with 5.3% for the total population—three times more. If we consider the income bracket over \$40,000 for that census year, the Spanish speaking population that falls in that bracket amounts to 3.8% in comparison to 10.4% for the total population—again almost three times more. Now, if we turn to the other extreme of the income scale we find that Spanish speaking people are over-represented in the ranks of the poor: 18.9% have no income as opposed to 10.4% for the total population—almost twice as many—and 32.5% have personal incomes between \$5,000 and \$10,000 as opposed to 29% of the total population; if both brackets are considered together,



it is found that 51.5% of the Spanish speaking population have personal incomes under \$10,000 as opposed to 39.4% for the total population (Tables 9 and 10, Appendix I). Let us finally compare income under \$20,000, the poverty line for a family of four in 1985. Over two-thirds of the Spanish speaking population have personal incomes under \$20,000 (76.01%), as compared to 62.1% of the total population.

Gender differentials increase the income gap further. In 1986 only 60 Spanish speaking women in Toronto report personal incomes over \$50,000 (0.5%), as compared to 21,880 (1.6%) of the total female population in Toronto. If we compare incomes between \$30,000 and \$50,000, we find that 2.5% of the Spanish speaking female population have personal incomes in this bracket as compared to 7.5% of the total female population in Toronto. Now if we look at the bottom of the scale we find the opposite phenomenon. Spanish speaking women with no income represent 27.2% of the female community, as compared to 14.3% for the total female population. Almost 70% of the Spanish speaking female population fall into the personal income bracket 0-10,000, as opposed to less than 50% for the total female population. Finally, if we consider incomes below 20,000 (the poverty line for a family of four in 1985), we find that almost 90% of the female Spanish speaking population falls in this bracket as compared to a 75.6% for the total female population in Toronto.

The numbers speak for themselves in terms of showing the disadvantaged position of immigrants from the Latin American region in general and of women from the region in particular. But we are not discovering a new phenomenon. Discrimination against immigrant women in work has been documented for a long time. For example, as reported by Boyd, the 1979 national Quality of Life survey indicted that immigrant women are more likely to be paid by the hour rather than by salary; they are more likely to work for a non-government employer or in their own business rather than for a municipal, or federal organization; they are less likely to work in a unionized place, their work is more likely to be checked several times a day, and they are more likely to be required to produce a specific quota at the end of day than their Canadian born counterparts.<sup>57</sup> This means that foreign-born women are also more likely to be physically and mentally exhausted from their work than their Canadian-born counterparts.

Twelve long years have passed since the time this study was written. Our research strongly supports these findings. Despite the pressure exercised by advocacy groups, immigrant organizations and state policy, systemic discrimination is experienced by Latin American immigrant women in work, and in every other aspect of their lives.

#### F. THE COMMUNITY CENTRE AS A VITAL LINK

Non-governmental organizations working in support of immigrants and refugees constitute an essential bridge of support for the insertion of the newcomer into Canadian society and, ideally, could provide a necessary continuing basis for development. [Note that our use of immigrant here does not necessarily refer to the legal status of the person. It refers more to the common-sense definition of an immigrant.<sup>58</sup> Community centres offer essential services to immigrant communities. They are a place where people can express themselves in their mother tongue, where they can find informed advice, where they can begin to solve the multiple demands imposed on them in order to survive in the 'new' (and

sometimes not that new) country without feeling threatened by authorities who often look down on them.

Our interviewees refer persuasively to the power relations immigrants and refugees have to confront in dealing with official authorities, and to the essential support community centres offer them. In fact, anyone who has arrived in Canada as an immigrant from an underdeveloped country, with no command of either official language, with no financial resources, family, friends, or sponsors, knows how essential it is to have the possibility of turning to community centres for support. The power relationship established between the bureaucrat and the 'immigrant' is something difficult to forget. Often people do not know how the system works, but this is only one part, for refugees/immigrants, minorities in general, the institutional system is threatening. The immigration office, the school, the medical office or the hospital, the transit system, the work place, the social worker's office, these are all relations where the 'immigrant' experiences devaluation. After the door Has Been Opened refers to this process:

Sooner or latter, most newcomers come into contact with an employment counsellor. Too often, these are unhappy experiences resulting in demoralization and lowered self-esteem. Migrants applying for job assistance are particularly vulnerable; they may interpret a brusque manner, a culturally insensitive remark, an offhand acknowledgement of some skill they have worked hard to achieve, as rejection of themselves as an evidence of racism. They are undoubtedly correct some of the time.

In our interviews we came across many painful and outrageous episodes of devaluation and racism. One of the refugees interviewed talks about her own experience in dealing with a bureaucrat:

They treat you as if you were not a person. What does limit you is just that, the people answer back and talk at you very quickly at the beginning and you tell them to speak slowly, because if they speak slowly you will understand. They say to you, "Yes...yes...", and they carry-on talking fast. Or when you go to immigration, (one must always go to immigration, because we are here with Minister's Permit) you start talking with the person from immigration...and [they] would not believe you. To begin with, the lady told us that she could not give us anything...that we should see how we solve the problem ourselves. ...we had been here for three months—we asked for a translator—she said there was no translator at that time and that we should come back another day. We had been there since 6 a.m. in the immigration office. We felt like saying 'go to hell' and just grabbing our papers and leaving."

Another testimony by a community worker who had accompanied an immigrant woman to request language training corroborates the unbalanced relationship between the bureaucrat and the immigrant and the importance of the protection of the community service personnel:

We arrived at the Manpower office to ask them for the course, and of course the man told me "no" because her husband had it already. I said, "OK, here it



is the legal paper which shows that she is asking custody for her children and that they are separating and she has not learned [English]." The old man started to tell me a number of things. Very few times I loose my patience but I was loosing it. Finally he told me, "these Latin American bitches," I said "I beg you pardon?" ...I asked him "What is your name?" He was there and I was here with this woman who did not understand anything...I asked him "What is your name?" There was a pen on his desk, I did not have one, and I picked up the pen to write and the man hit my hand and left my fingers marked. He hit me! Thanks to that, the woman got a course. But if this would not have happened she would not have gotten the course. At that moment I would not leave the Manpower office until I spoke with the director. I went from the supervisor to the director of the Department...

A similar situation was experienced by one of the researchers seventeen years ago and still haunts her. She and her family were "advised" to leave Toronto for Montreal after being in Canada for only two weeks because she dared—through her husband because she did not speak English nor French—to challenge a "Manpower and Immigration" officer's decision not to entitle her to receive subsidized language training. This family was given six hours to pack its belongings and take the train to Montreal the very same night. Threatened with deportation and not knowing their rights, they packed and left. In the early 1970s there were not many community services for immigrants in Toronto, to our understanding none servicing the Spanish speaking community, much smaller at that time than today. The Centre for Spanish Speaking Peoples, as we understand it, was organized in the early 1970s in response to the refugee wave from the southern cone.

Today, several community centres provide support to the Latin American community; a few concentrate only on Spanish speaking people, others offer services to a range of immigrants, among them the Latin Americans. There are also a few centres working specifically with refugees.<sup>59</sup> In what follows we briefly outline the major areas of work of community services to Latin Americans.

Community Service is funded by different levels of government and social agencies. In general, community centres are to provide direct services, which means the budgets are in direct proportion of the number of people served. The quality and the orientation of services is largely determined by funding agency criteria. Continuation of specific programmes is subject to funding priorities, determined by funding agencies. Talking about this issue, one of the interviewees said:

Unfortunately all these types of programmes are with specific money and therefore there is no continuity. The government gives [funding] to do something for a month and then they leave the community with nothing because there is no more money to continue. We'll never get used to accept it.

Through the process of interviewing community service personnel, we had the opportunity to do a limited form of ethnographic work. Spending an average of two and a half hours in the centres for each interview gave us the opportunity to sense directly the working atmosphere of the centres. We could compare working conditions, availability of resources, the pace of the work, personal relations between the centres' personnel and between them

and clients. The atmosphere was always friendly, relaxed but very hectic. The phones, for example, never stop ringing. We saw a great sense of commitment characterizing the work of community centres, staffed by workers who must operate under difficult conditions. Striking differences exist between the resources available in this work and the government organizations visited.

The major areas of work provided by community-based organizations are settlement and adaptation, legal aid, translation and interpretation services, language training, skill development, education, job orientation, counselling, filling out forms, referrals, community development, and self-help programmes. Some centres concentrate more on settlement and adaptation work, thus dealing with the more recently arrived community; others provide more long term support. Some concentrate more in job placement, developing a job data base, contacting employers for immigrants with limited facility in English, connecting the potential worker with the employee. A few centres concentrate only on services specifically for refugee claimants. There is also a wide variety of specific programmes directed to particular groups in the communities, e.g. programmes for elders in the community, youth and women's programmes. Some English as a second language instruction and literacy courses in first language are provided in conjunction with the Public and Separate Boards of Education. There are also centres offering health related services to immigrants and to immigrant women in particular. A few centres offer comprehensive training programmes for immigrants and refugees. Some of these programmes are geared exclusively to women. They are "comprehensive" in that they offer job skill development, 'Canadian experience' through placement, English as a second language, orientation, and life skills. People engaged in these programmes receive a subsistence salary plus some other benefits, like transportation allowance, for the period of the training. As we argue below, the number of women these programmes can handle is barely a "drop in the bucket" in relation to demand.

To our knowledge, there is one umbrella organization connecting the work of community services for the Latin American community, The Hispanic Social Development Council of Metropolitan Toronto. This is a an umbrella organization, working mainly with agencies. It acts as an agent for the agencies offering cultural, social, health, and educational services to the Spanish speaking community. It is concerned with identifying problems, gaps in service provision, assisting organizations in offering services to the community, preventing duplication of services by facilitating communication and coordination, and advocating for the welfare of the community.

On the surface, it appears that there is a wide variety of services offered to the immigrant communities through community-based services. As we look more deeply, especially at education, there is not nearly enough. In the words of one of the interviewees, "the existing services are not in accordance with the need..."



## NOTES TO PART I

1. Economic Council of Canada, New Faces in the Crowd. Economic and Social Impacts of Immigration. Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, 1991
2. The Toronto Star, June 15, 1991, p. A1; The Toronto Star, June 19, 1991, pp. A1, A22
3. See G.S. Basran, "Canadian Immigration Policy and Theories of Racism". In P.Li and S. Bolaria, eds., Racial Minorities in Multicultural Canada, Toronto, 1983; and V. Satzewich, "Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government's View of Caribbean Migration, 1962-1966", Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1, 1989.
4. The Economic Council Of Canada, p. ix
5. For an analysis of racialization see for example R. Miles, Racism. London: Routledge, 1989. For a utilization of the concept in the Canadian context see for example Satzewich, "Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy," p. 78 *passim*; and R. Trumper and L. Wong, "Racialization and Genderization: The Canadian State, Immigrants and Temporary Workers". In S. Bolaria, ed., World Capitalism and International Migration of Labor. Toronto: Garamond, 1992.
6. For instance, the Economic Council of Canada report (p. 1) impudently writes:
 

Clearly, not everyone welcomes diversity and multiculturalism, which increase as more immigrants come from nontraditional sources. Some Canadians worry particularly about the possible erosion of cherished traditions, such as community and voluntary work, not shared by some immigrants; about the latter's lack of familiarity with Canadian values, such as the separation of Church and State, equality of the sexes, and respect for peace and good order, about the difficulty of maintaining the French language and culture in Quebec when immigrants so often adopt English; about problems in schools swamped by pupils learning English or French as a second language; and about an immigration-processing system that is seen by some as not entirely under control.
7. See for example, Elliot and Fleras and "Immigration and the Canadian Mosaic." In P. Li, pp. 51-76; and K.V. Ujimoto, "Multiculturalism, Ethnic Identity and Inequality". In B.S. Bolaria, Social Issues and Contradictions in Canadian Society. Toronto: HBJ, 1991, pp. 133-143.
8. A. Cumsille et al, "Triple Oppression: Immigrant Women in the Labour Force". In L. Briskin and L. Yanz, Union Sisters. Toronto: Women's Press, 1983, pp. 212.
9. Canada, Manpower and Immigration. Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population. Author, n.d.
10. F.G. Mata, "Latin American Immigration to Canada: Some Reflections on the Immigration Statistics." Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Vol. X, No. 20, 1985, p. 32, Table 1.
11. Canadian immigration was also genderized. "Principal" immigrants were primarily men and "dependents" were primarily women and children. For an analysis of genderization in Canadian immigration see Trumper and Wong, "Racialization and Genderization: The Canadian State, Immigrants and Temporary Workers."
12. Canada, Manpower and Immigration, Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population, Table 3.2, pp. 35-39.

13. Mata, pp. 35-37.
14. Canada, Manpower and Immigration, Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population, Table 3.2, pp. 35-39.
15. Canada, Manpower and Immigration, Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population, p. 22.
16. Trumper and Wong, Table 2.
17. Calculations from Table 1, Appendix I.
18. Hispanic Social Development Council, Socio-Economic Profile Needs and Gaps of the Hispanic Community in Metropolitan Toronto, Author, 1983, p. 2.
19. We believe that immigrant communities' heterogenities being overlooked by the dominant society is not unique to Latin Americans. A similar situation is apparent for other immigrant communities as well, whose histories are totally disregarded by the mainstream. Sometimes even whole continents become one single category in discursive practices. Particularly relevant is, for example, the use of the category "Black" in the 1991 census.
20. Mata, pp. 37-38.
21. I. Abella and H. Tropper, None is Too Many. Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1848. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys Limited, 1986.
22. Canada, Employment and Immigration, Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels, Author, 1980, p. 20
23. P. Tomic and R. Trumper, "Canada and the Streaming of Immigrants: A Personal Account of the Chilean Case". In V. Satzewich, ed., Deconstructing a Nation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and Racism in 90s Canada. Toronto: Garamond Press, Forthcoming.
24. Relatives eligible for admission in the family class include the sponsor's spouse and fiance(é), all dependent children, all parents and dependent adopted children, grandparents who are 60 years of age and older and their dependents; grandparents under 60 who are widowed or who cannot work and their dependents; single orphaned brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces or grandchildren under 18. (See Canada, Employment and Immigration, Annual Report, 1989-1990, Author, 1990.
25. See Canada, Employment and Immigration, Your Rights and Canada's Immigration Law, Author, 1986, pp. 9-10.
26. Groups of at least five Canadian citizens or permanent residents over 18 or local legally incorporated organizations may become sponsors. (See M. Boyd, "Migrant Women in Canada. Profiles and Policies", Immigration Research Working Paper No. 2. OECD, 1989, p. 17.)
27. S.B. Seward and K. McDade, "Immigrant Women in Canada: A Policy Perspective. Background Paper", Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1988, p. 4.
28. The factors and weight attached to each component change over time. Current regulations stipulate that to be a successful applicant a person must achieve 70 points out of a possible 100. (See Canada, Employment and Immigration Canada, Your Rights and Canada's Immigration Law, p. 16).
29. Canada, Employment and Immigration, Quarterly Statistics, 1984-1990.



30. Canada, Employment and Immigration, Quarterly Statistics, 1984-1987.
31. Canada, Employment and Immigration, Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels, Author, 1982; Canada, Employment and Immigration, Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels, Author, 1983; Canada, Employment and Immigration, Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels, Author, November, 1984; Canada, Employment and Immigration, Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels, Author, 1985; Canada, Employment and Immigration, Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels, Author, 1986; Canada, Employment and Immigration, Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels, Author, 1987.
32. Employment and Immigration Canada, Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels, November, 1984, p. 23
33. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Ethnocultural Data Base, File P02949
34. See for example, Economic Council of Canada, p. 1, passim.
35. Third World is one of the new code words for "coloured" or "non-white", "Non-European". "New source countries" is another euphemism used in the official literature to refer to coloured immigrants, or "new faces in the crowd", as the Economic Council of Canada calls them. Significantly, Argentinians and Chileans are not coded as "Visible Minorities", yet another codification for race. See Ministry of Citizenship, Ontario, A Diverse and Changing Society, Author, 1991, p. 34.
36. Hispanic Social Development Council, "Socio-Economic Profile Needs and Gaps of the Hispanic Community in Metropolitan Toronto", Author, Unpublished Document, 1983, p. 19.
37. In 1986, 28.5% of Latin Americans lived in Montreal and 28.2% in Toronto. (Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, The Visible Minority Population in Canada, 1986. Detailed Graphic Overview, Policy and Research, Multiculturalism Sector, October 22, 1990, unpublished draft, n.p.)
38. For the development of this concept see Trumper and Wong.
39. From Table 6, Appendix I.
40. See Boyd, Migrant Women, Table 25, p. 56
41. See for example Boyd, Migrant Women, pp. 16-26.
42. Note that women can be principal applicants in the immigration legislation only since 1974. (See Boyd, Migrant Women, p. 19.)
43. Boyd, Migrant Women, p. 19.
44. See Boyd, Migrant Women, p. 19.
45. Boyd, Migrant Women, p. 17.
46. Canada, Employment and Immigration, The Settlement of Salvadorean Refugees in Ottawa and Toronto. An Exploratory Study, Immigration Policy Branch, Policy Analysis Directorate, May 1989, pp. 9-10.
47. Canada, Employment and Immigration, The Settlement, p. 12.
48. Canada, Health and Welfare, After the Door Has Been Opened, Ottawa, Author, 1988, p. 23. See also Hispanic Social Development Council, Socio-Economic Profile Needs and Gaps of the Hispanic Community in Metropolitan Toronto, pp. 18-20.

49. R. Pendakur and M. Ledoux, Immigrants Unable to Speak English or French: A Graphic Overview. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, February, 1991.
50. Canada, Health and Welfare, After the Door, p. 24.
51. R. Pendakur and M. Ledoux, "Highlights", Immigrants Unable to Speak English or French: A Graphic Overview. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, February 1991.
52. M. Boyd, Migrant Women, pp. 11-13.
53. A. Himelfarb and C.J. Richardson, Sociology for Canadians. Images of Society, Second Edition, Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson Limited, 1991, p. 74.
54. See for example D. Brand and K. Sri Bhaggiyadatta, Speaking of Racism, Toronto: Cross Cultural Communication Centre, 1986.
55. Canada, Employment and Immigration, Profile of Family Class Immigration, Immigration and Demographic Analysis, Ottawa, 1981 cited in T.J. Samuel, Family Class Immigrants to Canada, 1981-1984: Labour Force Activity Aspects, Population Working Paper No. 5, Canada: Employment and Immigration, 1985, p. 5.
56. M.D. Ornstein and R.D. Sharma, Adjustment and Economic Experience of Immigrants in Canada: 1976 Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants, Toronto: York University, 1981, p. 55.
57. M. Boyd, Migrant Women, p. 43.
58. See R. Ng, "The Social Construction of 'Immigrant Women' in Canada". In R. Hamilton and M. Barrett, The Politics of Diversity. London: Verso, 1986, pp. 269-286.
59. Appendix III provides a list of community based organizations serving the Latin American community.



**PART II: THE CONTRADICTIONARY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
EDUCATION AND POWER FACED BY LATIN AMERICAN WOMEN  
LIVING IN METRO TORONTO**

Changes in the composition of the Latin American immigrant and refugee population have direct consequences for English language training which are gradually beginning to be reflected in some sectors of English as a Second Language (ESL)\* provision. As discussed, there is a shift in the Latin American population coming to Canada towards refugees with less formal education and less knowledge of English than their predecessors. The population appears to be bifurcated educationally: the more highly educated professionals, characteristic of the refugee influx from Chile and Argentina in the 1970s, are still in evidence in the current arrivals from Central America, but augmented by increasing numbers of refugees coming from the countryside where there is limited access to schooling. Illiteracy in Spanish\*\* is recognized as a major problem. The need for bilingual educational programmes is seen as crucial. In addition, Canadian educational and training requirements have escalated and become more formalized, so that arriving refugees and immigrants cannot meet Canadian schooling standards, which serve as prerequisites for training programmes. When their educational and work experience is devalued, new arrivals must gain access to Canadian training programmes in order to acquire anything but the most menial jobs here. And, before they can get into educational, upgrading or training programmes, they must have considerable competence in English.

The diversity in the Latin American population residing in Canada means that there are class, racial and ethnic, as well as gendered, differences within "the community". The historical nature of this diversity, coupled with Canadian requirements for funding and job allocation, means that Chileans and Argentineans are apt to be more established, occupy more of the professional positions, and be the spokespersons for "the community". The workers interviewed are sensitive to these tensions, and several have spoken of the need for community-based educational efforts to address these differences. They also stress the necessity of developing expertise across all sectors of the population—a few "token" Spanish speaking professionals—whether located in a community centre, a health care facility or an educational institution—cannot begin to meet the diverse needs of the people.

Since our focus is upon the situation faced by Latin American immigrant and refugee women, and since we have not had the time or resources to interview as many new arrivals as we would have liked, we decided to speak to community workers to benefit from their experiences and perceptions. We asked explicitly about the educational possibilities available to women, and how these are perceived to be related to their general life situations. We came to the interviews with the concern that learning English is complicated by limited provision, which may be class and gender biased. We also sought to investigate the proposition, coming out of earlier research by Rockhill<sup>1</sup>, that acquisition of education by women (whether ESL,

---

\* We focus upon ESL as this is the dominant language in Ontario; the one that it is essential to acquire.

\*\* We refer primarily to Spanish (not Portuguese) because this is the primary language spoken by immigrants and refugees from Latin America. The situation of Portuguese speakers originating from Latin America merits a separate study as it is a more established "community" in Toronto, with European origins as well.



job training, upgrading or further education) might pose a threat to patriarchal power relations within the family compounding the stress caused by the violence of devaluation experienced by all family members upon arrival in Canada. We have been interested in ascertaining whether there is any relationship between "family" violence and educational participation on the part of women. We have barely been able to scratch the surface of this question, due to limited time and resources. As for the larger question—how violence within the family is connected to racism and sexism within Canadian society—we have had to limit ourselves to considering how educational provision for adults plays into these dynamics. Here too, we focus primarily upon ESL, but are also concerned about its (dis)connections to job training, upgrading and further education.

As indicated, the diversity of "the Latin American community" is true for women too. This diversity is lost through the (hetero)sexism<sup>2</sup> embedded in Canadian refugee and immigration policies, wherein most women who immigrate are married or enter in the family class category. Relatively few gain access independently, as workers whose skills are desired in Canada. This gloss—the positioning of women as spouses and/or family members—conceals the richness of their knowledge and skills.

Generally, community workers confirm statistical information, and describe two strands among Latin American immigrant and refugee women, divided by class location and occupation in the home country. Among those entering Canada are a number in the professional class—teachers, health care workers, therapists, lawyers—women quite highly educated in their home countries, accustomed to working outside of the home, and, especially in the case of refugees, with a history of political activism. The other strand is composed of the majority of women who have less education (the bulk are described as having completed between six and nine years of schooling), speak little or no English, either did not work out of the home, or, if they did, worked in offices, sales, or services. Some come from the countryside where they had little or no access to schooling and are, therefore, illiterate in Spanish. Many of these women, especially refugees, have also been politically active. Upon arrival in Canada, class-based differences are somewhat scrambled as all women are hurled into the experience of "illiteracy", stripped of their credentials, work experience and language, as racism and sexism converge to isolate and to violate. In time, relative educational and class privilege play themselves out to some extent, but at great costs. As one of our researchers, Paty Tomic, notes, it has taken her more than ten years to acquire the occupational status she had when she left Chile, and she still experiences racial discrimination.

Longitudinal studies of refugee and immigrant women are urgently needed to ascertain the relationship of ESL instruction, job training and education to each other, as well as to the woman's economic advancement and independence. We need to know how language requirements and learning possibilities work in relation to the structure of women's lives, including the structure of the labour market, the division of household labour, the structuring of community and family relations, and the ways in which (hetero)sexism and racism get played out in everyday social relations. Further work is also necessary to differentiate the experiences of refugee from immigrant women, both prior to and after arrival.

We have been struck by the sensitivity and passion with which people speak of the problems faced by the Latin American woman who comes to Canada. We have found workers strongly dedicated to doing something to address the situational crises faced by women, workers keenly aware of the dynamics contributing to the struggle that most women must face, but with virtually no resources to address these problems. Whether asked directly or not, most speak of violence as a key problem, and several centres have instituted programmes, seminars or workshops on the issue. The educational "trap" faced by women is also stressed—there is simply no way for the great majority of Latin American women to acquire enough English to continue their education and/or to practice in their desired fields of expertise—especially true for those (the vast majority) who must simultaneously work and take care of the home and family—they simply do not have the necessary the time and resources. With few exceptions, women are trapped in low paying jobs, their marginalization intensified by the denial of access to the kind of English language instruction that would make it possible for them to fully participate in Canadian society. As currently constituted, training programmes can do little to interrupt this cycle.

Before outlining in more detail the situation faced by Latin American women as described by many of the community workers interviewed, several cautions must be emphasized. First, to speak of "the immigrant woman", or "the refugee woman", or even to generalize to "refugee and immigrant women", is still to lose the richness, and to obscure the diversity, among the women. As discussed above, differences between the refugee and immigrant experiences are major and these are crosscut by differences in class, race, nationality, politics, religion, age, etc., that must not be minimized. Yet, there are commonalities brought about by the process of "immigration", the crisis of language, as augmented by the dynamics of racism and sexism within Canada, that must not be ignored if policies to address the situations faced by women are to be instituted and implemented. The danger however, of drawing out these commonalities is that they play into dominant stereotypes that point the finger at immigrant and refugee communities (eg. Latin women as passive, men as violent). Instead we insist that we must look at the racist and sexist practices of Canadian society that feed into the oppression that newly arriving women must face.

Violence against women, and the (hetero)sexist practices that fuel it, is not unique to the Latin American community, nor is its incidence greater than in Canadian society at large. But, what is crucial, is that the dynamics of the violence differ because of the distinctive histories, social locations, and changes faced by women who have left their home countries, familiar language, friends, family and social supports to come to Canada, where they experience racism intertwined with sexism. Because the dynamics of sexism differ, and because of the dangers of racism inherent in "outside" intervention, it is important that community centres—and women in particular—sensitive to the specific colouration of violence within their communities, be given the support necessary to address locally, where women are located, in the language they speak (i.e. Spanish or Portuguese), the problems they must confront.

From talks with community workers and drawing upon related research and our own experiences, we draw out a general scenario. We are uneasy in this. In the process of generalizing, we lose the specificity of who, exactly, we are imaging when we describe the plight of "the women" with whom we have come into contact. Perhaps the most extreme



cases come to mind; perhaps there are stereotypes at work; perhaps our concerns about violence elicited these stories to the exclusion of others. We don't want to distort or diminish differences. Nor do we want to deny the urgency of the situation. The community workers interviewed stress that special programmes are urgently needed that can respond to the violence, at home as well as in society at large, with which women must contend. More in-depth stories from a full range of women must be spoken and heard within various communities so that alternative actions can be developed. The following scenario is offered to serve as a basis for further discussion and critique.

In this work, we seek to integrate an analysis of sexism with differences according to race and class. Feminist theory is beginning to pay attention to these intersections, especially in the writings of women whose lives have not been represented by white feminist thought.<sup>3</sup> We need analyses that can more specifically show the social relations that establish marginality and oppression, and how these relations differ in accord with one's social location, or access to privilege, in any one society. As Aída Hurtado maintains, women's subordination is produced differently according to race and class. She theorizes that differences in women's relational position to white male privilege account for differing, contradictory dynamics through which women are subordinated—whereas white women are seduced into “femininity,” women of colour are rejected.<sup>4</sup> This provides a starting point for understanding how oppression gets generated through complex relations of power, including a wide range of discursive formations that stereotype “immigrant woman,” produce her as “other” outside the frame symbolized by the dominant image of “WOMAN.” Rejection by the dominant society, conveniently explained away in terms of not knowing English, not speaking properly, not having “Canadian” experience, not looking “right,” not fitting in...becomes the harsh reality against which immigrant and refugee women must fight to coalesce a collective sense of self worth, forming oppositional identities through which they can organize for change.

#### A. SCENARIOS FACED BY LATIN AMERICAN WOMEN IN TORONTO

The process of flight for the refugee woman, as well as the exodus of immigration, catapults women into situations of immense vulnerability. The shape and intensity of that vulnerability is intertwined with the sudden onset of racism, changing class location, the “shock” of departure/arrival, and the crisis of language. For a woman to leave her home country for Canada—to face an alien country, language, culture—takes a great deal of courage; whatever the circumstances of her departure and arrival, the strength it takes to make these changes stands alongside the vulnerable situation into which she is placed. For the newly arrived Latin American woman, sexism and racism can take the form of the complete devaluation of her skills, of her being. Ironically, in a country of, theoretically, greater opportunity for women, the new arrival may face the “trap” of (in)accessibility to opportunities to learn English, to continue her education, to use fully the skills and knowledge she brings with her or to develop a vocation or career. The silence imposed by being unable to speak in the linguistic form mandated by the dominant Canadian society provides an open template for the destructive dances of (hetero)sexism and racism.

***Change in the Woman's Role in the Household.*** Without command of English, a woman no longer has the same language facility and access to the information necessary to

run the household, take care of the children, including their health and schooling-related needs, do the shopping, run family errands, etc. Because the institutional structure of Canada is different, tending to be more highly bureaucratized and specialized, women can be cut out from performing as in their home countries, unless major changes are made to accommodate to the Canadian way of doing things. To compensate for what was once “taken-for-granted” knowledge, the recent arrival must find time, new resources and supports to work out creative approaches to accomplishing the everyday tasks of caring for her home and family.

***Isolation.*** Extreme isolation in the home is imposed by language, sexism, and the onset of racism in an alien racist society. This isolation is fuelled in the absence of one's former community, especially the support structure of friends and extended family. Moreover, transportation is virtually inaccessible on a low budget in an English-driven system. Contact within the Latin American community in Toronto can also be restricted if a woman's husband defines where, when and with whom she can socialize. Faced with these obstacles, women still struggle to find ways to continue their customs, to meet with other women who share their plight, to rebuild some sense of community, to redefine family.

***Dependence.*** Most interviewed speak of the dependence of the married woman on her husband for economic support and for contact with the outside world. To a considerable extent, this situation is “legislated” if a woman is a sponsored immigrant or refugee. Even though most women must work outside the home, their time and money are usually turned over to the male “head” of the household. The more isolated a woman is, the greater her dependence. It is not unusual for a woman to be dependent upon her children for translation, accompaniment, explanation of Canadian ways, etc. As is the case for many women in Canada, typically the husband sets the rules. As one interviewee sees it, in stark contrast to the general sociability in the Latin American community, “the degree of sociability that a woman has is directly dependent on the degree of sociability of the husband, the head of the home”, yet, there are differences, and “the South American woman appears as more liberated than her counterparts.” Dependence is not solely a function of male dominance; it is a dependence legislated and intensified by an alien Canadian society. In this situation, the family can become tighter, serving as a place of refuge, perhaps the one place where the woman is treated as more than an “immigrant” or “refugee”, a totalizing identity in the eyes of the dominant society against which she must constantly struggle.

***Responsibility.*** However difficult it may be for the new arrival to carry on her traditional role, like most women in Canada, she still has sole responsibility for the care of children, cooking, cleaning, etc. In the absence of extended family or friends to act as a support base, and in the face of a Canadian social structure that separates children from adults, day care is especially problematic. An example of more institutionalized relationships in Canada is that a requirement for admission into most subsidized educational and training programmes is that the woman have formalized (that is, licensed) day care arrangements in place; family and friends are not seen as reliable caretakers. These institutionalized mandates are also (hetero)sexist, as the woman, not the man, must be responsible and accountable for these arrangements.

***Devaluation.*** The immigrant and refugee women's educational credentials, training, skills, work experience and knowledge, are devalued, at every turn, in a sexist and racist



society. The situation is compounded when women experience devaluation in the home where the contradictory position as "woman of the house" can become even more like that of a domestic labourer as language barriers, lack of knowledge about, as well as lack of access to, Canadian society militate against traditional authority in this domain.

**Social Construction of Identity as Immigrant or Refugee.** No longer is a woman a "woman", a "person", in all her fullness and richness of identities except, perhaps, among family and friends from the home country. By the dominant Canadian society, the "immigrant woman" is stripped of the richness of her history, of the wealth of knowledge that she brings with her, her value as a person in her own right, and, instead, lumped together with all other "immigrants" from the "Third World" as a foreigner, labelled an "immigrant", or a "refugee", which becomes the totality of her identity.<sup>5</sup>

**Emotional Stress.** The trauma of the move can be especially severe for refugee women who may have suffered torture, degradation, pain, years in flight and asylum, before arriving. Unplanned, sudden and total upheaval, worries about people left behind, are integral to the trauma. Aspects of this trauma may also be true for women who have immigrated. Upon arrival, isolation, "no one to talk to", devaluation and change intensify the stress. Lack of money, inability to communicate in English and severe shortage of Spanish speaking counsellors certified to practice in Toronto, mean that "therapy" is pill-driven as women, faced with these trauma, are sedated by the psychiatric establishment to "calm their nerves".<sup>6</sup>

**Violence.** The daily violence of racism, of the dominant white Canadian toward the "immigrant" cannot be underestimated. The blows of racism are driven deeper by (hetero)sexism. As is the case in the rest of Canadian society, violence of men toward women, of husbands toward wives, can be severe. Some of those interviewed explain the violence in terms of the extreme pressure faced by men, part of the social devaluation they experience with the crisis of flight and/or immigration, while others see its roots in male power and the degradation of women, i.e. systemic sexism that exists independently of immigration, but is exacerbated by the situation. There is consensus that violence escalates with the stress of arrival and the changes that women must make to survive. When the woman's refugee or immigration status is dependent upon her husband's sponsorship, she is especially vulnerable; it is not uncommon for him to threaten her with deportation and, the immigration manual substantiates that a woman can be sent home if she is in an abusive situation and the immigration officer deems that she would be better off there.<sup>7</sup>

**Poverty.** Economic resources are scarce. Many families face poverty in the "high cost of living" economy of Toronto. Wives can be especially vulnerable. Sometimes the husband turns over an amount of money to his wife out of which she must provide for all of the children and household needs. This often means that there is not enough for a woman to spend "on herself", whether it's for child care, transportation to a class, a cup of coffee, or something to wear. When her husband does not restrict her access to the financial resources of the family, faced with the reality of little money, most women have learned to put their needs and/or desires last.

**Work.** In addition to the work of the home, most women must work outside of the home if they can find a job, for their families to get by economically. While officially many women are declared by immigration officers to be "not destined for the labour force" in reality, reports are that most women begin to work at menial jobs not long after arrival. If women can find work, it is likely to be in the manufacturing sector, where lack of "Canadian experience" and "limited" English language facility confine them to the poorest paying jobs. In the current recession, massive lay-offs in the manufacturing sector mean that job possibilities are even more limited. As women are unable to find work, job training is in even greater demand, but possibilities are scarce, and, with rare exceptions, the few programmes available are limited to training for "entry level" positions in a segregated labour market where English language fluency is not crucial—i.e. low paying "immigrant" jobs. Without opportunities to participate in advanced ESL instruction, coupled with continuing education and/or degree equivalence, it is virtually impossible for a woman to break out of the cycle of low paying jobs.

**Low Self Esteem.** The most commonly cited problem for women returning to education or pursuing the learning of English is "low self esteem". Several of those interviewed explain that a consequence of the devaluation experienced by women when they come to Canada is that they do not consider themselves to be capable of learning English, of changing their lives, of breaking out of violent situations, of getting better jobs. We argue that "low self esteem" represents their self-blame, their internalization and personalization of systemic violence, sexism and racism. And to a considerable extent, women's perceptions are correct; massive obstacles must be overcome in order to break out of their placement at the lowest rungs of Canadian society. Community workers who have worked with women's programming argue that educational programmes can provide a key place where women can come together to discuss the problems they confront, and that success often depends upon this possibility. Through hearing each other's stories, women come to see that what they experience as their personal shame is in fact not unique to them, that it is part of the systemic violence (racism and sexism) faced by immigrant and refugee women.

**No Public Social Spaces.** As one of our interviewees notes...

first of all, women are not given a space in which they may locate themselves in this society... where she can say, "what are the resources available to me, where is the nearest clinic, to what doctor can I go, where is the dentist?" She is not given this space. She stays at home with the children and that is all. While the man is the one who is always going to be the one who goes out to work, or to learn English, or to the Sports Club. She "is constantly being left behind."

Public spaces are defined by the English language. For the most part, where alternative spaces have been created, they have been created by men, for men. There are few social spaces where Latin American women can go and meet other women in similar situations. This adds to isolation, lack of access to information about how the system works or available resources, and difficulty in making social contacts, except for visits in the home

\* "Limited" is sometimes real, sometimes constructed.



or perhaps through the church or community centres. It also means that women do not have an informal means of picking up the English language; the boundaries imposed by language, racism and sexism confine women to the home or to job ghettos where communication is limited and exposure to English rare. Without the possibility of learning English informally, ESL classes are even more crucial in providing women with an opportunity to acquire some facility in the language.

**Left Behind.** In describing the experiences of women, several interviewees used the phrase, "she is left behind". As her husband and children begin to learn English, and to participate more fully in social spaces and events, learning the ways of Canada, the immigrant or refugee woman can be "left behind", and become, even more so, the object of racist and sexist scorn within the dominant Canadian society. This may be especially true for women who have had limited access to formal education.

**Change.** Alongside this distressing story, another emerges, one of struggle, determination and change. In order to meet the challenges wrought by economic necessity, the urgency of learning English, of learning how to survive in a new country, many women do meet with friends in their homes, and gradually move out of their homes as the structures of living in Toronto mandate if one is to survive. The first step in a long slow process of change is a woman's entering a semi-public social space, either work, coffee with a friend, activities at a community centre, an educational programme. Exact patterns are not clear; the general impression is that most women are encouraged to participate in educational programmes by friends, sometimes met through work, sometimes expatriots from their home countries. And women are organizing; at this time of writing we have identified five organizations formed by different women's groups within the Latin American community. Community centres and ESL classes can serve as initial catalysts in the change process. To some extent, changes are an effect of the more institutionalized structure of urbanized Toronto wherein it is taken for granted that a woman will leave her home and community in order to access services, to find work, take ESL or upgrading classes, etc.

**Community Centres.** Often, it is the community centre that provides a vital link between isolation in the home and the possibility of participation more broadly in Toronto's social milieu. Here a woman can find others who speak her mother tongue, women who have had to struggle through similar experiences and managed to overcome some of the obstacles they have had to face since their arrival in Canada. Some centres offer counselling and specialized programmes to address issues specific to women. They provide an essential social space for women to meet each other, explore possibilities, and to find out what resources exist for them in Toronto. Centres have become a vital community link, in spite of underfunding, stop-gap programmes, and an overall lack of resources to meet the complex array of problems in the diverse communities they serve. Work is needed to investigate further the barriers faced by these centres in providing services to the community, including an analysis of which sectors of the "community" are best served. In spite of social mandates to the contrary, Centres are faced with an inequitable distribution of resources to respond to the violence faced by women in their communities.

**Shifting Power Relations in the Family.** As the new arrival finds out more about what's going on, through learning some English and speaking to others, as she begins to see that there may be possibilities for her beyond menial labour, as she begins to break out of

the isolation of her home, as she begins to have contact with other women in similar situations, her sense of total dependence upon her husband and family, in all aspects of her life, begins to ease. If a woman is in a violent relationship, she may begin to see that it is not OK, not her fault, and unacceptable. This sense may be influenced by gaining access to information about the protection of women in Canada by law, and the provision of social services to assist them. While these services and protection are only minimally accessible to immigrant and refugee women, they have an influence upon how community centres understand their work, even though they are blocked in providing necessary services.<sup>8</sup>

**Violence Linked to Educational Participation.** In the words of one interviewee, "In many families the fact that the women can study has created a problem of power". Another wryly observes that "There is a common belief amongst the husbands of the women in our programme that what we are doing is destroying marriages." Another phrases the husband's resistance in this way: "... she is limited by the fact that her husband tells her that she wants to go to school in order to meet other men...leaving the children alone, etc.... she is told by her husband, why do you want to do these things in Canada that you have never done before...".

Many of those to whom we have spoken express serious concern that many men do not know how to deal with the changes that women must go through upon arrival in Canada—they feel "out of control", deeply threatened by the woman's going out of the house, by her going to school, by the possibility that he will no longer be able to dominate her, that she will surpass him. As one woman describes the situation:

The roles in our country are more institutionalized. When we arrive here the foundation of these roles change, given the basic need to adapt to a new system, that is economically different. [Here] it is expected of women to go to school and learn English, leaving the kids behind. Moreover, during the day she will participate in other activities or go out and work. Such changes make men feel that they are losing control. And since family violence is not the result of the man waking up in a bad mood that day, but rather it is because men have the power in society and they exercise it. Thus, when the man feels he is losing control he resorts to more repression through violence.

**Centrality of English Classes to Learning English.** Because of the structure of their lives, we argue that formalized English classes are even more important to women than to men in order to learn the language. Women do not have the opportunities to learn the language informally, because bilingual social spaces are largely closed to them, and because of the segregated structure of work available to women, decent paying jobs are highly language dependent. The relatively well paying areas of trades and small business opportunities open to men are largely lacking for women. We were unable to do the detailed study that could "prove" this, but we gathered enough data to leave us sure that conditions for women are perhaps even more difficult in Toronto than in Los Angeles, where Rockhill was able to conduct a detailed ethnographic study of the ways in which English entered into the lives of men and women. From the extensive inventory of linguistically-charged situations that was developed through a lengthy process of indepth interviews, it became evident that:



...the men are more likely to learn English informally, through exposure to English language situations, whether at work or in other public arenas. In contrast, the women, who depend upon classes to learn the language, experience the greatest difficulties in attending...

Individuals can learn a second language in two ways—either through informal, repeated contact with the spoken language or through formal instruction (Krashen, 1978; Schumann, 1978). Although typically some combination of the two forms is necessary, when one lacks the opportunities for informal contact, formal instruction becomes more crucial. The primary reason women give for being unable to learn English is the lack of opportunities to practice. They want to attend classes in order to learn the language in part because they have fewer opportunities to practice spoken English than men have. This has a lot to do with the nature of the work available to them, and their confinement to the home.<sup>9</sup>

**The Fight to Survive and Prosper.** However vulnerable the situation in which women are placed, they are also determined to fight for a better life, if not for themselves, for their children. They will do all they can, put up with menial work, long hours, work inside as well as outside the home, overlook abuse, risk the unknown, in order to provide the fullest life possible for their families and other community members. Women are dedicated to helping each other, and for some this becomes a political commitment. When marriages are violent, many do find a way to leave or stop the violence, however terrifying economic survival, a life "alone" in an alien culture, and the risk of deportation may be. And most women do seek out educational opportunities, however limited their provision may be—demand far exceeds—and does not match—supply.<sup>10</sup>

**Contradictions.** The picture that emerges is a contradictory one. Women are both vulnerable and strong. Their vulnerability is not of their own making, but systemic. And we argue that systemic oppression is lived internally, within the home as well as the psyche, with violence being met by self-blame, shame and self-censorship, as well as by a determination to fight, if a woman can see a way to do so. The family is caught up in these contradictions. It can be a crucial place for support and love in the midst of racism and change<sup>11</sup>, or it can become a place of entrapment for women when (hetero)sexism dominates. Community becomes essential, especially given the limits of language and an alien Canadian society, to survival and well-being, to developing a new sense of identity where old ones are stripped away and negative stereotypes abound in an often hostile dominant culture.

**Discrimination in Educational Provision.** Women are ineligible for full-time subsidized ESL instruction if categorized as a "family class" or "sponsored" immigrant. As discussed above, these are crucial categories for immigration of women. At this moment in history, there is more government support for refugee women, but this too is limited if her status is "sponsored". In determining eligibility for training subsidies, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) makes a fundamental distinction between women "destined for the labour force" and those who are deemed not destined for the labour force. In the case of those "destined for the labour force", a further distinction is made between those destined for jobs where English is deemed to be necessary, and those where it is not. Women have been discriminated against on both counts—that is, not destined immediately

for the work force, or, if they are, the work available to them (e.g. cleaning and factory work) is seen as not requiring English. Immigration officers are responsible for placing the new arrival into the "appropriate" category. Very little has been written on this decision-making process. We do not know, for example, how professionally trained women are categorized. Although it was some years ago, Paty Tomic recalls, at the time she entered Canada, even though she was an economist, she was sent to the factory to work as a packer while male medical doctors and engineers gained access to ESL instruction immediately. Most women have to study English on a part-time basis, on top of taking care of the home and family, and, often, while working at a menial job. Child care is a massive barrier. Even if a woman can manage to get a government subsidy to participate in a program, she will not be accepted unless she has arranged for professional day care—the wait list for subsidized day care in Toronto is 9,000, temporarily down from 11,000 in the spring (*Toronto Star*, July 26, 1991).

**Scarcity.** While there is some movement toward providing more subsidized ESL instruction in combination with job training, subsidized training programmes for immigrant women are very scarce and in extraordinarily high demand, with wait lists quoted by those interviewed, from a minimum of three months to three years. It also appears that considerable proficiency in English is required in order to get into a subsidized training program, even those designed specifically for Latin American immigrant or refugee women. Part-time ESL provision is more accessible, especially through community centres, but there too, child care is often necessary. And, technically, these programmes, funded partially through the Ministry of Citizenship (MC) in conjunction with the Secretary of State (SOS), are intended for "new arrivals"; that is, less than three years in Canada. It is not uncommon for a woman to be in this country for ten years before she feels she can leave the responsibilities of her home in order to pursue more systematically the learning of English. Separation or divorce can force this change, as educational participation becomes absolutely essential to gain access to better paying jobs and the income necessary to support a family, at however minimal a standard. Money and child care are even more acute issues for the single parent, but her eligibility for social assistance and educational subsidies is greater.

**Discrimination in the Labour Force.** Women who do not have a command of the English language are in a particularly difficult position because of the structure of the work available to them. Women's work is much more language dependent than men's. There are more options for men to advance economically; with a modicum of English decent salaries can be earned in skilled occupations, or with some capital, a small business begun. (Here most immigrants and refugees from Latin America are limited as few have financial capital, and men have more than women.) For women, the only way out of the most menial factory jobs is through office work or the helping professions. Both of these, as currently structured, require "perfect" English language skills, spoken and written. Even in affirmative action workplaces, geared to take in women trained through government sponsored programmes, we have received several reports of an unwillingness to hire women whose first language is not English, who speak with an "accent", or do not have "Canadian Experience". Women internalize this prejudice and learn to self-censure themselves; that is, to see themselves as ineligible for anything but the most menial jobs. Discrimination in employment practices poses a real problem for training programmes wherein "success" is defined by job placement. Thus, it is not surprising that the few training programmes that are government sponsored and geared specifically for immigrant and refugee women (eg. Women into Electronics, Working Skills Centre, NEW) are oriented toward low paying or entry-level, jobs.



**Accent = Illiteracy = Racism.** For most new arrivals, it is in Canada that they first experience themselves as the target of racism. One way that racism works is through the arrogant refusal of English speakers to listen to people who speak with "accents," and the concomitant assumption that the speaker is stupid, dumb, knows nothing. The way racism works, some accents are more acceptable than others.<sup>12</sup> For most women from Latin America, to speak with an accent is to be treated as though they are illiterate, and they (we) internalize this self devaluation. The circle closes as the fear of speaking becomes greater for appearing to be "stupid", the opportunities to practice are severely limited, and practice is essential to learning how to speak. For women, where racism and (hetero)sexism work together to limit their access to social spaces where they can have some opportunity to hear and speak without intimidation, the situation is especially difficult. Related to accent is the issue of writing or speaking in "proper" English—i.e. "correct" grammar and phrasing. If "non-standard" (whatever that is!) English is used, the writer/speaker is treated as though stupid, having nothing to say. Even in the writing of this report we struggle with these judgements, wanting our work not to be dismissed, or the words of those interviewed, because the form of expression used is taken to signify stupidity or sloppy research.

**Devaluation of Skills and Credentials.** No matter how much we need bilingual people to work in schools, in health care professions, in the service sector, English language and educational requirements, along with racism, bar those with degrees from other countries from practising in these areas. Teachers become day care workers, others enter office work and/or "non-traditional" jobs at the bottom of the ladder, where their lack of "accent-free" English keeps them. This general social devaluation of women from other countries tears deeply at their sense of self worth. Even professionally trained women can cease to see their value. One worker describes the fear women feel as they must learn how to prepare resumes to enter the work force:

It becomes a shock when we realize that we must consider ourselves, in one aspect, as merchandise to be sold. It is a curious process: from one perspective women see themselves less valuable, at the same moment when they must begin to think about what their qualities are, which gives them tremendous fear. ...They must undergo a process of convincing themselves that they can achieve or do, and also go beyond this point....

**Trapped** The painful reality is that most immigrant and refugee women from Latin America are caught in a trap. First, they are discriminated against by the government in getting access to subsidized English language and training provision. For those who manage to pursue their study of the language, most likely on a part-time basis, it is highly unlikely that they will be able to acquire enough English for it to make a difference in the realization of their career aspirations. Even the systematic pursuit of the haphazardly available array of part-time courses taken over the course of years does not provide the advanced English language skills required by employers in the middle class job sectors (i.e. clerical, secretarial, teaching, nursing or other health care worker, social work, etc.) open to women. Most courses are geared to the functional level—approximately sixth grade—deemed necessary "to defend oneself" in society. Advanced courses do exist, but they are less accessible, and, geared to TOEFL requirements for admission to higher education, they do not necessarily meet the language requirements for the professional in the workplace. This is also a problem of workplace "requirements" where the English language serves as the language of job

evaluation. More research is needed into these dynamics and their relationship to ESL provision.

## B. ISSUES IN ESL PROVISION

In this section, we characterize the provision of ESL from a systemic perspective. To do so, we draw upon several key reports that have been produced over the last several years (see listing under "Reports...to whom?"), as well as discussions with a number of teachers, programme administrators and community workers in the areas of ESL and literacy, and, finally, our experiences which span nearly 20 years as ESL student, community activist and researcher. Again, in the interests of trying to provide as comprehensive a picture as possible, we are limited to presenting an overview of some of the most glaring issues. More detailed studies of provision, including participant observation at the classroom and programme levels, are urgently needed. Because we do not have the resources to undertake such a study, our generalizations are intended not as "final conclusions", but as places from which to initiate discussion and action at all levels, from the communities to the ministries involved.

A major difficulty in making generalizations is that there is not a coherent system to critique or even to characterize. There are some outstanding individual programme initiatives that stand in counterpoint to the characterization that follows: We are keenly aware that the scenario of ESL provision from a systemic perspective presented below does not reflect the work of individual teachers and some of the exciting education that does go on at the classroom and, in some cases, programme levels. Rather than discounting the creative work that does go on, we hope that our report will dramatize the reality that it goes on in spite of major systemic obstacles, and even opposition.

While there have been dramatic improvements in the development of ESL instruction as an area of professional competence in the last decade, still ESL can be characterized as a (non)system, driven by crises and scarce resources which lead to competition, minimalism, class and gender biases, and lines of responsibility and accountability are not clear. ESL is not treated as an individual "right" and social responsibility. To some extent, it reflects the approach to adult education provision, and the deep-seated belief that it is the adult's responsibility to acquire and pay for his or her learning. To survive, educators must operate as entrepreneurs providing whatever the public—or business and industry—or the government—is willing to pay for. Need does not determine; money does. ESL provision may well be at the bottom of all priorities.

**Class, Race and Sex Bias.** In general, we see four tiers to this (non)system. For the academically-destined (i.e. foreign students, some young immigrants), those with the money can attend intensive private or fee-paying programmes at universities. These are augmented by publicly funded programmes through adult day schools where "upgrading" courses can also serve as a proxy for advanced ESL; CEIC subsidized intensive six month language training is available for those who, upon arrival, are designated as "destined for the labour force", primarily in highly skilled occupational categories that require English for job performance. As indicated above, though categorized as "not destined for the labour force", in fact, most women work, but are directed to "unskilled" jobs where English is not valued as essential to employment. For most women, access is limited to the bottom tier, an array



of part-time ESL classes which are offered through a variety of agencies that serve those ineligible for subsidized training and those who lack the financial resources to study full-time or to attend more prestigious institutions. For the most part, these courses are funded through Secretary of State (SOS), Ministry of Citizenship (MC) and local boards of education which cover teacher salaries. These sources have been augmented by CEIC's Settlement Language Training Programme (SLTP), geared specifically to counter the gender bias in the sponsored seats allocated through Canadian Job Strategies. Courses are offered through a range of providers, from community centres, to public schools, community colleges, workplace sites, etc. Within public schools, there is a major distinction between adult day school and evening classes. To a considerable extent, the quality of the resources available and teacher salaries depend upon the status of the institution offering the course and the degree of approximation (that is, fit with) mainstream educational provision. For example, ESL teachers at a community college are paid at a higher rate than those paid through local school boards and teachers at adult day schools receive more resources and are paid better than those in adult evening classes. (And volunteers are also used, for example in teaching literacy in the mother tongue.) How these differences affect provision requires further study.

**Severe Underfunding Is the Hallmark of Provision.** Although estimates vary, approximately one in six of the immigrant and refugee claimants in Ontario who could speak neither English or French was able to receive the subsidized training offered through CEIC. As for eligibility, 61% of the females as contrasted to 12% of the males "fell short of the eligibility criteria."<sup>13</sup> Among the few training programmes geared specifically for Latin American and/or immigrant and refugee women, demand far exceeds supply. For example, in conversation with us, The Working Skills Centre reports that it had 1865 women contact them for the 105 training seats available to them in 1990-91; New Experiences for Refugee Women (NEW) reports that it has 80 applicants for 15 seats every three months; Skills For Change reports that it cannot begin to meet the demand for its 12 seats, and so on.... As for general ESL classes, reports are that they are "full": "There's not an ESL space to be found in the city", says one interviewee. Provision varies according to level, location, type, availability of space and instructional resources, etc. While some adult day schools provide child care, and a few women can get transportation subsidies, these are dramatically limited. The lack of support for the costs that schooling incurs (to say nothing of lost income and time) contributes to the trap in which women find themselves. As one interviewee points out, for a woman to keep her welfare benefits, she must study English, but she cannot study English without day care, and the only day care acceptable for publicly subsidized programmes is at licensed day care facilities, and, as pointed out, the wait lists are horrendous.

**Competition Among Providers.** One consequence of scarce resources is that providers must compete among themselves for the little money that is available. There is no where near the money necessary to meet the complex educational needs of the diverse population. So ESL programmes for professionals to translate their credentials into Canadian requirements for occupational access must compete with courses for women who need basic ESL in order to enter the job market, with courses for those who have limited or no literacy skills in their native language, with more advanced courses in ESL; community centres have to compete with community colleges for access to allocations, workplace programming, etc. And providers must make difficult choices among programme options in provision as they fight to stay alive. New programme initiatives do not necessarily mean more offerings. For example, as more programmes are funded through the workplace,

programmes at the community level are threatened as workplaces tend to team up with colleges as providers. Inadvertently, competition is also placed upon "students" as difficult choices must be made in resource allocation.

**Minimalism.** Another consequence of scarce funding is that programmes are geared to meet "basic survival" needs, and must approach ESL as language skill training. Funding is dependent upon numbers passing through, not the comprehensiveness of the programme offered for the new arrival. Funds for materials, rent, instructors' salaries, administrative overhead, outreach, and support services have been increased but volunteerism is still important, eg. teaching and classroom provision by churches, schools and community organizations. Programmatically, this means that ESL is being provided in isolation from other, extremely pressing, educational needs of immigrant and refugee women. Most of what is offered must be geared to the most minimal survival level—i.e. to defend oneself on the street, to get a minimal paying job, etc. While community workers advocate the teaching of English as part of a more comprehensive approach to the educational needs of immigrants, with few exceptions, scarce resources mean that most ESL is still offered out of context, and not integrated into other educational and training possibilities.

**Crisis-Driven/Money-Driven.** In this (non)system, priorities are determined by crisis and money. In general, the money is shifting toward privatization in delivery as programmes like "English in the Workplace" can be more cost-effective than community-based offerings. Crises, like the current refugee situation, can see funds earmarked for special purposes, but these cannot meet the day-in and day-out demand for on-going, flexible access to an array of educational possibilities to study English at different levels and covering different content.

**Singular Conception of "Immigrant" as Recipient.** On the surface, offerings look like they are in abundance; when one considers the diversity of the immigrant and refugee populations, this image of abundance quickly dissipates. Most obvious are the differences in native language, prior educational background and facility with English. These are crucial considerations for the teacher who is likely to be faced by a full range, from the unschooled to the university-educated, speaking in different tongues, with varying degrees of capacity to understand English, in the same room. An instructional nightmare. Those with the least schooling and least facility with English will be the first to drop out. Research repeatedly shows the greater effectiveness of bilingual instruction coupled with some degree of fluid systematization. And there are serious needs for literacy in the first language before second language literacy can be acquired. Still, the mandate of economic minimalism means that situated ESL programming through bilingual classes, geared to different levels of language proficiency (from beginning to advanced), arranged with coherence in several locations, is largely unavailable.

**Unclear Lines of Institutional Responsibility and Community Accountability.** There is no one institution with primary responsibility for the provision of ESL or for meeting the educational needs of immigrants and refugees. Among the general public, we sense a strong ideological resistance to subsidized ESL provision, the belief being that it is the immigrants' responsibility to pay to learn the language: "if they do not already know it, they should not have come". Strong public resistance to "foreigners", especially as the racial composition of new arrivals changes in the direction of darker skin colours is reflected in the: "It's bad enough that we let them in, we sure don't want them feeding off us" mentality... "let



them take responsibility for their own choices; it's not my responsibility". This attitude is mirrored in limited government responsibility and community input. Funding sources are both Provincial and Federal, scattered throughout various ministries and local boards, usually earmarked for something other than ESL (eg. CEIC's Canadian Job Strategies programme). No one has responsibility for setting overall policy. At the Provincial level, neither the Ministry of Education, nor the Ministry of Colleges and Universities, nor the Ministry of Citizenship has primary responsibility. This also means that it is difficult to hold anyone accountable for the quality of provision. At their discretion, local boards and Colleges allocate and apply for funding and provide instructional support. Community centres, dependent upon funds for immigrant services for survival, may well have the greatest interest in ESL provision, and express the desire for more control and accountability to be built into the (non)system, but they are at the bottom of the heap in terms of power. Integral to the problem of naming "responsibility" is the tension between Federal and Provincial domains: immigration is a Federal concern whereas education is seen as a Provincial matter. But, even at the Provincial level, there are four different Ministries involved, with no means of articulating policies for provision among them.

**Capricious Creaming.** In the absence of clear lines of responsibility and community accountability, a space where policy can be made, where pressure can be applied to expand, improve and coordinate provision, policy is *de facto*, made in a multitude of little places. When an immigration official has the discretionary power to determine who is or is not eligible for subsidized language provision, it means that immigration status takes precedence over educational need. The way the system works, it looks as if the less English one knows, the less likely one is to receive subsidized instruction, for s/he is deemed to be destined for job ghettos anyway. As programme decisions have to be made along the way in determining which of the many applicants to accept for the few seats available, those "most likely to succeed" tend to be privileged. And the private wealth of the individual defines access to non-government funded programmes. So, chances are that the "most like us" (that is, the mythical norm—the white middle class male Canadian) are creamed and receive the opportunity to learn English while those "least like us" are stuck in job ghettos. We don't know for sure; further study of this question is urgently needed: does the capriciousness of language provision result in creaming the most privileged among the immigrant and refugee population, thereby further sedimenting class, race and gender divisions?

**Stop-Gap Training Rather Than Education.** The education of immigrants and refugees to meet the complexities of the situations they face upon arrival is a non-conception. The resources are not available to situate ESL as a comprehensive educational programme designed by the community in question in collaboration with educators and the intended "learners". For all the ideology about "learner-centred" approaches in the field of adult education, most ESL is taught as though the capacity for people to speak to each other and the instructor, in the language in which they can express themselves, were irrelevant. Important inroads have been made in some sites of programme provision where bilingual instruction and mother tongue literacy are recognized as essential, but these are exceptions and limited to the more "basic" levels. The provision of "life skills", job training, the integration of ESL with an overall educational programme that can address racism and sexism, is done only with the immense creativity, resources and work of individuals; it is not by "design", not funded and not built into provision. In the absence, some potential ESL

students turn to "upgrading" courses or high school completion as a means of furthering their educations; others—the vast majority—must discontinue study.

**Individual Dedication.** There are teachers, community workers and programme administrators who produce unusual programmes, outstanding in their commitment to the educational needs of immigrants and refugees. A few of these focus specifically on women. It is from their experience that our critique of the (non)system emanates, for we can see the possibilities that open with commitment, hard work, imagination and determination. But this can only go so far when resources are scarce. Life Skills Work, bilingual provision, mother tongue literacy, special programmes for women, training possibilities, job placements are done on shoestring budgets, by juggling resources, and often sending prospective programme participants from one place to another to another. There are no resources for keeping records, for tracking people, for providing back-up supports, not only for the women, but their families as well to address the changes in their lives. The point is not that there is "nothing good out there", but that scarce resources mean a high dependence on individual dedication, along with part-time and volunteer help, which perpetuates the racism in systemic provision, and contributes to professional "burn out".

**Unrecognized Expertise.** There is a great deal of unacknowledged expertise about how to situate ESL instruction so that the problematics of racism and sexism can be addressed. In the case of service to the Latin American community, and to women in particular, most of this expertise is located in the community-based organizations, but we have heard mention of others, located in school and workplace programmes. It is difficult to channel this expertise, to learn from those who have dedicated years of their lives to this work, to develop and extend that expertise to others. While the field of ESL has come some distance in its professionalization, still, the situation is more complex, as "professionalization" rarely draws upon localized, uncredentialed (in conventional terms) knowledge and experience. A key question for future development is how to tap into this community-based expertise and avoid the pitfalls of professionalization that lead to a tightening of discursive boundaries through escalating academic requirements. In the case of ESL, this can mean that sights are turned to sociolinguistics as a discipline base at the expense of socio/political understanding of immigrant and refugee situations in the host country. Both are critical to programme development.

**Lack of Teacher Support for Taking Up Issues of Racism and (Hetero)sexism.** Antiracist and antisexist education are not seen as integral to teacher preparation or to ESL provision. Lacking the time and resources to develop a more comprehensive approach to education, or to take up the serious problems faced by the students that are directly related to their learning English, the majority of teachers rely upon linguistic approaches to ESL instruction. This situation is extremely serious for women where the possibilities for learning English are deeply textured into the structures of their lives. How can teachers be expected to address educationally the racist and sexist violence students face in their lives, and its connections to learning English, when they do not have the resources or the skills to do so?

**Important Initiatives.** In the last few years, more progressive programmes have been working on addressing some of these problems. There are promising developments, seriously in need of support, funding and further implementation. To name a few:



- Bilingual instruction is being offered, primarily through community centres, and Boards of Education in Toronto, and mostly at the beginning level.
- Literacy in the mother tongue: again, there are a few programmes, primarily at community centres and through the Boards of Education in Toronto.
- Life skills: primarily through Community-based programmes, but also through workplace ESL programmes where the focus tends to be more on work-related issues.
- Women's programmes: very sparse, mostly through Community-based organizations.

A key point is that Community-based programmes are best equipped to offer an approach to ESL that can integrate life skills with related educational concerns of immigrants and refugees because they can provide for bilingual instruction, which is essential to allow for the possibility of meaningful conversations to occur. Still, we do not wish to advocate a singular approach to funding; multiple sites and forms of provision are essential to respond to the diversity in the population.

#### ***Integration of ESL with Education, Training, Job Placement and Counselling.***

In addition to community-based programmes which manage on shoestring budgets to provide a somewhat more integrated approach to ESL, there are also a few new CEIC funded programmes which are taking a more comprehensive approach. Among those to whom we spoke are New Experiences for Refugee Women, Skills for Change and the Working Skills Centre. Some initiatives are also linking programmes across, for example, the Immigrant Women's Job Placement Centre, as well as a range of community centres that serve immigrants from Latin America (eg. The Centre for Spanish Speaking People, the Latin American Community Centre, COSTI, Rexdale Community Centre...) This is not intended to be an exhaustive list, but indicative of the work in process, and some shifts in funding direction. As indicated above, however, the few sponsored seats made available through some of these initiatives cannot begin to meet the demand.

***Reports...To Whom?*** In the last few years, a number of excellent reports have been produced which address various aspects of the problems in ESL provision. To date, we have little evidence that these reports have had much impact upon provision. Unless they address a very small part of the problem, so that a designated bureaucratic structure (e.g. CEIC, MC) can address the specific situation, there are no channels through which broader reports can be systematically taken up. Moreover, the education of adult immigrants or refugees (and women in particular), even when limited to ESL, is not an issue that affects an influential enough segment of the population for public pressure to be effective. How greater systemic change will come about remains to be seen. The one area where public pressure may have had some effect is around the issue of gender bias in the allocation of sponsored seats as the latest reports to the CEIC indicate that more of these are going to women, although discrimination through the application of "eligibility" criteria continues to be a problem. Still, the overall shape of ESL provision remains basically unchanged; until greater funding, policy direction, coordination and accountability procedures are instituted across providers and

various government ministries, the general picture is unlikely to improve significantly. In the last few years, several key reports on ESL have been produced which point to problems of sexism in provision and express serious concerns about quality and the lack of accountability.

Reports that have been the most important to our work and provide a pivotal basis for our analysis are:

*Immigrants and Language Training*. 1991. Ottawa: Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.

Estable, A. and Meyer, M. *Equity in Language Training Project*. 1989. Ottawa: Equity in Language Training Project.

Teng-Teng, Amy Go. *Discussion Paper on E.S.L. Funding*. 1987. Toronto, Ontario: Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI).

*Task Force on Access to Trades and Professions in Ontario*. 1989. Toronto, Ontario: Ministry of Citizenship.

These reports leave us uneasy about the need for yet another report, and in our work we have tried not to duplicate what has already been done. Instead, we want to urge serious consideration (and the implementation of a process through which this can happen) of work completed.

***Government Initiatives and Continuing Stratification.*** The above reports, especially the most recent one, *Immigrants and Language Training* (March 1991) outline various new programmes which have been undertaken at the Federal and Provincial levels. Some of these initiatives are reflected in the programme changes mentioned above, and are geared specifically to address some of the inequities faced by immigrant and/or refugee women. The largest of the governmental initiatives is for workplace-based training in literacy and ESL. While workplace programmes are essential, discussions with people involved in provision suggest that the workplace is not the best place to counter stratification problems because: 1) ESL must compete with English language literacy, and comes out poorly in that competition; 2) most immigrant women are in job ghettos that are not highly enough organized to apply for funding; and, 3) workplace training is not oriented to move women out of the lowest levels of jobs into which they are placed initially, but to improve their functional performance in the jobs in which they are currently employed. Other funding initiatives which combine ESL with training and job placement suffer from related problems as women are trained to assume jobs at the bottom of the employment ladder, even in areas designated as "non-traditional" trades. Gender divisions are also perpetuated in the CEIC's Settlement Language Training Programme (SLTP), which, for the most part, provides women with part-time instruction, but does offer child care and transportation subsidies. While these initiatives are noteworthy beginnings, they barely touch upon the complexity of the problems in ESL provision.

***Precarious Standardization.*** The foregoing reports all make recommendations in the direction of greater centralization, standardization and accountability procedures being



built into ESL provision. Problems of quality, overlap, inefficiency, inaccessibility, in general, the lack of a "comprehensive" approach, are cited as the rationale behind the need for greater standardization. While there is agreement that greater articulation amongst providers and more resources for provision are crucial, there are differences in approach. In her report to OCASI, Teng-Teng stresses the importance of coordination to provide for ESL as a right to non-English speakers. In their report, Estable and Meyer develop a comprehensive framework for provision which integrates ESL with educational provision and job market placement, and they stress the need for multiple providers, including the involvement of community workers at all levels of the "system". In the report on *Immigrants and Language Training* prepared for the CEIC, the emphasis is upon systematization and the development of national standards for provision.

While we are in general agreement with the conclusions of these reports, we are also uneasy about the stress upon standardization for the sake of greater efficiency emphasized in the CEIC report. This is very precarious ground. As we see it, the problem with provision is not with overlap, but with severe shortage and underfunding. To argue for greater efficiency is worrisome when the underfunding of ESL is the problem if one takes into account the severity of the situations faced by most new arrivals. We also see standardization, centralization and accountability as a "mixed blessing" to say the least. Our concern is that the extremely diverse needs of the population will be unattended to as standardized offerings will tend to grade and place, focus on certain skills to the exclusion of others, ignore broader and diverse educational needs, and result in letting those who do not make the grade, who cannot keep up in a regularized, standardized way, fall by the wayside. Lacking subsidies, child care, and faced with full family responsibility, women are the most vulnerable to these standards, the most apt to fall by the wayside.

Moves toward greater standardization must be taken with the utmost care, to take into account the very diverse and stratified realities of the people who make up immigrant and refugee communities. And "learner" involvement, as well as community involvement in decision-making at all levels is crucial. We place the words "learner" and "community" in quotation marks to emphasize that there are significant class, race and gender differences among ESL learners and within ethnic communities that must also be taken into account. Rather than moving toward "standardization", we prefer to think in terms of articulation, coordination and integration, to develop a more comprehensive educational approach to the educational needs of refugee and immigrant women.

**Where Will the Money Come From?** Until refugee and immigrant women are seen as fundamental resources, rather than a drain upon our economy, there will be no more money, and, perhaps in times of economic recession, cutbacks. The absurdity, of course, is that it is through these women, and the improvement of the quality of their lives, wherein lies a key to offsetting the sexism and racism of the Canadian class system. Their access to a more comprehensive approach to ESL affects not only them, but their children as well, which has implications for the rest of educational provision at the childhood as well as adult levels. We also argue that good programming, at the community levels, is more cost-effective for bilingual instruction can be combined with a variety of other services to communities. Perhaps the current "bandaid" approach to service delivery to immigrant and refugee women (and men) can be augmented by more comprehensive educational approaches where "learners" are encouraged to take greater power in addressing the myriad of problems they

face, as well as in assisting newer arrivals, and where existing expertise can be garnered for teacher training and programme development. Coordination and application for funding from one source can save in wasted staff time; predictability of funding and programming can build a base that can be drawn upon to strengthen the resources of the community as a whole. In all this though, we see no way around the need for more funding to allow for the possibility of a more comprehensive approach to provision. Also, we are not advocating that community centres take over ESL from others, but that they serve as a hub, coordinating efforts, initiatives and information with changes in need as the composition of the incoming population shifts.

### C. RECOMMENDATIONS

- That access to ESL, from beginning to advanced levels, be considered a right for adults whose mother tongue is not English.
- Situated ESL programmes be instituted that are operated by Latin American women for Latin American women, that can also take into account differences in nationality, educational background, class location, etc. within the population.
- Violence against women not be decontextualized from differences in race and class; its implications for ESL provision and educational programming need to be recognized with adequate backup support, including specialized programmes for men, access to Spanish speaking counsellors, specialized teacher training, etc.
- Situated ESL be taught bilingually, in conjunction with various communities, as part of a broader educational approach that includes upgrading, training, career counselling, life skills, further education and employment, as well as providing tools for analyzing and acting upon practices of racism and sexism.
- More ESL be offered by bilingual instructors, with programme offerings ranging from mother tongue literacy to basic and more advanced levels of ESL, organized through "same language" classes to allow for the possibility of more complex conversations that can address learner concerns.
- Community centres and other community-based programmes receive direct funding for a broader approach to ESL, including some "women only" classes, as well as the integration of ESL into a more comprehensive educational framework that moves from beginning to more advanced levels. These centres need to be integrated into policy decision-making and processes of resource allocation.
- Greater articulation among providers of ESL, with one ministry at the Provincial level, possibly the Ministry of Education, charged with primary responsibility for developing a coordinated inter-ministerial policy for delivery.
- The stratification of ESL provision along lines of gender, race and class be systematically studied and addressed.



- More money be allocated for women to have fuller access to subsidized ESL and training programmes that can provide employment beyond entry level.
- Specialized programmes (antiracist and antisexist) that combine ESL with credential transfer for those who arrive with degrees and credentials not recognized in Canada by employers and/or educational institutions, while simultaneously, the criteria used by these institutions to ascertain comparability are carefully scrutinized for built-in sexist and racist biases.
- Specialized training programmes for bilingual teachers of ESL that draw upon existing expertise at the community level to train teachers to attend to the complex situations faced by immigrant and refugee women.
- Further research, including: 1) longitudinal studies of refugee and immigrant women's experiences with learning English, its effects upon work, education and other aspects of their lives; 2) studies of provision to look at differences among providers, who is served what, how choices are made in the competition for scarce funds, who gets left out and what happens to them, classroom dynamics, especially how questions of sexism, racism and classism enter into those dynamics....

## NOTES TO PART II

1. Kathleen Rockhill, "Literacy as Threat Desire: Longing to be Somebody" in J. Gaskell and A. McLaren, eds., Women and Education A Canadian Perspective, Calgary: Detsilig Enterprises, 1987a, pp. 315-331; and "Gender, Language and the Politics of Literacy," British Journal of Sociology of Education, 8(2), 1987b, pp. 153-167.
2. (Hetero)sexism is used to stress that, while women are devalued because of their sex, they are regulated through institutionalized practices of (hetero)sexism which work at all levels of society, including, in the work under study, Canadian governmental policies that define family relations, reinforcing woman's dependence upon a male "head of household". (Hetero)sexism is deeply structured into cultural/social/political relations throughout Canadian society; it is not unique to the community under study.
3. See, for example, the recent collection edited by Gloria Anzaldúa, Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras, San Francisco: Aunt Lute Foundation Books, 1990.
4. See Aída Hurtado, "Relating to privilege: Seduction and rejection in the subordination of white women and women of colour," Signs, 14(4), 1989, pp. 833-855.
5. Helène Moussa, "The Social Construction of Women Refugees". Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Ed.D. Thesis, 1991.
6. Eleni Skodra, "A Reinterpretation of Southern European Immigrant Women: Everyday Life Experience," Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Ed.D. Thesis, 1987; and J. Pilowski, "The Doctors Hospital Mental Health Services Community Consultation Report," 1991.
7. Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, Immigration Manual, pp. 27-29.
8. See, for example, Monica Boyd, "Migrant Women in Canada", 1987; and S.B. Seward and K. McDade, "Immigrant Women in Canada", 1988
9. See Kathleen Rockhill, "Literacy as threat/desire: Longing to be Somebody", pp. 332.
10. See Monica Boyd, "Immigrant Women in Canada", in R.J. Simon and C. Bretell, eds., International Migration, Towata, N.J.: Rowman and Allenheld, 1989, pp. 47-75; see also Alma Estable, Immigrant Women in Canada, 1986.
11. See D. Stasiulis, "Theorizing connection: Gender, race, ethnicity and class", P. Li, ed., Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 284.
12. Patricia Tomic recalls a Hungarian poet having his poetry read by a native English speaker for the audience to see that he did not think with an "accent".
13. Canada Employment and Immigration Council, Immigrants and Language Training, March 1991, pp. 7.



**TABLE 1**  
**Latin American Immigration to Canada, 1970-1980 (Percent distribution)**

Country of Last Permanent Residence	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1970-1980	%	Rank
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number		
Chile	7	11	8	7	21	30	30	32	36	31	28	14,553	21.9	1
Argentina	9	9	11	18	14	9	11	14	13	12	10	7,850	11.8	2
Mexico	13	12	19	9	7	8	9	12	10	10	10	7,186	10.8	3
Ecuador	--	6	5	16	19	17	13	8	8	7	6	6,640	9.5	4
Colombia	7	8	7	13	11	10	9	8	7	8	6	5,676	8.5	5
Uruguay	19	14	9	9	7	7	6	5	--	6	--	4,951	7.5	6
Brazil	15	13	11	8	6	5	--	6	5	6	6	4,891	7.4	7
Peru	8	10	9	7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2,053	3.1	8
Venezuela	7	6	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,087	1.6	9
Paraguay	--	5	6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	664	1.0	10
<b>TOTAL</b>													<b>100.0</b>	
<b>N</b>	<b>3536</b>	<b>3316</b>	<b>3319</b>	<b>7389</b>	<b>9845</b>	<b>10032</b>	<b>8535</b>	<b>6633</b>	<b>5447</b>	<b>4122</b>	<b>4255</b>	<b>66429</b>		

Percentages per year are rounded. Figures less than 5% are blank. The Chilean figures between 1974-1980 are corrected ones. Chilean citizens who came from Argentina have been subtracted from 'Argentina' and added to 'Chile' as Country of Last Permanent Residence.

Source: Mata, 1985, Table 3, p. 34-35.



**TABLE 3**  
**Country of Last Permanent Residence by Year of Landing, 1982-1988**

Country of Last Permanent Residence	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Central America (Spanish speaking*) and Mexico	1,626	3,614	4,026	4,983	6,048	6,849	5,615
Costa Rica	53	65	76	88	138	175	185
El Salvador	857	2,551	2,579	2,881	3,167	3,536	2,705
Guatemala	128	364	648	1,063	1,311	1,089	690
Honduras	30	63	74	94	104	134	106
Mexico	513	512	522	369	591	815	925
Nicaragua	31	50	114	468	716	1,073	982
Panama	14	9	13	20	21	27	22
Caribbean (Spanish speaking*)	217	207	214	234	461	597	456
Cuba	93	106	110	148	133	140	93
Dominican Republic	109	99	94	84	321	453	361
Puerto Rico	15	2	10	2	7	4	2
South America (Spanish and Portuguese speaking*)	3,356	2,196	2,183	2,037	2,765	4,666	4,352
Argentina	675	280	243	218	243	567	433
Bolivia	41	42	42	45	78	156	59
Brazil	272	158	180	162	241	265	433
Chile	1,011	757	664	534	639	1,422	954
Colombia	356	234	243	213	256	374	368
Ecuador	187	163	183	210	249	363	265
Paraguay	62	74	74	47	70	113	131
Peru	415	243	305	327	624	861	1,276
Urugugay	141	108	89	93	137	273	100
Venezuela	196	137	160	188	228	272	333
Total Latin Americans	5,199	6,017	6,423	7,254	9,274	12,112	10,423
Total Immigration	121,147	89,157	88,239	84,302	99,219	152,098	161,929
Percentage	4.3%	6.7%	7.2%	8.6%	9.3%	8.0%	6.4%

\* Spanish and Portuguese (in the case of Brazil) are the official languages.

Source: Canada, Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics*, Vol. 1988, Table IM7, pp. 35-36

**TABLE 2**  
**Latin American Immigration to Canada as Percentage of Total Immigration, 1960-1980**

Years	Canada	Latin America	% LA
1960	104,111	1,807	1.7
1961	71,689	1,265	1.8
1962	74,586	1,181	1.6
1963	93,151	1,926	2.1
1964	112,606	2,454	2.2
1965	146,758	2,081	1.4
1966	194,743	2,198	1.1
1967	222,876	2,800	1.8
1968	183,974	2,248	1.4
1969	161,531	3,257	2.0
1970	147,713	3,536	2.4
1971	121,900	3,316	2.7
1972	122,006	3,319	2.7
1973	184,200	7,389	4.0
1974	218,465	9,845	4.5
1975	187,881	10,032	5.3
1976	149,429	8,535	5.7
1977	114,914	6,633	5.5
1978	86,313	5,447	6.3
1979	112,096	4,122	3.9
1980	143,117	4,255	3.0

Source: Mata, 1985, Table 1, p. 32.



**TABLE 5**  
**Permanent Residents by Class of Admission, Canada, 1987**

Class	Male	Female	Total	%
Family	22,874	30,724	53,598	35
Refugee & Designated Class	12,824	8,741	21,565	14
Assisted Relative	6,500	5,783	12,283	8
Independent	34,777	29,875	64,652	43
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>76,975</b>	<b>75,123</b>	<b>152,098</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: R. Trumper and L. Wong, "Racialization and genderization: The Canadian state, immigrants and temporary workers." Table 3.

**TABLE 4**  
**Selected Country of Last Permanent Residence by Period of Landing, 1984-1988**

Country of Last Permanent Residence	1984-1988	%
Central America (Spanish speaking*) and Mexico	27,521	60.5
Costa Rica	662	1.4
El Salvador	14,868	32.7
Guatemala	4,801	10.6
Honduras	512	1.1
Mexico	3,222	7.0
Nicaragua	3,353	7.3
Panama	103	0.3
Caribbean (Spanish speaking*)	1,962	4.3
Cuba	624	1.4
Dominican Republic	1,313	2.9
Puerto Rico	25	(a)
Spanish* and Portuguese Speaking South America	16,003	35.2
Argentina	1,704	3.7
Bolivia	380	0.8
Brazil	1,281	2.8
Chile	4,213	9.2
Colombia	1,454	3.1
Ecuador	1,270	3.1
Paraguay	435	0.9
Peru	3,393	7.4
Uruguay	692	1.5
Venezuela	1,181	2.6
Latin Americans	45,486	
Total Immigration	585,787	
Latin Americans/Total Immigration	7.8	

\* Spanish is the official language.  
 Source: Table 3.



**TABLE 7**  
**Top Sources of Immigration, 1985-1987**

Country	1985	1986	1987	1985-1987	Rank
Hong Kong	7,380	5,893	16,170	29,444	1
Vietnam	10,404	6,622	5,668	22,688	2
USA	6,669	7,275	7,967	21,911	3
India	4,028	6,940	9,692	20,660	4
Great Britain	4,454	5,088	8,547	18,090	5
Poland	3,617	5,231	7,036	15,881	6
Philippines, Rep. of	3,076	4,102	7,343	14,522	7
Jamaica	2,922	4,652	5,422	12,996	8
Guyana	2,301	3,905	6,073	12,279	9
Portugal	910	1,970	5,977	10,180	10
El Salvador	2,881	3,167	3,536	9,584	11
Lebanon	1,657	2,348	3,414	7,419	12
Sri Lanka	815	1,753	4,226	6,794	13
Iran	1,728	1,952	3,083	6,744	14
China	1,883	1,902	2,625	6,410	15
France	1,401	1,610	2,290	5,303	16
Haiti	1,297	1,727	2,121	5,145	17
Germany (West)	1,578	1,403	1,906	4,888	18
Korea South	934	1,143	2,276	4,357	19
Kampuchea	1,803	1,745	1,612	3,547	20
Guatemala	1,063	1,311	1,089	3,463	21

Source: Canada, Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1985-1988.

60

**TABLE 6**  
**Permanent Residents by Class of Admission by Latin American Regions, 1987**

Class	North & Central America*				Total	South America**				TOTAL LATIN AMERICA								
	M	%	F	%		%	M	%	F	%	Total	%	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Family	428	12.2	667	19.9	1,095	15.9	1,998	38.3	2,507	44.9	4,505	41.7	2,426	27.8	3,174	35.5	5,600	31.7
Refugee & Designated Class	2,118	60.1	1,855	55.3	3,973	57.8	277	5.3	215	3.8	492	4.6	2,395	27.4	2,070	23.2	4,465	25.2
Assisted Relative	149	18.1	156	4.6	305	4.4	326	6.2	313	5.6	639	5.9	475	5.4	469	5.2	944	5.3
Independent	824	23.4	676	20.1	1,500	21.8	2,621	50.1	2,544	45.6	5,165	47.8	3,445	39.4	3,220	36.0	6,665	37.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,519</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,354</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6,873</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,222</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,579</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10,801</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8,741</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8,933</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>17,674</b>	<b>100</b>

\*Excludes USA; Includes Belize.

\*\*Includes French Guiana and Guyana

Source: Canada Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, Table IM 15.



**TABLE 9**  
**Population (15 yrs +) by Mother Tongue, Age, Gender and Total Personal Income, 1986**  
**Mother Tongue: Spanish Area: CMA: Toronto**

Gender/age	Total	No Income	<\$5,000	\$5,000 -9,999	\$10,000 -19,999	\$20,000 -29,999	\$30,000 -34,999	\$35,000 -39,999	\$40,000 -44,999	\$45,000 -49,999	50,000+	Average Income
<b>TOTAL</b>	24,325	4,620	4,290	3,580	6,105	3,345	850	620	295	180	445	\$16,049
15-19	2,420	1,295	865	170	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,110
20-24	2,970	595	925	550	730	130	0	10	0	15	0	9,206
25-39	10,190	1,420	1,455	1,495	2,975	1,735	385	335	150	85	145	16,967
40-54	6,130	675	660	760	1,770	1,220	360	240	115	80	240	20,354
55-64	1,660	395	240	225	415	195	85	35	15	0	40	16,752
65-74	730	205	100	220	115	50	10	0	0	0	15	12,284
75-79	125	0	35	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,909
80 +	105	20	0	70	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	8,438
<b>Males</b>												
<b>TOTAL</b>	11,960	1,255	1,860	1,260	3,115	2,395	710	550	260	170	390	\$19,721
15-19	1,315	665	490	110	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,225
20-24	1,450	175	475	270	400	90	0	10	0	10	0	9,811
25-39	4,995	240	535	505	1,465	1,280	340	285	140	80	125	20,917
40-54	3,125	65	230	200	870	850	295	215	105	80	205	25,194
55-64	700	40	55	65	240	140	65	30	20	0	45	22,739
65-74	285	45	60	65	65	35	0	0	0	0	0	11,056
65-79	50	0	15	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,625
80 +	40	15	0	20	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	10,000
<b>Females</b>												
<b>TOTAL</b>	12,365	3,365	2,425	2,320	2,990	950	140	75	30	10	60	\$11,715
15-19	1,100	635	375	60	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	3,952
20-24	1,520	415	455	280	330	40	0	0	0	0	0	8,314
25-39	5,190	1,180	915	995	1,505	465	45	45	15	0	20	12,274
40-54	3,005	610	430	560	905	370	65	20	0	0	35	14,024
55-64	960	355	185	160	170	55	15	0	0	0	0	10,385
65-74	445	165	40	155	45	15	10	0	0	0	0	9,953
75-79	75	0	20	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,071
80 +	65	0	0	55	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7,500

Source: 1986 Census, Statistics Canada. Compiled by Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Ethnocultural Database Office.

**TABLE 8**  
**Female Permanent Residents, Age 15 and Older by Class of Admission and Select Characteristics, Canada 1981-1986<sup>(a)</sup>**

	Total (1)	Family Class (2)	Refugees and Designated Classes (3)	Assisted Relatives (4)	Indigent Class		
					Retired (5)	Business <sup>(b)</sup> (6)	Other (7)
<b>Total<sup>(c)</sup></b>	259,536	140,970	27,904	21,202	6,638	12,582	50,267
<b>Percentages</b>							
<b>Marital Status</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	30.1	24.1	32.4	46.2	20.4	24.9	41.4
Married	57.1	58.3	60.5	46.9	53.7	70.7	52.9
Other <sup>(d)</sup>	12.8	17.6	7.1	6.9	25.9	4.4	5.7
<b>Family Status</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Principal Applicant	56.3	69.0	36.7	49.0	39.4	10.7	48.3
Spouse	32.7	19.1	52.9	39.6	49.2	67.4	45.7
Dependent <sup>(d)</sup>	11.0	11.9	10.4	11.4	11.4	21.9	6.0
<b>Language Knowledge<sup>(e)</sup></b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
English and/or							
French	58.1	55.8	11.6	42.7	78.1	67.5	87.9
<b>Labour Force Status</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Worker	40.2	27.8	63.6	60.3	1.3	22.1	63.0
Spouse	35.9	40.2	25.7	27.4	29.8	56.7	28.9
Other	23.9	32.0	10.7	12.3	68.9	21.2	8.1
<b>Country of Last Permanent Residence<sup>(g)</sup></b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
El Salvador	1.5	0.3	9.1	1.6	(f)	(f)	1.1
Guatemala	0.4	0.2	1.7	0.5	(f)	(f)	0.4
Nicaragua	0.2	(f)	1.3	0.2	0.0	(f)	(f)
Other North-Central America <sup>(g)</sup>	0.7	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.4
South America	2.6	2.9	2.0	1.4	1.0	1.9	3.1
Other	94.6	95.8	85.6	95.8	98.4	97.2	95.0

(a) Calendar Year, January 1 - December 31

(b) Includes entrepreneur, self-employed and investor class

(c) Actual, not sample statistics (N).

(d) Includes not stated (37 cases for marital status and 203 cases for family status).

(e) Excludes not stated

(f) Less than .5 percent.

(g) Excludes USA

(h) Excludes Guyana

Source: Boyd, *Migrant Women*, 1987, pg. 57-58



**TABLE 10**  
**Population (15 yrs +) by Mother Tongue, Age, Gender and Total Personal Income, 1986**  
**Mother Tongue: Total      Area: CMA: Toronto**

Gender/age	Total	No Income	<\$5000	\$5000 -9999	\$10000 -19999	\$20000 -29999	\$30000 -34999	\$35000 -39999	\$40000 -44999	\$45000 -49999	50000+	Average Income
<b>TOTAL</b>	2732350	283240	408370	383070	620910	474355	167080	111125	85020	52995	146185	\$20895
15-19	248850	99145	116820	20980	9985	1475	175	80	65	30	100	\$ 4382
20-24	321955	21765	83310	72000	106915	30875	4310	1355	575	260	590	\$11304
25-39	926035	65440	89690	85760	229340	224480	78970	51540	37055	20480	43285	\$23286
40-54	602375	47590	54210	48775	123250	123875	51520	37250	31325	21310	63270	\$27675
55-64	325235	39195	41625	36385	63335	60655	23055	15090	11555	7810	26525	\$24136
65-74	195665	7725	18380	61720	57725	24485	6890	4225	3325	2355	8840	\$17292
75-79	58700	1350	2800	27635	16895	4790	1230	905	585	450	2055	\$14883
80 +	53540	1035	1540	29820	13470	3715	935	680	535	300	1515	\$13766
<b>Males</b>												
<b>TOTAL</b>	1322565	80610	155770	134585	250900	266120	117510	84775	66000	41995	124300	\$26119
15-19	126965	49355	59465	11475	5475	880	130	60	45	30	50	\$4538
20-24	160180	9505	38895	34915	51015	20350	3280	1115	470	215	415	\$12220
25-39	450260	9135	28010	29130	87840	121255	54290	39065	28680	16425	36440	\$28230
40-54	300355	4860	14240	12325	38600	66905	36915	29035	24885	16965	55625	\$35469
55-64	157965	4700	10565	10920	26115	37740	17430	11975	9140	6275	23100	\$31226
65-74	86075	2240	3665	18075	29420	14985	4460	2725	2195	1665	6640	\$22088
75-79	22840	455	590	8860	7500	2460	605	500	330	265	1280	\$17768
80 +	17920	370	340	8875	4935	1540	400	305	250	160	750	\$15713
<b>Females</b>												
<b>TOTAL</b>	1409785	202625	252600	248485	370015	208235	49575	26350	19025	11000	21875	\$15520
15-19	121890	49790	57355	9500	4505	600	50	20	20	0	50	\$4216
20-24	161770	12265	44410	37080	55895	10520	1025	245	100	45	175	\$10381
25-39	475770	56305	61675	56635	141500	103225	24680	12470	8385	4055	6845	\$18087
40-54	302010	42730	39970	36450	84650	56965	14600	8215	6440	4340	7645	\$18792
55-64	167265	34495	31055	25460	37225	22915	5625	3110	2415	1530	3425	\$15952
65-74	109595	5485	14715	43645	28305	9500	2430	1505	1125	685	2200	\$13430
75-79	35860	895	2210	18775	9395	2330	630	405	255	185	775	\$13038
80 +	35620	660	1200	20940	8540	2175	535	370	285	145	770	\$12799

Source: 1986 Census, Statistics Canada. Compiled by Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Ethnocultural Database Office.

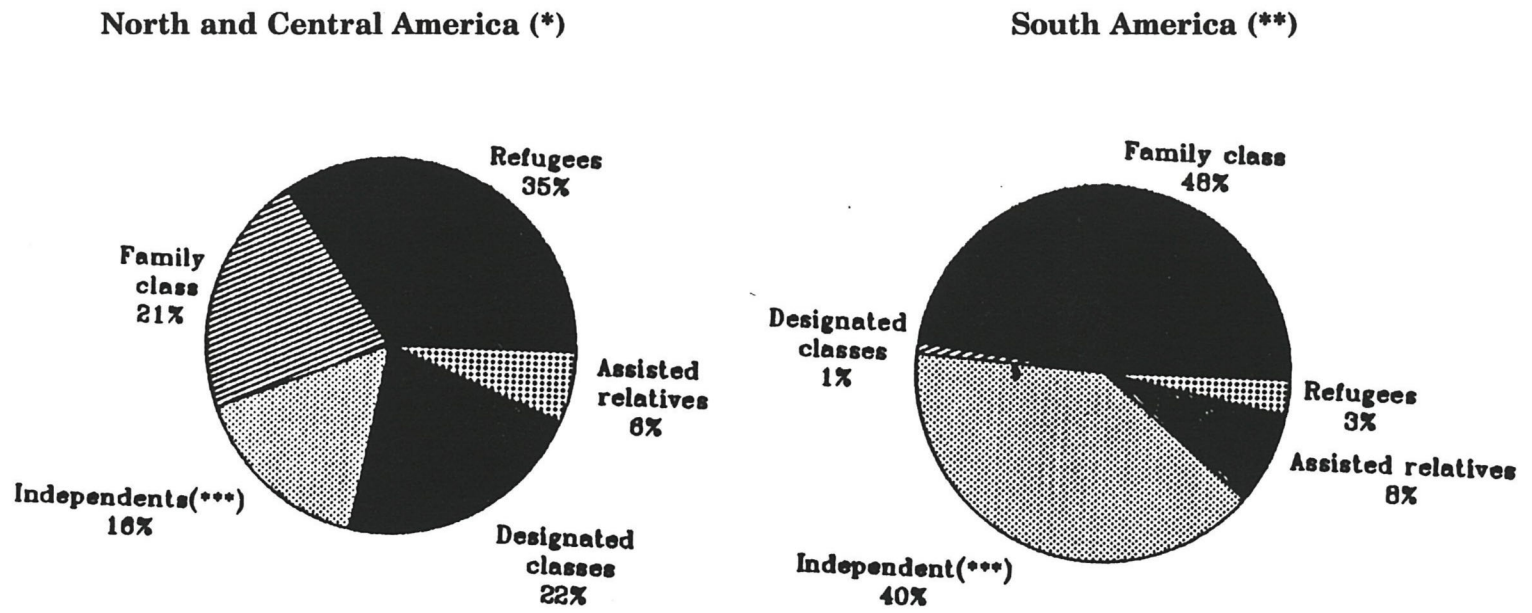


**APPENDIX II**

**FIGURES**



**FIGURE 1**  
**Female Permanent Residents By Class of Admission**  
**1987 - 1988**



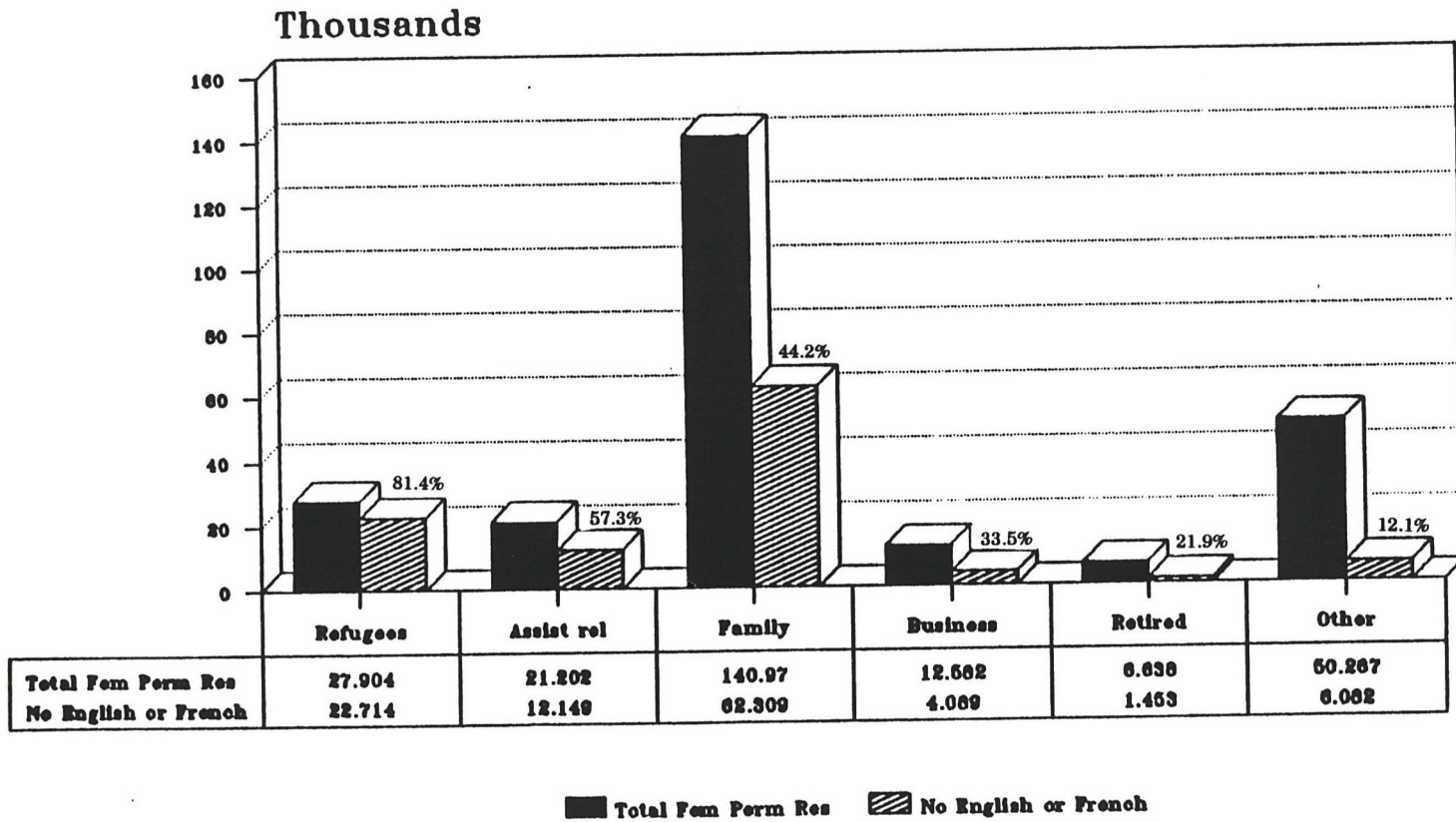
(\*) Includes Belize; Excludes USA  
 (\*\*) Includes French Guiana and Guyana  
 (\*\*\*) Includes Self Employed, Entrepreneur, Retired, Others

Source: Canada, Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1987, Table IM 15, p. 50; 1988, Table IM 15, p. 50.



FIGURE 3

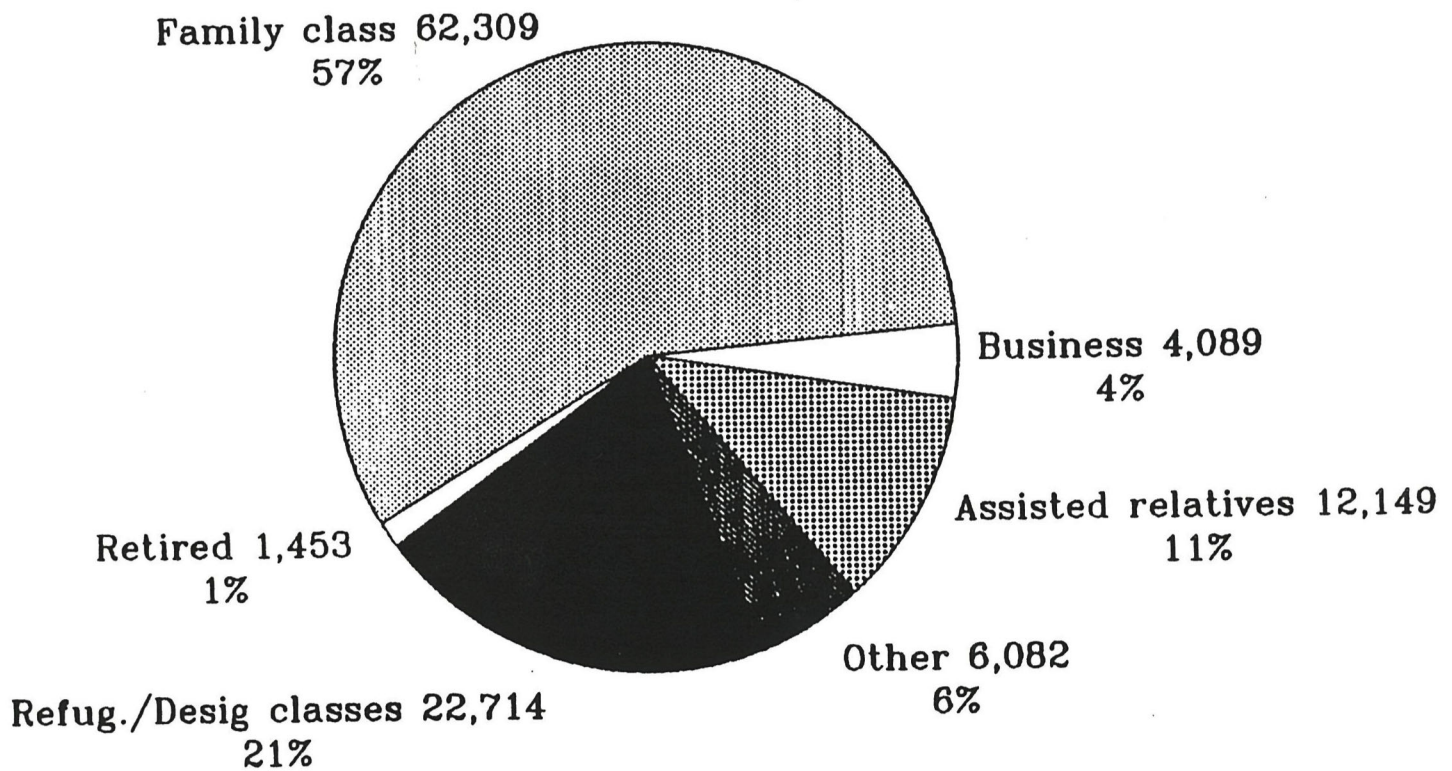
**Female Permanent Residents Who Do Not Speak English or French, Age 15 and Over by Class of Admission, 1981 - 1986**



Source: M. Boyd, Migrant Women in Canada, Tables 21 and 22.

FIGURE 2

**Female Permanent Residents Who Do Not Speak English or French, Age 15 and Over by Class of Admission, 1981 - 1986**

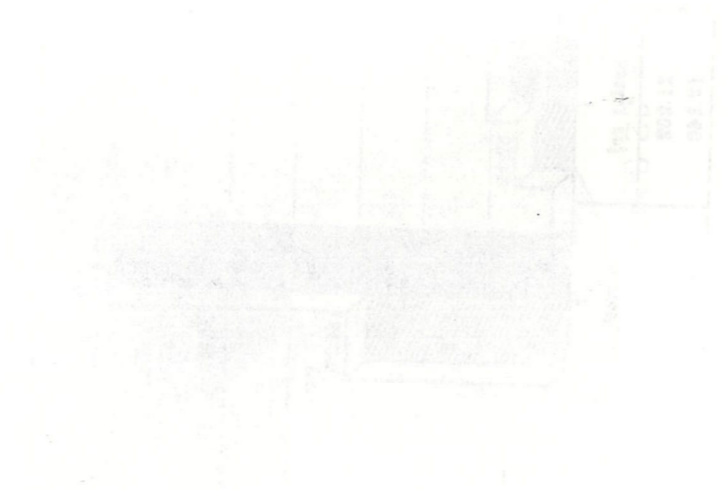


Source: M. Boyd, Migrant Women in Canada, Tables 21 and 22.



1000 Bay St. Toronto

Phone



Bloor Inf. Centre  
1072 Dover St.  
Toronto

Centre for  
1004 Bay St.  
Toronto  
533-8341

COSM

Cross-City  
985 Bay St.  
Toronto

Inders  
A Sp...  
T...  
L...

His...  
58...  
Tor...

Im...  
F...  
T...

Im...  
7...  
2...

Im...  
1...  
1...

Im...  
1...  
1...

**APPENDIX III  
ORGANIZATIONS**



**Sample of Community Based Organizations Serving  
The Latin American Community**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Bloor Information & Legal Services<br>1072 Dovercourt Road<br>Toronto, Ontario M6H 2X8 (531-4613)                        | Metro Toronto Host Program<br>1339 King Street West<br>Toronto, Ontario M6K 1H2 (538-8280)                          |
| Centre for Spanish Speaking People<br>1004 Bathurst Street<br>Toronto, Ontario M5R 3S7 (533-8545 or<br>533-8546)         | Mujeres de Coraje<br>1239 Queen Street West<br>Toronto, Ontario M6K 1L5 (531-2411)                                  |
| COSTI-IIAS Immigrant Services  | New Experience for Refugee Women<br>815 Danforth Avenue, Suite 406,<br>Toronto, Ontario M4J 1L2                     |
| Cross-Cultural Communications Centre<br>965 Bloor Street West<br>Toronto, Ontario M6H 1L7                                | Parkdale Community and Legal Services<br>1239 Queen Street West<br>Toronto, Ontario M6K 1L5 (531-2411)              |
| Independent Living Skills<br>A Special Service from<br>The Centre for Avancement<br>In Work and Living (CAWL) (532-8018) | Refugee Information Centre<br>517 Parliament Street<br>Toronto, Ontario M4X 1P3 (966-2233)                          |
| Hispanic Council of Metropolitan Toronto<br>58 Cecil Street, 2nd Floor<br>Toronto, Ontario M5S 1N6 (340-2552)            | Rexdale Women's Centre<br>925 Albion Road, Room 305<br>Rexdale, Ontario M9V 1A6 (745-0062)                          |
| Immigrant Women Into Electronics<br>88 Industry Street, Room A-110<br>Toronto, Ontario M6M 4L8 (763-5141)                | Women Working with Immigrant Women<br>555 Bloor West<br>Toronto, Ontario (531-2059)                                 |
| Immigrant Women's Health Centre<br>750 Dundas Street West, Ste. 301<br>Toronto, Ontario (367-1388)                       | Working Women Community Centre<br>533A Gladstone Avenue<br>Toronto, Ontario M6C 2Z4 (532-2824)<br>Rosalinda Paredes |
| Immigrant Women Job Placement Centre<br>546 St. Clair Avenue West<br>Toronto, Ontario (656-8933)                         | Working Skills Centre<br>604 King Street West<br>Toronto, Ontario (868-0770)  |
| Latin American Working Group<br>382 Harbord Street<br>Toronto, Ontario   | Working Skills for Women YWCA<br>840 Greenwood Avenue<br>Toronto, Ontario (469-4520)                                |
| Latin American Community Centre<br>9 Milvan Drive, Unit 14, 2nd Floor<br>Weston, Ontario M9L 1Y9 (745-6239)              | York Hispanic Centre<br>761 Jane Street, Ste. 200<br>Toronto, Ontario M6N 4B4 (760-9762)                            |



**Latin American Women's Organizations in Toronto\***

- Asociación de Mujeres Salvadoreñas
- Casa Doña Juana
- Colectivo de Mujeres Latinoamericanas
- Co-Madres
- Mujeres de Coraje
- Nuestra Voz

---

\*Organizations known to us

**ADDENDUM**

One of our respondents expressed dismay at our failure to credit the extensive professional development of ESL instruction, the dramatic improvements in provision over the last 20 years, and the extensive back-up support provided teachers by trained professionals. The concern is that the highly professional work of teachers and other educators in meeting the diverse needs of learners not be underrepresented.

In response, certainly this is not our intention. While we recognize these developments, our starting place is with the diversity of the "learners", our argument is that in the provision of ESL we must develop ways of addressing the reality that "learners" are differently raced, gendered, sexed and classed by dominant practices that discriminate accordingly. How can ESL counter these practices? Our concerns about "lack of support" for teachers come from our privileging of antiracist and anti(hetereo)sexist approaches to ESL that can address how those practices operate throughout the rest of society, shaping the social construction of "immigrant" or "refugee" woman. This is the only way we see out of the educational/vocational "trap" faced by Latin American immigrant and refugee women.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abella, I. and H. Tropper. (1986). None is Too Many. Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys Limited.
- Allodi, F. and A. Rojas. (1983). A Study of Mental Health and Social Adaptation of Latin American Refugees in Toronto. Unpublished manuscript, University of Toronto, Department of Psychiatry.
- Anderson, G.M. (August 1978). Conflict, Cleavages and Consciousness: Spanish-Speaking Immigrant Communities in Selected Canadian Metropolitan Areas. Paper presented to the International Sociological Association, Research Committee on Migration, Uppsala, Sweden.
- Andras, R. (1980). "An Historical Sketch of Canadian Immigration and Refugee Policy." In H. Adelman, ed., The Indochinese Refugee Movement. Toronto: Operation Lifeline.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1990). Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Foundation Books.
- Apple, M. (1982). Education and Power. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Arat-Koc, S. (Spring 1989). "In the Privacy of Our Home: Foreign Domestic Workers as Solution to the Crisis in the Domestic Sphere in Canada." Studies in Political Economy, 28: 33-58.
- Bagley, C. (1984). "Education, Ethnicity and Racism: A European-Canadian Perspective." Currents: Readings in Race Relations, 2: 8-12.
- Basok, T. (1983). Models of Successful Leadership: A Case Study of Chilean Immigrants in Toronto. Unpublished master's thesis, York University, Toronto.
- Basran, G.S. (1983). "Canadian Immigration Policy and Theories of Racism." In P.S. Li and B.S. Bolaria, eds., Racial Minorities in Multicultural Canada. Toronto: Garamond Press, pp. 3-14.
- Berdichevsky, M. (1980). Intellectual Assessment of Bilingual and Culturally Different Children. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Berkeley, H. (December 1986). "Interview with Enid Lee: Anti-Racist Education," Orbit.
- Bhatnagar, J.K. (1981). Educating Immigrants. London: Croom Helm.
- Board of Education of the Borough of York. (1979). Report of the Race Relations Committee, Toronto: Board of Education of the Borough of York.



- Bolaria, S. (1984). "Migrants, immigrants, and the Canadian Labour Force." In J. Fry, ed., Contradictions in Canadian Society. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, pp. 130-139.
- Bolaria, S. and P.S. Lee. (1988). Racial Oppression in Canada. Toronto: Garamond Press. Second edition.
- Bourbeau, R. (December 1989). Canada. A Linguistic Profile. Census 1986, Catalogue 98-131. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.
- Boyd, M. (1989). "Migrant Women in Canada. Profiles and Policies." Immigration Research Paper, 2.
- Boyd, M. (1990). "Immigrant Women: Language and Socioeconomic Inequalities and Policy Issues." In S.S. Halli, F. Trovato and L. Driedger, eds., Ethnic Demography. Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 275-297.
- Boyd, M. (1989). "Immigrant Women in Canada." In R.J. Simon and C. Bratel, eds., International Migration. Towota, N.J.: Rowman and Allenheld, pp. 47-75.
- Boyd, M. (1991). "Immigration and Living Arrangements: Elderly Women in Canada," International Migration Review, XXV(1): 4-27.
- Brand, D. and K. Sri Bhaggiyadatta (1986). Rivers Have Sources, Trees Have Roots. Speaking of Racism. Toronto: Cross Cultural Communication Centre.
- Burnaby, B. et al. (June 1987). The Settlement Language Training Program: An Assessment. Prepared for the Research Division Policy and Program Development Branch. Immigration Group. Canada. Employment and Immigration.
- Buttrick, J. (January 1989). "Streaming and Dropouts," Our Schools/Ourselves, 1 (2): 100-111
- Canada, Employment and Immigration Commission. (nd). Settlement Branch Presentation to Standing Committee on Labour, Employment and Immigration.
- Canada, Health and Welfare. (1988). After the Door Has Been Opened, Ottawa. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Department of the Secretary of State. (October 22, 1990). The Visible Minority Population in Canada, 1986. Detailed Graphic Overview, Policy and Research, Multiculturalism Sector, unpublished draft.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1979). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1980). Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels. Ottawa: Author.

- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1980). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1981). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1982). Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1983). Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1983). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1984). Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1984). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1984-1990). Quarterly Statistics.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1985). Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1985). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1986). Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1986). Your Rights and Canada's Immigration Law. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1986). Immigration Manual. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1986). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1987). Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1987). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1988). Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1989). Immigration to Canada: A Statistical Overview. Ottawa: Author.
- Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1989) Immigration to Canada. Issues for Discussion. Ottawa: Author.



Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1989). Canada's Immigration Law. Ottawa: Author.

Canada, Employment and Immigration. (1991). Annual Report, 1989-1990. Ottawa: Author.

Canada, Employment and Immigration, Advisory Council. (February 1991). Symposium on Immigrant Settlement and Integration. Ottawa: Author.

Canada, Employment and Immigration, Advisory Council. (March 1991). Immigration in the 1990s. A Report Presented to the Minister of Employment and Immigration by the Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council. Ottawa: Author.

Canada, Employment and Immigration, Advisory Council. (March 1991). Immigrants and Language Training. A Report Presented to the Minister of Employment and Immigration by the Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council. Ottawa: Author.

Canada, Manpower and Immigration. (n.d.). Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population. Ottawa: Author.

Canadian Mental Health Association. (November 1989). "Women and Mental Health," Social Action Series.

Canadian Mental Health Association. (December 1989). "Immigrants and Mental Health," Social Action Series.

Carby, H.V. (1982). "Schooling in Babylon." In Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, The Empire Strikes Back. London: Hutchinson.

Coelho, E. (1988). Caribbean Students in Canadian Schools. Toronto, Ontario: Carib-Can Publishers.

Consultative Committee on the Education of Black Students in Toronto Schools. (May 1988). Final Report. Toronto: Toronto Board of Education.

Cumming, P.A., E.L.D. Lee and D.G. Orepoulos (1989). Access! Task Force to Professions and Trades in Ontario. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Citizenship

Cummins, J. (1981). Bilingualism and Minority-Language Children. Toronto: OISE Press.

Cummins, J. (1983). Heritage Language Education: A Literature Review. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education.

Cummins, J. (1983). Heritage Language Education: Issues and Directions. Ottawa: Multiculturalism Canada.

Cummins, J. (1984). Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy. San Diego, California: College-Hill Press.

Cummins, J. (1988). "From Multicultural to Anti-Racist Education: An Analysis of Programs and Policies in Ontario." In T. Skutnabb-Kangas and J. Cummins, eds., Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (1989). Empowering Minority Students. Sacramento: California Association for Bilingual Education.

Cummins, J. and M. Danesi (February 1990). Heritage Languages. The Development of Canada's Linguistic Resources. Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves and Garamond.

Cummins, J. et al. (July 1985). Literacy Development in Heritage Language Programs. The National Heritage Language Resource Unit.

Cumsille, A. et al. (1983). "Triple Oppression: Immigrant Women in the Labour Force." In L. Briskin and L. Yanz, Union Sisters, Toronto: Women's Press, pp. 212-221.

Das Gupta, T. (1986). Learning from Our History: Community Development by Immigrant Women in Ontario, 1958-1986. Toronto: Cross Cultural Communication Centre.

DeVoretz, D.J. (1989). Immigration and Employment Effects. Ottawa: Studies in Social Policy-Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Driedger, L. (1989). The Ethnic Factor. Identity in Diversity. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd

Dubeski, G. (nd). Health Needs of the Latin American Community in Toronto. Can St. Joseph Health Centre Play a Role?. Toronto: St. Joseph's Health Centre.

Durán, M. (1978). "Working with Spanish-Speaking Latin American Students in Toronto," TESL Quarterly, 9: 27-31.

Durán, M. (1980). "Life in Exile: Chileans in Canada." Multiculturalism, III(4).

Economic Council of Canada. (1991). New Faces in the Crowd. Economic and Social Impacts of Immigration. Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada.

Estable, A. (1986). Immigrant Women in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

Fernández Kelly, M.P. (1985). "Contemporary Production and the New International Division of Labour." In E. Sanderson, ed., The Americas in the New International Division of Labour. New York: Holmes and Meier, pp. 206-225.

Foucault, M. (1982). "The Subject and Power," Critical Inquiry, 8: 777-795.



- Frideres, J.S. (1983). Native People in Canada. Contemporary Conflicts. Scarborough: Prentice Hall.
- Giroux, H.A. (August 1983). "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis," Harvard Educational Review, 53 (3): 257-293.
- Giroux, H.A. and R.I. Simon and Contributors. (1989). Popular Culture, Schooling and Everyday Life. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Grant, C.A. and C.E. Sleeter. (1986). "Race, Class and Gender in Education Research: An Argument for Integrative Analysis." Review of Education Research, 56: 195-211.
- Head, W. (1981). Adaptation of Immigrants in Metro Toronto: Perceptions of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination. An Exploratory Study. Toronto: York University.
- Henry, F. (1978). The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto. Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State.
- Henry, F. and E. Ginzberg. (1985). Who gets the Work: a Test on Racial Discrimination in Toronto. Toronto: Urban Alliance on Race Relations and Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto.
- Hersak, G. and D. Thomas. (June 1988). Recent Canadian Developments Arising from International Migration. Canada, Employment and Immigration.
- Himelfarb, A. and C.J. Richardson. (1991). Sociology for Canadians. Images of Society, Second Edition, Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson Limited.
- Hispanic Social Development Council. (1983). Socio-Economic Profile. Needs and Gaps of the Hispanic Community in Metropolitan Toronto. Unpublished manuscript.
- Humber College and Working Women Community Centre. (September 1985). Immigrant Women into Electronics. Interim Evaluation Report.
- Hurtado, A. (1989) "Relating to Privilege: Seduction and rejection in the subordination of white women and women of colour." Signs, 14(4): 833-855.
- Iverson, S. (March 1991). "Refugees in 1991," Host Notes, pp. 1.
- Jackson, J. (1977). "The Functions of Language in Canada: On the Political Economy of Language." In W. Coombs et al eds., The Individual Language and Society in Canada. Ottawa: Canada Council, pp. 61-76.
- Johnson, S.D. (1982). "Institutional Origins in the Chilean Refugee Community in Winnipeg," Prairie Forum, 7(2): 227-235.

- Kalbach, W.E. (1987). Ethnicity and the Labour Force. Ottawa: Studies in Social Policy-Institute for Research on Public Policy.
- Kay, D. (1987). Chileans in Exile. Private Struggles, Public Lives. Wolfeboro, New Hampshire: Longwood Academic.
- Krahn, H., A. Fernanes, A. Adebayo. (1990). "English Language Ability and Industrial Safety among Immigrants," Sociology and Social Research, 75(1): 17-26.
- Krashen, S.D. (1978) "The Monitor Model for Second Language Acquisition." In R.C. Gringas, ed., Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching. Arlington, VA: Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- Krotki, K. and D. Odynak. (1990). "The Emergence of Multiethnicities in the Eighties." In S.S. Halli, F. Trovato and L. Driedger, eds., Ethnic Demography. Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 415-437.
- Lai, D.C. (1987). "The Issue of Discrimination in Education, 1901-1923," Canadian Ethnic Studies, XIX(3): 47-67
- Language Study Centre. (1985). Se Me Yah! Working Paper on the Newly-arrived West Indian Child in the Downtown School. Toronto: Toronto Board of Education.
- Lee, Enid. (1987). Letters to Marcia: A Teachers Guide to Anti-Racist Education. Toronto: Cross-Cultural Communication Centre.
- Li, P.S. (1988). Ethnic Inequality. Toronto: Wall and Thompson.
- Lecoupe, F. (February 1989). "Analysis on Existing Data on Ontario's Ethnocultural Population." Working Papers of Planning and Development Research TV Ontario.
- Marsden, L. (1977). Chilean Refugee Households in Canada. Final Report on a Two Stage Survey 1975-76. Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada.
- Mata, F.G. (1985). "Latin American Immigration to Canada: Some Reflections on the Immigration Statistics." Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, X(20): 27-42.
- McAll, C. (1990). Class, Ethnicity, and Social Inequality. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Mccarthy, C. and M.W. Apple. (1988). "Race, Class and Gender in American Education: Toward a Nonsynchronous Parallelist Position." In Class, Race and Gender in American Education. Albany: State University of New York, pp. 9-39.
- McKeown, E.N. (1983). "Educational Autonomy for Special Populations: Canadian Experience." In Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, The Education of



- Minority Group. An Inquiry into Problems and Practices of Fifteen Countries. Hampshire: Gower pp. 139-153.
- McLaren, P. (1981). Cries from the Corridor: The New Suburban Ghettos. Markham, Ontario: PaperJacks.
- Miles, R. (1989). Racism. London: Routledge.
- Minh-ha, T. (1989). Woman, Native, Other. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Modgil, S., G. Verma, K. Mallick, C. Modgil, eds., (1986). Multicultural Education. London and Philadelphia: The Falmer Press.
- Mohanty, C. (1988). "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." Feminist Review, 30: 62-88.
- Moodley, K. (1984). "Canadian Multiculturalism as Ideology," Ethnic and Racial Studies, 6: 1-12.
- Moraga, C. (1983) Loving in the War Years. Boston: South End Press.
- Moussa, H. (1991). The Social Construction of Women Refugees: A Journey of Discontinuities and Continuities. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Neuwirth, G. (November 1989). The Settlement of Salvadorean Refugees in Ottawa and Toronto. An Exploratory Study. Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada.
- Ng, R. (1986). "The Social Construction of 'Immigrant Women' in Canada." In R. Hamilton and M. Barrett, The Politics of Diversity. London: Verso, pp. 269-286.
- Novogrodsky, C. (November 1989). An Anti-Racist Cast of Mind. Keynote Address to A Challenge to Racism: An Anti-Racist Educator's Conference, Toronto.
- Nyakabwa, K. and C.D.H. Harvey. (November 1987). Adaptation to Canada: The Case of Black Immigrant Women. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, Winnipeg.
- Oakes J. (1985). Keeping Track. How Schools Structure Inequality. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Ontario, Ministry of Citizenship. (April 1990). Ontario Settlement and Integration Program (OSIP). Guidelines and Criteria. Toronto: Author.
- Ontario, Ministry of Citizenship. (April 1990). Ontario Settlement and Integration Program (OSIP). Category C Newcomer Language/Orientation Classes (NLCO). Toronto: Author.
- Ontario, Ministry of Citizenship. (1991). Ontario: A Diversity and Changing Society. A Report on Selected Demographic Trends. Toronto: Ethnocultural Data Base Materials-Series III. Special Report No. 5.
- Ornstein, M.D., R.D. Sharma. (1981). Adjustment and Economic Experience of Immigrants in Canada: 1976 Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants, Toronto: York University.
- Ortiz, F.I. (1988). "Hispanic-American Children's Experiences in Classrooms: A Comparison between Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Children." In L. Weis, ed., Class, Race and Gender in American Education. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, pp. 63-86.
- Pendakur, R. and M. Ledoux (February, 1991). Immigrants Unable to Speak English of French: A Graphic Overview. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.
- Pilowsky, J.E. (June 1991). The Doctors Hospital Mental Health Services Community Consultation Report.
- Ramcharan, S. (1982). Racism. Non Whites in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Reimer, M. (June 1980). Constituting Class as Cultural Difference, paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Learned Society, Sociology, Session on Women and Ethnicity.
- Riutort, M. and S. Endicott. (April 1985). Working with Assaulted Immigrant Women: A Handbook for Lay Counsellors. Toronto: Education Wife Assault.
- Rockhill, K. (September 1982). Language Learning by Latino Immigrant Workers. The Socio-Cultural Context. Report to the National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C.
- Rockhill, K. (1987a) "Literacy as Threat/Desire: Longing to be SOMEBODY." In J. Gaskel and A. McLaren, eds., Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective. Calgary: Detsilig Enterprises, pp. 315-331.
- Rockhill, K. (1987b). "Gender, Language and the Politics of Literacy." British Journal of Sociology of Education. 8(2): 153-167.
- Rojo, A. (1990). The Career Planning Needs of Spanish Speaking Students and the Role of Computers in their Career Counselling. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Samuda, R.J. New Approaches to Assessment and Placement of Minority Students. A Review for Educators
- Samuel, T.J. (1985). Family Class Immigrants to Canada, 1981-1984: Labour Force Activity Aspects, Population Working Paper No. 5, Canada: Employment and Immigration.



- Satzewich, V. (1989). "Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government's View of Caribbean Migration, 1962-1966," Canadian Ethnic Studies, XXI(1): 77-97.
- Sauvé, V. (1989). "Power and Presence: Reconceptualizing the Work of the ESL Teacher," TESL Talk, 19(1).
- Schumann, J.H. (1978). "The Acculturation Model for Second Language Acquisition." In R.C. Gringas, ed., Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teachings. Arlington, Va: Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- Seydegar, K. and G. Spears. (1985). Beyond Dialogue. Immigrant Women in Canada, 1985-1990. Erin Research Inc.
- Seward, S.B. (1990). "Immigrant Women in the Clothing Industry." In S.S. Halli, F. Trovato and L. Driedger, eds., Ethnic Demography. Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, pp. 243-262.
- Seward, S.B. and K. McDade. (1988). "Immigrant Women in Canada: A Policy Perspective. Background Paper," Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.
- Simmons, A.B. (1990). "'New Wave' Immigrants: Origins and Characteristics." In S.S. Halli, F. Trovato and L. Driedger, eds., Ethnic Demography. Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 141-160.
- Skodra, E. (1987). A Reinterpretation of Southern European Immigrant Women Everyday Life Experiences as Psychopathology. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Sleeter, C.E. and C.A. Grant. (1988). "A Rationale for Integrating Race, Gender and Social Class." In Class, Race and Gender in American Education. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, pp. 144-160.
- Spanish Speaking Peoples in Weston, (1980). Latin Americans in North York: An Exploratory Study Submitted to the Latin American Community Centre. Unpublished manuscript.
- Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society. (1984). Equality Now! Report Presented to Parliament, Ottawa: House of Commons.
- Stasiulus, D. (1990). "Theorizing Connections: Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class." In P. Li, ed., Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Teng-Teng, A.G. (November 1987). Discussion Paper on E.S.L. Funding for Submission to the OCASI Board of Directors.
- Theodor, F. and M. Bodnarchuk, D. Hahn. (November 8, 1990). Spanish Speaking Client Intake Study Report. The Dellcrest Children's Centre. Unpublished manuscript.

- Thomas, B. (Fall 1984). "Principles of Anti-Racist Education," Currents, pp. 20-24.
- Thomas, D. and Strategic Planning and Research, Immigration Policy Branch. (November 1990). Immigrant Integration and the Canadian Identity. Canada, Employment and Immigration.
- Tomic, P. and R. Trumper. (Forthcoming). "Canada and the Streaming of Immigrants: A Personal Account of the Chilean Case." In V. Satzewitch, ed., Deconstructing a Nation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and Racism in 90s Canada. Toronto: Garamond.
- Troyna, B. and J. Williams. (1986). Racism, Education and the State: The Racialization of Education Policy. London: Croom Helm.
- Trumper, R. and L. Wong. (Forthcoming). "Racialization and Genderization: The Canadian State, Immigrants and Temporary Workers," In S. Bolaria, ed., World Capitalism and International Migration of Labor. Toronto: Garamond.
- Walker, J.W.St.G. (1985). Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, Historical Booklet, No. 41.
- Walkerdine, V. (Spring 1981). "Sex, Power and Pedagogy," School Education, (38): 14-24.
- Weis, L., ed. (1988). Class, Race and Gender in American Education. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York.
- Willis, P. (1977). Learning to Labour. Lexington: Heath.
- Women Working with Immigrant Women. (1982). "A Message of Solidarity." In M. Fitzgerald, C. Guberman, M. Wolfe, eds., Still Ain't Satisfied. Canadian Feminism Today. Toronto: Women's Press, pp. 243-248.
- Wright, E.N. and G.K. Tsuji. (August 1984). The Grade Nine Student Survey: Fall 1983. Toronto: Toronto Board of Education, Research Department, No. 174.



