Settlement Service Providers in Peel Region, Ontario: Challenges, Barriers and Opportunities in the Shadow State

by

Maria Mukhtar

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
Graduate Department of Geography
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Maria Mukhtar (2013)
Settlement Service Providers in Peel Region, Ontario: Challenges, Barriers and Opportunities in the Shadow State

Maria Mukhtar

Master of Arts

Department of Geography
University of Toronto

2013

Abstract

This research examines the challenges and barriers to service provision that newcomer settlement service providers (SSPs) encounter in Peel Region, Ontario. Semi-structured interviews are used to examine if suburban SSPs in the cities of Brampton, Mississauga and town of Caledon, encounter challenges related to providing services to both adult and youth newcomers. The findings indicate that government funding, and the conditions tied to that funding, are the greatest challenge for SSPs in Peel. Funding restrictions also produced challenges related to the structure and continuity of services and competition between service providers. Due to Peel's varied geography, transportation and organization location are challenges for some rural service providers. Service specific challenges are encountered largely in providing employment and mental health services. Reconsidering government policies around funding for settlement services is necessary. It is recommended that both SSPs and municipalities be integrated into settlement policy decisions.
Acknowledgments

There are many people I would like to thank for making this research possible. First, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr. Dana Wilson and Dr. Kathi Wilson for all their support, guidance and feedback during this process. It was truly appreciated and made for a valuable research and learning experience. Second, I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Rachel Silvey and Dr. Alan Walks, for their comments and insights on this thesis. I would also like to thank Effat Ghassemi of NCP for her support of this project. Additionally, I would like to thank all my research participants for sharing their stories and opening up a part of their daily lives to me. Thank you to my family; to my mom, Riffat, for teaching me the value of recognizing the good, to my dad, Farooq, who continues to support me in whatever venture I decide to take with an open smile, to my sister, Mahrukh, who has supported me in more ways than she will ever realize, and my brothers, Shani and Nomi, for keeping the household alive. Thank you to Amir for the laughter, support, and encouragement, and for keeping my life vibrant. To my Nana, who inspired me to keep learning. For Bailey and Bo, who always occupy my heart.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.................................................................................................................. iii

Table of Contents.................................................................................................................... iv

List of Tables ........................................................................................................................... vii

List of Figures .......................................................................................................................... viii

List of Appendices .................................................................................................................... ix

Chapter 1: Introduction ........................................................................................................... 1

1.1 Background and Research Question .............................................................................. 1

1.2 Outline ............................................................................................................................... 4

Chapter 2: Literature Review ................................................................................................. 5

2.1 Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 5

2.2 What is Settlement? ......................................................................................................... 6

2.3 What are Settlement Services? ........................................................................................ 8

2.4 The Canadian Welfare State and Nonprofits .................................................................. 11

   2.4.1 Defining the Welfare State and Nonprofits ......................................................... 12

   2.4.2 Settlement Service Sector during the Welfare State ............................................ 14

2.5 The Rise of Neoliberalism and the Devolution of the Settlement Sector ...................... 16

   2.5.1 Neoliberalism Defined .......................................................................................... 17

   2.5.2 Implementation of Neoliberalism in Canada ....................................................... 19

2.6 Devolution of the Settlement Sector .............................................................................. 21

   2.6.1 The Shadow State ............................................................................................... 23

   2.6.2 Restructuring and the Impact on NGOs in the Funding Environment ............... 26

   2.6.3 Competitive Bidding and Purchase of Service Agreements ............................... 27
2.7 Critical Review of Literature on Settlement Services............................................ 29
  2.7.1 Alternative Views of the State-Nonprofit Relationship.................................. 29
  2.7.2 Geography of Settlement Services.................................................................... 30
  2.7.3 Literature on the Experiences of Settlement Service Providers......................... 33
  2.7.4 Settlement Service Providers and Youth Services........................................... 37
  2.7.5 Settlement Service Providers and Employment Services................................. 38

2.8 Conclusion............................................................................................................. 40

Chapter 3: Methods.................................................................................................. 42
  3.1 Research Setting.................................................................................................. 42
  3.2 Research Question and Partnership.................................................................... 46
  3.3 Research Design................................................................................................. 46
  3.4 Participants and Data Collection......................................................................... 48
  3.5 Data Analysis .................................................................................................... 50
  3.6 Rigour in Qualitative Research.......................................................................... 51

Chapter 4: Results..................................................................................................... 54
  4.1 Introduction ...................................................................................................... 54
  4.2. System-Level Challenges .............................................................................. 54
    4.2.1. Funding ...................................................................................................... 54
    4.2.2. Competition Between Service Providers (Intergroup Conflict).................... 63
    4.2.3. Structure and Continuity of Services ......................................................... 66
    4.2.4. Geographic Accessibility .......................................................................... 69
  4.3. Service-Specific Challenges Frequently Discussed by SSPs in Peel................. 72
    4.3.1 Access to Gainful Employment .................................................................. 73
    4.3.2. Mental Health Service Provision .............................................................. 76
  4.4. Suggestions for Improving Services in Peel Region ...................................... 77
4.5. Summary .......................................................................................................................... 80

Chapter 5: Discussion, Implications and Conclusions ............................................................. 82

5.1 Summary of Key Findings ................................................................................................. 82

5.2 Limitations and Areas for Further Research ................................................................. 84

5.3 Theoretical and Policy Implications ................................................................................. 86

5.3.1 Theoretical Implication - Settlement Services and the Shadow State ................. 86

5.3.2 Theoretical Contribution - Neoliberalism and Peel's Settlement Sector .......... 89

5.3.3 Theoretical Implication - Citizenship, Neoliberalism and Peel's Settlement Sector 92

5.3.4 Policy Implication - Settlement Services and the Settlement Continuum ......... 96

5.3.5 Settlement Services and Transit Infrastructure ......................................................... 98

5.3.6 The Role of Municipalities ....................................................................................... 99

5.3.7 Additional Recommendations .................................................................................. 102

5.4 Current Polices - A Step Backward ............................................................................ 103

5.5 Conclusions .................................................................................................................... 104

References ............................................................................................................................. 106

Appendices .......................................................................................................................... 125

Appendix A ............................................................................................................................. 125

Appendix B ............................................................................................................................. 127

Appendix C ............................................................................................................................. 129

Appendix D ............................................................................................................................. 131
List of Tables

Table 3.1: Comparing Immigrant Populations in Canada, Ontario and Peel Region ..........44
Table 3.2: Organizations and Interview Participant Characteristics ...........................................49
Table 4.1: Settlement Funding Allocations from CIC to Provinces ...........................................54
List of Figures

Figure 2.1: Map of Peel Region, Ontario, Canada .......................................................... 41

Figure 4.1: Total CIC funding for Peel Region 2005 - 2011 ........................................... 55
List of Appendices

Appendix A: Structure of Government Mandated Settlement Programs .................................................. 116
Appendix B: Interview Transcript for Executive Directors ........................................................................... 118
Appendix C: Information Letter and Letter of Consent ................................................................................. 120
Appendix D: List of All Organizations in Peel Region and Funding Source (2011)............................... 122
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and Research Question

A fundamental shift has occurred in Canadian newcomer’s residential location patterns in the past decade. In lieu of settling in traditional metropolitan receiving cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, newcomers are now choosing to settle in outer suburban areas, such as Peel Region in Ontario (Lo et al., 2007, Murdie & Teixeira, 2003). Increasing immigration to suburban areas places extra demands on the availability and provision of services to aid in the settlement process. Settlement service providers (SSPs) aim to meet the needs of newcomers with the goal of fostering their successful integration into Canadian society, which is fundamental to the resettlement process and to immigrants’ perceptions of their new homeland (George, 2002).

Settlement services are provided by non-profit, community-based organizations and are funded either through Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) or the provincial Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI). These organizations provide a wide range of essential services to assist newcomers in the process of settlement and integration (Holder, 1999). The majority of the services provided are government-mandated settlement assistance programs, such as language instruction for newcomers (LINC), or employment-related programs, designed by either CIC or MCI. While services that fall outside of government mandated settlement programs exist, they are increasingly harder to sustain and fund on a long-term basis (Sadiq, 2004).

Settlement services proliferated during the welfare state regime, as the profile of newcomers dramatically changed with the introduction of the Immigration Act of 1976 and the policy of Official Multiculturalism. Community-based SSPs arose to help aid newcomers coming from non-traditional immigration source countries, such as Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. The growth of SSPs was encouraged by Canada's welfare state regime, which aimed to ensure social service provision as a right to all citizens (Vogel, 2003). Social service providers, like SSPs, were viewed as supplementary service providers to the state's role of ensuring social inclusion through universal government-led programs (Ilcan & Basok, 2004). SSPs designed their own
mandates, implemented their own services and programs that they determined were essential to the newcomer communities they served (Evans et al., 2005). Funding provided to SSPs from the state was sustainable 'core' funding that aimed to ensure that programs and services created by SSPs, along with government mandated programs, were available to newcomers.

The advent of neoliberalism drastically altered the state's relationship with SSPs. Through the dismantling and decreasing of social welfare funding and programs under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and subsequently Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, community-based SSPs competed for limited state resources (Veronis, 2006). The relationship between SSPs and the state was significantly altered as state funding mechanisms became ever more inflexible. Core funding was drastically decreased and was replaced with 'purchase of service' contracts, which are short-term funding contracts for specific government-mandated programs tied to stringent mandates and accountability measures set by the state (Richmond & Shields, 2005). This 'purchase of service' funding system is aimed at transforming SSPs into more economically efficient agencies, promoting competition among agencies that results in smaller, less competitive agencies to shutdown and therefore reduce the government's load of providing funding to a larger pool of organizations (Richmond & Shields, 2005, Sadiq, 2004).

The inflexibility of the mandates attached to the funding being provided to SSPs ensures that they are unable to innovate and produce programming that would fill the gaps left by state-mandated settlement services. Hence, SSPs are referred to as constituting a 'shadow state' of service provisioning (Wolch, 1990, Mitchell, 2001), whereby they fulfill the function and burden of providing essential social services once shouldered by the state, while simultaneously being restricted and controlled by state mandates attached to shrinking resources.

The restructuring of the relationship between the state and SSPs has produced gaps in service provisioning outlined in the literature. Service needs depend on a newcomers' stage in the settlement and integration process, which is lifelong (OCASI, 2012). The settlement process is a continuum, where adjustment refers to the early stages of arrival, and adaptation and integration refer to the middle and later stages of the settlement process. Currently, government mandated services do not include services that address the adaptation and integration phases of the settlement continuum (Richmond & Shields, 2005). Program specific gaps identified in the literature include newcomer youth programs (Van Ngo, 2009, Kilbride & Anisef, 2001), and
employment programs for highly educated foreign trained professionals (Sakamoto, 2007, Cottrell, 2008).

Settlement service providers are central to the settlement process, yet research has only recently begun to examine settlement service provision for immigrants (Sadiq, 2004). While geographic access to settlement services has been widely addressed in the literature (Lo et al. 2007, Wang and Truelove, 2003) little attention has been given to the services and programs offered through settlement agencies themselves. Studies addressing newcomer services primarily focus on the end user (i.e., newcomers) and pay little attention to the experiences of SSPs themselves (see Agrawal et al., 2007, Bhandari et al., 2006, Hopkins, 2006). SSPs are unique as they are the point of transmission between government policy and the larger communities that such policies affect. Thus, there is a clear need for greater understanding of the experiences of SSPs and how these experiences play out in the unique setting of Peel Region which contains rural, urban and suburban contexts.

Hence, this study provides a qualitative exploration of the experiences of SSPs in Peel Region. Specifically, this study was guided by the following question:

1) What are the challenges and barriers facing newcomer settlement service organizations in delivering and implementing programs for adult and youth newcomers in Peel Region, Ontario?

In order to address this question, the objectives of this research are:

i. To investigate the challenges encountered by executive directors in planning and implementing services, and frontline staff in delivering services, to both the adult and youth newcomer population in Peel Region;

ii. To document settlement providers' suggestions for improvement to the settlement sector in Peel;

iii. To contrast the challenges perceived by SSPs in Peel Region with those in the literature regarding the shadow state; and

iv. To investigate if service provision in suburban municipalities produces unique challenges as compared to inner city service providers.

This research is important to the field of geography because it explores how larger tenets of government policy effect social service delivery in a place-based context. Further, this
research is timely in this political moment. The non-profit sector in Canada is facing a period of government austerity resulting in decreasing funding for social and human services, and increasing demands from governments and the public to justify their roles in their communities (OCASI, 2012). This research helps to strengthen the case for the sustained support of community-based settlement service providers.

1.2 Outline

This thesis is composed of five chapters. The second chapter sets the context for this research by outlining the shifting relationship between Ontario's settlement service organizations, and the state in the context of the advent of neoliberalism. Additionally, through a critical literature review, this chapter discusses the experiences of SSPs in providing services in local, national, and international contexts. This chapter concludes by highlighting the gaps in the literature that this research seeks to address.

The third chapter discusses the methods used in this research. Specifically, the research questions and setting are introduced. A discussion of the use of semi-structured interviews among twenty-one frontline staff and executive directors in settlement organizations throughout Peel are presented. Lastly, the chapter discusses the steps taken to ensure rigour throughout the research process.

The fourth chapter presents the research findings. This chapter first introduces the experiences and perceptions of participants regarding the system barriers they encounter in providing services. This chapter discusses the areas in which SSPs encounter the greatest challenges; funding and funding mandates, intergroup conflict, the structure and continuity of services, and geographic accessibility. Service specific challenges related to employment and mental health services are also detailed. Lastly, this chapter discusses SSPs suggestions for improvements for both youth and adult programs.

The final chapter discusses the significance of the research findings. It provides a discussion of the theoretical and policy implications of the findings and recommendations for future research on SSPs in Peel Region and other growing suburban regions.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I map out the role of nonprofit service providers, with specific emphasis on settlement service providers (SSPs), through the Keynesian-welfare state and its subsequent dismantling and transformation into a neoliberal state. Through a series of neoliberal reforms, nonprofits, and SSPs in particular, have undergone an extreme shift from being largely independent of state influence, to being heavily shaped by state directives and reliant upon state funding. This shift is a result of the Canadian federal government's downloading of social service provision to provincial powers, and subsequently to municipal governments and nonprofit organizations. Decades of change to state structure has produced a realignment of the apparatus of governance, which has placed the burden of social provisioning to an underfunded, and under resourced, nonprofit sector. The devolution of settlement provision to nonprofit settlement service providers creates a system of “shadow state” service provisioning (Wolch 1990), where nonprofit SSPs are expected to take a formal role in settlement service provision that was previously shouldered by the state, while lacking the necessary resources and autonomy from state structures to create and implement unique and inclusive programming for newcomers within their communities. Within the shadow state, SSPs are also expected to compete with other SSPs for state funding contracts, creating an atmosphere of competition based around neoliberal market logic.

The goal of this chapter is to provide an outline on the emergence of nonprofits as a shadow state institution in Canada and how their daily operations, as well as their mandates, have evolved as a result of the emergence of neoliberalism as the prevailing set of economic, social and political policies and ideologies. The attack on social services by the Canadian state, and settlement services in particular, challenges the dominant national narrative of Canada as an international example of possessing successful newcomer integration policies and practices. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary that the current conceptualizations of settlement, settlement services and the funding apparatus of SSPs are examined.
2.2 What is Settlement?

Each individual newcomer defines the concept of settlement in their own way. Settlement, along with the closely related concepts of adaptation and integration, are all part of a process through which newcomers become an integral part of Canadian society (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998). The process of newcomer settlement begins with the basic needs for referral and orientation to relevant information and resources in one's new homeland, but ends only when a newcomer is able to fully participate in Canadian society (Omidvar, 2001). Full participation is the end goal of the settlement process, and is usually defined by the ability of newcomers to contribute, without barriers, to the economic, social, cultural and political dimensions of Canadian life (Simich, 2000). The goal of full participation can span a newcomer’s entire lifetime and may even continue to extend into the second or third generation of newcomer's children's lives (Richmond & Shields, 2005, Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998).

As mentioned, the process of settlement can best be described as a continuum that encompasses the concepts of 'adaptation' and 'integration', as each plays a specific role in the formation of newcomer's experiences of their new homeland. The steps involved in the process of settlement can also be viewed as end goals and achievements for newcomers (Canadian Council of Refugees, 1998).

The three key stages of the settlement process as described in the literature are as follows: Adjustment or Acclimatization refers to the stage during which a newcomer acclimatizes to their new country (Robson-Haddow & Ladner, 2005). At this stage, a newcomer's needs include pressing matters such as orientation and referral to information regarding food and shelter, language acquisition, health care needs, and schooling needs (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants [OCASI], 2000, Caidi & Allard 2005, Mwarigha 2002).

Adaptation refers to the stage during which a newcomer engages in learning and managing their new situation with little assistance (Robson-Haddow & Ladner, 2005). As a newcomer becomes accustomed to their adopted country and finds their place in society by contributing economically and socially, different needs arise, such as the need for belonging more fully and becoming an active citizen (Caidi & Allard 2005, Papillon, 2002). However, at this stage, the
newcomer’s needs still involve access to various Canadian systems, such as municipal services, legal services, long term housing and health services along with employment-specific language instruction (Caidi and Allard, 2005).

Integration occurs when a newcomer develops the ability to actively participate as a citizen in all aspects of life in a new country, including economic, social, cultural and political life (Robinson-Haddow and Ladner, 2005). In this stage, newcomers strive to become equal participants in Canada’s cultural, social, economic and political life (Caidi and Allard, 2005).

This process is incredibly complex, mirroring the complexity inherent in the migration process. Each individual newcomers’ experience in their new homeland is unique and multifaceted, and the advances and regressions experienced in life make settlement a dynamic, and not necessarily linear, process (Tam, 2003, Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998). Newcomers may not necessarily progress at the same pace in the settlement process or automatically move from one stage to the next (Tam, 2003). The level of participation in each area of life is a choice made by individual newcomers, just as the level of participation in society is a choice for the local born (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998).

Additionally, the settlement process is not a one-way process. Instead, it is argued to be bi-directional (Tam, 2003, George, 2002, Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998). That is to say that both newcomers, and the host society that receives newcomers, undergo adjustments in the settlement process (George, 2002, Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998). The onus of settling and adjusting cannot only be placed on newcomers as society and societal institutions are not just passive recipients; they are responsible for adapting to their new members and for offering them opportunities to contribute the resources they bring with them (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998). Societal understanding, acceptance and responses have a significant impact on the success of newcomers settlement (Tam, 2003). However, the concept of society is abstracted from the reality that newcomers shape most of their interactions through encounters with their local and lived communities and neighbourhoods. Therefore, a progressive view of settlement and integration must also take into account whether local communities and institutions welcome newcomers (Li, 2003).
The settlement process has some key characteristics that are immutable; namely that settlement is complex, life-long and a bi-directional process. These aspects are echoed in the definition of settlement provided by settlement service organizations in Canada. Settlement service organizations define settlement as a combination of Omidvar's (2001) end goal of full participation, and George's (2002) bi-directional process. The settlement sector in Canada has used the working definition that settlement is a "long-term, dynamic, two-way process through which, ideally, immigrants would achieve full equality and freedom of participation in society, and society would gain access to the full human resource potential in its immigrant communities" (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998, OCASI, 1991, Integration-net, 2003). It is this definition that guides best practices for SSPs. However, agencies also contend that it is neither realistic nor practical to reduce a complex human process into a discrete and universal time frame (Tam, 2003). Programs and services required by newcomers may differ at each stage, and may vary depending on the characteristics of the newcomer group (Holder, 1999).

2.3 What are Settlement Services?

Like the concept of settlement, newcomer settlement services, and those who provide them, are difficult to define. There are various debates as to what constitutes a settlement service, and who, or what, is able to deliver these forms of services. Some argue that only services provided by those with specialized knowledge of the settlement, adaptation and integration process constitute settlement service providers (Integration-net, 2003). These are typically delivered by government funded and recognized settlement service organizations. Yet organizations that newcomers utilize within the settlement process can vary extensively. For example, upon arrival, newcomers may seek out general public services (e.g., health care or welfare services), which are also available to non-newcomers, and/or seek out more specific services (e.g., language instruction for newcomers funded through CIC), which are more likely used by newcomers exclusively (Leung, 2000). Thus, the argument that settlement services are only provided by government funded and recognized non-profit settlement service agencies does not capture the reality. A broader conceptualization of services would include non-formal providers with varying degrees of expertise, such as ESL teachers, child care workers, school counsellors, and employment counsellors, who have been known to work with newcomers and have provided orientation and referral services (Integration-net, 2003).
Further, settlement service organizations are often defined by their sources of funding (Lim et al., 2005). Most settlement service organizations rely on government funding for a large proportion of their operating budget, but funds for organizations can come from a variety of sources, such as community foundations, the United Way, fees for service usage, donations and provincial and municipal governments (Integration-net, 2003). With these characteristics in mind, it is important to note that there are potentially many settlement service providers that do not receive funding for their services or do not officially advertise as settlement service providers (Lim et al., 2005). For example, many religious places of worship, especially those serving ethno-specific neighbourhoods, are likely to provide services such as orientation and referral, but are not likely to advertise as settlement service agencies (Lim et al., 2005).

Nevertheless, the model of providing government-funded settlement services through community-based nonprofit organizations has been recognized by a majority of scholars as the most common vehicle for settlement service provision in Canada (Richmond & Shields, 2005). Most often, the settlement sector is defined as those nonprofit organizations who receive government contracts to provide pre-determined services to assist pre-defined newcomers in the settlement process (Richmond & Shields, 2005, Integration-net, 2003). Further, these settlement organizations are directly affected by federal government policies by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) regarding the implementation and delivery of settlement programs and are therefore vital to the understanding of the tenuous relationship between government funders and those who deliver settlement services in the communities they serve.

Settlement service providers are responsible for delivering settlement programs to newcomers in the various neighbourhoods they serve. The federal government, through CIC, and Ontario’s provincial government, through Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI), defines, funds and controls settlement service policy and programming (see Appendix A). Most SSPs receive a majority of their operating budget from CIC and a smaller proportion from MCI. Therefore, juxtaposing settlement service organization's definition of settlement with CIC's definition is crucial to understanding how settlement services are organized and delivered to newcomers. CIC defines settlement as "the process by which a newcomer, during his or her first few years in Canada, acquires basic information, knowledge, and skills to become self-sufficient, e.g., find a home, communicate in one of Canada's official languages, access health services, interact with schools, etc.” (CIC, 1995 from Geronimo, Folinsbee & Goveas, 2001). Absent from
this definition is a recognition of settlement as a process that is multifaceted, complex and bi-directional, as conceptualized by settlement service organizations. CIC's narrow conception of settlement does not encompass the middle or end stages of the settlement process and consequently, Canadian settlement policy only funds programs and services that cater to the \textit{adjustment or acclimatization} phase of settlement (Richmond & Shields, 2005).

Nonetheless, CIC's stated end goal of the settlement process is to create "a \textit{diverse society that promotes linguistic duality and social inclusion} by supporting newcomers in their successful settlement and longer–term integration into Canada" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2009a). This end goal is aligned with SSPs’ conception of settlement, yet paradoxically, settlement policies do not reflect an active commitment to longer-term integration into Canadian society. For CIC, the range of settlement services that make up the Settlement Program are primarily aimed at supporting newcomers through information and referrals, language training, employment assistance, and help with establishing networks and contacts (CIC, 2009a).

The disconnect between settlement policy and settlement outcomes for newcomers is evident when examining the variety of services that CIC deems essential for government to fund. Settlement service organizations have identified some key areas in the integration process that need to be addressed by newcomer organizations and the host society (Canadian Council of Refugees, 1998). These include language, access to employment, cultural orientation, recognition of qualifications and experience, racism and discrimination, family reunification, immigration status and building communities (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998). A majority of these do not fall into the realm of \textit{adjustment or acclimatization}, which is the stage of settlement that is primarily funded through CIC. For example, issues regarding access to employment and recognition of qualifications and experience are generally focused on in the first two dimensions of settlement, and issues of discrimination and racism are found in each level of settlement and may transcend generations (Richmond & Shields, 2005).

It is for this reason that Richmond and Shields (2005) contend that a \textit{policy crisis} lies at the root of the challenges and barriers that newcomers encounter in integrating in Canadian society. Through determining what points are funded in the settlement continuum, it is evident that in the \textit{adaptation} or middle phase, no single or lead federal, provincial or municipal department is responsible (Richmond & Shields, 2005). In the third stage, newcomers
overwhelmingly encounter institutional barriers, but again there is little support from various levels of government to alleviate this (Richmond & Shields, 2005). Other players, such as school boards, or some non-profit organizations may provide services in these areas, but these efforts are generally under resourced and poorly coordinated (Richmond & Shields 2005). Further, with the stringent control over funding displayed by CIC and MCI, there is little room for SSPs to negotiate delivering services in other areas of the settlement continuum. The policies of the Canadian government surrounding the endorsement and funding of particular aspects of settlement, and of particular service providers, did not emerge in a vacuum.

The emergence of neoliberal forms of governance at both the federal and provincial levels by Prime Ministers Brian Mulroney and Jean Chrétien and in Ontario, Premier Mike Harris in the 1980s to 1990s, promoted the idea of a formalized nonprofit settlement sector that would deliver government-mandated settlement programs to government-defined newcomers. This was accompanied by state offloading of service provision onto nonprofit organizations while controlling and limiting their financial resources and autonomy from state structures. Nonprofits thus became part of a shadow state, wherein they were not formally part of the Canadian state structure, but were effectively controlled and limited by it. The loss of autonomy and commercialization of the settlement sector that accompanied this shift had profound implications for both employees within the sector and the communities in which they served.

2.4 The Canadian Welfare State and Nonprofits

The Canadian Keynesian welfare state regime, characterized as the period between the late 1950s and lasting until the 1980s, encouraged the growth of the nonprofit sector. There were various social, economic and cultural issues that began to be championed by these organizations to help provide services in areas in which there was a perceived community need (Seidle, 2010). Settlement services in particular began to proliferate during the welfare state regime, as the profile of newcomers dramatically changed with the introduction of the Immigration Act of 1976 and the policy of Official Multiculturalism. Originally, settlement service providers were nonprofit community-based organizations that arose to help aid newcomers coming from non-traditional immigration source countries, such as Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. SSPs flourished as they contributed to the nation-building project of helping to settle newcomers in their communities, which was especially important as the ethnic and cultural makeup of
Canadian society changed. SSPs provided essential services in an area in which no lead government body had yet taken control. The growth of these organizations, along with the variety of other nonprofits, was encouraged by the welfare state regime that Canada had adopted.

2.4.1 Defining the Welfare State and Nonprofits

The Canadian welfare state can be characterised as emerging in the era directly following the second world war up until the mid 1980s, when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney came to power and neoliberal regimes of governance slowly entered the popular social, political and economic lexicon. The principle concept that underpins the ethos of a welfare state regime is a guarantee of social rights to all citizens, which is expressed with explicit reference to equality and social inclusion (Vogel, 2003). In practice, this was accomplished through government protection of minimum stands of income, nutrition, health, housing, and education, and were assured to every citizen as a political right, not a charity (Wilensky, 1975). From the 1950s to 1970s, numerous national programs, such as family allowances, old age security, hospital and medical insurance were introduced by the federal government, and these contributed to the rapid development of the welfare state system (Ilcan & Basok, 2004). What is characteristic of the welfare state is the growing state apparatus that implemented these social programs. As new programs were introduced, the federal government expanded its role in implementing the values of social democracy that emphasized social citizenship and universality (Baker, 1997). However, social service delivery was performed by both the public sector and the nonprofit voluntary sector (Holder, 1999). Therefore, nongovernmental actors also played a key role in implementing the philosophy and programming associated with the welfare state as there was strong federal support for social programs at the level of the community as well.

One of the many hallmarks of the welfare state was the system of "fiscal federalism", wherein the federal government matched funding for social assistance programs that were offered by the provinces. The system of "fiscal federalism", which was based on attempts to promote national unity and alleviate regional disparities, became the foundation for welfare state construction in post-war Canada (from Baker, 1997, p. 4, Banting, 1987, Jenson, 1990). Structural imbalance between the responsibility to provide social welfare and the ability to pay for it was mediated by federal-provincial cost-sharing agreements, the transfer of some tax revenue to the provinces and equalization payments (Evans & Shields, 2002). The asymmetrical
relationship between the federal government and provinces was expanded in the 1960s with negotiations around cost-sharing of immigrant citizenship and basic language programs, followed soon after by programs to extend health and social assistance benefits to newcomers in their first year of arrival (Reeve, 2011). Further, the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) of 1966 represented the paradigm of federal-provincial cooperation and was an essential element of the welfare state (Dunlop, 2009). Under CAP, federal-provincial cost-sharable services included those provided through non-profit agencies. This had a two-fold effect; it greatly aided in expanding the non-profit sector, and it simultaneously consolidated government support for non-profit service providers.

The welfare state era did not only see the federal and provincial governments expand their reach into social program provision. Concurrently, the state apparatus helped nurture the expansion of nongovernmental and voluntary organizations and led to the development of a broad partnership between the two (Colderley, 1999, Evans & Shields, 2000). What is paramount in the relationship between the welfare state and nonprofit organizations was that the state predominantly aimed to ensure the universal provision of social and economic rights to its citizens, while nonprofit organizations played a supplementary role in these domains (Ilcan & Basok, 2004).

Even during the era of the Keynesian welfare state, most nonprofit organizations derived most of their income from government sources (Canadian Council on Social Development 1974, as cited in Miller, 1998, Hall et al., 2005, Evans & Shields, 2000). While this is still true of the neoliberal state, the differences are apparent in the conditions attached to government funding and the overall philosophy governing the relationship between the state and nonprofit organizations. In the welfare state era, funding provided to nonprofits was primarily core, or stable funding (Evans et al., 2005). Core funding tended to be long-term, which enabled nonprofits to build social infrastructure that became embedded in communities (Evans et al., 2005). The relationship between the state and nonprofit organizations tended to be regulated by "bonds of trust" and nonprofits were given considerable autonomy in how they delivered programs supported by public funds (Evans et al., 2005). This fostered a relationship where nonprofits were able to fill gaps in service provisioning left by the state rather than replace or displace state provided public services (Evans et al., 2005). Thus, the relationship between the government and the nonprofit sector during this era was one of mutual interdependence.
However, within this relationship, the nonprofit sector was able to determine their own mandates and community needs.

### 2.4.2 Settlement Service Sector during the Welfare State

Settlement service organizations, similar to other nonprofit organizations, were also growing during the welfare state era. However, unlike other nonprofit organizations, settlement services were of particular interest to the Canadian government even prior to the inception of the welfare state. As a geographically expansive country filled with varying social and political climates, both the federal and provincial governments saw the need to settle vast agrarian lands for security and nation building purposes (Seidle, 2010). Both levels of government were jointly involved in providing basic service provision to immigrants who were historically arriving from European countries. However, these services were incredibly limited and not formally defined by either the federal or provincial governments. Formal settlement services did not begin to form until after the end of World War II. The Government of Canada officially began to fund settlement services in 1949 with a program to help refugees and the families of Canadian soldiers adjust to life in Canada (Seidle, 2010). This was extended in 1953 when funding was provided for a cost-sharing language training agreement with all provinces, with the exception of Quebec (Seidle, 2010). Subsequent policy development in immigration and immigrant settlement led to the proliferation of settlement service organizations throughout Canada. These services were provided by various nongovernmental organizations primarily through the use of government funding, but without government control over content or programming.

The rapid expansion of the settlement service sector coincided with Canada's official policy of Multiculturalism in 1971 and the Multiculturalism Act in 1987. Multiculturalism aimed to eliminate racial discrimination as a major feature of Canadian immigration policy. With the opening up of the immigration policy in 1967, more newcomers from Asian, South American and Caribbean countries arrived and settlement services reflected a growing social need to integrate newcomers into the social, economic and political framework of Canadian policy. Coupled with discourses of, and a formal policy of multiculturalism, the political and social climate in Canada allowed SSPs to proliferate. New settlement service organizations arose in communities receiving newcomers to meet the needs of ethno-cultural groups. Meanwhile, established organizations took on new roles and responsibilities to help meet settlement service needs.
(Wilson-Loescher, 2000). Consequently, the size, scope and diversity of settlement service organizations grew during this period (Wilson-Loescher, 2000). For example, in 1987, there were twenty immigrant serving agencies in Ontario belonging to the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI), and in the late 1990s, this number had grown to over 140 (Holder, 1999).

Settlement service providers often represented specific ethno-cultural groups and were geographically located in communities in which these groups settled (Seidle, 2010). Like settlement service organizations today, the aim of SSPs in the welfare state era was to enable newcomers to participate in all spheres of life (Mitchell, 2001). The settlement service sector organized around common goals and values and shared a common social paradigm with respect to settlement and integration services (Wilson-Loescher, 2000). Importantly, the settlement sector became significant in representing immigrant groups who remained relatively underrepresented in the Canadian process of decision-making (Siemiatycki & Saloojee, 2002). Veronis (2006) argues that the capacity for visible minority groups to organize and create community organizations to voice and represent their interests is prerequisite to claiming and accessing state resources allocated under the Multiculturalism Act of 1987. Similarly, SSPs were able to supplement the state in providing culturally appropriate services for newcomers, while also representing community needs in articulating policy discourses (Creese, 2006).

Further, Veronis (2006) argues that during the Keynesian-welfare era, the nonprofit sector became a significant space for citizenship formation for immigrants in Canada by helping construct Canadian citizen-subjects among immigrants through the provision of services like citizenship and language education. The settlement sector is a site where newcomers could challenge and negotiate ideas about citizenship rights in Canada and where the articulations between dominant groups and the marginalized became apparent (Veronis, 2006). While SSPs flourished at this time, the articulation of an official policy surrounding the settlement of newcomers was still being negotiated by government bodies, and was becoming more vital as the ethnic and cultural makeup of newcomers changed.

The federal government's control over settlement policy illustrates a larger tenet of citizenship building and access to rights and resources of the state. The regulation of settlement policy allowed the government to define exactly who was (and is) entitled to state-sponsored
settlement services, thereby implying who had the right to become a citizen. The government had exclusive power in determining the eligibility criteria in citizen formation. The provision of settlement services was to be a matter of right and entitlement; therefore, newcomers having an immigration status of "landed immigrant" or a "refugee" were eligible for government funded settlement services (Lanphier & Lukomskyj, 1994, emphasis added).

Lastly, the welfare state may have helped nonprofits and voluntary organizations flourish, but it also nurtured and created the dominant narratives inherent in the current crisis of what Salamon (1995) calls the "voluntary sector failure" (44-48). The principle that the welfare state enshrined in the state-nonprofit sector relationship was that the consumption of services was separated from control over services (Holder, 1999, emphasis added). For example, as the federal governments became the primary sponsor of social services, the consumption of these services (i.e., users of nonprofit services) was separated from the financing of services. As such, nonprofit agencies have become responsible to the service sponsor rather than the service consumer (Iglehart & Becerra, 1995, cited in Holder, 1999, emphasis added). Therefore, financial accountability to state funders predominates over other forms of accountability such as the relevance or appropriateness of the services being delivered, or the legitimacy of the organization in claiming to speak or act in the interest of the clients it serves (Holder, 1999).

2.5 The Rise of Neoliberalism and the Devolution of the Settlement Sector

The welfare state supplied the necessary conditions for the development of the settlement sector, both through funding provisions and through formal support for integration and advocacy work done by the sector. Nonprofits in general came to be part of the governance apparatus and participated in the project of nation building in two ways: first, they supplemented the state in the area of service provision and became an important service provider (Veronis, 2006, Miller, 1998); second, they were actively involved in the development of public policy as a representative of special interest groups - immigrants, women, labour and the marginalized (Veronis, 2006, Miller, 1998). Thus, despite the high volumes of government funding, the direct delivery of services and control over their mandates remained in the hands of nonprofit organizations. Yet the relationship between the state and nonprofit actors grew increasingly
complex. By the late 1970s, it was evident that a majority of nonprofits came to rely on government funding, and governments, through various programs and policies, began to influence and regulate nonprofit organizations (Hall et al., 2005).

The nature of the relationship between the nonprofit sector and state began to unravel in the late 1970s when Canada began to move away from a Keynesian-welfare system to a neoliberal regime. The slow growth of the economy in the 1970s, shown through the rise of inflation, growing debt and budget deficits, and unemployment, meant that government revenues started to decline. Consequently, a new economic and social philosophy began to take hold in the United Kingdom and the United States which challenged the main principles of Keynesian welfare economics; that state involvement in redistribution policies not only prohibited economic growth, but also caused a breakdown of individual responsibility in, and for, the community. Neoliberalism promised a solution to the growing challenges of state deficits, while also insidiously redefining social and ethical life in accordance with economic criteria and expectations. This new economic and social theory was called neoliberalism; *neo*, meaning new, and *liberalism* after Adam Smith's argument that state economies should be 'liberal' in that there should be little government intervention in economic matters, which was thought to be best for economic growth among its advocates. This policy was characterized by the shrinking of the state apparatus, and the downloading of social service provision onto a variety of non-state actors.

### 2.5.1 Neoliberalism Defined

Under Keynesian-welfare economics, social spending was viewed as a support for the economy, individuals, and families (Jenson, 2009). Government spending on social programmes and services were described as expenditures on social security for social protection, and served to stimulate the economy in times of economic downturns (Jenson, 2009). In contrast to this idea, neoliberal perspectives assumed that markets could, and should, generate all social wellbeing and that social spending and state intervention are in conflict with economic prosperity (Jenson, 2009, p. 30). Neoliberal economic ideology espouses an increased emphasis on 'private market' incentives, including "tax cuts, deregulation of business, and reduced social spending" (McCluskey, 2002, p. 803). This newly prevailing economic theory predicted that "'free market' policies, benefitting wealthy capital owners at the expense of others, would promote economic
growth, and would, in the long run, trickle down to benefit society as a whole" (McCluskey, 2002, p. 803). In neoliberal ideology, the market should replace the state as the dominant paradigm for progress and development (Clotfelter & Ehrlich, 1999). Consequently, privatization is the key policy of neoliberals and takes many forms including the "sale of public assets, voucher programs, deregulation, cutbacks in public services, and the contracting out of those services to for-profit and nonprofit agencies" (Aguirre, Erik, & Reese, 2006).

According neoliberal ideology, the solution to reducing government social spending was to downsize government and give markets and individuals greater 'freedom' (Shields, 2004). As the state shrinks, 'welfare' becomes increasingly the responsibility of individuals, families and voluntary organizations (Shields, 2004). Therefore, individual market freedoms will replace the longstanding social contract that once provided a social safety net for the poor, elderly, workers, and newcomers, to name a few (Giroux, 2003). Such ideas generated neoliberal's vision of a proper mix of 'responsibility', which downplayed the role of the state in favour of markets, 'structural adjustments', communities, and the individual. Neoliberal states rely on decentralizing policies such as devolution, deinstitutionalization, and privatization to responsibilize communities and citizens for the provision of their needs (Veronis, 2006, Wolch, 1990, Brodie, 2002). This leaves individuals with three alternatives to providing a social safety net; the family, the market, and / or the community (Ilcan & Basok, 2004).

Dismantling and delegitimizing Canada's redistribution policies required an alternate mechanism to act as a replacement for the social support once provided by the state. For neoliberals, the community is "implicitly, or sometimes explicitly, expected to fill in the gaps left as the state retreats" (Defilippis et al., 2006, p. 675). The assumption is that activity in the community is "voluntary, available, and people freely participate in building assets and social capital" (Defilippis et al., 2006, p. 678). Consequently, government guaranteed social safety nets gave way to a reliance on community based organizations. Canadian policy makers embraced the notion of community, with its homogeneity and 'social coherence', and welcomed the intellectual justification for implementing policies that retreated from providing direct social service provisions (Defilippis et al., 2006). Neoliberals revered the role of the community sector, seeing

1 Structural adjustment policies are aimed at curbing workers power and making the state retreat from any activities that were judged not to be in the interest of capital like the cutting back of social security and public expenditures (Bagchi, 2008)
it as an alternative source for collective solidarity to that of the state, and called community based organizations as "reclaiming their rightful place in the allocation of wellbeing" (Jenson, 2009, p. 30). Brodie (2002) contends that neoliberalism's focus on the local in particular represents the "reterritorialization of governance in community" (p. 392), which is based on the logic that certain groups of citizens (e.g., the nonprofit sector), rather than governments, are responsible for particular services (Ilcan & Basok, 2004, p. 130, Veronis, 2006).

To replace the state's withdrawal in social service provision, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and later Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, utilized the discourses of local entities, such as neighbourhoods, community social services and settlement service organizations within the community to provide citizens with important social services. Consequently, communities and nonprofit organizations were called to organize themselves to become more businesslike, and as such, they could hope to be given contracts by the government to provide services (Jenson, 2009).

### 2.5.2 Implementation of Neoliberalism in Canada

In Canada, the ascendency of neoliberalism occurred through a series of interconnected transformations that begin with the rise of the conservative government of Brian Mulroney in the 1980s, the deepening internationalization of the circuits of money and industrial capital, and the shifting modes of communication and governance structures exemplified during the Chrétien Liberal government of the 1990s (Albo, 2002).

Changes to Canada's social programs were initially incremental. Mcbride and Mcnutt (2007) maintain that the common techniques used by the Mulroney and Chrétien governments were to transform universal programs into selective programmes, tighten eligibility criteria to programmes, impose ceilings on programme costs, or attempt to make programmes self-financing or subject to 'claw-backs' over certain benefit levels (p. 186). Popular social programs such as Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), affordable housing and childcare were never out rightly eliminated, but decreased funding forced many programs to limit service provision. For example, in 1985 to 1989, Mulroney's Conservative government steadily cut funding for affordable housing, while official development assistance was reduced by $50M, and Canada's Aid program was reduced by $1.6B over the next five years (Cohen, Morrison & Smith, 1995). Elimination of other programs, such as the rental rehabilitation assistance program used by municipal nonprofit
housing groups to maintain low cost rental housing, and the cancellation of childcare programs worth $4B were also initiated during this era. Lastly, cuts in grants to advocacy groups of $10M, including $2M cut from women's groups, $3M cut from native groups, and $2M cut from visible minority groups, and cuts in environmental programs, were also initiated (Cohen, Morrison & Smith, 1995).

Dismantling the social support mechanisms for Canadians is evident in the disintegration of the CAP, the 50-50 cost-sharing provision that helped to underwrite the expansion and maintenance of needs-based benefits and services (Evans & Shields, 2002). In 1996, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien replaced CAP with a block transfer of funds between the provinces and the federal government called the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST). The introduction of CHST effectively removed the national standards formerly attached to social assistance spending and combined the funds for social assistance, previously separate under CAP, with a block transfer for health, education and needs based social assistance (Morrow et al., 2004, p. 361). Along with the structural changes came a 25 percent cut in federal transfers to health, education, and social welfare with which provinces had to contend as they continued to deliver services (Morrow et al., 2004, p. 361). The implementation of CHST represented a significant retreat from a general federal responsibility for social programs.

Concurrently, the federal governments of Brian Mulroney and Jean Chrétien sought to offload limited service provision onto the nonprofit sector. Governments contended that the flexibility and innovation of the nonprofit sector made it a good fit for service delivery (Kaminsky, 2006). In following neoliberal tenets, they were viewed as operating closer to the problems of the community in which they served, used volunteers and non-unionized labour, collected donations and were flexible and non-bureaucratic (Clotfelter & Ehrlich, 1999). The rhetoric of flexibility and innovation inherent in nonprofit organizations helped the government legitimize its claim that nonprofits were the rightful sector to deliver social services. By stressing their 'non-bureaucratic nature', the government was able to distance the nonprofit sector from the 'big government' state apparatus of social welfare provision of the Keynesian-welfare state. They were able to create a nonprofit sector that was viewed by most as an inexpensive substitute for government programs (Clotfelter & Ehrlich, 1999). However, the government did not relinquish control of the nonprofit sector, and the nonprofit sector was not able to distance itself from government austerity as it relied on government funding as a core component of its operation.
The retrenchment of the Canadian state from providing social assistance had a profound effect on the nonprofit and voluntary sector. They were expected to operate as a social safety net, but with severely reduced levels of funding and government-controlled mandates.

It is worth noting that neoliberal ascendency was not limited to the federal government. In Ontario, Premier Mike Harris of the Progressive Conservative (Tory) party, elected in 1995, implemented the "common sense revolution" which introduced various economic and social policies that undercut social service provisions and featured a strong neoliberal discourse that featured "steep spending cuts, tax reductions for the wealthiest, welfare and workfare reform, sweeping state retrenchment, and liberalization of provincial labour laws and markets" (Prudham, 2004, p. 351). For the Harris government, 'common sense' meant that markets were the obvious and natural solution to all policy problems and were pursued through fiscal austerity, deregulation and re-regulation, and privatization (Prudham, 2004, p. 351). Like the federal government, Premier Harris pursued a strongly neoliberal regime change that included drastic welfare cuts, the reduction and redesign of local governments, the amalgamation of hundreds of local governments (Keil, 2002, Sancton 2000), the reduction in the number of provincial full-time social service positions by 21,000 (Keil, 2002, Mallan, 2001), the introduction of workfare (Keil, 2002, Peck, 2001), the loosening of planning restrictions and the pursuit of an aggressive (sub)urban growth strategy, and the downloading of responsibilities to the local level (Keil, 2002, p. 589, Urquhart, 2001). Under Canada's constitutional system, suburban municipalities are "creatures of provinces" (Keil, 2002, p. 578) and therefore have little power over budding neoliberal discourses and their subsequent implementation.

2.6 Devolution of the Settlement Sector

Part of the restructuring of the welfare state in Canada has involved devolution, a process whereby the federal government divests itself of its previous responsibilities and downloads programs and fiscal responsibilities to the provincial level, or to the level of community based organizations (Arat-Koc, 1999). In Canada, the devolution of the settlement sector started in 1995 with the introduction of the settlement "renewal" plans, which aimed to devolve major settlement programs to the provinces (Arat-Koc, 1999). At first, both levels of government found it politically difficult to cut services that had become entrenched in the Canadian state apparatus, and turned to various combinations of tax increases and budget deficits to alleviate the
burden of Canada's growing deficit problems (Hall et al., 2005). However, by the 1990s, under the guise of deficit reduction, both levels of governments began reducing or eliminating programs and services and devolving others to provincial or local levels (Hall et al., 2005). For example, in 1995, the federal government launched the Settlement Renewal process, with a view of devolving the administration of settlement services to provincial governments or other bodies (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2000). The federal government viewed devolution as the most hands-off kind of arrangement it could foresee in service delivery. To the federal government, devolution meant the passing along of service delivery, program/service design, evaluation and adjustment to some other party while the government retains control of policy development, standards, monitoring and oversight (Morris, 1997).

According to the Welcoming Communities Initiative (2012), there were three factors that drove the 1990's reassessment of settlement programs. First, the federal government aimed to reduce 'non-essential' spending and therefore looked to the provinces to take control over local settlement policies; second, due to fiscal constraints, consolidating settlement services with other provincial social programs was considered; and third, the Quebec immigration agreement, which transferred (and still transfers) a disproportionate share of federal settlement funds to Quebec led other provinces to argue that they were not receiving a fair share of federal spending. However, when devolution of settlement services to the provinces was first introduced in the 1990s, the majority of provinces were reluctant to take on settlement provision because they feared that a fiscal transfer would allow the federal government to step away from its funding responsibilities (Welcome Communities Initiatives, 2012). Regardless, both British Columbia and Manitoba agreed to control their settlement programs\(^2\), which have led to various criticisms about the programs, but also some gains in the settlement sector.

Despite the devolution to provinces, the federal government was still responsible for contributing funding to both devolved settlement programs and to provinces, like Ontario, where settlement programs were still under federal jurisdiction. The federal government initiated a block-transfer funding mechanism for provinces that were under federal and provincial control.

\(^2\) Devolution of the settlement sector to the provincial governments in Manitoba and British Columbia occurred in 1998. It is important to note that in April 2012 it was announced that both Manitoba and British Columbia would be recentralized at the federal government level.
Following the tenets of neoliberalism, the funding provided to the settlement sector was both increasingly limited and the mechanism of funding had changed significantly. Previously, settlement service providers were given core funding to help deliver programs that were both government funded, yet SSPs were also able to direct and control most of their programming as they were viewed as operating closer to newcomers residing in their own communities. Funding was now provided on a contract basis, and given to operate standard government mandated programs, such as language instruction, and employment services, only.

The devolution of the settlement sector was not meant to only pass along service delivery to provinces, it was also meant to individualize and transform settlement service providers into accountable business organizations, whose mandates, goals and outcomes were now determined by the funders (i.e., the government). Simultaneously, settlement service providers were supplying services to newcomers despite the obstacle of limited resources, as income support for individuals was reduced and funding for other social services dried up (Hall et al., 2005). These community agencies have become largely responsible for assisting marginalized and disadvantaged peoples, as the state no longer shouldered this responsibility (Ilcan & Basok 2004, Evans & Shields 2002). The downloading of services to the nonprofit sector, while maintaining control over the mechanisms of operations, is characteristic of a Canadian shadow state apparatus, or a “third sector” (Wolch, 1990).

2.6.1 The Shadow State

Neoliberalism represents a restructuring of the interaction between state, society and the economy (Veronis 2006). As outlined above, the “hollowing out” of the Canadian state through interrelated dynamics of decentralization, devolution and privatization have produced a marked reduction in the size and function of state institutions (Lake & Newman, 2002). Many of these functions that have devolved from the state have been absorbed by the nonprofit or voluntary sector, who comprise a 'shadow state' increasingly responsible for social service delivery and community development functions previously shouldered by the Keynesian-welfare state (Wolch, 1990, Lake & Newman, 2002). Wolch (1990) first discussed the rise of the shadow state in her work on the restructuring of the role of voluntary organizations in the United Kingdom and United States during the 1980s. Wolch (1990) describes the shadow state as “a para-state apparatus comprised of voluntary organizations charged with major collective service
responsibilities previously shouldered by the public sector” (p. 4). While the responsibilities of service provision have been downloaded to nonprofits, the state simultaneously restricts their mandates through mechanisms of constraints and competition. As such, these shadow state services are also referred to as the 'third sector' economy, as these organizations are neither part of the formal public or private sectors, but contain characteristics from both (Bridge, Murtagh & O’Neill, 2009).

It has been argued that the domination of neoliberalism in the 1980s has caused state withdrawal in the provision of social services to citizens, and has redefined the state’s relationship with the third sector as a form of state-building and regulatory reform (Peck & Tickell, 2002). Chrétien's Liberal government endeavoured to reign in the third sector by cutting grants, reducing welfare programs, and decreasing core funding while increasing contractual funding and redefining the government's role in the social sector (Barlow & Campbell, 1995). Simultaneously, various political reports discredited the third sector as a source of corruption, greed, and a misuse of tax-payers money (Stewart, 1996). Public reports on the misuse of public funds in the delivery of services by third sector agencies surfaced (Stewart 1996). Articles in the media soon followed detailing mistakes and funding abuses and inadequate regulation of the nonprofit industry (Brock & Banting, 2001). For example, Liberal Member of Parliament John Bryden’s report called *MP’s Report: Canada’s Charities – A need for Reform* (Bryden, 1996) alleged that nonprofit organizations were under-representative and self-serving special interest groups lacking accountability and a legitimate purpose. The result was the Department of Finance cutting funding to nonprofit services by $300 million within a year (Miller, 1999, p. 76) and reforming the Income Tax Act to ensure greater transparency within the sector. The discrediting of the nonprofit sector served to legitimize the actions of the government in reducing funding to nonprofit service providers.

However, simultaneously, the public’s demand for services had increased due to the recession in the 1990s. By 1997, the Liberal government had backtracked on its attacks on the third sector, and promised if re-elected, they would “work in partnership with the voluntary sector to explore new models of overseeing and regulating registered charities and enhancing their accountability to the public” (Liberal Party, 1997, as cited in Brock, 2000, p. 8). What resulted was an off-loading of services to nonprofit organizations, as they provided an alternative form of needed service delivery, without compromising the legitimacy of the roll-back state
(Mitchell 2001). Yet the third sector’s expanded responsibilities did not result in new resources. In 1994, the federal government reduced the transfer payments to provincial governments, who in turn reduced payments to local governments and nonprofit organizations while encouraging them to assume greater responsibilities (Rekart 1993). This tension between governments and the third sector resulted in two scenarios. First, governments remained uneasy about the attenuation of their own control over service delivery, and the implications for political accountability, while questioning the capacity of nonprofit institutions to deliver programs equitably and efficiently (Brock & Banting, 2001). Second, governments demanded more accountability from third sector organizations, while compromising their autonomy from the state (Brock & Banting 2001). Ultimately, however, nonprofits suffered by losing viability in providing services as they stretched their resources to serve various needs at once (Brock & Banting 2001). The changing nature of the funding environment of the nonprofit sector has produced inequalities in both service provision and an uneven hierarchy between service providers.

The devolution of the settlement sector in Ontario was accomplished through the federal government's Settlement Renewal plan of 1995. Settlement Renewal meant that Ontario shifted away from direct investment in the public sector to competitive contract and purchase of service agreements with nonprofit and not-for-profit operators (Sadiq, 2004). Settlement Renewal emphasized a need for standard control over the conception and delivery of settlement services and outlined core, government created services that should be funded no matter what level of government administered settlement program funding (OCASI, 2001). Citizenship and Immigration Canada emphasized that this would benefit the settlement service sector, as it would ensure comparable service delivery across the country, and that it would establish accountability measures to maximize the impact of settlement and integration funding expenditures (CIC, 1996). The implications of this funding shift were threefold; first, there was a withdrawal from direct service provision; second, there was a reduction or elimination of grants and other discretionary programs, especially for smaller SSPs who had little political clout; and third, there was an increased reliance on competitive market-type mechanisms for allocating funds to low-cost providers and large SSPs that could meet the stringent requirements of purchase of service contracts (Mwarigha, 1997 as cited in Sadiq 2004).
2.6.2 Restructuring and the Impact on NGOs in the Funding Environment

The nature and sources of funding can have a profound impact on the way institutions structure themselves, make decisions, deliver programs, and define their mission (Juillet et al., 2001). The increasingly competitive financial environment SSPs encounter in Canada is fundamentally altering their nature by forcing them to adopt modes of operations more akin to those found in the private sector (Julliet et al., 2001). Aligned with this is an increased emphasis on managerial flexibility, strategic and targeted programs and efficiency (Brock & Banting, 2001). Additionally, the ability of nonprofits to fulfil their mandates while maintaining their autonomy with respect to the government in the midst of a turbulent and changing funding environment is still being questioned (Julliet et al., 2001, Jenson & Phillips, 1996). A larger number of nonprofit organizations struggle to survive in a more competitive and changing funding structure. In grappling with the growing demand for settlement services in this environment, many not-for-profit SSPs are moving towards a "fee-for-service model" to generate needed revenue (Liu, 2006, p. 12). Ultimately, this generates an environment where settlement services may only be provided to those who can afford it.

Government requirements have also altered settlement agency mandates. Brock (2002) discusses the landmark case of The Vancouver Society of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women v. Minister of National Revenue ([1999] 1. S.C.R), in which the Society provided educational assistance to immigrant and minority women and Revenue Canada refused to grant it charitable status on the grounds that its mandate included fundraising and advocacy (p. 4). The supreme court of Canada upheld the ruling of Revenue Canada, and subsequently, most settlement organizations involved in advocacy work were decried as 'special interest' groups. Currently, agencies with charitable status can only devote 10 percent of their time to advocacy activities or they risk losing their charitable status (Brock, 2002). Not only does the loss of charitable status impact an organization's ability to raise its own funds, but the restrictions around advocacy work discourages critical feedback from nonprofit organizations that is essential to good government policy.

These changes in funding structures are creating an increasingly competitive and unpredictable system (McGrath, Wood & Young, 2010). State reductions in funding are not merely a consequence of overall cost-cutting but the symptom of a full scale assault on the
legitimacy and credibility of advocacy groups (Jenson & Phillips, 1996). This picture of government undermines social justice oriented advocacy initiatives within the voluntary sector and highlights the sector’s responsibility for service provision (Ilcan & Basok, 2004).

However, not all government funding for settlement service providers in Ontario is equal; there are differences between federal and provincial contract funding. Federal contracts for core, federally derived settlement programs are sometimes viewed as less competitive and renewable on condition that funding guidelines and service standards are adhered to (Sadiq, 2004). Conversely, provincial contracts are viewed as more competitive and short-term (Sadiq, 2004, Mwarigha, 1997, Richmond, 1996, Richmond & Shields, 2004). The nature of funding for settlement services changed in 1995, and a loss of many Ontario settlement agencies accompanied this change as federal and provincial funding was drastically reduced. With the implementation of competitive contract funding and purchase of service agreements, SSPs were entangled deeper into the shadow state.

2.6.3 Competitive Bidding and Purchase of Service Agreements

Competitive contracting exemplifies the neoliberal ideal of marketization and business efficiency in the delivery of immigrant settlement services (Stasiulis, Hughes, & Amery, 2011). The competitive bidding process involves SSPs competing for yearly contract funding for either government mandated settlement programs or for newly proposed settlement programs devised by SSPs themselves. In Ontario, the Ministry of Citizenship and Integration (MCI) offers purchase of service agreements, involving literally the purchasing of services from the provincial government, which are brokered through the Newcomer Settlement Program (NSP). While core federally or provincially funded programs are usually separated from purchase of service agreements, the funding towards core operational functions has drastically diminished (Clutterbuck & Howarth, 2007). Mwarigha (1997) states that this is partly due to the diminished transfers from the federal government to the provincial government, which are passed on in reductions to municipalities, and in turn to settlement organizations that provide services to newcomers. However, despite the diminished level of funding, the "accountability requirements over grants and contributions have become so stringent in recent years that they are virtually unworkable as a core support for third sector organizations" (Phillips, Laforest & Grant, 2008, p. 2). The increase in purchase of service agreements is a direct reflection of the disinvestment in
the public sector and a restructuring of service providers to adhere to the principles of a competitive marketplace. The settlement providers that continue to operate are those that are successful in undertaking the laborious task of rewriting and resubmitting yearly requests for purchase of service agreements to keep their agencies afloat.

While the government views the competitive bidding process as a mechanism to reduce costs and provide greater choices to newcomers (Milligan, 1998), Sadiq (2004) states that it actually limits the ability of SSPs to provide unique programs that cater to different newcomer community needs. This is especially evident in Sadiq's (2004) characterization of the two-tier settlement system produced by the uneven distribution of purchase of service agreements to Toronto based SSPs. In the first tier, larger, multiservice SSPs rely on state contracts for the majority of their funding, and are rarely able to exceed this level of funding through measures such as fundraising (Sadiq, 2004, Mwarigha, 1997). Congruent with shadow state service provision, larger, multiservice SSPs display a dependency upon the state for funding, while being defined and restricted in the types of services they are able to provide (Sadiq, 2004). In the second tier, smaller, usually ethno-specific SSPs depend upon larger, multiservice SSPs for resources and funding (Sadiq, 2004). Smaller agencies encounter challenges relating to insufficient human and financial resources in competing with larger agencies for purchase of service agreements. The competitive bidding process is eroding the supply of smaller, ethno-specific service providers by driving down the cost of service programs, but also eliminating those providers who are unable to meet the strenuous demands of the competition (Sadiq 2004, Owen 1999).

Further, state contracts are often awarded to larger agencies as they are viewed as having the resources and organizational capacity to provide services (Sadiq, 2004, Bartlett & McKitrick 1999, Geronimo 2000, Spigelman & Simces, 2000). Despite this, smaller agencies have been known to operate closer to the communities they serve; yet, if these agencies wish to develop independent programs that are intended to address the unique concerns of the newcomer communities residing within their catchment areas, they are either unable to secure funding, or must rely on partnering with larger agencies with more resources to be able to provide these services. The result is that smaller agencies are often forced to shut down if they cannot partner with larger agencies, or there is an unequal power dynamic between larger and smaller agencies, where the latter is accountable to both the state and to their partnering agency. The unequal
power sharing may result in mistrust between service providers and it may undermine efforts to build strong and inclusive communities (Lo, 2011, Ahmed, 2006).

2.7 Critical Review of Literature on Settlement Services

The literature on settlement service providers is largely focused on describing the relationship between the state and SSPs, newcomers geographical accessibility of SSPs, the experiences of SSPs and service specific challenges for SSPs.

2.7.1 Alternative Views of the State-Nonprofit Relationship

Despite Wolch's (1990) and Mitchell's (2001) assertion that the shadow state has produced highly uneven power differentials between SSPs and the state, there is some disagreement that all outcomes of this relationship are negative. For example, Trudeau's (2008) relational view of the shadow state explains how SSPs in Minneapolis are able to rework meanings of citizen participation while simultaneously reworking their relationship with the state. Trudeau (2008) uses archival data to provide a case study of how Lao Family Community (LFC), a nonprofit refugee settlement centre, interacted with the state over an eight year period to advocate for their clientele and influence refugee integration policies. While government funders sought to shape LCF into a service provider that could be managed and monitored through staff technical training and professional consultants, LFC simultaneously influenced government policy by advocating for settlement agencies to make service delivery more respectful towards refugee cultures and "broaden the meaning of self-sufficiency beyond economic logic" (p. 681). LFC was able to 'innovate' by introducing the concept of 'bicultural workers'; individuals with multiple language capabilities who were able to operate effectively in both US bureaucratic contexts and Southeast Asian cultural contexts, as necessary for all refugee agencies in developing culturally appropriate services. Trudeau (2008) demonstrates that states do not have full control over how policy is enacted at the local level, and that there are opportunities for organizations to affect state agendas, especially at the local level. In doing this, Trudeau (2008) problematizes the theorization of the state.

However, studies on SSPs abilities to 'innovate' in a Canadian context are limited. More research is needed to understand if long-standing SSPs in Canada are able to innovate as effectively within a Canadian political context. An exception is Creese (2006), who discusses the
resistance of Vancouver SSPs to state policies that adversely affected newcomers and refugees. Creese (2006) uses the example of prominent Vancouver settlement organization MOSAIC and their anti-poverty campaign which was designed to challenge neoliberal policies accompanying state restructuring in the 1990s. MOSAIC founded the Working Group on Poverty (WGP), which staged a one-week camp to protest homelessness of refugee claimants while forging new coalitions with anti-poverty groups and other settlement organizations to obtain a greater voice in their advocacy work. This gave SSPs an effective forum to challenge government policies, without undermining their ability to provide services, or their grassroots commitment to newcomer communities. MOSAIC, however, is one of the largest settlement organizations in British Columbia, and it has had to restructure its operations to provide fee-for-service translation services alongside CIC sponsored settlement programs (Government of Canada, 2013). Creese's (2006) study takes a case study approach to examine a larger, multiservice SSP; more studies are needed to determine if smaller, ethno-specific organizations in Canada are able to articulate their relationship with the state in the same manner. Furthermore, it is necessary to determine if a larger sample of organizations serving within the same municipality or city are able to offer 'innovative' programming to serve newcomer needs.

2.7.2 Geography of Settlement Services

The relationship between smaller and larger settlement organizations also has implications in the geographical location of settlement services in Toronto. Sadiq (2004) claims that the two-tier system has created and perpetuates an 'unequal geography' of settlement service provision, where SSPs are forced to base their locational choices primarily on fiscal constraints as opposed to accessibility to newcomer communities (Sadiq, 2004, Truelove, 2000, Truelove & Wang, 2001). The spatial mismatch between the location of newcomers and SSPs intensified after 1995, when stricter funding controls forced many multiservice and ethno-specific agencies to close (Mwarigha, 1997), and when many more newcomers began settling in suburban areas (Sadiq, 2004). Thus, much of the literature regarding settlement service providers has emphasized the spatial mismatch between settlement service providers and the residential location of newcomers. Importantly, the location of agencies has been identified as a systemic barrier to access for newcomers (Medeiros, 1991). Lo et al. (2007) examined the number of settlement services in the Toronto CMA in 1997 and in 2002 and found that the number of settlement agencies had increased by 174. However, less than one third of that increase occurred
in the growing suburban municipalities. This implies that there has been a minimal spatial shift in the location of settlement agencies, despite the growing number of newcomers choosing to reside in the outer suburbs. Lim et al. (2005) also found that growing suburban municipalities of Peel, York, Durham and Halton were significantly under-represented in the location of newcomer service agencies. For example, in 2001, Peel Region received 20.2 percent of immigrants, but only contained 10.5 percent of agencies from the Toronto CMA.

The majority of locational studies discuss particular federal government funded settlement programs. Wang and Truelove (2003) analyze the geographical distribution of settlement services administrating the LINC and ISAP programs in Ontario in relation to the settlement patterns of newcomers. They use spatial data of settlement services who received CIC funding in Toronto and newcomer's landing records up to 1998 indicating intended residential destinations. They find that the distribution of LINC and ISAP programs in Ontario are fairly good relative to newcomer settlement patterns, as most newcomers are within 20 km of such service locations. However, suburban municipalities in the Toronto CMA are underserviced and underfunded due to the recent settlement of new immigrants in the suburbs and the absence of long-term service providers in these areas. Newcomers residing in the suburbs of Greater Toronto Area (GTA) are not likely to access settlement organizations in the city of Toronto, as the lack of integrated transit system between the outer suburbs and Toronto makes it difficult for them to access these areas.

Lo (2011) examines the relationship between the service needs of, and service provision for, newly arrived immigrants in the Toronto CMA using access to LINC classes as an example. Similar to Wang and Truelove (2003), it was found that the distribution of LINC programs was geographically uneven, and this was especially pronounced in the Peel and York Regions, which both received 31 percent of the region's newcomer population but were only allocated 24 percent of the LINC spaces. Lo (2011) concludes that recent newcomers moving to the suburbs are underserved by the settlement sector, and this likely has to do with the misconception that suburbs are home to more affluent newcomers, who are exempt from the social problems of the inner city. This dominant narrative, although proven untrue (Murdie, 1996, Li, 1994), is reflected in government funding allocations for settlement programs in the suburbs.

Except for Truelove (2000), the aforementioned studies do not offer an explanation of the constraints settlement agencies themselves experience in deciding on locational choices for their
organizations. In her analysis of settlement agencies, Truelove (2000) found that most ethno-specific agencies serve only one ethno-cultural group, so their location choice should be easier as traditionally, new immigrants locate in 'reception' neighbourhoods in the core of the city. However, financial constraints of SSPs may make that choice extremely challenging (Truelove, 2000, p. 148). Truelove (2000) claims that locational choices are hardest for mainstream agencies, since these agencies must service more than one language or ethno-specific group. The visibility of organizations in communities was also challenging for settlement providers, as agencies have traditionally located in office buildings, above stores, and industrial malls where they are not as visible. There have been attempts from settlement agencies to start locating in offices, storefronts and community centers, but factors such as the cost of rent and transportation likely play a larger role in determining the location of certain agencies. Truelove (2000) importantly notes that all social issues have territorial boundaries, and that agencies have only recently realized this and have started defining their communities, not just in terms of who their clients are, but also where they live.

Locational studies of SSPs highlight the need to determine more equitable ways to fund and deliver social services to outer suburban regions. However, while these studies provide a reflection of the ease of access to certain agencies for newcomers, there is little discussion of the appropriateness and relevancy of these services for newcomers. They also do not provide a nuanced understanding of the differences in service provision that suburban areas may need. While access to government-funded programs is essential, these programs are not inclusive of all the stages of the settlement continuum, such as adaptation and integration (Richmond & Shields, 2005). The need to examine individual settlement organizations and the unique programming that each organization provides is essential to understanding how settlement agencies cater to the individual needs of newcomers residing in a particular locations or neighbourhoods. Yet an empirical gap exists in the literature, as there are few studies that determine the exact programs and services immigrant organizations provide (Cordero-Guzman, 2005), especially in relation to the steps involved in the settlement continuum. Moreover, there are even less examples of studies that employ quantitative methodologies in determining the variation of settlement agencies in a place-based analysis of neighbourhoods.
2.7.3 Literature on the Experiences of Settlement Service Providers

There are a limited range of studies addressing the experiences and perceptions of settlement service providers, and of these studies, there are rarely any that address the perceptions of ethno-specific or cultural-specific service providers. These settlement agencies have been hit hardest with government downloading and financial constraints (Sadiq, 2004), and yet there are limited studies that address the contribution of these organizations to settlement outcomes or the challenges they encounter in delivering services. An exception would be Belkhodja and Beaudry (2008), who conducted a comparative study of ten Francophone reception and integration settlement service providers in urban areas of British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. Using ten semi-structured interviews with spokespeople from these organizations, they determined that the location of organizations was imperative in building links to the Francophone community. Organizations located near Francophone associations gave SSPs access to the Canadian Francophone community and facilitated participation in activities in the host community. Their most significant challenge was a lack of funding dollars, which has meant that these SSPs have had to form partnerships with other organizations and projects with the private sector while looking to diversify their funding sources. SSPs also indicated that making contact with newcomers when they first arrive was a significant challenge, as newcomers are not always aware of the services SSPs can provide to them.

While there is a need for programs and services to be tailored to specific demographic characteristics, these services must also acknowledge the impact of locality and the unique experiences this creates (OCASI, 2012). Zehtab-Martin & Beesley (2004) provide a place-based analysis of the challenges for agencies in their study of settlement centers and newcomers in the small town of Brandon, Ontario. Using semi-structured interviews with both settlement providers and newcomers, it was determined that a lack of funding dollars continued to impede agencies abilities to provide adequate support to their newcomer population, and the main challenge for newcomers was a lack of support, especially in the beginning of the migration process. Place-based studies of settlement providers like Zehtab-Martin & Beesley's (2004) are important in providing a depiction of the types of agencies available in certain areas, yet there
are very limited examples of these studies in Canada that discuss settlement providers in areas other than the traditional core reception cities of Toronto and Vancouver.

The studies that do address the experiences and challenges of SSPs operating in Canada are largely focused in Vancouver and Toronto CMAs. While Toronto and Vancouver have traditionally been immigrant reception centers, newcomers are now choosing to reside in the outer suburbs adjacent to, but not inside, these cities. Furthermore, these studies are largely focused on well established settlement organizations and do not provide a comprehensive understanding of the challenges of smaller, or newer organizations in these areas. For example, Guo (2006) examines SUCCESS, a prominent settlement organization in Vancouver, and how it responds to changing needs of the Chinese community in a multicultural society. Guo (2006) used document analysis and personal interviews with executive directors, board members, and programme directors and found that SUCCESS was successful in altering its programs to suit the needs of new immigrant groups, mainly Mandarin speaking newcomers, and those from Hong Kong and mainland China. Part of the explanation of this is that despite government downloading, SUCCESS has been such a prominent settlement organization in the ethnic Chinese community in Vancouver, that a large part of its funding was derived from fundraising. This also provided them modest autonomy in their partnership with the government of Canada, while allowing them to secure government funding for programs they needed to provide. However, governmental downloading has forced SUCCESS to implement fee-charging policies, especially in relation to employment training and services, thus forcing SUCCESS to commercialize its services. Fee-for-service policies in the settlement sector may be particularly detrimental as newcomers are one of the most vulnerable populations, and those who can afford to access services may be separated from those who cannot. Differential access to services based upon implicit market criteria that newcomers who have monetary resources are better able to access to the marketplace of social services serves to (re)produce differential access to citizenship within the shadow state (Lake & Newman, 2002).

Guo's (2006) analysis also describes the challenges that settlement workers encounter at the organization, such as overwork, lack of job security, low pay and staff burnout, which were also mentioned in Lee's (2008) case studies on immigrant frontline settlement workers in ten agencies in Vancouver. Lee (2008) interviews fifty frontline workers in settlement agencies throughout Vancouver, and found that immigrant women working in the settlement and
integration services sector were critical of their working conditions. Work within the sector was characterized as part-time, low-wage, term-limited and unstable, and thus a high rate of staff turnover and burnout was self-reported. Immigrants who work in settlement organizations felt loyalty to the agencies and a commitment to the work and for helping their ethnic community on the one hand, yet on the other hand, they felt unhappy that the core work of settlement services was being supported only by their willingness to work for low wages and unstable employment (p. 109).

Moreover, Lee (2008) also states that workers in the sector are expected to volunteer without pay so that programs continue during times of transitional funding, or to volunteer to do community fundraising. Lee (2008) maintains that using newcomer women as volunteers is a double-edged sword; on the one hand they are able to gain experience and confidence, but on the other they are not able to earn a living wage. Similarly studies by Este (2010), and McGrath, Wood and Young (2010), found that with limited resources and a greater demand for services, settlement workers may be vulnerable to a self-care deficit and increasingly stressful work environment. Settlement workers in Calgary found that administrating programs under an 'all-in-one' model, where newcomers were engaged with settlement service providers from the moment they landed in Canada, was increasingly stressful and led to mental and emotional exhaustion for settlement workers that largely goes undocumented (McGrath, Wood & Young, 2010, Wood et al., 2010). The understanding of the experiences of settlement providers is integral to knowledge about settlement services in particular. However, more information is needed on what types of practices and services SSPs and newcomers feel would benefit both groups. A holistic approach to understanding how settlement providers interact with, help, or challenge newcomer settlement is needed, especially place-based case study analysis of cities that have not traditionally been newcomer reception centers.

While Guo (2006) and Lee (2008) examine ethno-specific organizations in Vancouver, Hopkins (2006) explores the interworking dynamics of 14 Somali Community Organizations in London, Ontario, to 11 in Toronto, Ontario, and found that exclusionary dynamics within the organizations themselves, coupled with failings in service and funding provision, undermined the role of community organizations for the Somali newcomer community. Hopkins (2006) found that Somali community organizations had perpetuated exclusionary practices by claiming to serve all newcomer Somalis in their communities, but identified their agencies based on regional
and minority affiliation. The organizations actually perpetuated the underlying divisions present and remaining among the Somalis in the diaspora and in the resettlement process. Hopkins (2006) work challenges the notion that community-based and ethno-specific organizations are always best to serve immigrant and refugee populations. Hopkin's (2006) study is unique in that the effects of the disorganization of settlement agencies is discussed as coinciding with negative settlement outcomes for an ethno-specific community. More studies are needed to address how settlement organizations can impact the settlement outcomes for newcomers, as currently, the literature does not clarify the criteria to be labeled an 'effective' settlement service organization. Further, the dearth of literature on ethno-specific SSPs rarely explains what the needs of ethno-specific communities are and how these needs may differ from the needs of newcomers in general.

In the US, where no federal policy exists to aid in immigrant integration (excluding refugees), community based immigrant organizations are often viewed as integral to newcomer's communities and maintain greater ties with immigrant receiving countries. Cordero-Guzman (2005) utilizes a place-based study of Latin American community-based immigrant organizations in New York City to determine the impact these organizations have on Latin American communities. Through both semi-structured interviews with executive directors of organizations and 87 surveys, he found that these ethno-specific organizations were actually involved in the recruitment of immigrants from abroad and maintained ties with newcomers prior to their arrival in NYC. They were key pillars of the community and aided in aspects of community formation and development through building community pride, identity, and in representations in politics and policy discussions with local elected officials. In her comparative study of immigrant organizations in NYC, Escobar (2010) also states that Latin American organizations have high levels of political integration programs in their agencies. Escobar (2010) noted that these organizations had well-organized networks and had strong support from the sending state, which allows them to outweigh the difficulties experienced in providing services. The Canadian perspective on whether settlement organizations themselves aid in community development is missing from studies on SSPs. There are also rarely any indication of the organizational capacity of ethno-specific service providers and their transnational links to their countries of origins.

Furthermore, studies that address the perceptions of settlement providers almost always take a comparison approach to settlement organizations in large urban areas, which can prove
effective in determining how government policy outcomes are shaped by organizations in particular locations, but cannot provide a nuanced understanding of the types of organizations available or the unique local services SSPs can provide. For example, Simich et al. (2005) detail the challenges of 137 service providers and policy makers in health and immigrant settlement services who participated in focus groups in Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver. They found that systemic challenges for settlement organizations in providing services that meet newcomers’ needs included a lack of resources, a lack of integrated policies and programs, and narrow service mandates. Moreover, there was a lack of acknowledgement that social support may be defined differently by the newcomers requiring services than the people charged with providing and planning them. The perceived challenges that SSPs felt that newcomers encountered in accessing services was also mentioned and included a lack of information on service provision which is arguably enhanced by the fragmented health and social sector. While recognition of the crucial connection between settlement service providers and the newcomers they serve is apparent in Simich et al.’s (2005) study, there is little discussion of the experiences or perceptions of providing services to newcomers. Further, there is no distinction of services for particular newcomer populations, such as women and youth newcomers, who are almost always more disadvantaged in accessing and receiving settlement services (Van Ngo, 2009, Truelove, 2000).

2.7.4 Settlement Service Providers and Youth Services

The literature on youth settlement provision is limited. Of those studies that address newcomer youths, a majority focus on their lack of access to relevant health services (see Bridges et al., 2010, Chen, 2010, Yang, 2010, Pumariega et al., 1998) and rarely discuss the importance of comprehensive settlement services for newcomer youth. Van Ngo (2009) state that the needs of youth newcomers are surprisingly absent from both the literature on settlement service provision, as well as within the program design of settlement service providers in Canada. Van Ngo (2009) critically evaluates the selected programs and services for immigrant youth in Toronto, Calgary, and Vancouver. Through the database of SSPs in each of these cities available through CIC's webpage, Van Ngo (2009) determined the availability of youth services, the mandates of youth services for each agency studied, and a critique of these programs based upon how programs contribute to newcomer youth's settlement, adaptation and long-term
integration needs. He found that of those services available to newcomer youths, a majority focused on recreational activities. The majority of program selected did not address the complex, multifaceted needs and issues facing young newcomers, and the selected programs did not pay adequate attention to formations of cultural identity, acculturative gaps and trauma. Kilbride and Anisef (2001), however, argues that youth settlement services and religious institutions are good sources of support, yet there is insufficient support for newcomer youths from SSPs, both as individuals and as family members. Again, Kilbride and Anisef (2001) examine CIC funded youth programming in Toronto and argue that these programs alone are insufficient in addressing the complex needs of youth newcomers. Both Van Ngo (2009) and Kilbride and Anisef (2001) discuss a need for a policy shift from CIC to include multilingual family counselling, and the development of comprehensive youth specific services.

Van Ngo's (2009) and Kilbride and Anisef's (2001) studies are largely descriptive approaches to CIC funded settlement programs. They do not integrate the experiences of newcomer youths or service providers in their studies. The perspective of both service providers and the newcomers who utilize their service facilities are needed to determine the comprehensiveness of services and what effect they have on successful settlement outcomes. Lo et al. (2005), examines youth services for immigrant newcomers from Mainland China to Hong Kong by conducting focus groups with both newcomer youths and service providers from twenty-two immigrant and youth centers. While newcomer youths experienced mental health problems, such as depression and anxiety, social service support provided through youth-focused SSPs created an effective social support network for immigrant youth that decreased their changes of feeling socially isolated. In a Canadian context, there is a need to determine the exact needs of immigrant youth in their settlement experiences while also evaluating the quality and access of services being provided to them. While some general background knowledge exists about this topic, research that can shed light on how to improve services for youth newcomers is needed (Salehi, 2010).

2.7.5 Settlement Service Providers and Employment Services

Increasingly, literature on newcomers' experiences has focused on barriers immigrants encounter with entering the labour force. The high rate of unemployment and underemployment in Canada's high-skilled immigrants has been widely documented (Sakamoto, 2007, Man, 2004,
Reitz, 2005, Alexander, Burleton & Fong, 2012, Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2009). Much has been written on the challenges immigrants' encounter in accessing the Canadian labour market (see Wayland, 2006, Simich et al., 2005, Bauder, 2003). However, very little has directly addressed settlement service providers, and even less has been developed with their collaboration. Yet, SSPs are instrumental in providing employment services to immigrants. As evidenced by the overview of the settlement needs of newcomers, employment and economic integration are significant concerns for immigrants, settlement service providers, and the cities and towns they occupy (Murphy, 2010, Derwing & Krahn, 2008).

Of those studies that do address service providers challenges in providing employment services, most are adamant that SSPs abilities to provide such services are limited without addressing the systemic barriers and discrimination immigrant's encounter in the labour market (Sakamoto, 2007, Albion & McIsaac, 2007, McIsaac, 2003, Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). Likewise, the Social Planning Council of Peel (2000), Sakamoto, Chin and Young (2010), and Albion and McIsaac (2007) all state that employment programs were more successful when employers, education sectors, professional associations, and businesses, collaborate and network together. Programs such as mentorship and bridging programs were expressed as the most helpful for newcomers' as they were directly in contact with employers and also obtained Canadian experience (York Region, 2011, Murphy, 2010, Albion, 2002). However, these programs are incredibly limited, and macro-level issues, such as funding, limit SSPs abilities to provide these services (George, 2002, York Region, 2011).

While most of the literature is focused on immigrant's perceptions of employment services, Sakamoto (2007), Cottrell (2008) and Sakamoto, Chin and Young (2010) use semi-structured interviews with SSPs across Canada to determine what challenges they encounter in delivering programs. Sakamoto (2007) notes that CIC funded employment programs were limited to clients who had been in Canada for three years or less, which failed to account for immigrants' ongoing settlement challenges. Sakamoto (2007) also states that skilled immigrants perceived CIC-funded employment services as being too generic and unhelpful as they did not assist them in obtaining professional jobs within their fields. This relates back to Richmond and Shields' (2005) indication that government mandated settlement services do not address the adaptation and integration phase of settlement. This is also consistent with George et al.’s (2004) finding that employment information and resources for highly skilled immigrants in all
occupations and professions were inadequate or inaccurate. Sakamoto (2007), George et al. (2004) and Preston (2001) argue that in order to address newcomers' labour market challenges, coordinated policy responses, rather than a patchwork of settlement services, are needed. Immigrants' declining economic status can strain public support for immigration, a policy field that is typically measured by the visible and perceived contributions that newcomers make to the economy (OCASI, 2012). This also serves to reveal the contradictions in the neoliberal social contract; the state wants highly-skilled income earning subjects, but it ultimately holds individuals responsible for their 'success' or failure in the labour market, creating fissures within neoliberal ideology and its implementation on the local level.

2.8 Conclusion

While many of the studies above indicate the importance of settlement services, they are limited by their lack of meaningful approaches to strengthening the mechanisms in providing enhanced support for assisting newcomers in settling in their communities. For example, public-transportation is often greatly correlated to newcomers' abilities to access services, along with well-funded public housing (Wayland, 2010). Many studies on the importance of settlement services scarcely touch upon infrastructure development of the communities that newcomers reside in as a holistic approach to understanding the challenges that settlement providers and newcomers encounter. Further, a place-based approach would allow for an understanding of the nature of the types of settlement organizations and their abilities to contribute to the successful long term settlement of newcomers. While there are several studies documenting SSPs in Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver, there is still not a clear picture of who these groups are, what kind of programmes and services they provide, where they are located, who they serve and what kind of resources they have.

Studies from Owen (1999), Richmond (1996), Shields (2002), Simich (2000), and Richmond and Shields (2004) address the size, scope and restructuring of settlement service organizations in Toronto. Yet, there exists a gap in research available from settlement agencies themselves. Sadiq (2004) mentions that a stronger effort must be made for smaller SSPs to make research findings publically available. Further, accurate information on SSPs funding, size and collaboration is not readily available. While qualitative data is available indicating that agencies are underfunded, there are rarely any quantitative numbers, or accurate lists of funding sources,
that shed light on the extent of this situation in Peel Region, or Toronto. Lastly, more information is needed on the extent of collaboration between large and smaller settlement service providers. Sadiq (2004) mentions that there is no clear definition on the size and scope of SSPs, and therefore 'large' and 'small' are inferred in the literature but with little detail on what these terms mean. This information is vital in contributing to the community's understanding of these issues, and to understanding the extent and scope of power differentials taking place in the sector.

Further, studies from Trudeau (2008) and Creese (2006) indicate the need to examine the local effects of neoliberalism and the lived experiences of settlement workers in the settlement sector that encounter "real existing neoliberalism" in their everyday practices (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). Previous research into the challenges that settlement service organizations confront have recently paid some attention to the effects of political and economic restructuring on SSPs (Mwarigha, 1997, Sadiq, 2004), yet the emerging body of research has only started examining the specific effects of state restructuring on the working conditions and experiences of settlement service providers in a particular context (see Lee 2008).

The objectives of this qualitative study are to examine the challenges, and suggestions for improvement that settlement service providers encounter in the suburban municipality of Peel Region, Ontario, Canada. It will highlight the barriers that executive directors and frontline staff at settlement agencies in the cities of Brampton, Mississauga, and the town of Caledon encounter in delivering their programming to both the adult and youth newcomer populations within their neighbourhoods. This study will contribute to the literature on the self-described experiences of settlement providers, and examine the extent to which SSPs in Peel Region are constitutive of shadow state organizations, and how, or if, government funding restrains suburban SSPs from providing programming that assists in the full adaptation and integration of newcomers in their communities.
Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Research Setting

This research was conducted in the cities of Mississauga, Brampton and the town of Caledon located in Peel Region, Ontario, Canada (see Figure 2.1). The Peel Region is located in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), west of the City of Toronto. It is one of the fastest growing regions in all of Canada, with a population of 1.3 million residents in 2006, it contains almost 10 percent of Ontario's total population (Region of Peel, n.d.). Peel Region is one of the largest newcomer reception centers in Canada, and the most diverse suburban region in Ontario (Wayland, 2010). Peel’s high growth rate can be attributed to immigration (see table 3.1). From 2001 to 2006, immigrants comprised roughly 80 percent of Peel's population growth (Portraits of Peel, 2011). During the same time period, the immigrant population of Peel Region grew by 32 percent, compared to only 14 percent at that national, and 12 percent at the provincial level (Portraits of Peel, 2011). Roughly 22,000 recent immigrants directly settle in Peel each year (Portraits of Peel, 2011).

Figure 2.1

Map of Peel Region, Ontario, Canada

The large population increase in Peel is a relatively new phenomenon. Almost one-third of the immigrants residing in Peel arrived between 1991 and 2000, and another 21 percent of immigrants arrived between 2001 and 2005 (Wayland, 2010). Therefore, Peel has had less time to expand its social and settlement services to meet the needs of immigrants when compared to traditional newcomer reception cities, such as Toronto. In 2006, immigrants comprised 49 percent of Peel Region's total population, second only to Toronto's proportion of newcomer residents at 50 percent. If current population growth trends continue into the future, Peel will overtake Toronto as having the largest proportion of immigrants in its population (Ontario Trillium Foundation, 2010).

The level of immigration in each of Peel's local municipalities varies extensively. Mississauga has the largest proportion of immigrants in Peel (52 percent in 2006, compared to 47 percent in 2001), followed by Brampton (48 percent in 2006, compared to 40 percent in 2001), and Caledon (21 percent in 2006, compared to 20 percent in 2001). Although Mississauga has the highest proportion of newcomers within its total population compared to both Brampton and Caledon, Brampton had the highest immigration population growth rate between 2001 and 2006 at 60 percent. Comparatively, Mississauga's immigrant population growth rate of 20 percent was almost double its total population growth rate of 9 percent. In Caledon, despite being mostly rural, the number of immigrants increased by 19 percent.

The three municipalities in Peel Region vary in their degree of urbanization and the development of their transit system. Based on census data from 2006, Mississauga is completely urbanized, while Brampton is close to being almost urbanized (Ontario Trillium Foundation, 2008). Caledon is the most rural town in almost all the GTA, with only 54.9 percent urbanization (Ontario Trillium Foundation, 2008). Further, the town of Caledon is 687 km², which is greater than the geographical size of both Mississauga (289 km²), and Brampton (267 km²), combined. However, levels of urbanization do not give a strong indication of whether there are adequate public services in these municipalities. Infrastructure such as public transportation is crucial to meeting the human service needs of immigrants in Peel Region (Wayland, 2010). Mississauga and Brampton both have their own public transportation systems, MiWay and Brampton Transit, respectfully. However, because of the dispersed, relatively small population of Caledon, public infrastructure, such as public transportation, has not been created. There are no public transportation routes available for newcomers in Caledon.
With the large levels of immigration into Peel Region, it has become more ethnically diverse than either Canada or Ontario, taken as a whole (Mohanty, 2007). Peel's newcomers are comprised of over 93 distinct ethnic groups, and speak over 60 different languages. The top five visible minority groups in Peel in 2006 were South Asians (47.3 percent), Blacks (16.6 percent), Chinese (9.4 percent), Filipino (7.4 percent) and Latin American (3.7 percent). While 63 percent of newcomers in Peel reported having some knowledge of English, 34 percent reported a mother tongue other than English or French.

Most of the newcomers into Peel Region are highly skilled, with 44 percent having a bachelor's degrees or higher, compared to 19 percent for Canadian-born Peel residents (Portraits of Peel, 2011). Despite the perception that residents of suburban areas do not experience levels of poverty similar to more urban areas, approximately 33 percent of Peel's recent immigrants (2001 to 2006) live in poverty. This is almost 2.5 times higher than the total population in Peel that lived in poverty in 2006 (Portraits of Peel, 2011, The Region of Peel and The Diversity Institute, 2009). Not surprisingly, newcomers in Peel follow the same narrative as other immigrants in Canada who struggle to find employment in their fields of expertise as their skills are devalued, or their credentials are unrecognized, and often take survival jobs, which may result in poverty (Portraits of Peel, 2011).

With the scale of demographic change and diversity in Peel, the challenge has been on how to build inclusive communities within Peel's local municipalities. Importantly, support for the reception and settlement of newcomers is essential in building inclusive communities (Mohanty, 2007). However, overall funding for human services is decreasing relative to the growing need, and Peel continues to struggle to meet the demands of health and human services that make up its social and human infrastructure (Portraits of Peel, 2011). Therefore, understanding the settlement needs of newcomers is vital in providing effective and inclusive services in spite of limited resources.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparing Immigrant Populations in Canada, Ontario and Peel Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississauga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Immigrant Population</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississauga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Immigrants as a Percentage (%) of Total Population</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississauga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recent Immigrants (Immigrated from 1996 - 2000 and 2001-2006)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississauga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Recent Immigrants (Immigrated from 1996 - 2000 and 2001-2006) as a Percentage of Total Immigrant Population**

|                  | 13.7%    | 17.9%    |
| Ontario           | 13.9%    | 17.1%    |
| Peel              | 16.9%    | 21.1%    |
| Mississauga       | 17.4%    | 21.8%    |
| Brampton          | 16.7%    | 20.8%    |
| Caledon           | 4.9%     | 4.4%     |

3.2 Research Question and Partnership

This research was part of a larger, multi-phased project addressing the role of settlement services within Peel Region. Phase one of this project focuses on the challenges settlement service organizations face in delivering services to the newcomer youth and adult populations in Peel Region. Phase one forms the basis of this thesis. Phase two addresses newcomer youth and adult experiences with settlement service providers in Peel Region.

This research was guided by two questions: 1) what are settlement service providers' challenges in implementing and delivering settlement services to the adult and youth newcomer populations in Peel Region?; and, 2) what are settlement service providers' suggestions for improvements in the implementation and delivering of services to the youth and adult newcomer population in Peel Region?

This research was conducted in collaboration with a community partner, the Newcomer Centre of Peel (NCP). NCP is a multi-service settlement agency located in Mississauga, Ontario, that assists newcomer families in achieving settlement (Newcomer Centre of Peel, 2013). NCP has both Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI) funded programming targeted to both newcomer adults and newcomer youths. As part of the research, NCP served as a gatekeeper. A gatekeeper is someone that allows the researcher access to the population of peoples they are studying (Farber, 2006). NCP acted as a gatekeeper to assist with contacting SSPs in Mississauga, Brampton and Caledon. Specifically, NCP helped identify settlement agencies listed on Community Resources Peel webpage that were no longer active, or not funded through CIC. NCP also provided some names and email addresses of managers or executive directors at organizations, which the researcher contacted.

3.3 Research Design

Qualitative research is best understood as an approach to knowledge that emphasizes the understanding of daily life experiences and meanings (Martin, 2010). Qualitative methods are used to generalize theory and understand social life, meaning, and geographies (Martin, 2010, Hanson & Pratt, 2003). Qualitative methods are also used to add texture and raise new questions
about social processes and illustrate the lived dimensions of some processes taking place at broader scales of analysis.

In this research, a qualitative approach is used as this type of research places value on the opinions of the participants (Bryman & Teevan, 2005). In qualitative research, participants are often chosen according to their ability to contribute relevant and in-depth specific information regarding the studied phenomenon (Mayan, 2001). For this research, in-depth and detailed personal experiences for SSPs working within the settlement sector in Peel Region was needed.

For the purpose of this research, one-on-one semi-structured interviews were selected as the most effective means of understanding the challenges and opportunities that settlement service staff underwent. Semi-structured interviews provide for more flexibility than structured interviews as they allow a researcher to use interview guides while also allowing the researcher to stray from the guide and follow trajectories in the conversation (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). The interview guides provided for a clear set of instructions for the researcher, which provided reliable, comparable qualitative data (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

Interviews were conducted with executive directors of organizations, frontline staff that worked with newcomer youth and frontline staff that worked with newcomer adults. Three different scripts were prepared; one for executive directors, one for frontline staff working with adult newcomers, and one for frontline staff working with youth newcomers. Questions for executive directors focused on the mandate of the organization, and the challenges in planning and implementing programming for both youth and adult newcomers who visit their centers. Questions for adult and youth frontline workers addressed the challenges in delivering programming to their respective population of newcomers who visit their center.

The interview questions were broken into constructs (see Appendix B). Constructs were based on subjective ideas based on the research questions. For executive directors, questions one and two focused on the mandate of the organization and programming offered, questions four through six address the characteristics of the population of newcomers the organization serves, questions seven to eight focus on the distinction between the needs of youth and adult newcomers, and questions three, nine and ten focus on the challenges, barriers, and opportunities that organizations encounter. Similarly, for frontline staff working with adults and frontline staff working with youth newcomers, questions one, two, and three address the staff's role and history
at the organization and the general mandate of their program or service, and how those services aid in settlement for their particular group. Questions four and five address the population of newcomers using their services. Questions six and seven address the needs of the particular group of newcomers. Questions eight, nine, ten, eleven and twelve all address challenges, barriers and opportunities that frontline staff encounter in delivering services. Question thirteen addresses the interaction between newcomer populations and the agency.

The interview scripts allowed all participants to be asked the same questions, but within a flexible framework (Dearnley, 2005). Participants were encouraged to discuss their experiences through open-ended questions, and the ordering of further questions was determined by their responses. The open-ended nature of the questions aimed to encourage depth and to allow new concepts to emerge (Dearnley, 2005).

3.4 Participants and Data Collection

Data was collected from August 2011 to January 2012 through twenty-one semi-structured interviews in the cities of Brampton, Mississauga and Caledon. In order to recruit participants for the interviews, a purposeful sampling strategy and snowball sampling strategy was used. In order to increase credibility, purposeful sampling must pick information-rich cases for in-depth study (Patton, 1990). For this research, these information-rich cases were frontline staff and executive directors employed at settlement organizations in Peel Region. Purposeful sampling was used as only executive directors and frontline staff with the knowledge and expertise in providing settlement services in Peel Region was needed. Participants were recruited through emails detailing the purpose of the study, the researcher's affiliation with the University of Toronto Mississauga, and also the procedures of the study (see Appendix C). Executive directors of organizations were the primary contact for agencies because of their position within the organization, the ability to find their contact information online, and also their ability to provide the names and contacts of frontline staff within their organization who would have knowledge of the research questions. Five participants requested the interview transcript beforehand to determine if they wanted to participate in the study.

Originally, twelve executive directors from twelve settlement organizations were contacted in Brampton, Mississauga, and Caledon. This did not include the executive director of
the community partner. Of those, six executive directors agreed to participate in the study and provided email addresses of both youth and adult frontline staff at their organizations they thought appropriate to participate. Of those six executive directors that agreed to participate, only five completed an interview. One executive director did not communicate with the researcher after initial contact, however the executive director did provide the contact information to frontline staff at the organization. These two frontline staff did participate in the study. Three executive directors did not respond to requests to participate and three executive directors declined to participate. Of those agencies that declined to participate, two stated that they were too busy and one did not provide a reason. All three agencies that did not participate were ethno-specific agencies. With the help of executive directors, ten frontline staff were recruited to participate.

A snowball sampling strategy was employed after seventeen interviews with both frontline staff and executive directors. The snowball strategy resulted in four more interviews - two with executive directors of organizations in Mississauga, and one each with frontline staff that work with youth and adults, respectfully.

A total of eleven interviews were conducted in Mississauga settlement organizations, eight in Brampton settlement organizations and two in a Caledon settlement organization (see Table 3.2). Furthermore, not all participants contacted from organizations that agreed to interviews, participated. For example, in one organization in Mississauga, only the executive director and frontline staff working with youth agreed to participate while the frontline staff working with adults declined. Of those frontline settlement staff working with adults that participated in these interviews, the average number of years they had worked in the settlement sector in general was approximately seven years. For settlement staff working with youth newcomers, the average they had worked in the settlement sector was five years. All interviews took place at each participant’s place of work. These were most convenient for the participants, as all settlement workers who participated did so during regular business hours. However, time proved to be one of the challenges in both recruiting and conducting interviews with participants. Asking busy participants for their time during the working hours of the day proved more difficult for some participants than others. While participants strived to give the researcher their full attention, during many of the interviews, participants paused the interviews to deal with
situations at their workplace. This sometimes interrupted the 'flow' of the conversation, yet also served to reveal aspects of their daily work schedules.

All participants were informed of their confidentiality within the study, the researcher's background and academic affiliations, and the study's affiliation with its community partner. Participants were requested to have themselves audio recorded for a more accurate transcription of their words (see Appendix C). Of the twenty-one participants, twenty agreed to audio recording, and one declined. Therefore, this interview was used in the full analysis of themes emerging from the research notes that were taken during the interview but verbatim quotes from this transcript are not included in the results. The participants were informed that all efforts would be made to include all views into the thesis.

Table 3.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizations and Interview Participant Characteristics</th>
<th>Brampton</th>
<th>Mississauga</th>
<th>Caledon</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of organizations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Director Participants</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontline Staff Participants (adult)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontline Staff Participants (youth)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of interviews conducted</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of multi-service organizations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of ethno-specific organizations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of years frontline staff worked in settlement sector (adults)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of years frontline staff worked in the settlement sector (youth)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 Data Analysis

Audio recordings were transcribed verbatim using a professional transcriber. However, to ensure accuracy of the transcription, each individual audio recording was listened to along with

3 The participants answers were written down by the researcher, but the richness of the conversation was lost during the hurried attempts to write down all key points in the conversation. While the transcript was sent back to the participant for feedback, the participant did not respond.
the transcripts to check for accuracy by the researcher. This allowed the researcher to gain familiarity with the data and participants (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). To ensure anonymity, the real names of interviewees and other participants referenced have not been used; instead, they are each given an alias. To ensure confidentiality, only the role of the participant (i.e. youth frontline staff, or executive director) has been identified along with their location (i.e. Brampton). Due to the small number of SSPs in Caledon, the risk of identifying participants based upon their role (i.e., executive director or frontline staff) was high, so therefore, all results related to Caledon were coded as Caledon Service Provider.

The interview transcripts were coded using word processing software. Open coding was the primary type of analysis done within the transcripts. Open coding refers to researcher’s first pass through of the data. In the open coding process, data is condensed into preliminary codes or categories (Neuman & Robson, 2009). An example of an open code used in this research is 'funding', where any mention of money or funding for organizations was placed. To ensure the coding scheme being developed was valid (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009), two transcripts were simultaneously open coded and compared with a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Toronto Mississauga who was involved in Phase two of this study, and had previous research experience with Peel Region's settlement service providers. This ensured clarity and consistency of category definitions in the coding process (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). After the initial open coding, axial coding was conducted on the broad themes that emerged. Axial coding refers to the second pass through of the data after open coding occurs. Links are developed among the open codes, and key analytical categories are created from the data (Neuman & Robson, 2009). This ensured a more specific analysis of the similarities, relationships and conceptual links within the data (Crang, 2005). For example, the category of funding was broken down into the subcategories of funding mandates and funding provision based upon what SSPs discussed as challenges. Checking coding consistency and revising coding rules was a repetitive process that continued until sufficient coding consistency was achieved (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009).

3.6 Rigour in Qualitative Research

There have been debates in the field of geography in the past decade about how to assess the rigour of qualitative research. Qualitative methods have been criticized because of their association with subjectivity, and the belief that qualitative information is 'value-laden' and open
to misunderstandings between the researcher and participants (Phillip, 1998). Although some critics are reluctant to accept the trustworthiness of qualitative research, guidelines for ensuring rigour in qualitative work have existed for many years (Shenton, 2004). One such criterion is proposed by Baxter and Eyles (1997). Baxter and Eyles' (1997) four criteria for assessing trustworthiness in qualitative data are: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability.

The first criteria, credibility, refers to the results of the study being valid representations of the group being studied. In this study, credibility was established through the use of purposeful sampling strategy outlined by Patton (1990). Information-rich cases were selected by the researcher, but were further enhanced by the use of snowball sampling, which ensured that participants were good interview subjects (Patton, 1990). Multiple voices of settlement providers in each of the three cities of Peel were sought to exhibit characteristics of the "similarity, dissimilarity, redundancy and variety" in order to gain greater knowledge of the wider group of settlement service providers (Stake, 1994, Shenton, 2004).

Transferability refers to 'external validity' or the generalisability of the study to similar research situations. To achieve transferability, sufficient contextual information regarding the number of participants, sampling strategies, data collection methods and processes, and time period over which the data was collected, is needed (Shenton, 2004). Every effort has been made to be as thorough as possible about the research methods and practices employed in this dissertation.

Dependability is the third criteria of ensuring rigour in qualitative research and considers whether results are reliable and consistent. The reader must be able to determine the extent to which proper research practices have been followed by in-depth coverage of the research design, procedures and implementation (Shenton, 2004). Dependability was achieved in this research by detailing the processes within the study, thereby enabling future researchers to repeat the work (Shenton, 2004). Thus, this research design may be viewed as a "prototype model" (Shenton, 2004, p. 71). Further, the use of an auditor to monitor research consistency, both a post-doctoral fellow and the research supervisors, contributed to the dependability of the research (Baxter & Eyles, 1997).
Lastly, conformability considers the objectivity of the researcher, and that findings are the result of the ideas of the informants, rather than the preferences of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). To address this, engaging in reflexivity can expose the context in which the knowledge is produced. As a Pakistani-born, but Canadian-raised woman, I felt that I was neither in a position of privilege, nor in a position of disadvantage during the interview process. The majority of settlement workers I interviewed were visible minorities or immigrants to Canada, both qualities that are reflective of my own situation. This allowed me to build rapport with some participants as we could discuss shared experiences with the lifelong settlement process in Canada. Therefore, the interview process was a reciprocal one (Letherby, 2003). Furthermore, I was not employed with any settlement organization, nor had I ever used any settlement service. Not being an 'insider' proved challenging when recruiting for participants, but provided me with a slight advantage when conducting interviews. Participants were more free to discuss the challenges within the settlement sector without judgment. As an 'outsider', I was not cognizant of the inner group dynamics and conflicts within the settlement sector.

The above demonstrates that sufficient provisions have been made to address matters such as credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability of the qualitative data approach this study has undertaken. The next chapter will discuss the results of the research described above.
Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of twenty-one in-depth interviews conducted with executive directors and frontline workers employed in settlement organizations throughout Mississauga, Brampton and Caledon. The purpose of the interviews was to: i) better understand the current challenges and barriers to providing services to the diverse population of newcomers in Peel Region; and ii) to examine the suggestions for improvement SSPs have in delivering and implementing new services in Peel Region. In this chapter, the results are discussed in three sections. The first section presents system-related barriers in delivering services and programming. The second section examines two specific gaps in programming - employment and mental health services - that SSPs report experiencing the greatest challenges in providing to newcomers in Peel Region. The final section discusses the suggestions for improvement that SSPs believe will address the perceived gaps in service provision in each of the three cities of Peel.

4.2. System-Level Challenges

SSPs reported four major system-level challenges in delivering programs to newcomers in the Peel Region: i) funding, ii) competition or inter-group conflict, iii) structure and continuity of services and iv) geographic accessibility.

4.2.1. Funding

The primary challenge reported by both executive directors and frontline workers was a lack of funding dollars and restrictive funding mandates designated by the federal government through Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). All organizations interviewed had an executive director or a frontline staff member report challenges with either limited funding dollars or restricted funding mandates. In terms of challenges related to funding dollars, SSPs in Mississauga, Brampton and Caledon reported various challenges in designing and implementing...
programming for both youth and adult newcomers in these cities as a direct result of funding challenges.

Funding dollars provided to the settlement service sector in Ontario have indeed declined since the end of the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) in 2011 (CIC, 2011a). Funding dollars allocated to the settlement sector across provinces and territories from 2010 to 2013 are presented in Table 4.1, below. From the fiscal year of 2011 to 2012, until 2012-2013, funding to Ontario decreased by $31,570,994. However, funding allocated to other provinces and the territories increased over the same period. The Federal government states that in order to "advance fairness and meet the settlement needs of newcomers across Canada", Ontario's settlement funding in 2012 and onwards is determined by the national settlement funding allocation formula (NAF), which is based on the provinces and territories share of immigrant intake (CIC, 2011a). The Federal government cites that the proportion of newcomers settling in Ontario (i.e., when they first arrive in Canada) in 2012 has decreased as compared to other provinces such as Manitoba or Saskatchewan. As the funding model is based upon the percentage of immigrants that each province and territory receives, Ontario's funding has decreased to reflect the declining proportion of immigrant intake (CIC, 2011a, 2012a).

Table 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces and Territories</th>
<th>2010-2011</th>
<th>2011-2012</th>
<th>2012-2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland and Labrador</td>
<td>$1,907,370</td>
<td>$2,223,039</td>
<td>$2,512,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
<td>$2,765,375</td>
<td>$3,946,142</td>
<td>$5,218,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>$7,097,327</td>
<td>$7,012,146</td>
<td>$7,078,944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>$4,715,257</td>
<td>$5,179,369</td>
<td>$5,664,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>$309,399,141</td>
<td>$346,521,868</td>
<td>$314,950,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>$29,429,097</td>
<td>$32,027,618</td>
<td>$36,539,512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>$10,127,313</td>
<td>$14,255,519</td>
<td>$17,995,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>$60,048,771</td>
<td>$64,071,989</td>
<td>$74,978,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>$114,079,030</td>
<td>$105,558,092</td>
<td>$109,813,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>$633,079</td>
<td>$672,976</td>
<td>$723,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunavut</td>
<td>$459,975</td>
<td>$463,377</td>
<td>$469,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon</td>
<td>$597,624</td>
<td>$709,534</td>
<td>$932,632</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total amount of CIC settlement funding invested in Peel for the 2010 fiscal year was $64,318,689 (Region of Peel Council, 2012). Although this amount represents a five percent increase over what was received in 2009, it is 14 percent less than the funding received in 2008 (Region of Peel Council, 2012). During the time of data collection, the majority of SSPs in Peel reported that the funding allocation in Peel Region, until recently, has been inadequate, especially in comparison to traditional newcomer settlement areas such as the City of Toronto. Traditionally, SSPs in Peel have been underfunded. In 2007 to 2011, Peel received a funding injection of $54 million more than they had received in 2006 (see Figure 4.1, below). Equally, in 2006, Peel had the second highest growth rate of regional municipalities in Ontario (Peel Regional Council, 2011).

Figure 4.1

![Total CIC Funding for Peel Region 2005-2011](image)


While recent funds given to Peel have decreased the gap in funding dramatically, it has not been enough for SSPs in relation to the growing population of newcomers they serve. There is still a perception among SSPs that other areas in the GTA are getting more funding than Peel Region. A lack of funding is argued to impact agencies as SPPs face increased pressure to serve more newcomer clients with decreasing funds:

In Peel, actually, the availability of funds up until very recently was the biggest issue, because it was just kind of an ignored region, I think. I mean all the money goes straight into Toronto and then York started to kind [of] grow and be so visible that some of the traditional money that used to be in Toronto moved up to York, but not
It was proportionally. It was way behind in terms of the traditional Federal and Provincial money that funds newcomers. (Executive Director, Brampton)

I’m not sure if you’re aware of this, but [in] the federal government, there was a massive cutback in our budgets. And so that has obviously had an impact on settlement services. But there were some who did not get... they did not move forward [or] get funded for another contract. So that’s had an impact, I would think and I’m sure it’s probably putting a lot more pressure on settlement agencies who continue to operate. (Adult Frontline Worker, Brampton)

Moreover, three executive directors in Mississauga and Brampton and one service provider in Caledon reported that long-term planning was difficult since funding contracts are on a yearly basis. Consequently, long-term planning has taken a backseat to short-term planning as the immediate survival of some organizations has become a focal point in an environment of shrinking funding dollars. The interviews revealed that sustainability and security of funding dollars jeopardises the planning of new services for newcomers in Peel:

But what happens is we... now people have heard about the program and because of its success, you know, we’re already getting calls and we don’t have the funding secured for the next one yet. So it’s... that’s the tough thing, I think that’s our biggest challenge, is like sustainable funding for these things. (Caledon Service Provider)

My most concern is the funding for, you know, government. So the non-profit organizations are based and dependent on the government funding and it's just always based on a year contractual and the yearly funding and you cannot plan for the long term. So I always wanted to implement and provide a new vision and different initiatives that we can come up with better services, but we are so busy through the year that we have to survive from April to March to just come up safe out of this fiscal year and then see whether we are going to get another funding or not or the program is going to stay or the program is going to die. So sustainability is a concern; funding sustainability is a very, very big concern... (Executive Director, Mississauga)

Further, it is particularly difficult for smaller, ethno-specific organizations to compete for limited settlement service funding dollars. One executive director recounted that many smaller, ethno-specific organizations are better able to service particular communities of newcomers, but lack funding dollars. This is because CIC funding seldom supports smaller organizations, making it difficult for these organizations to operate.
Even though we’re multicultural I really believe there is a place for something like the South Asian Women’s Group... because they're just much, much closer to the community and they're just much better at working with their own population which happens to be isolated, very low income women in the apartment building that they live in... Unfortunately they don’t get invested in... Some foundations are interested in funding those kinds of initiatives, but Government, like big money is never going to come. I have to say I don’t think it would ever come to an organization like that. (Executive Director, Brampton)

For youth programming, funding cuts are particularly detrimental as they limit program mandates, and the amount that can be spent on program activities. This inevitably makes it difficult to design programs that maximize youth engagement. Participants stated that program designs need to be aligned with youth 'needs', which are, as defined by one Mississauga youth frontline worker, to be engaged in 'exciting' and 'fun' activities. However, with an overall lack of funding dollars in youth newcomer programs, this is incredibly challenging for centres that continue to operate youth newcomer programs:

Another… I guess, barriers, are the fact that our budget… right, I mean… we were good at one point and then we could do a lot of activities. Now everything is based on, okay, we’ve got to do things in a way where everything is like on a zero budget, basically. And to do, you know, activities for youth on a zero budget is very difficult, especially to get them engaged and try to make it fun for them. So that’s the difficult part. (Youth Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

Additionally, in the face of federal government cutbacks, organizations are forced to try to solicit an increasing level of support through fundraising. However, participants reported that competing with other high-profile, non-profit organizations often proves to be a great challenge for settlement organizations hoping to secure money from non-traditional sources of revenue, such as fundraising:

So maybe it’s the fund and now it's very difficult to fundraise a dollar for not-for-profit organizations that are working in settlement. We can't compete with those who are working, for example, on a health issue like cancer or all these cancer organizations and heart and stroke because people have a sentiment for these things more than the settlement thing. It's very difficult to compete with them in fundraising and, in general, the fundraising generally is very hard now. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

Further, one youth frontline worker in Mississauga reported that a change in the source of funding to agencies likely resulted not only in the loss of youth programming but also in a lack
of contact and continuity with local youth newcomers altogether. This is linked with the continuity of services, as the lack of funding has resulted in a break in service provisioning. If an agency was able to secure youth program funding at another time through another source (i.e., after a one year basis or through fundraising), those youth clientele would not return to the centre. SSPs reported struggling to recruit newcomer youth all over again, as this inevitably puts a strain on limited resources:

And I think once those got cut that was a big challenge because we kind of lost all our youth until we managed to regroup and figure out where we were heading. There was a period of maybe three or four months where they were completely gone, we lost a lot of the contact, we lost a lot of the youth and I think that was a big challenge... we’ve been starting to rebuild but it’s like reinventing the wheel almost and we’ve had to start back from zero. (Youth Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

Adequate funding dollars impacts agencies abilities to create needs-based programs and services, and the continuity of these programs as well. This is also linked with SSPs continuity of services, since the pause in settlement service provisioning led to the decline in youth numbers.

4.2.1.2. Funding mandates

SSPs also stated that government directed funding mandates required of settlement service organizations are restrictive with respect to the programs that are available for newcomers, eligibility criteria, and the need for mandatory quotas in programs.

Restrictions on the types of programs offered

Executive directors in Brampton, Mississauga, and service providers in Caledon stated that many of the programs they offer are designed to fulfill funder’s requirements and, as a result, do not always align with newcomer needs. For example, four executive directors reported that offering more targeted employment programming, outside the generic employment services commonly offered to newcomers (e.g., resume building), such as for internationally highly trained professional newcomers, would be essential to meet the more diverse needs of newcomers seeking entry into the Canadian labour market. However, funding restrictions on both dollar amounts and mandates do not allow for more specialized programming. The need for targeted programming in other areas of service provision, such as offering health care services,
legal services, and youth programming, is also not being met because of limited government funding:

We know exactly their needs, which, these needs, by the way, are not covered by the programs funded by CIC. CIC funds the main three stream programs, but there are many things which we have to do, but we cannot do because we don't have the funds. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

...We recognize the need. We just have to find the source of that funding. You know obviously there’s been cutbacks everywhere, you know, so with... that’s probably one of the challenges within that. (Caledon Service Provider)

In employment the fact that the Provincial Government is asking for a generic model of services is kind of a problem. We want to be able to provide more focused services for internationally trained professionals. It takes more time. In theory we are allowed to do that, but the Program itself is developed in a way that you have to do certain things or you don’t meet the targets. If you're spending a lot of time, which it takes, more time with clients because of the internationally trained professional aspect and the types of job they're looking for, you are not going to meet your targets. There is a systemic thing in there that is preventing us from being able to serve that particular, obviously continued need all the time. (Executive Director, Brampton)

Additionally, restrictive funding mandates that prevent settlement service employees from acting in any other capacity than within the program(s) they were designated to run or within other areas of service provision was cited as a problem by three executive directors. Therefore, in addition to program inflexibility, employee inflexibility was also cited as a challenge:

But many of these problems are about funds. CIC, the fund that comes from the CIC is very restricted; restricted in the programs itself and, also at the same time, regarding the employees because the employees are assigned to a certain project or program funded by the CIC so we can't use them in any other activity other than the one they are assigned for. This is the CIC rules. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

What else I really wanted to have which is on my wish list or my bucket list, is expanding - youth has huge expectations, so a huge area that you can tackle and cover. But our program, because of the funding ability to work with the funders and government, we have a very limited area of functioning. So we cannot go beyond that unless we attract other funders to just give us permission and funding to do this and that. (Executive Director, Mississauga)
Youth frontline workers reported that generic funding models for youth programming, such as those related to information and referral are not effective in catering to settlement needs of youth in the community:

Well, because we’re government mandated, our mandate is specifically information and referral. I feel that is a challenge sometimes when you’re working with youth. Providing information and referrals doesn’t go a long way, especially if you’re trying to capture a youth - maybe for adults it will, but for capturing a youth population and making them come back it’s not very engaging - so I think that whole mandate is restricting us in a certain way. (Youth Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

Lastly, an executive director in Brampton remarked that although SSPs were aware of altering needs of new groups of newcomers, they were unable to secure the resources that would allow them to serve different groups of newcomers quickly. SSPs do not have the ability to target or modify programming to meet the diverse needs of newcomers; this is not a reflection of the lack of awareness of SSPs, but a lack of funding and the inflexibility of funder's mandates:

You know, sometimes clients needed different services before the sector could catch up. I think some of that happens, but not as much as some people might – people who don’t support the sector – I think try to give the sector that we’re…that the sector by and large is always behind. I don’t think that’s true. I think many of us knew well ahead about the needs of highly trained professionals, for example, long before the general public caught up. It’s just that we weren’t necessarily able to garner enough resources to do the work in a good way... (Executive Director, Brampton)

Although funding mandates are needed to enhance the accountability of programs and clearly outline their target clientele, restrictions on the types of programs offered to newcomers is clearly limiting to agencies who interact with newcomers on a daily basis, and are therefore conscious of the changing landscape of Peel's newcomers needs.

**Eligibility criteria**

At the federal level, eligibility for CIC funded programming is determined by the status of a newcomer. Newcomers who are permanent residents are able to access federally funded programs through CIC, such as Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC), and the Host program. Permanent resident status newcomers are able to apply for Canadian citizenship after three years of residing in Canada, and
a majority of newcomers do take the citizenship oath after three years (Picot & Hou, 2011). After they become Canadian citizens, they are not eligible for CIC-funded programming. They are still eligible for the MCI-funded Newcomer Settlement Program (NSP). However, the NSP program does not include several key components of the CIC-funded program, such as language instruction. While an agency with both CIC-funded and MCI-funded programs would provide a more holistic set of services that take into account the shortfalls in eligibility criteria, few SSPs in Peel actually do have funding for both NSP and CIC programming. Of those twenty-five SSP organizations in Peel Region listed as having CIC funding, only seven have MCI funding as well (see Appendix D).

Settlement service organizations that do not have NSP stated that the mandate of the ISAP program was too restrictive in meeting the needs of their diverse clientele. Immigrants who are technically not defined as newcomers under ISAP (i.e., after obtaining Canadian citizenship) are no longer eligible to receive services at these centers, requiring some centers to turn clients away from services they cannot access. Three executive directors in organizations in Mississauga reported this as a challenge:

... because we are funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, there is a certain eligibility criteria. Okay, so there is a limitation who can access our services. For example… let me say this: not newcomer, but an immigrant or a newcomer who has taken Canadian citizenship, they cannot access our services. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

But if I am forced to think who can be challenged to access our facilities, I think again, it’s those who sit outside of the eligibility criteria. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

Further, other CIC programs have limited eligibility well, such as the Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC) program, which was mentioned by a service provider in Caledon:

Well, I think, you know from my perspective, I guess I would say that the LINC Program has a limited eligibility. Not that that’s a bad thing, because every funder has to have the criteria for people to be a part of it. We recognize that there’s a need for more. It’s finding the resources to be able to support that...probably 80% of the calls that we receive, we can’t, they’re not eligible for LINC. (Caledon Service Provider)
Of the nine agencies in Peel that participated in this study, only three have both CIC and MCI funding for services at their center. These three are also larger, multi-service organizations located in Brampton and Mississauga.

**Mandatory quotas**

Mandatory quotas implemented by CIC require that settlement providers demonstrate near full attendance in government funded programs. Youth frontline workers reported funding mandates that stipulate a constant recruitment and "graduating" of youth from programming to fulfill funder's mandatory quotas of youth enrollment.

And we become tied to the funding that we have, meaning that you know we design a program because a few people see it as valuable and then we start struggling to get the numbers to satisfy our funders, and to satisfy what we said we were going to do. (Executive Director, Brampton)

However there is a bit of a discrepancy in terms of expectations from Citizenship and Immigration Canada in terms of how quickly they want to see youth coming in and exiting the program...But we're supposed to also have a continuing rate of youth that are graduating from the program so to speak... However, what we find is that sometimes youth really enjoy being here...now they want to stay in the program for a different set of reasons. ... Which sort of creates a discrepancy and a little bit of a conflict between the expectations from Citizenship and Immigration Canada in terms of oh, you know, within a certain number of months a youth is supposed to graduate from your program. And a new set of users are supposed to come in. Doesn't always happen that way. (Youth Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

Creating mandatory quotas imposes rigid restrictions on SSPs in terms of what kind of programming they are able to provide, and also who is able to access that program, and under what timeframe.

**4.2.2. Competition Between Service Providers (Intergroup Conflict)**

The second type of system level barrier reported by frontline staff is competition between service providers. The interviews revealed that a lack of overall funding dollars, coupled with the need for mandatory quotas in some programs and services, creates an atmosphere of competition between settlement service organizations in Peel Region. Specifically, two themes emerged from the research: i) a lack of referrals and ii) a lack of cooperation between organizations.
4.2.2.1. Lack of cooperation and referrals

Settlement workers in Mississauga and Brampton reported a general lack of referrals to their own organizations from other settlement organizations. Specifically, one organization in Brampton and one organization in Mississauga reported conflicts with other organizations. The expectation from CIC is that a coordination of service provisioning take place between SSPs to minimize duplication of services in a particular catchment area (Duvieusart-Déry, 2013). However, because of mandatory quotas, settlement workers reported a 'silo' approach to settlement service provision whereby each organization functions to serve as many newcomers in every dimension possible without having to refer them out to other organizations:

Okay, so there is also a silo approach to service provision. That means... this means that referrals to other agencies, regional and provincial services are less fluid than they should be... unfortunately some, there are service providers who do not want to refer their clients to other agencies. (Adult Settlement Worker, Brampton)

Because a lot of the service agencies, like, everybody has their own agenda, right, and they have their own... benchmarks and goals that they have to reach. ... Some agencies don’t want to get involved, okay. (Youth Settlement Worker, Mississauga)

A frontline worker in Mississauga remarked that if their neighbouring organization was able to refer youth to their agency, they would be able to operate at a higher capacity. The neighbouring organization attracts more youth because they operate the settlement workers in schools (SWIS) program. The neighbouring organization has been uncooperative with providing referrals to this particular organization:

The thing here is this: we can’t go into the schools like they do it with the SWIS workers, but we try working with them and if it doesn’t work out, you know, we’ve still got to go our own approach and we do it our own way....But I mean, if they were to help out a little more, we would be at another level, right... But I’m sure if they were getting the message around, saying, hey, we have an agency right here, just five minutes from your house, I think that would create more bigger impact of our program. (Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

Three agencies, all located in Mississauga, reported experiencing a lack of cooperation from other organizations that happen to be in the same catchment area. Organizations in the same catchment area (i.e., the geographical boundaries from which organizations are able to attract newcomers) are trying to compete for the same population of newcomers, but most often offer different programs. The relationship between these particular organizations was strained as
flyers advertising services offered by one agency were left in the building of the other organization, which is viewed as 'encroaching' on an organization's territory:

We had other agency come in and start dropping off their flyers in our...here within our offices. And for me...I would never think about staff going out and dropping off flyers on somebody’s doorstep when they know we’re providing services and that kind of thing. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

One frontline worker reported a particular form of distrust that occurs between larger, multi-service agencies and smaller ethno-specific agencies. Specifically, they indicated that larger, multi-service organizations are often better able to compete for funding than smaller, ethno-specific agencies. The perception is that when larger service agencies move into a smaller settlement provider's catchment area, the larger agency is reportedly viewed with distrust and resentment by the smaller agency as exemplified below:

So there’s another organization...I feel like there, it’s not working as well because the community is so small, and I find that our programmes are almost conflicting, they’re very, very similar, so we’re almost fight for clients - so the cooperation isn’t there as much. I feel like they think they’ve been long established, and I feel like we’ve been here just for a few years and I feel like they find us to be like the Wal-Mart of community services where we kind of take over, and so they’re not as willing to work with us. (Youth Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

However, smaller, or ethno-specific organizations were not part of the participant sample group of organizations for this study. Acknowledging that smaller organizations may view their relationships with other organizations differently is crucial, as only three organizations reported having troubles with relationships with other organizations. One frontline worker employed at a CIC-funded organization stated that it was easier to partner with agencies that were outside of CIC's funding structure, as they are not viewed as direct competitors for CIC funding and resources.

But we have some key partners and some stakeholders that are not part of our funding structure. That are not, if you want you can call them competition if you wanted to call them that. And, you know, we work together but it's got to be the greater goal. I think, I think, us as a organization we try to open the partner with everyone as long as it's gotta be beneficial to the newcomer and the organization right. And the newcomer place first and the organization place second.... But I'd say it's okay, it's not the best. I think, you know organizations can definitely work better together no problems saying that. We as an organization can definitely work better together to unify some of our resources. (Adult Frontline Worker, Mississauga)
Despite these issues, it is important to note that four organizations, in all three locations, reported only positive cooperative relationships with other organizations. These aspects include increasing referrals between organizations and increasing organization partnerships to offer services. Some frontline workers remarked that the relationship between settlement service agencies in the same catchment areas is improving and is advantageous, as it allows them to refer out newcomers to other organizations that are better able to serve their client's needs:

And we will continue to be looking to how we can make [CIC funding for settlement services and LINC] happen here. So if it’s partnering with other agencies to offer those services, that’s what we’ll do. (Caledon Service Provider)

Definitely coordination. It's internally based meaning that we do it, the both groups know each other and have come together. In all our, in the contract we're supposed to partner with other agencies and we try and partner with other agencies to make it work, you know. (Adult Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

4.2.3. Structure and Continuity of Services

A third category of system-level barriers is the structure and continuity of services. Three challenges related to the structure and continuity of services were identified by SSPs in Mississauga and Brampton: i) a lack of child care facilities, ii) the hours of operation, and iii) staff burnout. Caledon service providers did not report experiencing these difficulties.

4.2.3.1. Child care

Centres that did not have child care services reported this as being the most prohibitive for newcomers in accessing their services. Newcomer women in particular were reportedly affected by this as they are oftentimes the primary caregivers in the household. Centers that offer LINC classes do have funding through CIC for free childminding services for women participating in these classes. Of the centers that participated in this study, only two did not have a LINC program, and therefore did not have any child minding services on site:

As I mentioned, the only challenge for us sometimes is to service clients with small children where they don’t have the availability of leaving their children with one of our staff in order to fully use the services. (Adult Frontline Worker, Brampton)
4.2.3.2. Hours of operation

SSPs in Mississauga and Brampton reported that the timing of programs, as well hours of operation do not always reflect the availability of newcomers. As a result of funding cuts, some SPPS reported having to cancel evening programs. Evening programs were better suited to newcomers' schedules, as they are often looking for work, or working during day time hours, and therefore are unable to attend services during the traditional 9:00am to 5:00pm work day. Extended hours and evening programs were described as helpful for some newcomer women who are unable to access services during regular business hours. In the evening, some newcomer women are better able to attend programs while leaving children at home with husbands, without having to acquire funds to support child minding:

I’ll give you an example, we have an evening program running and so we were able to actually have our offices open till eight thirty at night. What it meant for the newcomer clients is that there is more accessibility, because if they’re working during the day and they need support at night they’re able to access the organization and find the support. It also meant that if you know, for the women in particular, if during the day they’re taking care of the kids, when the husband comes back they’re able to leave and join a program...because of funding cuts in general to Peel...we had to close the evening program... (Executive Director, Brampton)

Challenges - I wish we offered extended hours at all of our locations because many of the newcomers, when they go for... they find a survival job they’re not able to access nine to four. We used to be open on Saturdays; unfortunately, due to certain changes last year, the funding changes, we are not able to be open on Saturdays. So that was a good benefit for us because many clients, as I said, with survival jobs but trying to get into their profession, they’re not able to access our services. (Adult Frontline Worker, Brampton)

In support of this, those centres that provided child-care facilities did report more women accessing daytime services:

It’s not because of any, you know, gender preference, but our language program are taken by an average more by women, for the simple reason that men, they tend to go for survival jobs. So when you see who comes in part time evening classes, the majority of them are men. Those who take fulltime day classes, the majority of them are women, for the simple reason, because we have child-minding spaces. Women would like to take benefit of that. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

The consequence of not being able to provide extended hours could be lower attendance and other newcomers having their needs unmet. However, without added monetary resources, the ability to operate on extended hours is not feasible.
4.2.3.3. Staff burnout

Agencies that have had their funding cut have also subsequently lost frontline workers in certain areas of programming. Although exact numbers of layoffs in the sector are not available, in the GTA in 2010, at least ten SSPs did not have their funding renewed for the next year and up to 35 others across Ontario faced funding cuts (CBC, 2010). SSPs reported increasing mental and emotional stress from working in the settlement sector. This is due to the nature of the job (e.g., working with clients who face challenges in integrating) and also because of the pressure of being overworked. Frontline workers are thought to be particularly at risk of burning out at the job, increasing staff turnover and thereby challenging the continuity of programming:

Like these are these complications, so the settlement workers have to keep on updating that information, keeping up to date with what are the trends, what are...it’s a huge thing, even for the local labour market, they have to be aware who’s hiring now, who’s not. Where are the trends, is it a downturn, you know in the economy, so it’s a lot, so they burn out quite easily, and once they find an opportunity to move into something that is not as stressful you find them leaving for that. (Executive Director, Brampton)

Because especially in the case of refugee youth that we work with... it can drain the staff, because they do case management with those kind of youth and... it can sort of, you know, physically and emotionally drain you as a worker when you’re working with these kind of clients - - especially youth who just get totally depressed, who’ve been victims of violence and - - seen wars, seen their families dying, been through so much... (Youth Frontline Worker, Brampton)

The lack of funding dollars being injected into programs and services is also believed to affect frontline service workers as there are few dollars available for professional development, increasing the mental and emotional costs that frontline settlement workers endure:

The other thing that we face is its…and people don’t realize that but it’s really a tough field for settlement workers, frontline workers. And one of the things that we face is, there is a high turnover in it, it burns them down quite quickly, because unless you have worked as a frontline worker you don’t realize how difficult it is for newcomer to come and actually settle, the depression that they go through because they can’t find a job, the fact that… That brings with it, so it’s not easy, so they’re burnt out, and at the same time professional development, you know we’re restricted by how much resources we have for professional development, so they find themselves having to upgrade certain things and to look up after they service the clients, at home. Like there’s a lot of challenges when it comes to that, I think having extra resources would help resolve a lot of the issues. (Executive Director, Brampton)
But I think in this hard work and mentally demanding work, I think that...and I can speak for our agency...we’re forgetting about...I don’t...agency culture...about the staff. We have to take off ourselves as well to be able to continue this degree of involvement and dedication and engagement with the client. And I think staff, there have to be fairer policies allowing staff to have the breather. When it comes to vacation policy, sick policy, personal days, or anything like that that will give staff opportunity to have that down time. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

4.2.4. Geographic Accessibility

The fourth and final system-level barrier to service provision relates to the geographic accessibility of settlement services. In particular, the interviews revealed two key geographic challenges: i) the location of settlement service organizations, and ii) transportation to and from settlement service organizations.

The public transportation systems in Brampton, Mississauga and Caledon are not integrated, and are limited in their routes that allow a user to get from Mississauga to Brampton, or vice versa. Furthermore, travel inside Brampton and Mississauga can be slow, and frequent bus changes and trips may be necessary to arrive at a destination. Areas are not equally served by public transit; recently developing areas in Brampton, for example, often only have one bus route that services these areas. Additionally, Caledon does not have a public transportation system. Settlement service agencies in Mississauga, Brampton and Caledon reported geographic accessibility to their centers as challenges, both due to location of agencies and transportation to agencies.

4.2.4.1. Location

Brampton SSPs stated that most settlement organizations are located in downtown Brampton, making it hard for newcomers living in North Brampton to access these services. Newcomers residing in North Brampton who do not drive and rely on public transportation often cannot access services in the downtown core due to the distance and poor public transport in the area:

---

4 Brampton Transit’s 502 Züm Main and MiWay’s route103-Huronario Express are currently the only two routes that service Mississauga to Brampton travel as of May 2013.
Most employment settlement agencies are situated in the downtown Brampton area, which makes it difficult for the newcomer in North Brampton to assess the services, which is absolutely true. And if you don’t drive, you have to rely on transit and your English is not your first language - it’s... it could be terrifying - for a lot of individuals. And there really is nothing in the northern part of Brampton. I just, I drive through and I just... there’s nothing here. (Adult Settlement Worker, Brampton)

Also, youth frontline workers commented on their organizations being located in industrial areas where they were not viewed as an accessible location for newcomer youth to visit. Brampton youth frontline workers further stated that capturing the youth population is a difficult task as most settlement service agencies are not located within popular youth hangouts such as the mall or community centres. However, a lack of funding makes relocating an agency, or branches of an agency, incredibly difficult. Further, rent for space in more desirable locations (i.e., malls, etc.) would be fairly cost prohibitive.

Number one is location, right. Location, where we’re located right now, we’re more in an industrial area and the residential areas that surround us is a little further that way, so it’s tough for... like other organizations, like they’re in the community, right. When they’re in the community it’s easier for them... access for them to come in. But that’s because we’re had just, hard to bring in kids every day... I think that’s one problem. (Youth Settlement Worker, Mississauga)

Because another thing we wanted to do is to have services in malls, in community centres, in recreation centres. But just to have funding that would-, because getting youth to come to you is a challenge. (Youth Frontline Worker, Brampton)

4.2.4.2. Transportation

SSPs in Caledon presented unique challenges in terms of both their location and the transportation system in their town. Settlement services are located in the 'core' of Caledon - which is the 'urban' centre of Bolton. This means that newcomers residing in the more rural areas of Caledon, such as Caledon East, are further from these services:

And I think that that presents its own challenges, because in a lot of cases we are lumped in, in all of our programs, into Brampton and Mississauga. But we are different and the needs of our community, you know... We don’t have the... we have an increase in newcomer population, but we also have a geographical area in Caledon that is equal to the size of Brampton and Mississauga combined. Without a transportation system - that really limits how we can serve our clients, so we, you have to be-, you’re almost have to run it as a rural community. (Caledon Service Provider)
But... So I’m not sure, there’s probably newcomers that are out in Caledon East and Inglewood areas and things like that where …they don’t necessarily-, they can’t get out. So I think that isolation can be really a challenge as well depending on their situation. So I think there’s definitely some challenges with the layout of our community and how do we get people to the services that we want to be able to provide them. (Caledon Service Provider)

Caledon service providers observed that developing programming is difficult due to the spread of the newcomer population across Caledon. The dispersal of the newcomer population coupled with the lack of public transportation system makes it difficult for settlement agencies to maintain the quota of newcomers to access services, as many newcomers live far from the town’s core and do not have a convenient way of accessing the services:

We’ve looked into, you know, bringing in ESL classes and those types of things as well. But because of our geographical area, it’s so large, without transportation it’s very difficult to have a central point where people can come, and to have the numbers to support it. Most of the time when we’ve enquired or tried to bring in like ESL for instance to the school boards, we just don’t have the numbers. We need to have a class minimum of so many and we don’t have that yet. (Caledon Service Provider)

Executive directors in Brampton also stated that the cost of transportation for newcomers in Peel Region is prohibitive for many who cannot afford to come travel to use settlement services:

Wherever there is a transportation issue, which is often the case in Peel and your region outside Toronto, it is often an issue. It is just way too expensive to get people travel passes coming into programs. Anyone who doesn’t have the funds to get somewhere physically is a problem. (Executive Director, Brampton)

Youth frontline workers also reported that transportation for youth who live far away from settlement services impacts the attendance of weekday youth activities. Organizations reported that they lose youth who live further away due to the cost of bus tickets and the time required to commute to and from the settlement agency. Youth frontline workers in Mississauga and Brampton reported losing funding for providing youth with public transportation money or tokens. In lower income neighbourhoods, not having funding to provide bus tickets was reported as a major deterrent for youth in accessing settlement services. Youth coming from lower income families were identified by Brampton frontline workers as having the most challenges in
accessing services. With a lack of settlement funding dollars, these youth were identified as the ones that have barriers in accessing services:

I guess one of the biggest challenges for newcomer youth is that transportation. So for example if somebody really likes the type of activities that we run but they live far away, the chances of them coming to a weekday youth activity is probably going to be very unlikely due to transportation. Also maybe accessing bus tickets and things like that. Also the time of travel as well. (Youth Settlement Worker, Mississauga)

We used to give bus tickets, which was a big help, but we lost our budget for that and since that happened, some of them can’t come… you know, can’t afford to come here every day… that’s hard, right. (Youth Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

And then also the challenge is... like I said, a lot of the youth come from low income family, high risk youth, don’t have enough finances. And we cannot address the needs, some of their needs, which is transportation and some refreshment when they come. Because sometimes you really find that the youth sometimes they come in the daytime, they haven’t eaten breakfast. (Youth Frontline Worker, Brampton).

Adequate funding levels play a large role in addressing the challenges that SSPs encounter in delivering programming to youth newcomers. Youth newcomers are especially vulnerable to poverty and unemployment (Kilbride & Anisef, 2001), and therefore may have a harder time being able to justify spending any amount on public transportation to access SSPs.

4.3. Service-Specific Challenges Frequently Discussed by SSPs in Peel

Two services that produce significant challenges for Peel SSPs are employment services and mental health services. This is due to larger systemic barriers preventing newcomers from effectively integrating into the labour market in Ontario (Girard & Bauder, 2005). Many skilled workers who are entering Ontario are faring poorly in terms of employment outcomes and are often forced to take low skilled employment in 'survival jobs' (Girard & Bauder, 2005). Immigrants represent a significant portion (29.4 percent as of 2009) of Ontario's labour force (Pitts, 2009). Newcomers' poor employment outcomes are a result of many different systemic barriers, such as not having their credentials recognized in Ontario, self-governing professional associations excluding internationally educated immigrants, and employers not 'taking a chance' on newcomers for them to obtain Canadian experience. Concurrently, employment services
offered through SSPs were perceived as being insufficient in addressing these larger systemic challenges.

4.3.1 Access to Gainful Employment

Providing employment services to newcomers in Peel Region was reported by SSPs as a significant challenge which stems from the structural barriers of newcomers being unable to access the labour market in Ontario. Six out of the nine agencies that participated in this study stated that providing employment services was a challenge. Despite having employment services that target newcomer needs, such as resume and skills building workshops, SSPs cannot cover the actual employment needs of newcomers, as many of recognize that these services do not facilitate the goal of getting newcomers employed. Systemic barriers in the labour market must be corrected before any employment service can truly assist newcomers.

4.3.1.1. Labour market structure and accessibility

It is argued that many Canadian companies perceive the risk of hiring newcomers as too high (Alexander et al., 2012). Similarly, three adult frontline workers and one executive director in both Brampton and Mississauga described that part of the barrier for entry into the labour market that newcomers encounter was due to the attitudes of Canadian employers. Therefore, the employment services being provided by SSPs are sometimes inconsequential as there are larger barriers for newcomers in accessing the labour market, such as the attitudes of employers towards newcomers, barriers that SSPs cannot address. Despite the additional skills employment services provide to newcomers, SSPs cannot control the labour market. One frontline worker remarked that trying to convince Canadian employers to hire newcomers was a challenge, as attitudes towards newcomers within the private sector were skeptical at best.

The continuity of employment services is essential to integrating newcomers into the labour market. According to one adult frontline worker, funding cutbacks in employment bridging programs challenged SSPs, as many of the employment programs that were tailored to specific populations of newcomers were cancelled. The possibility of creating government-funded programs that would aid internationally educated professionals in labour market integration was viewed as an essential stepping stone to getting credentials recognized in Ontario and ultimately finding employment:
I feel that there should be more bridging programs for newcomers, which were recently last year with the budget, the funding cuts - many of them disappeared. And I wish there were more possibilities for internationally educated professionals to get some training funded by the government because we do get a tremendous amount of people who are very talented and they’re very educated, with a huge, huge experience from back home. And they’re not recognized here as they should be recognized for their talent or knowledge and their experience. (Adult Frontline Worker, Brampton)

While targeting the private sector to make changes in their attitudes towards newcomers was a prevalent challenge for SSPs, the role and relationship of the private sector and the government was also a barrier for SSPs in providing results-based employment programs. One adult frontline worker from Mississauga stated that the expectation of newcomers, who were selected by the Canadian federal government to immigrate to Canada based on a point system, conflicted with the reality of employers who do not have any connection to wider governmental policies surrounding immigration and newcomer labour market integration. Key players in labour market integration, such as private sector corporations, are largely absent from any decision regarding immigration and integration:

I have to say that… there was a disconnection between government and the employers. They never talk; what do I need, and government is saying, you come here. They think government said to us, come, we have space; we will evaluate you. But when they come here, the employers don’t recognize, so why these two parties didn’t talk themselves before they called us, so that’s a disconnection; they don’t understand that part of it and you have to assure them this is taking place... (Adult Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

4.3.1.2. Information and employment expectations

The information gap experienced by newcomers through the points system, and also the lack of information about labour market outcomes for newcomers prior to arriving in Canada is perceived to hinder their ability to grasp the reality of the poor employment situation in Canada. For SSPs, recognizing the information gap that newcomers experience relates to the challenges they have in trying to alleviate the employment expectations of newcomers with the reality of the labour market in Ontario. One adult frontline worker in Mississauga reported that a challenge for SSPs was getting newcomers to grasp the idea of lowering their expectations in terms of the type of employment they are likely to acquire. This relates to the gap in information newcomers experience prior to arriving in Ontario, as they are not fully aware of the extent of poor labour
market outcomes for immigrants. The reality can be emotionally difficult to grasp for many newcomers, who often have to take low-skilled, low-salaried employment to make ends meet.

We do have a lot of newcomers who come here and they have these very high expectations... So they come here and they’re expecting, you know, employers to open their doors and say come on in. And then they get here and then they realize well maybe now I’m going to have to take a survival job. So, yeah, that’s a definite... that’s... and that’s very hard for newcomers. And I can understand that, I would feel the same way. (Adult Frontline Worker, Brampton)

The challenge I face is, you know what, they are so educated… they’re well-trained, they have degrees and education. Challenges is to tell them to bring down their experience, to start from, you know, from the bottom, or from the entry level, just to show… it’s not that they will never grow in that organization. Just to train them how to… I don’t know the word I would say… but to come down to the level they have come from, it’s very hard for them and just to sell that idea, take out some of the education, some of the experience, which is not related to the job you’re applying, it’s very hard and it’s very challenging to get the buy-in, right. (Adult Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

Lastly, finding gainful employment is a crucial component in the process of settling in a new country. In the final stage of settlement, newcomers strive to become equal participants in Canadian economic life (Mwarigha, 2002, Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Lo et al. (2000) discuss the failure of immigrant settlement and integration policies due to the persistence of high unemployment, low income and poverty for specific immigrant groups. Likewise, one executive director remarked that finding gainful employment was the greatest indicator of being 'settled' in every other aspect of a newcomer’s life. SSPs recognized that if newcomers were unable to secure employment, they were not likely to seek out other services at their centre that targeted pressing issues such as health care.

And on their mind is employment first, employment in their field and if you settled in that sense you are settled in everywhere else. If you’re not settled in that sense, and I tell you there is a session running on healthy eating because it’s very important because that’s one of the things, they come here, their health is very good, at a very good level. Studies show, because we also follow the studies, that health deteriorates after a while of being here, and the children fall into the obesity, I don’t know what you call it, the category. Because of the unhealthy, how do we get them to attend this session if their mind is finding a job, like we have to be realistic. (Executive Director, Brampton)

The prevailing view for SSPs is that employment services with meaningful employment outcomes for newcomers are crucial for newcomers’ successful integration into Canada.
4.3.2. Mental Health Service Provision

SSPs from Brampton and Mississauga indicated that depression and isolation often coincide with the migration process. Those newcomers who have hailed from traumatic situations and experience family separation in the process of migration are likely to experience difficulties in the settlement process. SSPs witness mental and emotional health problems, but cannot provide counselling on site because they do not have funding for these services. One SSP reported being able to recognize the signs of depression in youth, but expressed frustration at the inability to refer them to helpful resources:

Some of the kids have been through a lot of trauma like abuse and, you know, parents not understanding their issues and they’re kind of totally depressed and how to help them. And you cannot really help or refer them anywhere unless they don’t disclose that depression. But you can see some signs and symptoms. (Youth Frontline Worker, Brampton)

A lack of resources was mentioned as the primary reason that mental health services are not available to newcomers in Peel Region. Further, of all the agencies that participated in this study, only one provided a mental health program, and this was located in their branch outside of Peel Region, in Toronto:

The other one is around mental health services. We have one mental health program in Toronto, which the province funds from a long time ago historically. We have a nice model and it has a psychiatrist onsite who does psychiatric work and we have social workers who also do support. It is a good model, but there is no new money for it…. Being able to replicate family counselling, mental health family support around issues of mental is a really big need that we would love to be expanding all over, and there doesn’t seem to be an easy way to do that. (Executive Director, Brampton)

To address the mental and emotional health needs of newcomers, SSPs stated that they would prefer to have on-site mental health professionals to fill this need instead:

I really wanted to have a nurse - one educated or trained nurse or family counsellors that is just trained family counsellors that they can talk about the trauma, the abusive situation for the adults, for the children, for the young people. We don’t have that ability. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

The cost of mental health services in Ontario was also seen by frontline staff as prohibitive for newcomer clients. To be eligible for health care coverage in Ontario, Ontario
residents must have the Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP). A newcomer must be a permanent resident or landed immigrant and must wait for a period of three months before accessing the health care system. In Ontario, some mental health services, such as psychiatry, are free of charge for patients who have referral from a family physician. However, other services, such as psychologists or counseling, are not covered by OHIP and patients must either pay out of pocket, or access these services in government-funded hospitals or agencies that may have these services on site (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health [CAMH], 2012).

Psychotherapists working in a private practice are not covered through OHIP (CAMH, 2012). Providing mental health services to youth is perceived to be challenging, not only because of a lack of resources that help agencies target newcomer youth in particular, but also because of the lack of monetary resources that newcomers possess and the lack of linguistically appropriate counseling services available in the community (Sadavoy et al., 2004).

And there’s a lack or dearth of services that are available that are free. For people to access. So the challenge that we find is, if we do refer them to services, it’s not free; OHIP doesn’t cover it. They don’t have the money. And if there are fewer and far between social workers or psychologists who can afford-, can offer their services, the waiting list is very, very long. (Youth Frontline Worker, Brampton)

We had this particular youth, 17 year old, he saw his father being murdered in front of him, and then he came with his mother and... He just wouldn’t leave his room in his house. He would keep his room dark and just sit there and he was totally depressed and, you know, so... They go through a lot and yet there aren’t enough services that they can access in their own language, or can’t afford it. And it’s just such a challenge. So there’s... acknowledgment is there but unfortunately not much is happening in terms of making such services available. (Youth Frontline Worker, Brampton)

Greater resources and a recognition from funders that mental health and successful settlement outcomes are intertwined, are both necessary to address the growing issue of mental health for newcomers in Peel Region.

4.4. Suggestions for Improving Services in Peel Region

While SSPs identified many challenges in service provisioning, some SSPs also identified possible solutions and key areas of improvement. Specifically, executive directors in Mississauga, Brampton and service providers in Caledon discussed either innovative suggestions
or programming that each organization needed or introduced to help alleviate some of the challenges in service provisioning that SSPs encountered. Their responses in terms of opportunities in providing newcomer services varied extensively, from filling employment related gaps, to providing services to senior newcomers who are more prone than other newcomer groups to social isolation, and implementing unique programming that addresses the needs of those newcomers who fall outside the eligibility criteria from CIC. For example, one SSP proposed changes to bridge the gap between employers and newcomers to help make SSPs more effective in helping newcomers access employment:

On a yearly basis we put a proposal to government…to the different governments to provide some services to our clients....but we have different kinds of tools of measurement of what kinds of needs our clients have or what are missing or what are the gaps.... For example, last year we asked for more employment counsellors for more job developers to be hired here in order to facilitate the needs of our clients for the core placement, volunteer placement and employment placement. So we put together new initiatives and new phenomenon and then we'll send it to the government. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

Despite declining funding and rigid mandates, some SSPs are innovating and producing new programs that address the needs of newcomers that visit their centers. For example, one SSP introduced a program called the English Language Instruction (ELI) program, aimed at providing English language instruction for newcomers that cannot access the LINC program due to mandate restrictions.

Because every funder has to have the criteria for people to be a part of it. We recognize that there’s a need for more. It’s finding the resources to be able to support that; that’s how the [ELI] basically blossomed. Where out of need because there were so many people, probably 80% of the calls that we receive, we can’t, they’re not eligible for LINC. So what else can we do is kind of our philosophy. So what can we do -- and that’s how the [ELI] is for conversational English. (Caledon Service Provider)

In order to address the changing needs of newcomers in Peel, two executive directors in Brampton remarked on the importance of qualitative research tools and feedback from

5 program name has been changed to protect anonymity of organization
newcomers to improve the gaps in their service provisioning. Further, one SSP in Mississauga wanted to implement a domestic violence program targeted towards newcomer women.

Another thing we find in terms of the services is that there’s a lot of agencies that provide. And us as managers we pay a lot of attention on the quality of services that we provide, we do that through the satisfaction survey, we do that through focus groups with the newcomers, through auditing the files to make sure that the clients receive the best service.... So we find that one of the most important, because we care about the whole sector as well, the reputation of the sector has to remain good because we do believe in the value of the services we provide... (Executive Director, Brampton)

We are looking for a fund for domestic violence program which is not covered by the current CIC funds we have. The domestic violence, including everything, abuse against women or children or whatever is that…. So one of the things is that women are not very open to speak if the partner is around or something so I'm trying also to make another group only for women and explain for them exactly the violence against women rules apply here in Canada, their rights, shelters and all these things where they have to go if there's any problem, if there's any dangers in the house, who to call; the police or whatever, the different things. (Executive Director, Mississauga)

While there were no common suggestions from youth frontline staff regarding services that they would like to provide, one youth frontline worker in Mississauga wanted government funded contracts for the Community Connections program that would expand their mandates and resources to help engage newcomer and non-newcomer youth more, while another youth frontline worker identified the need for homework help for youth newcomers:

So if we could, if the government was a little bit more open in our mandate we could provide a lot more, something that we can do as an official mentoring programme... I’m not sure how familiar you are with settlement services but in the new model it’s called Community Connection where the programmes that have that mandate actually take out the youths to different places, on trips, and I think that really engages them and facilitates their settlement a lot more. I wish we could do that. (Youth Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

Actually I think for the youth, I think, well, the homework help really helps however I do believe that, you know, youth do struggle in school more than we think.... So in terms of that one of the things that we haven't done yet but are going to start doing is providing workshops for youth to supplement the high school curriculum. (Youth Frontline Worker, Mississauga)

Three SSPs in Brampton reported that addressing the structure of services themselves and creating a drop-in, or resource center would be beneficial to the newcomer population:
One of the things that we, [pause] I think one of the things we would like to offer them is more of a place where they can drop in, use computers, have a library that they can access, to even just socialize if they want to, like more of a centre where they feel, you know, that they’re able to do that. We do have a small resource centre, but unfortunately restrictions with space doesn’t allow us. Like that’s always in our mind, is that we would have that sort of place.

(Executive director, Brampton)

4.5. Summary

This chapter presented the results of twenty-one in-depth interviews with executive directors and adult and youth frontline workers from Mississauga, Brampton and Caledon. The findings reveal system barriers that suggest that a lack of funding dollars and restricted funding mandates provide the greatest challenges in delivering both youth and adult programming to newcomers in Peel. Similarly, government mandates prefer SSPs to offload services onto neighbouring settlement service organizations, yet they simultaneously create the conditions of increased competition for limited resources. This ultimately affects the structure and continuity of services, as SSPs stated that limited resources do not allow for extended hours of operation, or staff professional development. The town of Caledon reported experiencing unique geographic barriers in providing access to their settlement services. These barriers included a lack of an integrated public transportation system and the dispersal of the newcomer population in Caledon.

Further, SSPs experienced challenges in delivering both employment and mental health services. Both employment and mental health services were identified as key dimensions of settlement that are not currently meeting the needs of newcomers. SSPs were challenged by how to confront the dominant negative narrative associated with hiring immigrants in the private sector, while also simultaneously confronted with the challenge of informing newcomers of poor labour market outcomes for newcomers. A lack of gainful employment was also linked to newcomers remaining 'unsettled', and less access to other important settlement services such as health promotion programming. Many SSPs noted that newcomers suffered in silence with mental health concerns, yet SSPs were unable to provide appropriate service provision in this domain, as health services are neither funded nor integrated into the settlement pedagogy.

While there are challenges to providing services, SSPs were forthcoming in advocating for programs that would aid the newcomer populations accessing their centers, such as open-
access common areas, homework clubs and programs with expanded mandates such as Community Connections.
Chapter 5: Discussion, Implications and Conclusions

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

The objectives of this research were to i) examine the challenges that settlement service providers (SSPs) encounter in delivering services to the adult and youth newcomer population in Peel Region and to ii) identify SSP's suggestions for improvements in delivering and implementing new services in Peel Region. Using twenty-one semi-structured interviews with executive directors and frontline staff at settlement agencies throughout the cities of Brampton, Mississauga and Caledon, this research revealed the many challenges and suggestions for improvements that settlement providers had in delivering services to the newcomer youth and adult populations of Peel. These challenges include: i) funding and the conditions attached to funding, ii) intergroup conflict, iii) the structure and continuity of services, iv) locational and transportation challenges, and v) service specific challenges. The key findings of this research are discussed below.

This research revealed that the challenges SSPs in Peel Region encounter are similar to what has been documented in the literature. Challenges related to both inadequate funding dollars and stringent funding mandates were most frequently discussed by all SSPs in Peel Region. The perception of SSPs has been that even in times of increased funding, monetary resources for organizations have been insufficient to address the needs of newcomers in their catchment areas. These funding challenges threaten the sustainability of settlement organizations in Peel, as most of their core funding comes directly from the federal government. Funding mandates are also restrictive, as CIC-funded programs are only available to immigrants classified as 'permanent residents' and not those who have become Canadian citizens. While the provincially funded NSP program may aid in closing the gaps left by eligibility criteria, there are only seven organizations in Peel that receive both CIC and MCI funding.

The challenges experienced by SSPs in securing funding also contributed directly, or indirectly, to intergroup conflict and the structure and continuity of service provision. Based upon mandatory attendance quotas that each organization must obtain to satisfy funder
requirements, some SSPs reported feeling that other organizations were uncooperative or apprehensive in referring newcomers to their own organizations. Further, there is a perception that cooperating with other organizations that also have CIC funding provides a more equitable relationship than with organizations that were not part of the same funding structure. A lack of funding also contributed to a lack of childminding services for newcomers on premise, decreased hours of operations that did not always coincide with newcomers' working schedules, and the lack of professional development opportunities alongside flex time to reduce staff burnout for frontline settlement staff in the settlement sector.

While many of the challenges discussed in this research are similar to those experienced by organizations in metropolitan cities (Guo, 2006, Creese, 2004), the unique position of these SSPs in suburban areas contributes to the prevalence of locational and transportation related challenges. While the literature emphasizes the mismatch between the locations of newcomers' residences and those of settlement organizations (Truelove, 2000, Truelove & Wang, 2001, Whitzman, 2006), this study used qualitative approaches to understand how these locational challenges affect SSPs in delivering their programming to newcomers. In particular, the suburbs surrounding the City of Toronto are affected by the lack of an integrated transit system linking cities in the same municipality. Further, more rural areas currently under development in Peel Region fare far worse than the more developed, urban parts of the municipality, as they lack transit altogether. Access to settlement services in Peel Region is marked by an urban-rural discordance (Lo et al., 2009). This adds to the notion that the suburban outer regions of Toronto cannot be classified as a homogenous entity, as they are often conceptualized (Fiedler & Addie, 2008). With more immigrants choosing to reside in suburban areas, this becomes a concern in terms of meeting the human and social needs of newcomers.

A majority of participants cited providing employment services and mental health services for newcomers as the most challenging. Providing employment services was viewed as challenging because current programs were perceived as incompatible with the actual challenges newcomers encounter in the labour market. The perception was that employment programs needed to be redesigned to address the reality of the challenges that internationally trained professionals encounter, and the structural barriers newcomers encounter in accessing the labour market with no Canadian work experience. While challenges in providing employment services have been documented in the literature (Simich et al., 2005, Wayland, 2006, Richmond &
Shields, 2005, Omidvar & Richmond, 2003), challenges in providing mental health services for newcomers at settlement centers have not been so widely discussed. SSPs indicated that they witnessed many mental health challenges related to resettlement that cannot be addressed by their organizations. However, SSPs were unable to recommend many ethno-specific mental health practitioners, and simultaneously, they are not able to secure funding for mental health services on site.

This study also aimed to better understand the opportunities for expanding and developing services in Peel Region. Some settlement providers stated that despite limited funding mandates, they were able to create programming that addressed the needs of newcomers through other funding avenues. While there were no common suggestions from settlement workers on what was needed in their centers, settlement workers in Brampton reported wanting to change the style in which settlement services were provided to a more 'drop-in' centre approach rather than an office environment.

This chapter will discuss these results in the sections below. The first will identify the limitations of this research. The second will discuss the theoretical implications of this research by focusing on settlement services' alignment with the settlement continuum, and settlement service organizations as part of a shadow state of service provisioning. The third will discuss suburban transit infrastructure, the role of municipalities and additional policy recommendations. Lastly, it will provide an overview of current government initiatives after the termination of the COIA.

5.2 Limitations and Areas for Further Research

Prior to discussing the major implications of the research findings, there are a few limitations that need to be discussed. First, only one organization that participated in this research was a smaller, ethno-specific organization. All other organizations that participated were larger, multiservice organizations (n=8). Of the ethno-specific organizations that were contacted (n=4), three organizations opted not to participate. These organizations may face additional pressures, both monetary and time, that contributed to their ability to participate in this research. Furthermore, the majority of organizations that are funded by CIC in Peel Region are larger, multi-service organizations. Only five of organizations in Peel funded by CIC in 2011
were smaller, ethno-specific organizations (see Appendix D). The geography of settlement services in Peel Region is highly uneven (Sadiq, 2004), and it can be determined that larger or multiservice organizations receive a majority of the funding dollars allocated to SSPs in Peel. Therefore, the challenges and barriers that smaller, ethno-specific organizations encounter may be different from those documented in this study and may provide further details on the relationship between smaller and larger settlement organizations in Peel. Further research is required to better understand the challenges that ethno-specific organizations encounter in Peel Region.

Similarly, the second limitation of this research was perhaps the presence of the community partner in the recruitment emails and letters sent to participants. The name of the community partner, NCP, may have impacted the willingness of other organizations to participate, or their responses to interview questions. This research demonstrated that there are tensions between some settlement organizations related mostly to securing newcomer clientele and monetary resources, especially with settlement organizations located in the same catchment areas. The presence of the community partner within the research could have influenced responses concerning such tensions, or settlement workers could have felt intimidated or coerced to provide more favourable feedback on the relationship between organizations for fear of disclosure to the community partner.

The third limitation of this research is that information on the uptake and usage of services was not measured in this research. Lo et al. (2009), Ma and Chi (2005) and Reitz (1995) found that settlement services are not utilized by a large percentage of the newcomer population, and usage of settlement services declines with the declining income status of newcomers. Both awareness of services and the underutilization of services by newcomers, especially low-income immigrants, are documented as problematic (Lo et al., 2009). However, none of the settlement providers in this research stated that awareness of services was a problem or that any service was underutilized. Further research is required to determine what percentage of the newcomer population in Peel utilizes settlement services and the awareness of these services and whether organizations are cognisant of these barriers. This is especially crucial for low-income areas of Peel and the organizations that serve low-income newcomers. This may aid settlement organizations in tailoring both their outreach approaches and in understanding the challenges
particular groups of newcomers encounter in utilizing settlement services available to them in Peel.

Lastly, it should be noted that many larger, multiservice providers in Peel are branches of service providers that originally started in other cities or municipalities, such as York Region or the City of Toronto. Currently, some SSPs also have their headquarters in the City of Toronto. While this research did not measure what effect this may have on service provision in Peel, presumably, the ability of organizations to make decisions about newcomers in Peel Region could be compromised if their executives are not located in the Region. Future studies should determine the capacity of branch organizations that have originated in larger cities on service delivery in suburban communities that have different challenges and needs.

5.3 Theoretical and Policy Implications

The results of this research point to theoretical and policy contributions that relate to a better understanding of the relationship between settlement service providers and the state. These are discussed below.

5.3.1 Theoretical Implication - Settlement Services and the Shadow State

This research provides important insight into the relationship between non-profit settlement organizations and the state. Specifically, it addresses the implications of the state - non-profit relationship. As discussed in Chapter two, the devolution of settlement provisioning to non-profit SSPs creates a system of 'shadow state' service provisioning (Wolch, 1990), where nonprofits are expected to shoulder the sole responsibility of service provisioning to newcomers while simultaneously being restricted and controlled by the state through stringent funding and mandate requirements. On the one hand, Wolch's (1990) top-down conception of the relationship between the state and non-profit SSPs declares that the relationship is inherently unequal and restricts SSPs from fulfilling their primary role as advocates for newcomers. The responsibility and burden of social service provision has been downloaded onto SSPs, yet their mandates are determined by government funders who utilize mechanisms of constraint and competition to control to shape the modes and messages of social services. Conversely, Trudeau's (2008) understanding of the shadow state as mutually beneficial - the government relies on
organizations to deliver programming, and organizations rely on the government for funding - is less restrictive and allows SSPs to fulfil their roles as advocates for newcomers’ needs. The findings of this research indicate that Wolch’s (1990) conception of the shadow state is more fitting in explaining the challenges that SSPs in Peel Region encounter. The shadow state function of SSPs inherently creates an unequal relationship between SSPs and the state and produces many of the challenges associated with service provisioning.

Specifically, SSPs in this study reported that the majority of the challenges they encountered were due to a lack of sustainable, core funding from CIC. The loss of autonomy for SSPs in Peel is demonstrated through their heavy reliance on government funding. The majority of challenges SSPs encountered were directly related to funding uncertainty or the inflexibility of funders' mandates. While the mandates of organizations remain the same, the inability to change the conditions tied to government funding arguably limits their capacity to respond directly to the evolving needs of newcomers in their communities. Peel SSPs must work within government mandates and within prescribed limits in order to win the funding that has become essential to their survival (Mitchell, 2001, p. 183, Wolch, 1990).

Furthermore, the competitive bidding process, whereby SSPs are forced to bid on government contracts yearly, has limited the ability of SSPs to provide unique programs that cater to different newcomer community needs (Sadiq, 2004). This research indicates that the competitive bidding process limits agencies from being able to think beyond a one-year time frame of service provision and therefore staff and directors spend an inordinate amount of time in preparing yearly funding applications. Sadiq (2004) states that competitive contracting also creates a two-tier settlement system, whereby larger multiservice agencies are dependent on government contracts, and smaller, ethno-specific agencies are reliant on both the government and larger multiservice agencies for their sustainability. While this research is inconclusive in supporting Sadiq’s (2004) characterization of the two-tier settlement sector within Peel Region due to a lack of smaller organizations in the participant sample, the challenges experienced by participating organizations is directly congruent with the evidence that competitive contracting for resources limits the production of innovation in the sector (Sadiq, 2004). For example, the mistrust experienced by organizations within the same geographic vicinity and the perception that partnering with organizations that have CIC funded programs is 'easier' indicates that competitive purchase of service agreements contributes to the unequal power dynamic between
agencies that are well-funded and those who are struggling for government funding. Decades of economic uncertainty in the settlement sector has contributed to the 'unsettled' feeling SSPs in Peel reported experiencing when discussing organizational sustainability. In this funding environment, SSPs are forced to be more concerned with yearly sustainability, due to uncertain funding levels in the upcoming year, than on creating new programs to serve newcomers' needs.

Further, neoliberal restructuring has aided in diminishing alternative sources of funding for SSPs (Mwarigha, 1997). For SSPs to be able to provide services outside of government mandated programs, accessing funding from alternative sources, such as charitable foundations, or fundraising, is necessary. However, as newcomer settlement is viewed as a direct function of the government, and not necessarily a function of non-profit service providers who are shouldering the burden of delivering settlement services, charitable donations and fundraising for settlement has not garnered the same attention as other causes. While it can be argued that SSPs in Peel strive to remain autonomous from the state and advocate for newcomers by recognizing newcomers’ challenges with formalized settlement services and striving to implement services or programs that ameliorate their struggles, it is almost impossible to do so outside of the confines of government funding. Again, this funding is strictly tied to the goals of what the state deems as essential for the settlement of newcomers, and not necessarily what SSPs observe as essential for newcomers.

This research supports Wolch's (1990) assertion that the shadow state shackles innovation in the sector. Trudeau's (2008) assertion that despite government downloading, nonprofits are able to innovate programming to address local community needs, is not supported. SSPs indicated that they witnessed service needs they would like to fulfill, yet these needs were not being met by traditional mandated services. Some organizations were able to subvert the restrictions of state funded programs to invent innovative programming to address the needs of newcomers, such as the English Language Instructions (ELI) program that targeted newcomers outside of the state's eligibility criteria for LINC classes. However, those organizations that did happen to innovate and circumvent restrictive funding mandates from CIC did so through other means of funding still tied to state bodies (i.e., MCI), or though independent grants that are not available to all organizations (Mwarigha, 1997). The geography of settlement service provisioning in Peel Region is uneven, as some organizations demonstrate the ability to challenge the restrictions in state programs, while others did not demonstrate the ability to
operate outside state influence. The ability of organizations to effectively service the needs of newcomers in their communities has been compromised by neoliberal downloading and funding cutbacks.

Lastly, it is evident that settlement organizations function as intermediaries between newcomers and the state. In the case of providing employment services, organizations bore the brunt of the dissatisfaction from newcomers that encountered larger structural barriers in entering the labour market. Government mandated employment services were unable to aid newcomers in overcoming the barriers of credentialism, private sector hesitance to hire immigrant professionals, and the need for Canadian experience (Wayland, 2006, Girard & Bauder, 2005, Li, 2001, Asanin, 2007). However, SSPs are unable to address these larger barriers, while simultaneously being restricted to providing government mandated employment services that they felt did not meet the needs of newcomer clients. SSPs perceived their services as lacking in addressing the needs of newcomers despite their inability to meaningfully alter these larger barriers to employment. This facilitates the creation of ad-hoc programs to address the evolving employment-specific needs of different types of newcomers such as foreign trained professionals or international students. This is in keeping with Brock's (2003) assertion that non-profit organizations act as a ‘buffer’ between the state and citizens, with nonprofits shouldering responsibilities for the consequences of neoliberal restructuring. While striving to meet the needs of newcomers, limited resources necessitate that services develop in a piecemeal manner, responding to available resources as much as to community needs (Creese, 2006, Milligan, 2001).

5.3.2 Theoretical Contribution - Neoliberalism and Peel's Settlement Sector

This research demonstrates the explicit and implicit effects neoliberal restructuring has had on settlement organizations in Peel Region. Theoretically, neoliberalism is assumed to operate as a "one size fits all" model of policy implementations that presumes identical results in all institutional environments through the execution of market-oriented reforms, and does not recognize the variations that arise as neoliberal reforms are imposed within specific environments (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 353). The effects of neoliberalism on the settlement sector in Peel Region have been varied and often contradictory to the economic,
political and social components of neoliberal ideology. Thus, this research contributes to the literature on "actually existing neoliberalism" in a suburban, Canadian context (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 349-379).

The economic and social policies prescribed under neoliberal regimes have downloaded welfare responsibilities onto local governance structures, such as provinces, municipalities and community-based agencies (Arat-Koc, 1999). The discursive logic behind neoliberal regimes has been to reinvent the notion of community governance as the rightful area of social production, thereby distancing the state from the 'big government' apparatus of the Keynesian welfare state and also serving to legitimize the larger goal of government disinvestment from the social and economic needs of its citizens (Ilcan & Basok, 2004).

Economic proponents of neoliberalism champion the concept of open economic markets free from state regulation. The dominant belief of neoliberal ideology is that open, competitive and unregulated markets represent the optimal mechanism of economic development at all levels of society, serving to justify the deregulation of state control over welfare programs and public services (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). For the settlement sector, restructuring to a market-based competitive model would theoretically ensure three outcomes; that organizations who are successfully fulfilling their mandates would proliferate, more settlement organizations would develop to fulfill the gaps in services or fill niche markets of settlement provision for communities, and innovation will occur in services that will more closely align to the needs of their clients (i.e., newcomers). The assumption for the settlement sector is that competition between service providers would result in more 'choices' of settlement organizations and programs for newcomers (Sadiq, 2004). In Peel, however, neoliberal tenets of competition are eroding the supply of settlement providers, limiting competition between organizations, and producing an oligarchy of service providers. This research demonstrates that larger agencies are better able to secure yearly funding, forcing smaller agencies that cannot compete for state resources to be eliminated from the market, reducing competition. Smaller agencies are not in an equal position to compete due to a lack of human resources and monetary resources to complete the onerous administrative and grant writing tasks required in this system. No new competition is able to arise in this area of social welfare distribution because of limited state contracts and funding to sustain their operations. The disjuncture between neoliberal ideologies and their implementation in local contexts serves to demonstrate the inherent contradictions between the
rhetoric of free markets and the reality of persistent stagnation that functions to produce "intensifying inequalities, destructive interplace competition, and generalized social insecurity" in Peel’s settlement organizations (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 352).

Neoliberalism assumes that the best outcomes for societies will be realized when governments completely retreat from their involvement in social programs, which are viewed as "distorting market signals and breeding dependency through welfare-style payments" (Cheshire & Lawrence, 2005, p. 436). Yet the adoption of neoliberal policies by successive federal and provincial governments in Canada and Ontario, respectfully, has produced only an economic disinvestment from the settlement sector in Peel, yet has strengthened mechanisms of state control over the methods of delivery, and content of services, provided by the sector. This research demonstrates that the downloading of settlement services onto SSPs in Peel has not produced the complete divide or disinvestment from the state. Governance over nonprofit community-based organizations has increased since the inception of neoliberal policies. While there has been monetary disinvestment from the settlement sector in Peel, demonstrated by the shrinking amount of funding flowing into Ontario settlement services, government encroachment into the modes of regulation of the settlement sector has increased. This is exemplified through the state's reliance on accountability measures imposed onto settlement organizations, such as mandatory quotas, and rigid eligibility criteria that serve to increase governance over SSPs. This contradicts neoliberal ideas of a free-market social sector, where agencies are autonomous from state structures and proliferate or perish based upon principles of free-market competition between other service providers. Effectively, the government has strengthened its control over the sector by 'rolling back' spending, while 'rolling out' stringent criteria aimed at controlling the modes of delivery and content of settlement services (Peck and Tickell, 2002).

Under neoliberalism, the state has (re)regulated settlement agencies to gain control over the types of services being provided to newcomers and the methods of delivery of services. For example, Peel SSPs reported being limited by state directives in their methods of delivery, as their hours of operations and their locational choices are all implicitly structured by the state’s dwindling monetary contributions to settlement providers. This forces settlement agencies to avert their mandates from being accountable to newcomers' needs, to becoming accountable to state directives. This serves to remove community-based settlement providers from community governance structures and re-establish state control over the settlement sector. While settlement
services are defined by the community of newcomers they serve (i.e., "Peel Region" settlement organizations, or "Brampton community services"), they are more aptly operating as an apparatus of the state. Settlement providers are therefore located within a community but remain functionally outside of that community, contradicting neoliberal philosophies of community-based governance through the nonprofit sector.

5.3.3 Theoretical Implication - Citizenship, Neoliberalism and Peel's Settlement Sector

State control over the settlement sector in Peel has profound implications on the creation of Canadian citizen-subjects and the role of the settlement sector in the process of citizen formation. Settlement services represent one of the state's 'tools of citizenship' used to produce a particular type of Canadian citizen-subject. Alongside neoliberal restructuring and state retrenchment from social welfare, particular types of immigrants and newcomers have been welcomed into the country and discourses on immigration have shifted from human rights and equal opportunity outcomes of immigration, to the economic contributions and monetary gains from immigrants (Veronis, 2006). The settlement sector in Peel Region exemplifies how state dominance over access to services and program content has aided the shift from universality of social citizenship for newcomers to selective market-based criteria for economic citizenship in the Canadian state.

Neoliberal state restructuring and the expansion of the capitalist marketplace allowed the Canadian government to implement changes to the immigration policy in order to expand the flow of human capital into Canada. The points system, introduced in the 1967, aimed to provide a 'rationalization' of immigration that was based on 'objective' merit, instead of ascribed criteria (Triadafilopoulos, 2013). However, it has been argued that this shift to an objective based merit system involved an increased commodification of newcomers, as their value and potential contribution to Canada are measured through points in ascribed categories (Arat-Koc, 1999). The dominant government discourses in new immigration policies are embedded in economic terms, emphasizing how immigrants affect Canadian economic performance and whether and how much they cost the welfare state (Arat-Koc, 1999, p. 41).
The concept of social citizenship during the welfare state emphasized an individual's right to a basic standard of living and society's responsibility for ensuring the well-being of its individual members (Brodie, 1996). Neoliberalism, on the other hand, emphasizes a concept of social citizenship that is firmly rooted in market-oriented values of self-reliance and self-care (Brodie, 1996). Since the 1980s, immigrant selection policies have emphasized the selection of immigrants to maximize their economic contributions to Canada and minimize any costs associated with their settlement and welfare (Arat-Koc, 1999). For example, since the 1980s, there has been growing emphasis on the amount of capital a newcomer would be willing to invest in Canada, leading to the growth of 'business' immigrants (Wong & Netting, 1992). Further, free trade policies, along with the increase of wealthy business migrants from Hong Kong to Canada, expanded the legitimacy of the global transfer of capital from new groups of newcomers to the Canadian state (Mitchell, 2001). Through these avenues, newcomers’ potential contribution and value to the country are being based solely on their expected place in the labour market, and their success is hinged on the perception of not relying on dwindling social programs (Arat-Koc, 1999).

As part of the dwindling social sector, settlement services are the only formalized services available to help immigrants integrate into Canadian society (Veronis, 2006). Settlement services funded through CIC and MCI are the only services that focus on newcomers' unique needs such as English language instruction and settlement-specific issues such as cultural and / or career mentoring. Access to settlement services is assumed to provide newcomers with better socio-economic opportunities than those migrants that are not able to access these services. CIC-funded settlement services are only available to newcomers who are classified as permanent residents and legally-defined refugees. MCI-funded settlement services are only available to legal Canadian citizens, and those in the live-in caregiver programs. All other newcomers to Canada, such as temporary foreign workers, seasonal agricultural workers, and undocumented persons, are not entitled to access any settlement service. This lends credibility to the state's disinvestment from the settlement sector by legitimizing the state's diminishing contributions to settlement programs since many newcomers to the Canadian state now fall under the temporary foreign worker program or are not legally-defined immigrants, but migrants tied to certain employers and employment-specific needs (Reitz, 2013, p. 159). The state also limits access to social programs for these migrants who are viewed as not part of the long-term economic
wellbeing of the state. Those legally defined newcomers who are able to access CIC and MCI programs are entitled to neoliberal social citizenship since they are able to contribute economically to the state's tax base while concurrently assuming self-sufficiency for their social well-being as they are no longer entitled to the breadth and depth of long-term settlement programs once available to newcomers in the welfare state. Any monetary gains highly skilled immigrants are assumed to make in Canada through employment or investment is implicitly assumed to offset their needs for social programs, hence, aiding in the government's disinvestment from providing social services in general. This underwrites the state's disinvestment from the settlement sector, as newcomers are taught to be "responsible citizens" (Ilcan & Basok, 2004) that do not rely on dwindling state resources or make claims upon the state to aid in their long-term settlement needs.

By virtue of its role, the settlement sector directly contributes to national narratives of citizenship formation and is a site where Canadian citizenship and subjectivities are formed (Veronis, 2006). Therefore, settlement service providers are 'tools of citizenship' used by the state to maintain the closure of social and economic citizenship rights to certain categories of migrants. State control over the eligibility criteria to access critical settlement programs serves to reinforce the concept that legally-defined newcomers, who enter the state through the points system or family class, where they are first screened to determine their economic self-sufficiency, are entitled to limited, time-sensitive, services. As mentioned by Peel SSPs, this is in direct opposition to the reality of the migration process for newcomers, as newcomers are likely dividing their time between working survival job(s), career re-certification processes, and/or homecare for children or dependents. Once a permanent resident newcomer decides to become a Canadian citizen, they are no longer entitled to CIC-funded settlement services. Utilizing all CIC funded settlement services in the permanent residency period becomes challenging simply due to the imposition of economic self-sufficiency that forces immigrants to work in precarious employment situations to survive. Eligibility criteria represents a closure of citizenship and social rights to immigrants as they are "no longer provided with the services necessary to achieve full and equal citizenship in Canada, and are reduced to second-class citizens" (Veronis, 2006, p. 112). Those newcomers who are able to access services and participate in the labour market are rewarded with the tools that will aid them in achieving a better socio-economic status, producing the categories of first class, and second class, immigrants.
The implications of this closure of social citizenship to some migrants establishes the dominant national narrative that those outside of CIC’s eligibility criteria, such as temporary foreign workers (TFWs) and undocumented migrants, are technically "non-existent" migrants, or "visiting immigrants" bearing the "burdens of both immigrants and visitors but receiving the benefits of neither" (Baken & Stasiulis, 1994, p. 13). These non-citizens are partly created through processes of exclusion from once universal social services, and their exclusion from these services guarantees the reproduction of their exclusion from citizenship entitlement at the local, provincial and national level. Despite their economic contribution to the state, the state actively prevents their long-term settlement and integration through legal and policy measures at the national level, such as their inability to obtain permanent resident status, and by disabling their access to community organizations at the local level. Conversely, highly skilled immigrants coming in through the points system are both "wanted and welcomed" as their human capital is viewed as satisfying economic needs in more important sectors of the economy such as 'knowledge industries' and they are viewed as possessing the social capital needed to take advantage of workplace and social networks without disturbing Canada's "social cohesion" (Triadafilopoulos & Smith, 2013, p. 2). In practice, the 'universality' of neoliberal economic citizenship does not extend towards TFWs or undocumented migrants, as they are discursively created as globalized agents - not persons - to aid in the nation's competitiveness in global markets.

Settlement sectors act as a 'tool of citizenship' for the state and underwrite the dominant concept of an ideal Canadian citizen-subject. Cutbacks in government funding for the settlement sector, alongside government control over the content of programming and the restrictions in eligibly for settlement services creates the necessary narratives for states to shape newcomers into individual economic agents responsible for their own survival. Immigration discourses and practices create two-tiers of citizens; the first class of economic migrant that has triumphed within the capitalist production system and is allowed to participate in the Canadian labour market and access the social service sector, and a second class of economic migrant that participates in a low-wage, flexible labour pool for corporations to draw upon when needed (Veronis, 2006). Aiding in this process is the lack of transferability of employment programs into meaningful employment outcomes for newcomers, or the ability of these programs to break down larger structural barriers newcomers encounter in accessing the labour market in Peel.
These processes serve to restrict second class immigrants from fully and equally participating in the economic sphere of Canadian life, and subsequently, the social, political and cultural spheres as well (Veronis, 2006).

5.3.4 Policy Implication - Settlement Services and the Settlement Continuum

The results of this research support the findings that current government-based settlement services do not address the entire course of the settlement continuum that immigrants experience. While most services are intended to address the adjustment phase of settlement, the challenges that SSPs reported encountering were with delivering services that spanned beyond the adjustment phase and into the adaptation and integration phases of settlement. It has been documented that the overwhelming majority of newcomers encounter challenges in the adaptation and integration phases of settlement where they encounter institutional barriers and receive little support from various government bodies (Richmond & Shields, 2005). Likewise, SSPs in Peel also reported encountering the most difficulties in delivering services that fall into the adaptation and integration phases of settlement. Both employment services and mental health services were described as the most challenging services to deliver to the newcomer population. This was primarily due to the larger structural barriers in society, such as the lack of recognition of foreign credentials, or the lack of recognition of the mental health challenges of migration, that could not be addressed through services in the settlement sector alone.

This research demonstrates that settlement organizations in Peel encounter largely similar barriers in planning for, and implementing, youth services, as they do with adult services. The distinction between the needs of youth and adult newcomers were largely classified as personal preferences in the structure and content of services. Youth frontline staff in Peel reported that youth need engaging and fun activities and want to stay longer in settlement programs as compared to adult newcomers, who needed succinct services that aid them in achieving their immediate settlement needs. Yet, CIC and MCI funded programs require organizations to maintain mandatory quotas on the number of youth accessing and leaving programs. This has served to hinder settlement staff from appropriately responding to the long-term settlement needs of youth newcomers such as building informal social networks with other youth in their communities. This reflects the need to support youth newcomers in the adaptation and
integration phase of settlement which are currently unsupported at the federal and provincial levels.

However, settlement services also cannot be expected to provide services for all areas of the settlement continuum without being given significant core funding to help sustain organizations. Project based funding, or short-term purchase of service agreements are the norm for both CIC and MCI services. Implementing services that go beyond the scope of CIC and MCI programs are either through individual grants from organizations, such as the United Way, or through individual fundraising. Without sustainable funding for services that address all three areas of the settlement continuum, organizations may just be providing a patchwork of short-term services that cannot address the long-term settlement goals of newcomers in their community. If the current relationship between government and non-profit service providers continues, governments must take ownership of providing funding for programs that address more than just the adjustment phase of settlement. CIC must adopt a long-term perspective on the settlement and integration process. Specifically, developing more comprehensive, cross-departmental and intergovernmental strategies that measure and support immigrants’ access to basic infrastructure and services to succeed are needed (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2011).

In order to address each phase of settlement, CIC’s program mandates must expand to stretch beyond the period of permanent residency, as during this time newcomers may not be able to take full advantage of these services due to their need for paid employment and time constraints due to the complexity of their migration experience (Lo et al., 2009, Richmond & Shields, 2005, Sakamoto, 2007). The stringent mandates tied to CIC based programs are a barrier for SSPs, whose mandates are generally inclusive in helping all immigrants with their settlement needs. This exemplifies the restrictive nature of the non-profit-government relationship as non-profits are forced to shift their accountability away from serving the needs of newcomers to fulfilling the needs of their funder's mandates.

Some larger organizations may be better able to aid newcomers in all three areas of the settlement continuum. However, this research did not undertake an extensive review of the types of services offered outside of those implemented by CIC and MCI at each organization. While beyond the scope of this study, future studies should address whether non-government mandated
programs and services help fill the gaps left from government-mandated services at settlement organizations. Caution must be used however, as the implementation of programs that do try to fill these gaps can be unevenly spread across Peel service providers, and therefore can exacerbate the uneven access to services that certain neighbourhoods encounter.

5.3.5 Settlement Services and Transit Infrastructure

Secondly, this research expands on the challenges settlement service providers encounter in a suburban setting. Suburbs like Peel Region are vulnerable to the impacts of fiscal constraints exemplified by neoliberal restructuring in the last few decades (Lo, 2011). Further, suburbs have a shorter history of infrastructure development compared with larger metropolitan cities, and therefore suffer greater shortfalls in infrastructure than other locations (Lo, 2011, Bunting, Walks & Filion, 2004, Clutterbuck & Howard, 2002). This research highlights the importance of integrated public transportation infrastructure as crucial in alleviating the challenges that suburban SSPs encounter. Service providers identified transportation as being one of the most important factors in making their services accessible to newcomers.

In Peel, transit infrastructure has developed unevenly. In Mississauga and older areas of Brampton (i.e., Bramalea), public transportation routes are more frequent and service more areas of the cities. However, growth in Brampton's greenfield areas and identified intensification areas in Mississauga create challenges in providing transportation routes that will adequately serve the population. In Caledon, the challenge is and remains that no public transportation exists, and routes traveling into Caledon are infrequent or inconvenient for travellers (Caledon Transportation Needs Study, 2009). Unevenly distributed infrastructure can accentuate the vulnerabilities faced by recent immigrants, as a majority of recent immigrants rely on public transportation (Lo, 2011, Lo et al., 2009, Blumenberg, 2008, Blumenberg & Evans, 2007, Heisz & Schellenberg, 2004). Therefore, providing equitable access to public infrastructure throughout Peel is essential in allowing citizens, especially vulnerable populations like recent immigrants, to participate fully in society.

In Caledon and the less urbanized areas of Brampton, access to public transportation was the primary challenge identified by service providers. Both Mississauga and Brampton have their own transportation systems that are not well integrated and do not easily allow movement across
city boundaries. This is typical of auto-oriented suburban areas where residents must travel long distances using infrequent public transportation to reach a limited number of services (Lo, 2011, Graham, 2000). In Caledon, the lack of public transportation is only off-set by independent service providers, such as Caledon Community Services (CCS) that have created services to help the elderly and those with disabilities to commute to healthcare providers, grocery stores, and shopping centers. While valuable, this service has created very little impact on peak period traffic demands (Caledon Transportation Needs Study, 2009). Further, with the population of Caledon projected to double by 2031 to over 108,000 residents, the need for integrated public transportation is pertinent (Caledon Transportation Needs Study, 2009). If population growth continues in Caledon and north Brampton, where transportation infrastructure is the weakest, than arguably the ability of service providers to effectively meet the settlement needs of newcomers is compromised.

Furthermore, as discussed by service providers, low-income groups have a harder time accessing public transportation in Mississauga and Brampton due to the rising cost of bus fare (Peel Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2013). Peel Poverty Reduction Strategy (2013) indicates that routing and planning is not the only limiting factor - the cost of a transit pass for low-income groups is often prohibitive. SSPs in Peel mentioned that bus fare for newcomers used to be provided - particularly in the youth programs - but was no longer available due to funding cuts. Therefore, it is recommended that CIC or MCI programming integrate transit costs into program budgets and allow SSPs to distribute bus tickets to ease program accessibility for newcomers.

The importance of transportation infrastructure for equitable access to settlement services has been documented in the literature (Lo, 2011, Lo et al., 2009, Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2011), but this research demonstrates that public transportation is equally important for service providers who are tasked with delivering settlement services.

### 5.3.6 The Role of Municipalities

Missing from most discussions on settlement policy is the role of municipalities in settlement service provisioning. It is clear that the top-down approach to settlement policy, whereby funding and mandates are determined nationally, additional mandates and programs are developed provincially, and finally, programs are delivered at the municipal and non-profit level,
are not always effective (Asanin, 2007, Wallace & Friskin, 2003). While municipalities are neither mandated or funded to provide settlement services, they are beginning to implement programs and committees to address newcomers’ needs out of necessity (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2011, Tolly & Young, 2011). However, as immigration rapidly changes population levels, municipalities, such as Peel, are left to manage and fund the provision of social, public and transit infrastructure to support additional people while being kept on the periphery of immigration decisions (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2011).

One of the core tenants of Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) was to acknowledge the lack of municipal voices in settlement policy and start engaging municipalities by building partnerships. There is widespread acknowledgement that better partnerships with municipalities would allow for more active involvement in policy issues and highlight the benefits of local planning initiatives (MCI, 2010). The Municipal Immigration Committee (MIC) was established under COIA to explore municipal interests in immigration, and is co-chaired by CIC, the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration and Association of Municipalities of Ontario (Burr, 2011). Further, COIA also established funding for Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs), which brings together representatives of municipal governments, SSPs, and employers to develop and implement approaches to foster newcomer integration (Seidle, 2010). The focus of LIPs is to develop community planning initiatives around settlement services and the integration of newcomers which will encourage greater collaboration among community agencies, reduce duplication in services, and reflect the pressures of particular community needs (Burr, 2011). Peel Region is a member of MIC, and has also established the Peel Newcomer Strategy Group (PNSG), a prototype LIP.

The main purpose of the PNSG has been to identify geographic and service gaps for the Peel newcomer community (Association of Municipalities of Ontario [AMO], 2008). In relation to service provision, the PNSG sought to prepare the community for the incoming dollars flowing from COIA (Stasiulis, Hughes, and Amery, 2011). PNSG has expressed concern about the unequal distribution of COIA funds for SSPs in Peel Region, stating that while some organizations are expanding their budgets many times over, other agencies may not be receiving the funding they require (AMO, 2008). This type of collaborative partnership is highly recommended, as it represents sustaining a strong network of coordination and integration of services, which is vital in a time of decreased and uncertain funding. Further, it sets up the basis
for collaboration and knowledge sharing, not just between settlement providers, but also with professional organizations in the community. For example, PNSG contains the mental health service providers and workforce development groups (PNSG, 2013) that could aid in employment and mental health service design, or help SSPs build lasting partnerships with other service providers to address the gaps in programming at their centers.

The Region of Peel has made additional effort towards getting involved in the conversation on immigration and settlement services. The Position Statement on Immigration (2008) issued by the Region of Peel's Human Services Department, with the support of the regional council, addresses the central contributions that newcomers make to the Region's rapid growth, to its economy, and also outlines the immense challenges that recent newcomers encounter in successful economic integration (Stasiulis, Hughes, & Amery, 2011, Peel Region Position Statement on Immigration, 2008). The statement acknowledges Peel's limited history with settlement services and supports, especially in comparison with Toronto, and pledges the department's support of regional council in advocacy for essential services and access to jobs for newcomers in Peel (Stasiulis, Hughes, & Amery, 2011). Furthermore, the project of Livable Peel includes immigrants and immigration as one of the three strategic areas of focus of research on managing and capitalizing on population growth over the next thirty to fifty years (Stasiulis, Hughes, & Amery, 2011, p. 95, Peel Region Planning, Livable Peel Objectives).

The end of COIA saw funding rapidly decrease for Ontario SSPs. Likewise, rapid funding decreases for LIPs were also implemented. Funding cuts in April 2012 resulted in 75 percent reduction in staff and an amalgamation of 17 LIPs to four regional offices in Ontario (Bejan & Black, 2012). The uncertainty impacted organizations and professionals involved in LIPs, as they were "left wondering if the preceding years of localized settlement planning were in vain and if the regional model is worth future planning efforts" (Bejan & Black, 2012, p. 22). These policies seem to be contradicting the goals of CIC's stated objective of sustaining and strengthening the local integration capacity of immigrant and settlement services (Bejan & Black, 2012). The loss of funding diminishes the support for local neighbourhood settlement organizations involved in LIPs and serves to shrink crucial partnerships between SSPs and service providers in employment, social and health services. Thus, it is recommended that CIC continues to support a multi-sectorial and multi stakeholder approach to settlement service planning in local communities. Federal governments are abstracted from the realities of the
challenges that SSPs encounter in delivering programs to local communities. Service providers situated in local communities are best equipped to identify local needs and mobilize community resources to respond to such needs (Jenson, 2001). It is essential that local community stakeholders, such as SSPs, and the LIPs they belong to, are made a partner in settlement policy decisions.

5.3.7 Additional Recommendations

The challenges reported in this research call for SSPs to be given more stable, multi-year funding and flexibility in programming (Wayland, 2006). While the use of purchase of service agreements will likely continue, they should be supplemented by stable, multi-year funding. This would allow agencies to engage in longer-term planning, encourage the growth of unique services that meet locally-defined needs, and allow SSPs to develop local partnerships outside the settlement sector to help develop new programs (Wayland, 2006).

This research yielded a number of additional recommendations aimed at improving the challenges that SSPs encounter. For instance, much of the challenges SSPs reported with mental health services was their lack of ability to address mental health issues in-house. There is now wider recognition from mental health service providers that SSPs are often the first point of contact for newcomers seeking support for a mental health or addiction issue (Ontario Mental Health and Addictions Strategy, 2011). Therefore, SSPs can take a two-pronged approach; they can aim to build strategic partnerships with mental health service providers, and also initiate a partnership to develop a culturally sensitive mental health training program for frontline settlement service workers. Currently, OCASI and the Hong Fook Mental Health Association are undergoing a partnership to enhance the capacity of SSPs in addressing mental health issues of newcomers and helping them make timely referrals to appropriate community mental health providers (Ontario Mental Health and Addictions Strategy, 2011). This partnership is currently limited to providing frontline staff in any settlement agency that is a member of OCASI with a specialized training course in recognizing mental health issues and enhanced knowledge of mental health community resources (Chung, Yoo & Lo, 2009). The multi-sectorial approach to delivering services is fundamental to addressing health-related challenges.
Further, the findings of this research support the recommendation of strengthening the ties between the private sector and settlement service providers. While the effort to get employers involved in mentorship or bridge training programs through settlement organizations has been a step forward (Wayland, 2006), stronger efforts must be made on the part of both the provincial and federal governments in opening up opportunities for newcomers to work in the private sector. Both provincial and federal governments are responsible for employment program mandates and design, and through integrating the potential of work experience at a corporation in these programs, they may be able to address the need for newcomers to build their professional networks. Offering these opportunities through SSPs can ensure that settlement organizations are able to provide employment services that fill the gaps between employment workshops and actually aiding newcomers to obtain Canadian employment experience.

5.4 Current Policies - A Step Backward

The current political climate for SSPs in Ontario is bleak. The end of Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) has had profound consequences of the settlement sector in Ontario, the long-term implications of which remain known. The changes being proposed to the settlement sector in Ontario are generally not conducive to reversing the inequalities in funding and mandates that settlement services reported experiencing.

The COIA ended in March 2011, and since then, Ontario has seen funding for settlement services decline. The national allocation formula (NAF) is used by the federal government to determine levels of settlement funding for provinces based upon the province or territory's share of immigrant intake (Wang & Truelove, 2003). However, the relationship between provincial governments and federal governments are in flux as the federal government announced that they are taking back responsibility of settlement provision from both British Columbia and Manitoba, the two provinces, other than Quebec, that have had control over their own settlement policies (CIC, 2012b). The federal government's main arguments in favour of this are that settlement services are nation building enterprises where federal authorities should maintain ultimate control, and also that newcomers should have a consistent level of services regardless of where they settle in Canada (CIC, 2012b). Further, CIC has declared that the funding being provided for the years 2012-2013 is specifically focused on delivering services to newcomers directly and not on supporting expenses such as administration, travel or capital costs for organizations (CIC,
However, costs such as administration and travel are especially essential for smaller organizations that often have to secure other sources of funding to offset these costs and to prevent the loss of staff. Further, CIC has said that it will fund "at least 90 percent of the 261 settlement service providers currently in the province [of Ontario]" (CIC, 2011b). However, this is a drastic change from the message CIC gave to settlement organizations in 2010-2011, when organizations were told to "dream big" and "think outside the box", as there was no sense of impending funding cuts, especially under the newly introduced Modernized Approach (Douglas, 2011, p. 3). Those agencies that have survived these funding cuts are now facing an annual average cut of 20 to 30 percent (Douglas, 2011, p. 3).

OCASI states that cumulatively, Ontario is facing $70 million in cuts to the settlement sector in 2010 - 2013, in addition to the $207 million in under spending over the life of COIA. Furthermore, CIC has stated that it will only fund one-year contracts again, despite the progress that was made under the Modernized Approach for two-year contract terms (OCASI, 2011). Hundreds of jobs are expected to be lost in the sector, including cuts to staffing in the form of reduced hours, benefits, and wages (OCASI, 2011). Many sector workers are expected to leave the sector under these circumstances, which means that extensive specialized knowledge may well be lost.

What is evident is that through these policies, the fear and uncertainty of resources in the settlement sector will continue, which will invariably affect future operations of the sector and also the newcomers that they serve. Settlement service providers, who are supposed to be CIC’s partners for discussion in this sector, are no longer collaborators in the joint enterprise of newcomer settlement. Instead, CIC has sought to create the conditions where the cheapest deals can be brokered with settlement organizations, which are both 'cost effective' and will enable them to absolve themselves of blame if their service mandates do not meet their objectives.

5.5 Conclusions

Overall, SSPs in this research perceived funding and the mandates attached to funding as the most constraining in providing adequate services to the newcomer population of Peel Region. The results of the twenty-one interviews indicated that all participants felt that their funding was not adequate to meet the needs of newcomers in Peel Region, and that certain programs did not
allow all immigrants to participate fully in service provision. This research also highlighted the importance of transportation infrastructure in more rural and developing areas of the suburbs to provide equitable access to services for all populations. SSPs saw various opportunities in expanding services, and some SSPs showed the capacity to implement programs that addressed the gaps in service provisioning left by government mandated programs. By addressing the future opportunities in creating innovative services, they were also demonstrating their capacity to address the divergent needs of newcomers accessing their centers.

The unequal relationship between settlement service providers and the state has made it more difficult to create a conversation in which SSPs are active contributors to policies that not only affect the newcomers they serve, but also their daily operations. While Peel SSPs are striving to provide services to the rapidly developing population of newcomers, they are limited by both restrictive state funding and by public infrastructure such as transit options for newcomers. Thus, it is imperative that both settlement service providers and municipalities be integrated into settlement policy decisions to ensure the greatest outcomes for the newcomer populations they both serve.
References


Asanin, J. (2007). *Education? it is irrelevant to my job now, it makes me very depressed..: Exploring the health impacts of precarious employment among highly skilled recent immigrants in Mississauga, Ontario*. (Master's thesis).


Shields, J. (2002). The third sector, neo-liberal restructuring and 'partnerships': Governance and the re-making of state-civil society relationships. In C. Dunn (Eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Canadian Public Administration*, (pp. 139-158). Toronto: Oxford University Press.


Truelove, M., & Wang, S. (2001). A Study to Compare and Analyse Settlement Patterns of Newcomers in Relation to how Settlement Programs and Services are Currently Organised and Funded in Ontario. *Toronto: Ryerson University*.


Whitzman, C. 2006. At the intersection of invisibilities: Canadian women, homelessness and health outside the 'big city'. *Gender, Place and Culture, 13*(4), 383–399.


York Region. (2011). *York Region Local Immigration Partnership: Consultation & literature review*.

Appendices

Appendix A

Structure of Government Mandated Settlement Programs in Canada and Ontario

Flow Chart of the Structure of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) Funded Settlement Programs

Flow Chart of Ontario Provincial Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI) Funded Settlement Programs

Appendix B

Interview Transcript for Executive Directors

Thank you for agreeing to take some time for this interview today. The study aims to explore the importance of settlement services in facilitating social inclusion for both youth and adult newcomers in the Peel region. I would like to ask you some questions about your organization. I will ask your permission to record our conversation if you agree.

1. What is the broad mandate of your organization?

2. Can you tell me about the range of services offered at your centre?
   - Can you give me more information about specific programs and services that focus on promoting educational opportunities for newcomers?
   - Can you give me more examples of programs or services that encourage newcomers to be involved in their communities; like through volunteering and voting?
   - Can you tell more about specific examples of programs that support cross-cultural interaction within and among both immigrant and non-immigrant community members?
   - Can you give me more information about specific programs and services that focus on providing skills and support for newcomers in terms of housing, income and employment opportunities?
   - Can you give me more information about programs that address the needs of youth apart from adults?

3. What are some of the opportunities and constraints you face in providing programs and services to the newcomer population in Peel?

4. Can you tell me a little bit about the population of newcomers who visit your centre?
   - Can you describe the main subgroups with respect to gender, age and cultural background?

5. To what extent do the services offered at your centre reflect the diversity of the newcomer population?
   - Do you feel that there are any newcomer subgroups (respect to subgroups listed above – age / gender / culture) who are more prominently represented in your current service offering?
   - How are different cultural or societal understandings of what it means to be a newcomer included as variables in developing new programs?

6. Are there opportunities for participants in programs to become more actively involved within the organization – in leadership roles for example or to seek employment? (Ask this because it recognizes newcomers as partners in creating and providing support for their families).

7. Can you describe some of the distinctions between the needs of young newcomers in contrast with adults who use the centre?

8. Are there any programs that target youth specifically apart from adults?
   - Can you tell me more about the goals or objectives of youth focused programs?
- Do you feel that youth who have been in Canada longer have different preferences than those who have just arrived?

9. Are there any types of services or supports that are not currently offered at your centre that you feel would be particularly beneficial to the newcomers you deal with?

- Do you feel there is a need to expand dialogue in this regard?

10. Are there any groups of newcomers that may have greater challenges or barriers to accessing the services offered at your centre?

- Can you tell me more about the types of barriers these people (specific subgroup) encounter?

At the end of the interview, summarize and recap the main points of the discussion. Ask if there are any additional points you would like to make and if I’ve made a mistake with anything I’ve said.

That concludes the interview. Thank you so much for your time today, I really appreciate it.
Appendix C

Information Letter

[UTM LOGO]

Social Inclusion among Newcomers in the Region of Peel: Letter of Information for Settlement Centres

[DATE]

Dear [Settlement Service]:

Your organization has been identified as one that may be interested in participating in a research study on the social inclusion among newcomers in the Region of Peel. The research is being conducted by Professor Kathi Wilson (Department of Geography, University of Toronto Mississauga), Professor Dana Wilson (Department of Geography, University of Toronto Mississauga) and Effat Ghassemi, Executive Director for the Newcomer Centre of Peel. The project is funded by CERIS – The Ontario Metropolis Centre.

We are requesting your participation in this research. If you agree to participate, we will ask directors and staff to participate in short key informant interviews to discuss some of the unique challenges and opportunities your centre faces in providing necessary settlement services to newcomers – both youth and adult groups - as well as links between your program offerings and social inclusion of newcomers. In addition to two or three key informant interviews with staff and directors at your centre, we would also like to conduct focus group interviews with newcomers who are currently using the programs and services offered at your centre. The focus group interviews will be held with youth and adult newcomers separately and will ask newcomers about those services and programs they need to feel welcome and integrated into their new local host community as recent newcomers to the Region of Peel.

If your centre agrees to cooperate in this research, participation of all staff and/or newcomers will be strictly voluntary, and no participant will be under any obligation to answer any specific questions and all of the participant responses will be kept completely confidential.

The findings of this study will be used by the Newcomer Centre for Peel and other participating settlement centres in the Region of Peel (including yours) to better understand the determinants of successful social inclusion of newcomers.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact us or the Ethics Office at the University of Toronto 12 Queen’s Park Crescent West, 3rd Floor, Toronto, ON M5S 1S8 Phone: 416-946-3273.

Kathi Wilson
Associate Professor
Department of Geography
University of Toronto Mississauga
Phone: 905-828-3864
Email: kathi.wilson@utoronto.ca

Dana Wilson
Assistant Professor
Department of Geography
University of Toronto Mississauga
Phone: 905-569-4556
Email: dana.wilson@utoronto.ca

Effat Ghassemi
Executive Director
Newcomer Centre of Peel
Phone: 905-306-0577
Email: eghassemi@ncpeel.ca

Maria Mukhtar
Masters Candidate
University of Toronto Mississauga
Phone: 416-938-2063
Email: maria.mukhtar@utoronto.ca
Letter of Consent

CONSENT FORM: Participation in Interviews

- I have been given and read the Information Letter provided to me by Maria Mukhtar and agree to participate in the research she is conducting for her MA dissertation.
- I understand that my participation in this study will last approximately 60 minutes.
- I understand that the purpose of the research is to examine the importance of settlement services for facilitating social inclusion among adult and youth newcomers living in the Region of Peel including an examination of the challenges and experiences of newcomer/settlement service providers in meeting the needs of youth and adult newcomers.
- I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the interview at any time for any reason without penalty.
- I understand that I am can refuse to answer any question without penalty.
- I understand that all personal information will be kept strictly confidential and that my name will not appear in any publications stemming from the research, unless I wish it to be.
- I understand that while my personal information and the name of the organization I work for will not be released or published, there are some limits to confidentiality given the small network of organizations providing services to newcomers in the Region of Peel (e.g., by describing specific programs only available at one organization).
- I understand that I could face social risks (e.g., if I were to say something critical about my organization or clients) but these will be minimized by the anonymity of responses.
- I understand that I may ask questions of the researcher at any point during the research process.
- I understand that the results of this study may be distributed in community research reports, academic journals, and conference presentations and that a summary of the results will be made available if I wish.
- I understand that with my permission the interview session will be audio-recorded and later transcribed.
- I am aware that the audiotapes and transcripts will be used only by the researchers and their research assistants, and that no other person will have access to them. The audiotapes and transcripts will not have my name or any other identifying information on them. A research code number will be used instead.
- I agree to the audio taping of this interview: Yes______ No_______

I understand that the findings of this study will be shared with our community partner, the Newcomer Centre of Peel.

I understand what this study involves and agree to participate. I have been given a copy of this consent form

I, ________________________________ (please print name), agree to take part in a study examining social inclusion among newcomers in the Region of Peel.

_____________________________  __________________________
Signature                                      Date
### List of All Organizations in Peel Region and Funding Source (2011-2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization Name</th>
<th>CIC funded</th>
<th>MCI funded</th>
<th>Both CIC and MCI funded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghan Women's Organization</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access Employment</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brampton Multicultural Community Center</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledon Community Services</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Cross cultural services</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cross-Cultural Community Services Association</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center for Education and Training</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Association of Mississauga</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSTI Immigrant Services</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixie Bloor Neighbourhood Centre</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India Rainbow Community</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malton Neighbourhood Services</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Community Services</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcomer Centre of Peel</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine House Educational and</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peel Career Assessment Services</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peel Multicultural Council</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polycultural Immigrant and Community Services</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Canadian Hearing Society</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese Community Centre</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YMCA of Greater Toronto</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Services of Peel</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi Community Health</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Environment Alliance</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Community Services of Peel</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* The Data in column one and two are from 'CIC funded agencies in Peel-Halton Area (2011-2012)'. Available at: [http://settlement.org/downloads/Peel-Halton_and_Area_Agencies.pdf](http://settlement.org/downloads/Peel-Halton_and_Area_Agencies.pdf). The data in column three is from 'Newcomer settlement agencies by location'. Available at: [http://www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/english/newcomers/agencies.shtml](http://www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/english/newcomers/agencies.shtml)