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A NEEDS ASSESSMENT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN THE WATERLOO REGION

By

ELIZABETH GRIGG, B.A (Hons), B.S.W (Hons)

A thesis

Submitted to The School of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

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Master of Social Work

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the re-settlement process of Latin American immigrants and refugees in the Waterloo region. This qualitative research project was designed to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived realities of participants. General questions about their re-settlement process, and more specifically about the barriers faced by members of the Latin American community were asked. Participants identified and constructed meaningful resolutions to meeting their "needs" and overcoming barriers.

The findings are based on eleven individual, three conjoint interviews and two focus groups, with men and women of Latin American origin. Open and axial coding was utilized to explore emergent themes. These themes were introduced in subsequent interviews to thicken the data and acquire cross-gendered perspectives. By using a symbolic interactionist and sociological phenomenological framework, I attempt to understand the interplay between the individual consciousnesses of Latin Americans living in the Waterloo Region and the meanings created of their lived realities and social worlds. To obtain this understanding, I have chosen to use elements of grounded theory to discover the interrelatedness of the concepts, categories, and properties that emerged in the data (Borgatti, 2005).

What was evident though out the data was a strong sense of ethnic identity, pride and strength within the Latin American community. Participants consistently identified a sense of agency and a desire to promote and nurture the Latin American community based upon shared elements of culture, including but not limited to, the Spanish language.

Other predominant themes that emerged in the data were: experiences of systemic racism, cultural shifts and barriers to accessing re-settlement services. The findings of this research serve to disrupt notions of the current political discourse surrounding the neutrality of multiculturalism, provide new perspectives on the re-negotiation of culture that occurs during re-settlement and finally, to provide insights into service use by Latin Americans

Acknowledgments

This research project and thesis would not have been possible without the partnership of Centre Latino Americano de Residentes en Ontario and Amigos [Centre for Latin American Residents of Ontario and Friends] (C.L.A.R.O), participants and my Thesis supervisor, Mirna Carranza. I thank C.L.A.R.O for their willingness to work and assisting me in my learning process. I am grateful to the participants for meeting with me, opening their homes and trusting me with their stories- I learned much more that what is represented in these pages. Perhaps the most important lesson for me was around authenticity and genuine identity.

To my thesis supervisor, Mirna Carranza, it has been a long road, and her contributions have been numerous. Her willingness to work with me through my successes, mistakes, re-mistakes and shape my learnings has been invaluable to me both personally and professionally. With her direction I was able to gain and understanding of anti-oppressive practice that is applicable in all areas of my life and without it this journey may have not been as meaningful. Mirna's devotion to this area of research, anti-oppressive work and teaching is admirable.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends who have supported me, been what I like to call my "thesis cheerleaders" and never gave up on me. My hope is that this research will contribute to a larger body of knowledge and assist other's in their learnings, as it has assisted in mine.

Table of Contents

Abstract……ii
Acknowledgments……..…..... iv
A Note on the Language Used 2
Organization of the Thesis 4
Chapter Two: Context of the Project 5
How the Project Emerged and Statement of Purpose 5
Chapter Three: Literature Review 7
The Waterloo Region 7
Theories of Migration: Immigration and Multiculturalism 8
The History of Migration to Canada from Latin American Countries 11
Colombia. 12
Cuba. 12
Guatemala. 15
El Salvador. 16
Mexico. 16
Peru. 17
Venezuela. 18
Re-settlement and Theories of Acculturation 19
Variances for the first and second generation 22
Shifts and challenges of migration and re-settlement. 22
Shifts in parenting. 23
Shifts in familismo. 24
Language brokering 24
Ethnic pride and shame 25
Grief through re-settlement. 28
Diaspora in diaspora 28
Experiences of trauma 29
Latin American Youth 31
Identity development and youth. 31
Literature and research gaps for children and youth 33
Men and Women: Gender Identity Development 34
Women. 34
Language acquisition 36
Employment 36
Mental health 37
Men.. 38
Language acquisition 39
Employment 40
Mental health 40
Latin American Seniors 41
Conclusions 42
Chapter Four: Methodology 45
Objectives of the Research 45
Participant recruitment 48

Sample 50
Brief description of the participants 51
Data collection procedures 54
The interview guide. 54
Individual interviews 55
Conjoint interviews.. 56
Focus groups. 57
Data Analysis 58
My role in the research 60
A critical analysis of my location as researcher 64
Reflective note of the author 66
Chapter Five: Findings 68
Migration and Re-Settlement 68
Losses. 68
Country of birth 68
Community.: 69
Language. 72
Loss of traditional gender roles. 73
Grief 75
Diaspora in diaspora 77
Barriers 77
Lack of recognition of foreign credentials 78
Discrimination 80
Housing. 82
Health care 82
Internal division of the Latin American community 84
Decrease in social status 85
Isolation 86
Lack of language skills. 87
Language brokering. 87
Trauma 88
Needs 89
Structural 90
Immigration systems 90
Employment and credentials. 92
Transferring education and professional credentials 93
Obtaining Canadian experience 93
Language acquisition. 95
Therapeutic counselling in Spanish 97
Emergency services in Spanish.: 99
Communal Responses: Community Development and Capacity Building 99
Community space and agency.. 100
Promoting culture to decrease forms of racism and stereotypes. 100
Volunteerism and civic participation. 102
Cultural exchanges 102
Development of community leaders.: 103

Chapter Six: Discussion 104
Latin American Youth 104
Latin American Seniors 105
Language Needs 106
Gender Shifts 107
Emerging Discussions and Analysis 108
Systemic racism 109
Producing discrimination: The "other" by native-born Canadians 113
Controlling expressions of culture 114
Internal division of the Latin American community 116
Ethnic pride and resiliency 116
Trauma in pre-migration and re-settlement 121
Community recommendations 122
Political representation and access to voice through fostering community engagement 123
Implications for Policy 124
Actualization of policy objectives 124
Translation of policy into practice 125
Foreign-trained credential recognition 126
Education policy 126
Policy and economic support for community-based re-settlement organizations 127
Practice Implications 129
Genuine caring 129
Moving beyond culturally competent services 130
Chapter Seven: Limitations and Reflections 132
Reflections 132
Subjective reflections 132
Limitations 132
Relationship-building 132
Ethical considerations 133
Translation and language 135
Collaborating with a community organization and my social location 135
Interviews with service providers 136
Latin Americans as a cultural category 136
Suggestions for Further Research 138
Conclusions 138
Bibliography 140
Appendix A 154
Information for potential participants willing to participate in focus groups 154
Appendix B 155
Información para participantes potenciales que deseen ser parte del grupo de discusión. 155
Appendix C 156
Appendix D 159
Appendix E 162
Introduction 162
Appendix E 163
Appendix F 164

A Needs Assessment of the Latin American Community in the Waterloo Region

This project aimed to obtain the perceptions of the Latin American people about their lived realities through examining their re-settlement processes within the geographical context of the Waterloo Region in Southern Ontario. The study participants provided a snapshot into the experiences of Latin Americans in the Waterloo Region by exploring their previous, current, and future hopes for re-settlement in Canada. They also provided cross-gendered perspectives and accounts of seniors' and youths' experiences of re-settlement. This information translated into a rich, thick data source which was full of stories of strength, resiliency, suggestions, and hope for the future in Canada.

Some of the personal accounts reflected in the quotations have been edited slightly to protect anonymity, provide context, and to correct grammar. Dean, Marchessault, and Neufeld (2006) advocated the editing of quotes in qualitative research in order to minimize the perceptions of marginalized groups as uneducated or illiterate. Such perceptions would subsequently reinforce negative stereotypes (Dean, Marchessault & Neufeld, 2006). All efforts were made to remain consistent with the essence of what the participant was communicating and to avoid any manipulation of the data.

In this project, by using a symbolic interactionist and sociological phenomenological framework, I attempt to understand the interplay between the individual consciousnesses of Latin Americans living in the Waterloo Region and the meanings created of their lived realities and social worlds. To obtain this understanding, I have chosen to use elements of grounded theory to discover the interrelatedness of the concepts, categories, and properties that emerged in the data (Borgatti, 2005). The data revealed experiences of systemic racism and significant cultural shifts which the study participants were required to achieve in order to re-settle successfully in the

Canadian context. The data also revealed that this is a lack of services available to immigrants and refugees that are reflective of their needs, thus increasing the challenges of their re-settlement in the Waterloo Region.

A Note on the Language Used

The term "Latin American"[1] was used to remain consistent with the organizational mandate of the Centre Latino Americano de Residentes en Ontario and Amigos [Centre for Latin American Residents of Ontario and Friends] (C.L.A.R.O.). Although this term most commonly denotes people who come from Spanish speaking countries, in this case all of the countries in South America were included. This term also does not reflect the variances and the nuances between regions, cultures, and people. A single Latin American community or culture does not exist nor can the people from South American countries be reduced to unifying, unchanging characteristics (Longres & Patterson, 2000). Therefore, the term "Latin American" describes a broad range of persons, cultures, and communities and will be used throughout the thesis.

For example, in the majority of the thesis when referring to a participant's country of birth, the term "Latin American origin" is substituted to protect the participant's anonymity. There are two exceptions to this; when quoting or referring to participants specifically, in these cases, the terminology used by these participants (e.g. Latino, Hispanic) is retained. The second exception is in discussing the stereotype of "drug trafficking" as it relates to people from

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[1] "Latin America" is a conjoined term used through out history. "America" was the name given by Christopher Columbus to the Americas and was originally derived from another explorer Americo de Vespucci. "America" thus represented, from a European perspective uncharted and unknown territory that had the possibility to benefit those who could "conquer" the nation (Hira, 2001). "Latin" is the "mother tongue of the Roman Empire and correctly reflects the colonization of the area by the Spanish and Portuguese, whose languages derive from Latin" (Hira pp 1, 2001). "Latin" is often thought also reflect the imposition of an identity on the unknown territory of Latin America (Hira, 2001)

Colombia. As Johnson (2001) has identified, people of Colombian origin are subject to a host of stereotypes around their ethnic background, particularly involvement with the drug trade and trafficking activities. While this stereotype is applied to other Latin American Countries, it is most commonly applied to Colombians and Puerto Ricans. More recently, there has been a resistance to these stereotypes by the Colombian community, by naming this country this research could add to the knowledge around this issue and assist in resisting. Therefore, their specific country of origin was identified to highlight the specific usage of this term as it related to Colombia and the intricate way it frames a particular re-settlement experience.

No single definition of "settlement" is used in Canada (Mis, 2004). However, the underlying meaning of the various definitions is that settlement refers to how immigrants and refugees adjust to a receiving society (Mis, 2004). Settlement, therefore, indicates the first experiences of people "settling" in a country. By co-opting these experiences, the term "settlement" ignores the fact that these people existed in a country prior to their receiving society. Delineating this experience, however, devoids people of a past and forces them to re-create an identity.

The term "settlement" is also imposed terminology. In this study, "settlement" identifies and quantifies the ways that people integrate themselves into the fabric of Canadian society and how these ways can be promoted for nationalist gains. The term "re-settlement," also used throughout the thesis, denotes that people come with various histories and that these histories mediate their experiences in Canada (Stewart, 2005). By placing value on this history and the personal experiences of people, the term "re-settlement" co-creates a space to identify the unique ways that individuals navigate the systems in Canada.

Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapter Two presents the context for the project and Chapter Three presents an overview of the history of the re-settlement process of Latin American immigrants and refugees to Canada. Chapter Three also highlights the existing literature and research in Canada and in the United States pertaining to youth, women, men, and seniors of Latin American origin. The chapter concludes with a critique of the gaps in the literature. Chapter Four contains a detailed description of the methodology used, the rationale for doing so, and the conceptual framework. Chapter Five presents the new emergent findings and situates these findings within the existing literature where appropriate. Chapter Six contains a discussion of the implications of the findings and the key recommendations. Chapter Seven discusses the limitations of the study, including time limitations, the use of a translator, the restrictions of the Ethics Board, and the challenges of working within a marginalized community when the researcher identifies as white.

Chapter Two: Context of the Project

How the Project Emerged and Statement of Purpose

Martell (2002) identified that there is little organization in the Latin American community. This lack of organization is linked to the lack of a community agency that connects people from various Latin American origins in Canada (Martell, 2002). This lack of connectedness contributes to a significant gap in representation for a Latin American voice at various levels in the Waterloo Region and in the larger Canadian context.

This project began when C.L.A.R.O. identified that there was a tremendous amount of potential and strength within the Latin American community in the Waterloo Region. However, a lack of information about these community members and a lack of networking among them prevented the utilization of these strengths for the betterment of the community. Therefore, the goals of this project are to identify these strengths and to learn how to build upon them in order to develop the Latin American community.

In order to accomplish these goals, this project developed a space for Latin American participants to discuss and reflect on their journey and experiences of re-settlement. To learn about this process, participants' were asked to identify what was helpful during their re-settlement process, what would have been helpful, and what could be helpful in the future, it was hoped that the participants could provide meaningful suggestions that could facilitate a positive re-settlement process for themselves and for future generations.

Jaffray (1992) noted that community development work often lacks the means to conduct and support research that has the possibility to advance marginalized groups. As an organization in its beginning phases, C.L.A.R.O. wanted to pursue this type of research in order to build a strong organization with a commitment to social justice. Since C.L.A.R.O. was a community

organization which planned to bring the findings back to the community and work on them accordingly with the community, I decided to engage in this project. I wanted to use my thesis and my privilege as a master's student to assist in creating meaningful social change for the population I was working with. The partnership between C.L.A.R.O. and I was a vehicle for me to contribute to meaningful social action through their community development work.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section details the theories of migration and re-settlement. In addition, an overview of Canada's approach to immigration and the correlated policy of multiculturalism are discussed to explore the political landscape of Canada as a receiving society. Both of these frame the re-settlement process in Canada. The Region of Waterloo will be placed within the larger context of Canada to highlight the regionally specific factors experienced by the immigrants and refugees re-settling in the area. Papillon (2002) highlighted the importance of context and the interplay between the local and the national landscapes when examining the experiences of immigrants and refugees, as resettlement is largely regionally specific. This section also includes a brief overview of the history of migration from Latin American countries to Canada.

The second section of this chapter describes the theories of acculturation and re-settlement and the various elements that are implicit within and are developed through this process. This section also highlights the gaps in the literature on the theoretical understandings of re-settlement as they pertain to this research.

In the third section, a brief synopsis of the specific effects of the re-settlement process on women, men, youth, and seniors will be provided.

The Waterloo Region

The Waterloo Region is situated southwest of Toronto, west of Hamilton, and northeast of London in Southern Ontario, Canada. The region is one of the fastest growing communities in Ontario with a population of approximately 500,000. Of this population, 92,775 people are foreign-born. Waterloo has the fifth largest immigrant population per capita of all of the urban areas in Canada (Region of Waterloo, 2004). Historically, immigrants migrating to the Waterloo

Region hailed from the United Kingdom, Portugal, Germany, and Poland. Indicative of the larger trend of migration, the more recent migrants are from Yugoslavia, China, Bosnia, Herzegovina, India, Romania, and South and Central America. The Waterloo Region also has an 18.3% representation of refugees, which is almost 7% higher than the national average (Region of Waterloo, 2004).

The people with Latin American origins number approximately 7,000 in the Region (Region of Waterloo, 2004). The largest groups come from Mexico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras. The remaining immigrants come from Chile, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, and Cuba (Region of Waterloo 2004; Statistics Canada, 2006; Martell, 2002).

The ethnic, cultural and social basis for the immigrant population in the Waterloo region is based largely on the European immigration, which occurred many decades ago (Carranza, 2007). The shift to a racialized, non-English speaking flow of migrants has lead to differing processes and challenges for the Region (Region of Waterloo, 2004). Carranza (2007) noted that these foundations of migration have lead to a context that renders itself to a lesser degree of plurality in contrast to other cities with large ethnic and racialized populations. Carranza (2007) theorized that this particular context is less accepting of racialized immigrant and refugee experiences. This foundation has created particular challenges for the re-settlement experiences of racialized, non-English speaking immigrants and refugees, challenges that have yet to be fully addressed (Region of Waterloo, 2004).

Theories of Migration: Immigration and Multiculturalism

Globalization, decolonization, and the uneven development of economic systems have framed discussions of international migration (Castles & Miller, 1998). Migration can be understood as the movement across borders to another “economic, social or political unit”

(Stewart, 2005, p. 12). Consistent with Porter's (1997) and Portes' (2001) theories of push/pull migration, many countries contain these units. These units have the ability to work both separately and simultaneously to push out or pull into national borders (Porter, 1997; Portes, 2001). Immigrant families experience a "pull" to migrate (Portes, 2001). Within this motivation, immigration is thought to be fraught with notions of aspirations for upward mobility with a large emphasis on the economic component (Portes, 2001). Unlike refugee families are thought to experience a "push" to escape the "intolerable economic, political" (Stewart, 2005, p. 13), and social conditions of their country of origin.

Lacroix (2004) argues that, historically, immigration has been used as a tool for nation-building, which is achieved through the selection of immigrants that reflect the existing social fabric of the receiving society. Until recently, immigrants to Canada have mostly been led by European-born streams of migrants (Lacriox, 2004). Therefore, the existing social fabric in Canada was characterized by white immigrants from wealthier nations and was easier to maintain the status-quo social fabric within the realm of immigration. Over the course of the past twenty years, however, Canada has seen an increasing flow of racialized immigrants and refugees from African, Asian, and Latin American countries (Lacroix, 2004). More than ever, the procedures used by the Canadian government to control the flow of immigration (which have been rooted in a "gatekeeper" mentality) are more stringently utilized in the selection of immigrants and refugees. Implicit within the procedures of and larger immigration discourse, is the "charity model" where Canada as a nation constructs and validates its own self-image as a helping nation. This model gives the illusion that Canada is providing assistance to those in need (immigrants and refugees) (Mohamed, 1999). As a nation, Canada attempts to define itself as a flourishing nation which is rich in economic, social, and cultural capital and that can acts as a

safe haven that can protect and promotes its own citizens and those forced into exile (Grigg, 2007). This image makes Canada attractive to immigrants and refugees (Grigg, 2007).

As a system, immigration is inherently fraught with power. Macklin (1995) characterized this power relationship between the Western nation's ability to act as a receiving society and welcoming those seeking to asylum, as a relationship built upon a Self/Other dichotomy. This dichotomy is shaped by the colonizing discourses that have placed power in the liberalist Western nations and have sought to maintain this power by distancing the North from the South (Macklin, 1995). The asylum state is defined as the Self/North by virtue of its ability to distance itself from the South and to "have" what the South does not- reproducing the "have and "have nots" dichotomy. The South is thought to produce refugees or people in search of a better life, a life that is not obtainable in the country of birth (Porter, 1997), the production occurs in opposition to the "haves" contained in the North.

Through the process of requesting to immigrate and the application process, an immigrant or a refugee becomes the perceived "other" and a representation of the South. This is a result of the asylum state's attempt to gain mastery over the perceived "other" and, subsequently, becomes a representation of what the Self is not: a producer of refugees and of those required to leave their country in search of upward mobility. Superiority is afforded to the western nations who grant citizenship based upon their ability to protect and foster upward aspirations and protection from the South itself. Therefore, the North has essentially created an image of itself as a "knower" and implicit protector. The dominant space now has the power to offer assistance to the perceived inferior "other" through notions of charity or development, which continues for generations in immigrants and refugees (Foster, 1995).

Li (2001) critiques multiculturalism in Canada by highlighting how the political goals of neutrality allow for racism to be subverted into a benign discourse. “Multiculturalism” reflects the growth of a racist subtext, which has challenged Canada’s neutrality or colour-blinded approach (Li, 2001). The terms “multiculturalism” and “diversity” have morphed to reflect those who are “not white,” and placed in opposition to the implication that white is the norm of the Canadian social fabric (Li, 2001). This allows for the construction of and the continued existence of hidden racism that exists in everyday experiences and is often reflected in personal immigration narratives. Through these hidden racist practices, under the guise of neutrality, the welcoming nature of Canada can remain a key feature in nationalist goals. With this perceived neutrality, racist practices can become embedded in everyday practices without being noticed (Reitz & Banerjji, 2007).

These racist practices impede the abilities of immigrants, refugees, and other non-white persons to integrate into the established fabric of Canadian society. These practices also lessen the social cohesion of the country (Reitz & Banerjji, 2007). The lack of social cohesion is constructed to allude to a “threat” to Canadians’ sense of national unity and shared common values (Reitz & Banerjji, 2007). These racialized boundaries are created as a way to validate and maintain distance from the perceived “other” in an effort to preserve ‘Canadian Culture’ (Reitz & Banerjji, 2007).

The history of migration to Canada from Latin American countries. This section will provide a brief overview of the historical context, which alludes to the possible motivations for migration from the countries represented in the sample. Each of the participants’ countries of origin experienced violent colonization processes by the Spanish. The quest towards

independence has occurred at various times throughout history and has taken various forms and this quest has shaped the history, identity, traditions and customs of each country.

Colombia. From 1989 to 2002, the number of Colombians living in Canada increased considerably (Statistics on Refugees, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002) with the total 2006, the total population of Columbians living in Canada was close to 40,000 (Statistics Canada, 2006). This number only reflects refugee claimants and is not reflective of the immigrants and persons who did not go through the formal immigration proceedings (Statistics on Refugees, CIC, 2002).

The Spanish invaded Colombia in 1525. This invasion began a two-century intensive and violent colonization (Da, 2002). During this time, the indigenous cultural traits were virtually eliminated and the Spanish language, customs, and traditions were strictly imposed. Independence from Spain occurred in 1819 and Colombia became a republic in 1886 (Da, 2002).

Since 1886, however, the country has been dominated by Spanish descendant elites. Throughout its history, Colombia has experienced governmental violence and human rights violations (namely kidnappings) and other forms of violence and human rights violations. Many scholars believe these occurrences are a result of the history of colonization, poverty, and oppression since indigenous people are often the targets of violence and human rights violations.

Human rights violations consistently remain unpunished in Colombia and they are characterized by the corruption of government and drug cartels. A 40-year campaign to overthrow the government, funded in part by the drug-trade, worsened the violations in the 1990s (Da, 2002).

Cuba. Cuban's have a complex path of migration to Canada, due to their history of colonization and political unrest, with complexities that remain today. While economic and

political factors have been found to be the most common reasons for migration from Cuba, an exact picture of migration is not known due to on-going political tensions and violence; people are often hesitant to identify key migration motivators (Migration, Globalization and Poverty, 2007). According to Statistics Canada (2001) there was approximately 6, 250 Cubans living in Canada. The path to immigrate to Canada has been significantly less arduous than Cuban's path to the United States, yet the majority of Cubans migrate to America- particularly Miami, with only 0.5 % opting for Canada Migration (Globalization and Poverty, 2007).

Cuba's history of colonization began in 1490 with the arrival of Christopher Columbus and the subsequent invasion by Spain. Cuba was affected by a violent colonization, but was ignored for material wealth until the 19th century "sugar revolution". It was than that the Spanish took economic interest in Cuba and began building empires, through exploitation of agriculture and the use of slaves to produce sugar (Library of Congress, 2006).

Cuba remained loyal to Spain during the initial Latin American moves towards independence. This remained until 1868, when increased taxation and tensions between Creoles, Cubans and Spaniards began the "Ten Years War". Their attempts at independence were unsuccessful. In 1895 another war began, the time the United States entered and eventually defeated Spain, cementing their Military occupation and domination over Cuban Affairs and government (Library of Congress, 2006). Subsequently, the Cuban economy, facilitated by the occupation government, was soon dominated by US capital. By 1905 the U.S controlled more than 80% of Cuba's capital (Canton-Navarro, 1998).

In 1902, the U. S relinquished control to the Cuban government, but required that the transfer had included in its constitution provisions the requirements of the Platt Amendment-

which entitled the U.S the right to intervene militarily in Cuba (Canton-Navarro, 1998). Corruption, violence and political irresponsibility continued (Library of Congress, 2006).

In the 1930's, Cubans sought reform and relief from dictator rule and successfully overthrew a U.S backed political regime, However, five months later Batista, who was also backed by the U.S Military, came into power and violence and corruption increased (Library of Congress, 2006). In the early 1950's Batista's Coup d'état started a violent right-wing dictatorship that divided Cuban society, began a civil war and lead to the overthrow of Batista and destruction of the military (Canton-Navarro, 1998). From there, Fidel Castro came into power and formed a revolt in order to turn Cuba into a one-party nation. He also began expropriating U.S investments and interests.

Relations continued to deteriorate as the U.S refused to refine oil for the now former Soviet Unions in refineries in Cuba. Relations continued to deteriorate between the two governments peaked during the "Cuban Missile Crisis" of October 1962, when the U.S identified the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Following a U.S. naval blockade, the weapons were removed and the missile bases dismantled, attempting to resolve what had escalated to an international crises. A U.S.-Soviet agreement that ended the Cuban Missile Crisis guaranteed Cuba's protection from military attack by the United States. The U.S retaliated by embargoing Cuba in 1960 and breaking diplomatic relations a year later (Library of Congress, 2006). Sparking the "Bay of Pigs" invasion, Castro ended up defeating the U.S and destroying the Cuban Underground, subsequently claiming that he had defeated the "Yankees" (Canton-Navarro, 1998).

Cuba continued alignment with the former Soviet Union through the Cold War period which allowed for Castro to have continued involvement with other international affairs (Congo,

North Africa etc.). The subsequent demise of communism ended the economic support of Cuba and created a financial crisis for Cuba (Library of Congress, 2006). The U.S began introducing sanctions imposed on other Nations for trade with Cuba, continued its efforts to pressure Castro and maintained the ban on Americans travelling to Cuba. During this time period violence, corruptions and human rights violations were forcing Cubans to flee in record numbers (Canton-Navarro, 1998).

Guatemala. Canada has seen two waves of migration from Guatemala. The first wave occurred during 1981-1985 when approximately 2,000 Guatemalans re-settled in Canada. The second wave occurred around 1991 when approximately 2,000 more Guatemalans arrived in Canada (Da, 2002). Da (2002) identified that the Guatemalans who arrived during these periods had higher levels of education and higher social and economic backgrounds.

Violence has also characterized the history of Guatemala. The country experienced dictatorship rule as early as 1871 and then underwent two centuries of violent Spanish colonization. In 1944, the government attempted to re-distribute the land to a small number of elite and a subsequent violent overthrow of the government ensued, which was supported by the U.S government and military. Guerrilla movements increased in the 1960s, resulting in a 36-year guerrilla/civil war. During this time, political assassinations, kidnapping, genocidal killings of indigenous people, and oppression were common occurrences (Da, 2002). Approximately 1 million people were displaced during this period (Da, 2002). Sixty percent of the people in Guatemala are unable to meet their needs economically and the unemployment rate is 7.5%. The drug trafficking industry is present in Guatemala and the government has been implicated in promoting it (Da, 2002). Human rights violations are high in Guatemala although the government is beginning to address these issues (Da, 2002).

El Salvador. The first wave of El Salvadorian immigrants arrived in Canada in 1982-1983 when approximately 3,000 El Salvadorians came to Canada. The second wave occurred around 1991 when 7,000 El Salvadorians came to Canada. A total of 33,860 El Salvadorian people immigrated to Canada between 1974 and 2001. Most came from working class backgrounds and had an average of approximately 10 years of schooling (Garcia, 2006).

El Salvador was violently colonized by the Spanish and received independence in 1821. For the most part, El Salvador has been under dictatorship rule (Da, 2002). In the 1970s, a guerrilla group began to form, fighting for land reform. In 1979, a civil/guerrilla war began. This war killed over 50,000 people and displaced over one quarter of the population (Da, 2002). During this period, the Salvadorian Army employed "death squads" in an attempt to end the activities of presumed "communist" leaders (Da, 2002; Carranza, 2007). Carranza noted "This wave of violence affected every single person living in El Salvador at that time" (Carranza 2007, p. 47). Earthquakes in San Salvador in 1986 also prompted many Salvadorians to leave the country. Human rights violations and the drug trade are present in El Salvador (Da, 2002).

Mexico. The Spanish conquered Mexico in 1519 and, similar to other countries in Central America, Mexico endured two centuries of violent colonization which sought to wipe out the native culture. Mexico became industrialized in the latter part of the 19th century and a revolution in 1910 redistributed land to the poor (Da, 2002). However, the political unrest continued until the 1950s. Until roughly 1994, the majority of Mexicans arriving in Canada were either landed migrants or guest workers. The outbreak of a peasant rebellion in 1994 and the 1997 government massacre of people in Acteal may account for the increase in forced migration from Mexico. Mexico has similar human rights violations as other Central American countries. During this time, immigrations from Mexico to Canada have been somewhat steady with roughly 1,500 per

year (Da, 2002). In total, Statistics Canada reports that in 2006, there were 49, 925 people from Mexico, who had immigrated to Canada.

Peru. Migration to Canada began with a number of small groups of Peruvians in the later part of the 1960s, with economic upward mobility thought to be the main motivator for migration, with the main demographic as young males. Between the early 1960s and 1971 about 400 Peruvians settled in Ontario (Multicultural Canada: Simon Fraser University, 2005). The period of 1974 and 1990 saw approximately 10,000 Peruvians arrived as landed immigrants. Between 1984 and 1990, 98 percent of the 6,562 Peruvian immigrants entered in the family/independent class, and 2 percent as refugees. In 2006, Statistics Canada reported 22, 080 people who identified as Peruvian, living in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). Almost all new Peruvian immigrants today are workers or sponsored kin. One-third of Peruvians aged fifteen and over has attended university, and 38 percent have other postsecondary education (Multicultural Canada: Simon Fraser University, 2005).

The Spanish conquered Peru in 1532 and the country was subject to a violent colonization that lasted for close to three centuries. When Peru gained independence in 1821, the government structure saw few changes and continued to be ruled by Spaniards born in Peru (Creoles). Shortly after 1950, Peru began the process of industrialization. During this period, people began to move from rural to urban areas, which resulted in poor economic consequences for many Peruvians. In the late 1970s, two leftist terrorist groups began violent endeavours that were met with resistance from civilian and military governments. The guerrilla war and the poor economic conditions are thought to be the main motivators for Peruvian migration to Canada. Slightly over one-third of Peruvian migrants possess a post-secondary education and 98% have come as landed immigrants (Gabaccia, 2002).

Venezuela. The Spanish conquered Venezuela in 1521. Originally in search of "El Dorado" and famed riches, the Spanish soon discovered that Venezuela did not possess such material wealth. For the first two and a half centuries of colonial rule, Venezuela lacked political unity, in part because it brought no material wealth to Spain. In the first decade, after almost three centuries on the periphery of the Spanish American empire, Venezuela was in the middle the independence movement sweeping Latin America. Venezuela rebelled against Spain in 1810. Periods of political instability, dictatorial rule, and revolutionary turbulence characterized much of Venezuela's nineteenth-century history until the discovery of huge oil reserves in the Maracaibo basin in the 1910s brought some degree of prosperity to the country. By the late 1920s Venezuela had become the world's largest oil exporter, but little of this newfound wealth found its way to the common people. With poverty rife and educational and health facilities in a deplorable state, a series of popular uprisings took place, culminating in the country's first democratic elections in 1947. For most of the first half of the twentieth century, until 1958, a series of military dictators who promoted the oil industry and allowed for some social reforms ruled Venezuela (Library of Congress, 2005).

The economic downturn that began in 1988 and sustained political instability that continues to the present day have greatly decreased immigration and increased emigration. Immigration from Venezuela to Canada has been steadily increasing; with the primary motivations migration include poverty and political instability. Primarily Venezuelan immigrants are thought to be relatively middle and upper classes and have university degree, work experience and command of other languages (BBC: News, 2002) . From the period of 1961-2003 the number of Venezuelans living in Canada has risen from 270-7055 (Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 2006)

Re-settlement and Theories of Acculturation

The following presents a brief overview of theories regarding migration, re-settlement and acculturation. Specifically there will be a brief discussion of the modes of re-settlement and how these modes influence and re-shape one's identity through out the process of negotiating migration and re-settlement. Following this discussion, the specific shifts and challenges will be presented and the impacts on the individual and family system. Narratives of citizenship and entitlement frame the process of re-settlement and aim to achieve specific nationalist. Originally, in Canada, foreign-born people who were mostly of European ancestry were "given" all of the privileges and legal entitlements when they qualified for full citizenship. The overarching hope was that these new citizens would forgo their identities from their previous countries of origin and adhere to the laws, traditions, customs, and languages of Canada. In other words, it was hoped that they would fully integrate and weave themselves into Canada and become a seamless portion of Canadian society, leaving no trace of "difference." This assimilation would result in a newly formed, specifically Canadian identity. This assimilative identity is thought to be distant, separate and new in relations to one's previous life. In this mode of acculturation, successful assimilation produces people who adjust their lives and identities to those of their receiving country (Berry & Sam, 1996).

On the same continuum, "acculturation" is thought to be the "naturally occurring" shift in culture that a group experiences through contact with a different culture. During this process, immigrants' and refugees' previous life histories and subjective positions mediate the way that they react to these shifts (Martell, 2002). The literature describes the changes in the immigrant or

refugee group. However, changes in the host society have not yet been fully explored (Carranza, 2007). Perhaps this is because the host society is not expected to shift in any sort of meaningful way. Also, successful acculturation is without a conferred-upon definition (Stewart, 2005) and therefore limits the ability to self-define in a meaningful way. Successful acculturation is often measured by comparison with a native-born individual, by comparison with other ethnic groups (Stewart, 2005), or by the individual's level of language acquisition, employment, and adaptation to Canadian standards.

Learning the English language is largely accepted as the first step in the re-settlement process. Until a person has acquired the language, he or she has little room to negotiate his or her identity or space in Canada. Thus, acculturation appears to share some commonalities with assimilation. The process of re-settlement has been perceived in other related studies as "non-negotiable" (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003; Martell 2002) and is often left to the responsibility of the person re-settling (Li, 2005; George, 2005). This lack of a bi-directional relationship not only places the responsibility on the immigrant or refugee, it leaves re-settlement "up to chance" (Stewart, 2005, p. 62). In other words, immigrants are often given the message that they must conform to Canadian standards and norms and that they must figure out how to accomplish this on their own to fully engage in Canadian society. This requirement of conformity is expected to happen immediately upon entry to the country (Stewart, 2005) through the knowledge of language and the social expectations of behaviour.

Berry (1989) identified four modes of acculturation. The first is assimilation where the immigrants/refugees denounce their cultural affiliation in favour of adopting the host society's norms, values, and traditions. The second mode is integration where the immigrants/refugees continue affinity with their cultural group but join the larger society. The third mode is

separation where the immigrants/refugees distance themselves from the receiving society in favour of adherence to a specifically ethnic identity. The final mode is marginalization where the immigrants/refugees become disconnected from both their ethnic community and from the community of the receiving society.

Re-settlement and acculturation have been shown to affect an immigrant's identity, relationships, and family system (Carranza, 2001). All modes of acculturation are measured by the relationship between the larger society and the ethnic culture. The literature is divided on the specific outcomes of successful bi-culturalism. Although contested, the most positive mode of acculturation appears to be the development of "bi-culturalism." In this study, the participants identified a strong desire to develop a competency in Canadian culture as well as a desire to remain connected to their cultural values. These findings are both confirmed and contested in the literature (Carranza, 2001).

In researching mental health, bi-culturalism correlates strongly with positive mental health outcomes for immigrants and refugees (Thoman & Suris, 2004; Carranza, 2001). Bacallao and Smokowski (2005) argued that, in order to achieve successful negotiation of the receiving society both on the individual and family level, immigrants must develop a bi-cultural competency. This competency would allow them to move fluidly between social interactions and establish and maintain mastery over their environments. Alternatively, Anisef and Kilbride (2003) indicated that managing between worlds causes feelings of inadequacy and loss and conflicts of values. Thus the notions of successful "bi-culturalism" are somewhat ambiguous. Feeling competent in two cultures remains a paradox to define since culture is a fluid concept. This fluidity is evident in the re-settlement process because notions of culture and ethnic identity shift significantly.

Variances for the first and second generation. First generation immigrants and refugees have been theorized to have a less complicated path of identity negotiation in the host society (Suarez-Orozco, 2004). Although they may experience normative reactions to migration including anxiety and depression, first generation immigrants are thought to be primarily concerned with survival and adjustment in the host society. Immigrants and refugees who come as adults often have deeply linked senses of identity with their country of birth and a strong sense of ethnic pride that acts as a shield to many of the negative consequences of re-settlement. The motivation to provide a "better life" for their children and a comparative framework for experiences in their country of birth provide first generation immigrants with a sense of optimism (Doucet & Suarez-Orozco, 2006).

The second generation of immigrants is thought to lead a more complex path towards identity development. One way identity is created is through the development of bi-lingualism and the maintenance and transmission of language. The maintenance of language was found to be a source of pride and a factor that made Latin Americans unique from their host society (Carranza, 2007). Carranza (2007) identified that Salvadorian mothers feel that continuing in the language tradition is important for a number of reasons. Bi-lingualism enhances the chances of employment, the ability to communicate with family members who are not English speakers, and enhances a sense of belonging with the Salvadorian culture (Carranza, 2007). Many of the participants in this project felt that establishing practices which maintain their culture assisted them in strengthening their sense of ethnic pride (Carranza, 2007).

Shifts and challenges of migration and re-settlement. Acculturation and re-settlement, regardless of the mode adopted by the immigrant/refugee, forces the re-negotiation of identity. This alludes to ideas put forth by Falicov (1996) on living in-between worlds. According to

Falicov (2006), bi-culturalism or integration often creates a sense of "living in between worlds." Living in-between two worlds identifies that immigrants and refugees, specifically those of Latin American origin, find themselves in a transitional bind between their country of birth and their receiving society. Values are understood and negotiated but the immigrants or refugees do not possess a sense of mastery in either culture (1996). Bacallao and Smokowski (2005) argue that, in order to achieve a successful negotiation of the receiving society on both the individual and family level, immigrants or refugees must develop a bi-cultural competency. This competency allows them to move fluidly between social interactions and establish and maintain mastery over their environments (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005*).*

***Shifts in parenting*.** Janzen and Ochocka (2007) describe the discrepancies that occur between the value transmissions, family systems, and the disciplining of children between the Canadian culture and other cultures. They documented that many immigrant families, including those of Latin American origin, perceive Canadian parenting as being less strict and the family system as not as close (Janzen & Ochocka, 2007). The authors concluded that there is no available "cross-cultural" model of parenting and that Canadian systems need to develop a mutually beneficial synthesis with immigrant families (Janzen & Ochocka, 2007).

Tyyska (2005), in her research with newcomer families, found that immigrant parenting exists upon a continuum ranging in degrees of strictness. She cautioned against generalizations about immigrant parenting styles, identifying that this continuum is similar to that of Canadian-born counterparts (Tyyska, 2005). Her research highlighted the shifts that occur in parenting styles during the re-settlement process. While Tyyska noted that intergenerational conflict is often high due to the stresses associated with re-settlement, she found that the availability of

resources, including information about child rearing practices, is key to reducing conflict and stress.

Shifts in familismo. Familismo is thought to be one of the central values in the majority of Latin American cultures. This value is linked to the close connections and attachments to the family unit, extended family, and kin networks that are based on a collective worldview (Santiago-Rivera, 2003). The family unit and senses of familismo are often re-negotiated through the shifts incurred in the process of re-settlement (Carranza, 2001). Moving to a more individualistic society that places a different emphasis on the family unit often shapes the process of re-negotiating family relationships (Santiago-Rivera, 2003).

The value of familismo, a key component of which is the Spanish language, has been identified as a key value transmission that Latin American parents wish to pass on to their children in Canada (Carranza, 2007) and the United States (Roffman, 2003). The participants in Santiago-Rivera's study (2003) noted that continuing to promote their culture, language, values and norms was often a struggle with the "second generation." (Santiago- Rivera, 2003). The participants in this study and in other studies (Suarez-Orozco, 2004; Martell, 2002) located this struggle to pass on values of familismo in the lack of unity and the fragmentation of the Latin American community.

Language brokering. It has been documented that immigrant and refugee children tend to learn the language quicker than their parents as a result of increased interactions with the receiving society in the form of school and subsequent socialization activities. During their education immigrant and refugees have an increased opportunity to learn and practice English language skills (Guardado, 2002). Latin American youth and children often experience a shift in the power relationships between themselves and their extended family, most notably their

parents, as a result of a higher language acquisition among children (Hanson & Morals, 2005; Kilbride, 2000). This shift in power relationship is often a result of what is termed "language brokering." Language brokering is the requirement of the child to interpret the language for their parents (Guardado, 2002). Language brokering involves these children in the negotiation of adult Canadian systems (legal services, social services, health care services, government services, etc.) (Hanson & Morals, 2005). This involvement has two implications. The first is that children are often brought into situations that they may or may not be mentally prepared for (Tse, 1996). The second is that children now possess a power over their parents to interpret the language and are able to make choices about what to include and what not to include (Tse, 1996). This may result in additional stress being placed on the children and the parents.

Alternatively, other studies (Doucet, F. & Suarez- Orozco, 2006; Weisskirch, 2005) have indicated that language brokering by children results in them gaining a higher language acquisition in both English and Spanish. In addition, language brokering also helps to promote bi-culturalism in these children (Weisskirch, 2005).

Ethnic pride and shame. "Shame" is defined as a feeling associated with guilt, embarrassment, or feelings of unworthiness. Shame is an emotion that occurs in relation to self-comparison with another subject or object that is perceived to be superior and, thus, does not exist in isolation (Scheff, 2006). This superiority is often the result of imposed identity constructs and subsequent devaluations (Kuran, 2007). Following this line of thought, "co-ethnic shame" in the Latin American communities refers to the internalized notions that certain commonalities, when compared in relation to the dominant discourse, are deemed unworthy by members of the same community and cause negative feelings associated with shame.

Portes (1998) discussed the role of co-ethnic shame in the United States. Drawing on social capital theories as a form of social control and the emergence of ethnic enclaves in Miami, he identified that deviation from the group threatens social cohesion (Portes, 1998). This cohesion is based upon a common marginalized identity (Portes, 1998). Members of the community who are thought to bring a downward impact and threaten the common experience of subordination and the norms of the group negatively affect the group (Portes, 1998). With the development of enclaves, most notably the "Re-Cubanization" of Miami into "Little Havana" (Portes, 1998, p. 5), a hierarchy of relations has been recreated between Latin Americans. These communities have fostered a cultural milieu that promotes the existence of co-ethnic shame within the larger racist American society. The closer a marginalized group comes to conforming to the norms of the receiving society or the more it perceives other members of the group not conforming to it, the higher the levels of co-ethnic shame (Portes, 1998).

This theory, which favours assimilative practices applied to an ethnic identity, requires immigrants and refugees to aspire to conform to the norms and standards that are often a result of the internalization of the dominant, white society norms. The "melting pot" approach emerged simultaneously with ""Americanization" and the hope that immigrants would give way to a hybrid culture (Kuran, 2007, p. 26). The development of these enclaves has been theorized as a counter-narrative of resistance to the dominant discourse of the "melting pot" approach in the United States (Guarnizo & Smith, 1998). However, reflective of the host society, enclaves often promote assimilative practices to conform members to the community norms. Social integration or the "melting pot" thus favours the weakening of inter-group differences, promotes violence when the marginalized group's identity conflicts with the identity of the dominant group, and

fosters co-ethnic shame and racism among members who chose an alternate identity (Kuran, 2007).

The critiques of this "melting pot" and Portes's social capital theory as a purely counter-narrative have confirmed that co-ethnic shame, also referred to as internalized racism, arises as a result of an ethnic group's contact with the dominant culture (Weissglass, 2001) compounded with the history of colonization in a country's birth (Carranza, 2007). The Nationalist aims of multiculturalism attempt to foster a mosaic of cultures that exist in harmonious reciprocity. Kuran (2007) argued that co-ethnic pride is more likely to occur in nations with this type of political climate over one that favours assimilative goals. He argued that this approach decreases inter-group tensions and promotes reciprocity (Kuran, 2007).

"Pride" refers to a belief in oneself and feelings of worthiness and it is related to self-esteem. Pride can be validated through relations to others but also has the capability to be a self-reflexive emotion. Therefore, pride can be seen as both an outside-in and inside-out emotion. Often, marginalized people and communities are required to define themselves to the dominant culture (Watt, 2005). This self-definition process, when co-opted by the dominant space, becomes a highly racialized and discriminatory practice and offers the possibility of a space to articulate the positives of an ethnic identity (Hooks, 2003). Hook's theoretical notions of choosing to create one's identity (1990) offered useful implications for the ways in which ethnic identity and subsequent ethnic pride are developed. Using memory and nostalgia, radical identity can subvert repression in favour of resistance to imposed identities (Hooks, 1990). "Ethnic pride" can, therefore, reflect a sense of solidarity with co-ethnics. This solidarity is built upon a worthiness that is reflective of the co-ethnics' definition of their own identity.

Language is thought to be one of the primary ways for culture and ethnic identity maintenance (Guardado, 2006). Ethnic pride in ethnic identity also buffers experiences of racism and discrimination (Carranza, 2007). Research with ethnic communities has yielded similar ways to keep a culture alive: eating ethnic foods, celebrating cultural holidays, and maintaining connections with family members abroad. Developing a strong sense of ethnic identity is linked to a higher self-esteem and to supported negotiations and development in Canadian society (Carranza, 2007).

Grief through re-settlement. Often, migration and re-settlement involve some type of identity loss and subsequent grief (Carranza, 2001). This loss is compacted when feelings of distance from the dominant culture are present. The greater the discrepancy, the greater the negative impacts such as isolation, depression, and feelings of guilt over the loss of a person's ability to maintain his or her ethnic identity (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco., 1997). The literature has analyzed grief in migration from a problem standpoint (Carranza, 2001). The approach denies resiliency. Recent research has associated the loss of culture accompanied by experiences with grief as a normative response to loss. Grief has been linked to the ability to transform successfully during the re-settlement process. Loss may "strengthen survivors, bringing out their creativity, spurring them into accomplishment or it may leave behind a destructive legacy" (Carraza, 2001, p. 14). Experiences of grief may help an immigrant negotiate a new creative and dynamic identity.

Diaspora in Diaspora. The term "diaspora" was derived from the conceptual idea of a "homeland", originally centering around notions of the Jewish "diaspora". The term's meaning began to grow and included persons and groups of people who had left their country of birth, but continue emotional, social, cultural and familial ties, to varying capacities (Brubaker, 2005)

which were made possible in the current context of transnational dynamics. The move away from polarizing diaspora in terms of geographical borders and mobility from connectivity (, allows for the notion that a person could experience diaspora, with a diaspora- or, the belief that a person who has once migrated and experienced diaspora can experience another layer of diaspora when returning to their country of birth. Meaning, a person does not feel the same connections to their original receiving society or their country of birth upon their return home (Tsagarousianou, 2004).

Brah (1996) writes that "home" become a mythic place, which lies beyond the realm of attainment. He argues that while it may appear to be the same, once a person has moved across national borders, "home" becomes a geographical location. What becomes evident in diasporic notions of "home" is the multiplicity of meaning in multiple locations. These feelings and meanings often cannot be replicated, leaving people feeling diasporic with their diaspora (Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002).

Experiences of trauma. There appears to be a gap in the literature regarding the conceptualizations of trauma and the impact of trauma on re-settlement within the Canadian context. Acculturation models examine the experience of re-settlement in general without specifically focusing on forced migration (Carranza, 2007). The issues that have been explored are (a) the instability of the refugee process in Canada and (b) the feelings of insecurity, anxiety, and other mental health outcomes among refugees and immigrants (Stewart, 2005).

What is known is that immigrants and refugees who have experienced trauma show higher rates of depression and isolation and they exhibit less use of the social service organizations designed to assist them in their re-settlement (Wasik, 2006). Wasik (2006) explored why women coming from African countries who have experienced trauma experience

heightened effects of re-settlement. She concluded that trauma is a socially constructed and that the definition varies between agencies (Wasik, 2006). This variety in definitions translates into varying responses depending on the interpretations of the medical model (Wasik, 2006). Therefore, the Western frameworks of medical interventions are unable to adequately respond to trauma (Wasik, 2006). These shifting responses are rooted in the Western medical model and are somewhat conflictual with the medical responses of societies that do not utilize Western constructs of medicine. Within the trauma discourse of these nations, psychiatric disorders and experiences of trauma are not directly correlated with individual pathology but are linked to social and political origins (Wasik, 2006). In this framework, trauma is externalized and highlights "social justice, collective survival, sustained livelihoods and mortality" (Wasik, 2006, p. 10). Wasik (2006) highlighted the necessity to work with trauma as an external locus as opposed to the Western frameworks that pathologize it and the interventions that attempt to normalize behaviours.

While there has been an increasing interest in re-conceptualizing trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) discourses (Lee, 2007), individual and collective trauma has yet to be explored as a conceptual category of re-settlement, acculturation, and migration that is specific to Latin Americans in Canada. The intersections of culture, gender, race, and trauma shape an immigrant's or a refugee's experiences of the highly complex process of re-settlement. Research studies regarding Latin American immigrants and refugees who have experienced trauma are predicated on the assumption that all traumas and symptomology can be a variable within research (Brown, Dunn & Pottie, 2005). Therefore, linkages are easily made to re-settlement struggles (Brown, et al, 2005). The Western notion that trauma is a pathology has guided much of the research (Wasik, 2006).

Latin American Youth.

Canadian research concerning Latin American immigrant and refugee youth between the ages of 16-25 continues to be in its infancy (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003). Such research has received little attention in the Waterloo Region. Research on youth has been conducted under the broad label of "newcomers" or "second generation" immigrants and refugees and few studies have focused specifically on Latin American culture. However, research conducted in the United States (Hanson & Morales, 2005) and in Toronto (Carillos, 1999) suggested that Latin American youth experience re-settlement differently than their both racialized and non-racialized counterparts from other countries of origin. Carillos (1999) concluded that Latin American youth face specific stereotypes, barriers, and racism that impact their resettlement and their adolescent identity development. The following section presents an overview of the research conducted in the United States and Canada, highlights what is known about the present Latin American youth identity issues, and identifies the gaps in the literature.

Identity development and youth. The research on Latin American immigrant and refugee youth has located their struggles as occurring simultaneously in the family unit and in the social context of the receiving society. Youth occupy a unique space where they constantly negotiate between the values of their family/country of birth and the values of the receiving society. The bi-directional family and peer relations have been noted to be the two main sites and influences on acculturation and identity negotiation (Martines, De Garmo, & Eddy, 2004).

Through acculturation, the family is the site where the negotiation occurs and, thus, the family is transformed through the process. Both family relationships, including relationships with extended family in the country of origin, and gender roles shift during the process of acculturation (Carranza, 2007). Throughout the adolescent period, immigrant families "most

acutely face the issues of how much the home country values will be upheld and how much the settlement country values will be taken on" (Carranza, 2007, p. 37). Parents attempt to identify ways to stay connected with their children and their cultural traditions (Carranza, 2007). This is a period when youth require strong family relationships while negotiating their own independence (Martell, 2002).

Within the literature, it has been noted that school becomes the space which represents the norms and values of the receiving society. The school environment is often noted to be discriminatory toward Latin American youth. In a study conducted by Carrillo (1999), the assumptive stereotype of 'Latino' youth involvement in gang activity and drugs is the most prevalent and damaging stereotype to Latin American youth (Carrillo, 1999). The youth in this study identified that they experienced negative stereotyping and cross-cultural ignorance in their social context at school from their teachers and classmates and from police force members and service providers in the community (Carrillo, 1999).

In their study of immigrant youth in Waterloo, Janzen and Ochoka (2003) found that peer relationships and belonging were often sites of struggle. Youth want to feel accepted by their Canadian-born peers and by the mainstream Canadian society while they struggle to create their own sense of identity, which is based in part on their cultural background (Janzen & Ochoka, 2003). The members of the "second generation" experience high internal conflicts in negotiating their identity as a result of racism and discriminatory beliefs in the receiving society (Tsunda, 1998). Often, youth who are not as connected to their country of origin internalize the negative stereotypes and the imposed racialized identities of the receiving society. The more extensive the gap between cultures, the higher the levels of ethnic shame and the denial of cultural heritage exhibited by the youth in favour of identifying with the dominant society (Tsuda, 1998). Many

Latin American youth perceive a high discrepancy between their families or their culture of origin and the social context of the receiving society (Janzen & Ochoka 2003). The youth identify that these represent two separate, and at times conflicting, spaces (Janzen & Ochoka 2003). The negotiation between these spaces has been identified as "managing between two worlds" and is particularly stressful for youth since adolescence is a time where strong family relationships are required for successful identity development (Martell, 2002).

Literature and research gaps for children and youth. The literature review reveals gaps in two significant areas. First, the research on immigrant youth has been conducted under the label of "newcomer" and ignores the nuances of racialized identities, cultures, and migratory experiences. While there have been numerous studies conducted on the re-settlement issues faced by particular racialized and ethnic groups, research specific to Latin American youth is limited (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003). As Carranza (2007) noted, "the developmental process of acculturation is mediated by: age, gender, sexual identity or orientation, abilities, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and so forth" (p. 67). The implications of these omissions remain key to a full understanding of re-settlement and acculturation. As a result, youth have been left out of the discourse of re-settlement.

The second gap is that the majority of research on Latin Americans youth in Canada is regionally specific. This research focuses largely on the area between Toronto and Montreal. Research in varying geographic locations is comparable but not interchangeable.

These gaps in the literature have highlighted the need to research the experiences and the needs of Latin American youth that are specific to their cultural and their ethnic communities within the geographic region of the receiving country. The specific immigration patterns and

motivations and the historical context of Latin Americans coupled with the re-settlement process warrant specific attention, particularly with regard to their impact on youth.

Men and Women: Gender Identity Development

In Canada, a wealth of gender-based research has been conducted on the immigration and settlement programs available to immigrant and refugees. Similarly, research has been conducted with gender as a category in terms of language acquisition, employment, and access to services. Conversely, there is a dearth in the literature regarding the impact of gender on the experiences of integration and settlement and the effects of this process on gender roles and identities (Canadian Council for Refugees-Gender Analysis, 2000).

This section presents the findings of the research on Latin American women and men with a specific focus on language acquisition, employment, mental health and the current issues that impact their re-settlement process and contains a discussion on the gaps in the literature. Much of the literature is concerned with the differences between *machismo* and *marianismo.* These differences describe the cultural norms associated with men and women in Latin American cultures. Friere (1995) suggested that Latin American men and women have different "core" identities related to work and family.

Women. According to *marianismo,* women should be self-sacrificing, religious, and responsible for running the household (Vega, 1990). Motherhood is thought to be one of the central roles of women. Implicit within this role are the sacrifices that women are expected to make, specifically to care for their children and the elderly (Gracia-Preto, 1998). Re-settlement and the economic requirement of women to work outside the home are believed to shift these roles (Carranza, 2001; Vega, 1990). Skogrand (2005) found that lower-income Latin American

families tended to adhere more to gender roles whereas higher income families adopted characteristics associated with the North American values of shared participation.

The idea that gender roles will change is predicated on the idea that the receiving society's gendered roles are significantly different to those in the country of birth. Generally, studies have looked at the shift in gender roles in the family system and in the ethnic group as a whole. These studies have looked at gender relations in the country of origin comparatively with gender relations in the receiving society (Tienda & Booth, 1991). Also, the majority of these studies examine gender relations from an economic distribution-redistribution model where the requirement to work is often seen as the most prevalent factor in the shift in gender relations (Tienda & Booth, 1991). The literature consistently shows that the gendered exchanges between women and men shift that occur through the process of migration and re-settlement have implications on gender roles.

The outcomes of these shifts when the gender roles change significantly (e.g. marital problems, violence, and addictions) are also identified in the literature (Brown, Pottie & Dunn, 2005). In general, two aspects are absent from the literature on re-settlement. The first research gap is an examination of how re-settlement, as opposed to a change or shock in culture, shifts gender identity and gendered relations. The research that has been done (e.g. Skogrand, 2005) has examined the impact of contact with the host society instead of *how* and *why* this identity is re-negotiated through the process of re-settlement. Second, the research on changing gender roles in Latin American women has largely been conducted within the family system or in terms of the gendered relations between men and women. Therefore, the second research gap is how the gender identity of Latin American women may or may not change outside of gendered relations (Courtenay, 2000).

Language acquisition. In a study conducted by Israelite and Herman (1999) on Latin American women, identified a lack of or a low language acquisition as one of the overarching issues that inhibited the re-settlement of these women. Low English language skills prevented the women from accessing settlement and social services or from utilizing these services to their full potential (Israelite & Herman, 1999). The women found it difficult or impossible to access financial assistance, childcare, affordable housing, and English language instructional courses (Israelite & Herman, 1999). These barriers, coupled with various restrictions linked to immigration status, the availability of transportation, and the demands of employment were found hinder a Latin American woman's ability to improve her language skills (Israelite & Herman, 1999).

Employment. As a result of the economic system in Canada and the United States, Latin American women are required to engage in the paid labour market (Carranza, 2001). The literature in Canada also consistently shows that the labour-force earnings of female immigrant and refugee women are consistently lower than the earnings of their racial and gendered counter-parts. Immigrants, particularly racialized women, are usually located in lower-paid, exploitative, and (un) instable work (Tastsoglou & Preston 2006). Their income sits at the bottom of the list of total income (Beach & Worswick, 1993). Immigrant and refugee women are twice as likely to be unemployed than Canadian women are and they are marginally more likely to be unemployed than co-ethnic men. In 2000, racialized immigrant women earned 20% less than white immigrant and refugee women and only 74% of the amounts their co-ethnic male counterparts earned (Tastsoglou & Preston, 2006).

In addition, immigrant and refugee women experience racial personal and systemic discrimination in the workforce. Dabrowska- Chudyk (1996) identified this as a "triple negative"

for immigrant women: gender, race and migration. The situation for female refugees is even more dismal. Studies have shown (e.g. Lamba, 2003; Stewart, 2005) that refugee women, because of the instability of their immigration status, are often unable to find work. Despite the consistent recognition that immigrant and refugee women are systemically disadvantaged, a gap remains in the literature regarding this issue (Lamba, 2003).

Many immigrant and refugee women come to Canada with post-secondary education. According to Statistics Canada (2003), 60% of the women arriving from 1996-2001 held university degrees in their country of origin. Latin American men and women are more likely to have university degrees (17.9 %) and college diplomas (13.3%) than Canadian-born people (16% and 12.5%) (Statistics Canada Census, 2001). Women with university degrees are less likely to have their foreign trained credentials recognized and are less likely to participate in their chosen field of study as opposed to men (Chard, Badets, & Howatson-Lee, 2000; Tastsoglou & Preston, 2006).

Mental health. Re-settlement is a highly stressful process that affects an individual's mental and physical well-being (Flaskeroud & Uman, 1996). Although the process of re-settlement does not produce mental health concerns, the multiple pressures of moving from one's country of origin, orientating to a new culture, navigating the systems, and experiencing discrimination have been shown to have negative mental and physical health impacts (Pottie et al., 2005). In the specific cases of Latin American refugees, experiences of colonization in their country of birth, violence, and civil war impact their mental health and their re-settlement process.

Re-settlement affects people differently and results in various mental health outcomes. One of the most common mental health outcomes is depression. Fabian and Cecillia (1999) and

Thoman and Suris (2004) found that many Latin American women struggle with depression in the United States. The researchers examined the four modes of acculturation (assimilationism, separatism, biculturalism, and marginalization) and the connection between each of these modes and depression. They found that higher separatism and marginalization were consistent with higher levels of depression (Fabian & Cecillia, 1999; Thoman & Suris, 2004). Thoman and Suris (2004) found these findings were consistent with mental health generally, including anxiety and other major mental health outcomes. They found that, the more immigrants engaged with the dominant society while continuing to engage with their ethnic society, the less the effects of depression and the feelings of isolation (Thoman & Suris, 2004). The ability to engage with the dominant society was linked to language acquisition and feelings of competency in both cultures (Thoman & Suris, 2004).

Men. Much of the literature on Latin American men discusses machismo as a Latin American cultural norm that is threatened during the re-settlement process. Therefore, machismo seems to be a fixed category in the literature. What the idea of Latin American masculinity entails is the idea that the male of the household is responsible for the economic support of his family and acts as their protector. Inevitably, the research indicates that males in Latin American society hold the economic power and the decision-making capability for the family. Implicit within these roles is that men are more dominant in their relationships with their partners and extended families (Freire, 1995).

Mirande (1979) cautioned against the adherence to the stereotypes associated with machismo. He theorized that, while there are codes about masculinity in Latin American cultures, the popular stereotype of the philandering, drinking, extreme masculinity and domineering is a myth in all reality (Mirande, 1979). He asserted that Latin American men are

generally the heads of their households (Mirande, 1979). However, they, too, must act respectfully, which includes engaging in egalitarian relationships with others (Mirande, 1979). Mirande concluded that power in Latin American families is shared and that women control the household while men control the financial and external sphere. Relations and decision-making are thus equal (Mirande, 1979).

The existence of machismo continues to be contested in the research. However, the research consistently shows that machismo is inextricably linked to the acculturation and re-settlement process of Latin American men and generally describes machismo as a hindrance (Phinney & Flores, 2002).

One of the main findings of research with Latin American men is that their gender role becomes threatened due to their loss of status during re-settlement, experiences of discrimination, and the shift towards "a culture-norm that confers more power and rights to women in relation to the more patriarchal societies in Latin America" (Brown, et. al, 2005, p. 102). Research links this re-organization of gender role to women entering the paid workforce in Canada. Sadly, the outcomes of this role shift include violence in interpersonal relationships, addictions, and mental health concerns (Brown, et.al., 2005; Carranza, 2001).

Language acquisition. Research on Latin American men and language acquisition suggests that proficiency in the language has direct impacts on employment and earnings (McManus, Gould & Welch, 1983), level of acculturation and gender role identity (Phinney & Flores, 2002) and emotional wellbeing (Brown, et al., 2005). Similar to their female counterparts, low language acquisition had serious negative impacts on their feelings around accessing settlement service, including employment resources (McManus, Gould & Welch) and counselling/therapy (Brown et. al.)

The level of language acquisition was also a significant mitigating factor in feelings around "successful" re-settlement. Phinney and Flores (2002) found that when Latin American men had higher language proficiency, it increased their feeling of success at negotiating the systems of their receiving country. What was also discovered that these feelings of "success" were linked to ideologies around Latin American masculinities, where men negotiated the aspects outside of the home (Phinney & Flores).

Employment. Employment and earning rates, similar to those of Latin American females, are significantly less than the national average. This is typical of racialized immigrant refugees in Canada and the United States (Reitz, 2005). The most common employment opportunities for Latin American men are within the manufacturing and trades industries despite the fact that a significant number of these men arrive in Canada with post secondary education (Statistics Canada, 2001). Unemployment and underemployment among Latin American men is linked most commonly to low language acquisition and acculturation (Garcia, 2006). While some studies have linked unemployment and underemployment with feelings of inability and a fear of contact with the dominant culture, other studies (e.g. Chavez, 1994) placed a significant emphasis on systemic discrimination and the lack of perceived social acceptance as the source of economic disadvantage among Latin American men. These types of structural barriers relegate Latin American men to low paid and skilled work with limited upward mobility (Chavez, 1994).

Mental health. Emotional distress is often linked to the stress of re-settlement. Cultural differences, language acquisition, discrimination, and employment barriers have been linked to a decline in Latin American men's mental health. Most commonly in men, feelings of anxiety, depression, and tension occur as a result of experiences in their country of birth (Brown, Dunn & Brown et al., 2005). These feelings are heightened during re-settlement (Brown, Dunn & Pottie.,

2005). Men often find it difficult to access mental health and other social services as a result of a cultural belief around seeking help (Brown et al., 2005). “Keeping it in” was thought to be a sign of being a man for the participants in Pottie et al.’s study (2005) and expressing emotion was thought to make them less masculine. “Being a man” was defined as one of the main ways that Latin American men identify with other Latin Americans since it provided them with a source of belonging in their community (Brown et al., 2005).

Other studies (e.g. Garcia & Zea, 1997) have linked not accessing support to low language acquisition and acculturation among Latin American men. The three factors of machismo, language, and acculturation are significant throughout the literature regarding the patterns of accessing services among Latin American men.

Latin American Seniors

Latin American seniors experience significant challenges in language acquisition. In her study of newcomer seniors, Mis (2004) noted that seniors whose first language is not English more often than not face barriers to language acquisition. The barriers that result from this low language acquisition were found to be numerous (Mis, 2004). Seniors are also associated with lower incomes as a result of low education levels, the language question, and a lack of access to pensions and to other social support programs (Miloslavich-Vera, 1999). In addition, seniors are often unable to work (Miloslavich-Vera, 1999). The literature identifies that seniors often feel lonely and isolated and like they are dependent on their family (Mis, 2004).

Dependence on family members renders seniors vulnerable to abuse. Often, Latin American seniors come to Canada to assist with childcare. In extreme cases, seniors are forced to watch children beyond their limitations and are subject to abuse from family members. Jetelina

(2007) noted that immigrant and refugee seniors are one of the most at-risk populations in Canada due to their low language acquisition, lack of financial resources, and isolation (2007).

The interplay of low income and low language acquisition, dependence, and isolation is one of the main barriers linked to community support and service provision. This interplay is highly correlated with lower mental and physical health among Latin American seniors. In a study on Mexican-American, Cuban-American, and Puerto Rican elders, Farone, Fitzpatrick & Tran (2005) found that the use of culturally specific senior centres correlated strongly with decreased senses of loneliness and psychological distress. In a study of Asian and Punjab seniors in Calgary, Alberta, Tsenkova, Lam and Este (2007) found that networking and building a sense of community decreased instances of depression and isolation.

Garroutte, Sarkisian, Arguellos, Goldberg & Buchwald (2006) identified that Hispanic older adults in Massachusetts exhibited higher rates of depression and age expectations compared to their black and non-racialized counterparts. This was linked to lower income and education levels, as well as a lack of physical exercise (Garroutte et al., 2006). The study also indicated that attitudes surrounding the physical exertion of seniors downplayed the role of exercise in seniors (Garroutte et al.2006). In a study of the exercise patterns of Brazilian seniors, Antunes, Stella, Santos and Tulio de Mello (2005) correlated higher exercise levels with decreased symptoms of depression in conjunction with counselling. Mis (2004) linked depression and isolation to a lack of services available in the Brazilian seniors' first language and tailored to their needs.

Conclusions

The literature highlights that Latin American immigrants and refugees do not fare as well as their Canadian-born counterparts. Another significant finding in the literature is that there is

an apparent lack of social cohesion in Canada and the United States when considering immigrants and refugees. According to Papillon (2002), for immigrants and refugees and for Canada as a whole, successful participation and social cohesion must exist among all citizens.

Significantly, there is also a lack of information on Latin American culture as a whole and on the cultures of the individual countries in Canada. Rumbaut (1997) highlighted the differences in the patterns of re-settlement both with a specific ethnic group and among various groups. These patterns shift the needs of various people and warrant specific attention from Canada to foster successful re-settlement.

I assert that one of the reasons for this omission is the impact of multiculturalism in Canada. Multiculturalism and related policies have developed an overt language that has racist underpinnings. In attempting to honour diversity through policies and practices, Canada has categorized racialized immigrants into a uniform box with little recognition of the differences between cultures and ethnicity. Therefore, those who were not born in Canada or who are "not white" are perceived as "special interest" and are subsequently "othered." This attitude is reflective of the idea of settlement which implies that people upon entrance to Canada are devoid of a history.

Finally, the majority of the research pertaining specifically to immigrant and refugee Latin American people has been conducted in the United States. While similarities can be drawn between Latin American experiences in the United States and Canada, there are a number of reasons why the research from the U.S. cannot be generalized to Canadian experiences. First, these two nations have different policies and programs guiding immigration, refugee claimants, and settlement. These differences translate into various contextual differences that affect the re-settlement process of immigrants and refugees. Second, the United States' approach to diversity

promotes a melting pot approach whereas Canada attempts to foster a cultural mosaic. Third, there are inherent economic, social, political and cultural differences between the two nations that cannot be ignored when examining immigrant and refugee experiences (Goldring, Henders & Vandergeest., 2003).

Chapter Four: Methodology

First, this chapter gives a detailed overview of the project's objectives, research approach, methodology, recruitment, and data collection. Second, the chapter contains an analysis of the data. Finally, the impact of the researcher's subjective location is discussed in relation to the research process.

Objectives of the Research

The main objective of this study was to contribute to an understanding of the needs of the members of the Latin American community in the Waterloo Region. McKillip (1987, p. 7) defined "need" as a "value judgment based on the idea that some group has an issue that can be resolved." Working from a strengths-based perspective, Artz and Nicholson (2001) emphasized that a needs assessment cannot be rooted in a place of deficiency. Therefore the "value judgment" that there is a need must come from those who decide and define their needs (Artz & Nicholson, 2001). This definition is based upon and is reflective of their context, subject location, and the interpretation of their circumstances (Artz & Nicholson, 2001).

To highlight the subjectivity of the perception involved in defining a "need," Gil (1992) identified that needs are based in the interactive nature of the relationships formed by humans and in the material exchanges between themselves and their environment. With this definition in mind, this research study was approached from the sociological phenomenological standpoint. This standpoint allows for the use of methods that explore the subjective meaning of social life. Therefore, the project began from the notion that the people of Latin American origin possess the authority to define and judge what their individualized needs are. This perspective views community members not only as actors in the social realm but as experts on their lives and the

re-settlement process. The perspective is also rooted in possible resolutions in the lived experiences, perceptions, and opinions of participants.

The idea that there is a critical truth in the lived reality of people (Polit & Beck, 2004) lends itself to the understanding that subjective expressions of "need" do not exist in isolation. The needs of community members are expressions of their unique subject positions within the process of re-settlement. Factors such as their history of settlement, country of birth, age, and gender shape their experiences and their perceptions of the social, cultural, and economic context.

Qualitative research approach. The research was conducted in collaboration with C.L.A.R.O., a grassroots organization that was in the beginning phase of agency building at the time of the project, in 2006. At this time, the organization was developing ideas and strategies in order to work with the Latin American community in the Waterloo Region. The organization aims to contribute to an understanding of the Latin American community from the perspectives of community members. This project was designed to provide C.L.A.R.O. and other interested service providers a baseline understanding of the community that they serve**.**

The project began with a discussion between the C.L.A.R.O. Board of Directors (BOD) members and I about the nature and the direction of the project. I attended the monthly BOD meetings for approximately six months, to keep the agency informed and to dialogue about the research process. In order for C.L.A.R.O. to be more dynamically involved in the research, a sub-committee containing five female BOD members and I was formed. The purpose of this committee was to strategize, plan, discuss, and implement the project. Each member of the sub-committee identified themselves as coming from a Latin American origin. Therefore, collaboration and communication with these members was one of the ways in which I

incorporated the voices of community members in order to bring an insider perspective to the research. In addition, the thesis supervisor, who is of El Salvadorian origin and has done research in this area, assisted in identifying ways to minimize the reproduction of power relationships between the researcher and the participants. This aspect is integral to the critical approach taken by the researcher so that knowledge would be co-created through the research and would not be only reflective of the researcher (Carranza, 2007).

This collaboration also provided firsthand knowledge of cultural interpretations and processes (Stewart, 2005). The sub-committee was able to provide input on recruitment, research design, interview guide and questions that reflected what was desired by the agency organization and was reflective of their personal experiences. Four of the five members of the sub-committee had been involved in various research projects both in their country of origin and in Canada. Their experiences assisted in shaping the research project and their contributions, where appropriate, will be discussed in each subsection of this chapter.

Qualitative approaches were selected as a way to gain "insider knowledge that is deep, rich and contextual" (Martell, 2002, p. 55). These methods have the ability to provide perspective on the particular situations of Latin American people, which exist within a particular social, cultural, and economic milieu in the Waterloo Region. The use of in-depth interviews, focus groups, and conjoint interviews (described below) allowed for spaces where people could articulate their subjective expressions of their lived reality.

One of the core concerns of this research project was to privilege the telling of the participants' stories as a method of inquiry. This methodological approach responds and mitigates these concerns Furthermore, the qualitative approaches permitted the research to go beyond documenting the perspectives of community members. They allowed for an avenue

where the participants could consider what resolutions would be meaningful for themselves and for the Latin American community as a whole (Musisi & Turrittin, 1995).

Qualitative methodology is often used with the sociological phenomenological framework. Both of these are consistent with the critical social science values that guided this project. The sociological approach to phenomenology seeks to encourage and comprehend the relationships between the states of individual conscious and the process by which meaning is made of the social world. This approach attempts to discover the quintessential experiences of people and learn what the particular experiences of a phenomenon mean to them (Poteet, 2002).

Participant recruitment. To begin the recruitment process, I prepared a flyer in English (included in Appendix F), which was professionally translated into Spanish (Appendix G). During this stage, the sub-committee reviewed the documents and provided suggestions and feedback. Additionally, the flyer was worded so that it could be easily translated without losing the nuances that can easily occur during translation (Bowden & Fox-Rushby, 2003). The thesis supervisor, the sub-committee, and the translator (who was used throughout the project) guided the choices of the language appropriate for translation.

Upon completion of the translation, another professional translator, the sub-committee, and the thesis supervisor checked the document for any ambiguities and inaccuracies. This ensured the accessibility of the document given the variances in the Spanish language that exist among Latin American countries (Bowden et al., 2003). The flyer was posted and distributed through various social groups, stores, and businesses that are frequented by members of the Latin American community. These places were identified by the entire BOD of C.LA.R.O, the subcommittee, and the thesis supervisor.

Once these places were identified, I accompanied a member of the sub-committee who speaks both English and Spanish and met with the owners/co-coordinators of these locations/groups. The purpose of visiting these individuals was to generate interest in the project. In the meetings, we described the project, answered any questions they had, and provided our contact information. Each of the owners or coordinators was asked if they could draw attention to the flyer and give Latin Americans one of the additional copies that were left for distribution.

In addition to the flyer distribution, three radio interviews were conducted on radio programs directed at the Latin American community in the region. A Spanish interpreter and I were involved in these interviews. Also, an interview with the local English newspaper was also done during the initial phase of recruitment. This method was suggested by members of the sub-committee as a way to reach the participants and as a way to introduce the C.L.A.R.O. organization to the community.

Additionally, I met or spoke on the phone with various social service organizations, community leaders, and clergy members about the project. The purpose of these conversations was two-fold: (a) to generate interest in the project and (b) to build community contacts and inform them about the project. During this process, the community contacts provided feedback on the project that provided some insider knowledge on how to reach the participants.

The community contacts also identified people and, subsequently, referred them to the project. In the event that people were referred to the project after a discussion with community leaders, the option to have their contact information given directly to me was provided. Referrals were made to the thesis supervisor and to me. The participants were contacted in the language that they felt most comfortable using (Spanish or English). I contacted those who were comfortable speaking in English while the translator contacted those who preferred Spanish.

Throughout the initial phases of recruitment and until the end of data collection, members of the sub-committee continued to connect with community members and promote the research project in the same way as the community leaders and the service providers did.

The translator and I were available via phone and email to discuss the project and answer questions in Spanish and English. The telephone discussions and emails included overviews of the project, the time commitment involved, and the confidentiality procedures. The participants were given the option to have more information either emailed or mailed to them and a follow-up phone call was made after the participants had a chance to review these documents. The information packages included (i) the project description (Appendix A) in Spanish (Appendix B), (ii) the informed consent forms (Appendix C and D), and (iii) the questions if requested prior to participation (Appendix E). All documents were provided in Spanish and English.

A month into the promotion of the project, interested participants began to offer to refer others members of the Latin American community. Three participants noted that they felt that people would be more likely to come forward through this method. The thesis supervisor confirmed this belief. As a result, a change request was submitted to the McMaster Research and Ethics Board (MREB) to begin snowball sampling as a method to recruit participants. Upon approval of the change request, the translator, the thesis supervisor, the members of the sub-committee, and I asked interested participants at the end of our discussions with them if they felt comfortable to refer other people of Latin American origin.

Sample. The parameters of the sample required that all of the participants be of Latin American origin and live in the Waterloo Region. C.L.A.R.O.'s organizational mandate defines "Latin America" as comprising of: Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Belize, Paraguay,

and Argentina. Although, Cuba and Costa Rica are considered to be Caribbean countries, they were included in this project as they are former Spanish colonies (Hira, 2007)

The specific area of the Waterloo Region considered in the project included the cities of Waterloo, Kitchener, and Cambridge. According to the Municipality of Waterloo (2006), there were no people of Latin American origin living in the outlying counties at the time of the study. In total, 25 people were interviewed with an attempt to obtain a sample that was reflective of the population. The countries represented in the sample are Cuba, El Salvador, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Guatemala and Venezuela.

Brief description of the participants. To protect the anonymity of the participants, a brief account of some of the basic demographic information is provided. Participants came from countries such as Mexico, Nicaragua, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, and Argentina. Twenty-five participants were interviewed including 14 women and 11 men. Although this was not directly asked, over one-half of the participants self-identified living in other regions in Canada and the United States prior to re-settling in the Waterloo Region.

The age range of the study participants was 24- 52. All of the participants were born outside of Canada and had lived in Canada for 1-21 years. Close to 75% of the participants stated that they possessed a post secondary education in their country of birth. However, only a marginal number identified that they were employed in their chosen field.

Efforts were made to reach participants from each country in Latin America, however, this was not possible due to times constrains. Another possible explanation is that many Latin American people came to Canada “not by choice.” While some participants identified they came to Canada as refugee claimants, others did not disclose their immigration status. Many of the participants identified that they came in search of safety and a better life for their families.

Therefore, there is the possibility that migration to the Waterloo Region has been by specific Latin American groups.

Carranza (2007) argued that a history of colonization, persecution, and civil war has created a climate of mistrust among community members. Similar histories of trauma may have hindered participants coming forward from various countries. Also, concerns around confidentiality and the notion that the community "gossips a lot" (Martell, 2002, p. 83) could have deterred some Latin American community members from participating in this project.

Data collection. The thesis supervisor, an insider to the community, was able to guide me regarding the appropriate "Latino social etiquette" (Carranza, 2007, p. 72) to use during the interviews and the focus groups. This guidance was essential because, as a white, Canadian-born person acting as a researcher, I was an outsider to the community. The guidance helped to build trust and confidence in order to establish a relationship conducive to completing the research interviews (Carranza, 2007).

Prior to the beginning of the interviews and the focus groups, a specific amount of time was allotted for the participants to ask questions about the project and me. Most commonly, the participants asked questions about my interest in the Latin American community and my cultural and educational background. To establish trust and rapport, I engaged in discussions about these topics while remaining aware of the ethical boundaries of developing personal relationships with participants**.**

Confidentiality procedures were then overviewed, including the storage of the data. I outlined that only the thesis supervisor, the transcriber, and I would have access to the data. The role of the transcriber was outlined. I indicated that she would only have access to the data during the transcription, that she would not have access to the participants' names, and that she

would not retain any copies of the data. The study participants were reminded that, although the research was conducted in collaboration with C.L.A.R.O., members of this organization would not have access to the raw data and that no comments or opinions would be linked to any identifying information given in the demographic questionnaire. With the participants' permission, the focus groups, the conjoint interviews, and the individual interviews were audio-recorded to ensure accuracy.

After completion of the individual interviews, each participant was offered a copy of their transcription so that they could correct any information and ensure the accuracy of the data. The focus group participants were offered an overview of the themes discussed. All of the participants were asked if I could contact them for clarification and for any follow-up information. In these cases, I contacted the participants mostly via email to ask them questions about themes I previously identified from the interviews and, when appropriate, to ask their opinions on themes that emerged in other interviews.

These steps attempted to add a layer of transparency to the research process. In social science research, the researcher is ascribed a level of power that is not afforded to the participants (Stewart, 2005). The reality that one person or group is conducting the research and the other is participating or acting as a 'subject' indicates a power imbalance (Williams, 2001). This power is linked to control over the research design, data collection, and outcomes. The researcher has control over the questions asked, who is interviewed, and what is produced from the data. Therefore, these steps, coupled with the semi-structured interview guide discussed later in this chapter, promoted a space in which the power in the research/participant relationship could be minimized by sharing all of the relevant information with the participants and the control over what was considered relevant data.

Data collection procedures. In-depth data was collected through eleven individual interviews, three conjoint interviews, and two focus groups of women. The semi-structured interview guide was used in all of the data collection methods. This approach supported a conversational approach about the participants' lived experiences and followed the phenomenological framework approach (Polit & Beck, 2004).

The interview guide. Consistent with a phenomenological framework, the study participants were invited to engage in a dialogical process about their lived experiences (Polit & Beck, 2004). A semi-structured interview guide was utilized and modified throughout the project. After the initial three interviews, I began generating a list of emerging themes. The interview guide was modified to reflect these themes and to gain a more in-depth understanding of the meanings. The interview guide was also modified to inquire about the issues affecting seniors and youth since they were not represented in the sample. Questions were added to incorporate the perspectives of each gender on the alternative gender's experiences. This allowed for various perspectives on multiple issues and allowed for a cross-gendered analysis.

In both the interviews and the focus group, the participants were asked about their re-settlement process. Open-ended questions such as "What was helpful during your re-settlement process?" and "What would have been helpful?" were used to elicit responses that the participants felt relevant. Using 'conversational' interview techniques and attempting to minimize any interviewer control/leading allowed the direction of the interviews to be determined by the participants with input from myself (Newman, 2005). In other words, while I attempted not to lead the discussion, I made choices to probe particular themes. These choices were based in part on my subjective location and my perspective of the areas that seemed particularly relevant to the project. In all cases, attempts were made to keep consistent with the

"flow" of the interview. Throughout the project, the interview guide shifted to ask the participants their opinions regarding the themes and ideas presented by other participants.

The shifting of the interview guide and the participant-led interview style altered the original orientation of discussing unmet needs in the community. The needs and strengths of the community were no longer viewed as aspects that could be resolved in isolation but, rather, as aspects linked to the contextual factors associated with the phenomena of re-settlement. This shift elicited rich responses with detailed accounts of personal stories and the multiple factors that exist within the re-settlement experiences of the Latin American community in the Waterloo Region. It moved toward more of an open dialogue about the participants' experiences and their perceptions on their own lived realities of the re-settlement process. Through the dialogical reflection by the participants, the interviews were a space where they authored their re-settlement experiences and identified how this process could be improved.

Individual interviews. Eleven individual interviews were conducted. The individual interviews lasted from one hour to two-and-a-half hours. Each participant selected a location that he or she was comfortable with. When a public location was selected, issues of confidentiality were discussed prior to the interview. These issues included the fact that other members of the community, including members of C.L.A.R.O., may see and may become aware that the individual participated in the project and that, therefore, the participant's anonymity may be compromised. Also, in public places, due to the close proximity to others in the area, confidentiality could not be ensured.

The interviews were conducted in Spanish or English. For the participants who chose to have the interview conducted in Spanish, an interpreter, who was also of Latin American origin but who was not from the Waterloo Region, was brought in to provide the translation.

Individual interviews are used in qualitative analysis to provide a rich description of a single account of a phenomenon (Martell, 2005). Crandal (1998) identified individual interviews as one of the best methods to gain in-depth, rich information about people's beliefs, values, and opinions. The individual interview, when using a semi structured approach, allows for the flexibility to follow particular lines of thinking that may not be possible in conjoint or focus groups due to the presence of many other perspectives. Confidentiality is also more likely ensured in individual interviews - as there are no other participants present. This can often lead to trust-worthier, more personal accounts (Green, 1997).

In attempting to minimize any power imbalance, the individual interview participants were provided with a copy of their transcriptions. The participants were able to remove any information they wished or to request that their information not be used for the study. Also, the opportunity to note any key themes that emerged for them and to provide any additional information that they felt would be relevant was provided.

Conjoint interviews. Three conjoint interviews were conducted at the participants' request. In each case, the participants were interviewed with someone that they felt comfortable with and who had, to some extent, shared their re-settlement process. The rationale for conducting conjoint interviews was to remain consistent with the participants guiding the research and working together to create a comfortable space to engage in dialogue.

Gilgun, Daly, and Handel (1992) outlined the benefits of this type of interviewing. The researchers stated that joint interviews assist in rapport building, highlight the different types of

knowledge and the different experiences of participants, and, when necessary, assist participants in recalling experiences they may have forgotten (through the prompting or recall of the other person in the interview). Similar to focus groups, participants can also build upon each other's ideas and provide different perspectives on the same issue based upon their age, gender, and other identity characteristics (Gilgun & Sandlow, 1992).

Focus groups. In qualitative research, focus groups are used to obtain multiple responses in a small group format. The small group dynamics allow members to co-create knowledge by expanding and building upon each other's experiences, ideas, and opinions. This knowledge is created inter-dependently while each member can simultaneously and critically evaluate and provide alternate ideas (Geluga & Sandlow, 1998). Focus groups also create a greater depth of understanding and awareness among the group members and allow the participants to question the ideas of others (Morgan, 2000).

In this study, two focus groups were conducted with all female participants. The focus groups were divided by gender and employment status. The participants spoke in the language they felt most comfortable using with the translator translating English to Spanish and Spanish to English throughout the discussion. The focus groups lasted approximately two to two-and-a-half hours and were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim.

The purpose of dividing the focus groups by gender was to gain an in-depth understanding of experiences through a gendered understanding. Often, women's needs (particularly those of immigrant and refugee women) are commonly shaped by the gender stereotypes that are present both in the country of birth and in the re-settlement country (Mis, 2002). Since Canada and the majority of Latin American countries are patriarchal, the concern was that the power imbalance in these countries might create an environment in which women

may not feel comfortable discussing issues related to gender in a space where both men and women are present. Alternatively, as a result of stereotypes and patriarchal culture, male participants may not feel comfortable discussing issues that pertain to the male experience when women are present (Resnick & Mayo, 1996).

The researcher and translator were both female, an issue that will be further explored in the discussion on the limitations of the study. Studies (e.g. Israelite, 1999) have shown that the process of re-settlement is highly gendered process, which includes shifts in gender roles, status, and changes in the family system. Each of these factors affects the interpretations of men and women regarding their lived realities and produces differing understandings of the same phenomena.

Data Analysis

Mason (2002) argued that analyzing data is a creative and reflexive process. This process must include four separate readings to assess each level of interpretation and the interactions of the researcher with the data. Consistent with this approach, I read and re-read the data four times on four separate occasions so that I could remain open to the data.

Consistent with a phenomenological framework, I began reading the data with an open concept of coding the raw data consistent with Strauss and Corbin's (1990) approach to grounded theory analysis. During the first reading, I familiarized myself with the story presented and attempted to obtain a general overview of what was being presented. On a separate sheet, I began organizing the responses by question. However, because each of the interviews did not follow the same guide, this assisted me in the preliminary interpretation of the data as opposed to the original intent which was to organize it in a straightforward fashion.

During the second reading, I went through each sentence and noted key themes and words on a new copy of the transcript. The purpose of the third reading was for me to interact with the data, note my own interpretations, and identify my presence in the data. As Coffrey and Atkinson (1996) noted, data is not neutral or purely factual. Instead, it is created in the relationship between the researcher and the participants (Coffrey & Atkinson, 1996). During this read, I noted how my presence shaped responses and how my subjective location influenced how I interpreted the data. I began comparing how I interpreted themes with how I perceived the participants described and analyzed their experiences. I also examined what could be inferred from the data and noted these inferences on a separate sheet.

In the fourth and final reading, I looked for similar emergent themes in each of the interviews that had not already yielded them. The data was then placed under these new themes and those from the second reading (Mason, 2002).

Throughout the readings and most notably the fourth, themes, including quotes, were organized under related categories. Careful attention was paid to collecting quotes and themes in their entirety and not separating them from the context of what was said. Each interview was coded in a specific colour so that the data could be analyzed with the social, historical, and cultural context of the participants' experiences (Watt, 2006). The inferences about the meanings of the data remained on a separate page so that, when I began collapsing the themes, I could check back with my initial impressions and reflect on them to ensure meaning appropriately linked each category.

Throughout the readings, I built a list of emerging themes and relevant quotes. Using another element of grounded theory, I began "axial coding." Axial coding requires the analysis of the relationship between themes and sub-categories. This coding method is designed to

counter-balance the 'fracturing' of data that can occur during the open coding process (Moghadam, 2006). The list was then divided into categories and sub-categories according to its relation to other themes. In collapsing the themed data, I reflected on what meanings had been linked together by the participants in their interviews and what I had linked together in analyzing the data. Collapsing the themes required linking together and subsuming the themes into each other and, ultimately, into larger sets of categorized data (Moghadam, 2006). In collapsing the themes, linkages were established through the interrelatedness of meanings and the connection to the larger conceptual categories. These themes are identified as the properties that give the conceptual category, which will be used for analysis and meaning (Moghadam, 2006).

My role in the research. Dei (1999) explained that the material consequences of the multiplicity of identities and experiences occupied by the author must be critically analyzed if one is to remain consistent with a social justice work. Feminist methodology locates the researcher as "an active presence in the research process and the construction of the findings" (Neysmith, 1995, p. 106). To fully understand the research and my place within it, the lens by which I view the world and conducted this research was unpacked. For the purposes of this research, identifying my own subjective location moved beyond how "I" situated myself within the research to the process that situated me in the structural relations of oppression.

The researcher's subjective position creates a lens that filters the information that is collected and is subsequently interpreted. This lens mediates the choices that the researcher makes in choosing the area of study, related literature, research design, sampling method, ethical behaviour, data collection, and analysis. Therefore, my lens, rooted in the dominant space, created the research as it exists. For this reason, I chose to place my subjective location at the forefront of the research.

To explore my subject location as white, which has allowed me greater access to privilege, I attempted to locate how the fabric of Canadian society is built upon structural inequalities from a theoretical perspective. These structures shape the symbolic relations between the people of Latin American origin and the dominant Canadian space. The purpose of this theoretical perspective was not intended to describe or speak for how people interpret their lived realities but, rather, to highlight how the identities of the researcher and the participants are shaped within the same system where one group has an increased access to power and privilege. From this theoretical perspective, I moved to understand how my increased access impacted the research.

The Canadian perspective on immigration is founded on the belief that people from the "south" migrate to the "north" out of aspirations of upward mobility (Portes, 2001). Often, upward mobility is not only linked to an economic privilege but to the privilege of accessing high education. My presence in the master's program and completing research highlights my symbolic access to power within a system of privilege. This system is built upon the premise that being a Canadian is synonymous with "whiteness." Whiteness is perceived to be a neutral and pure space, hence becoming the symbolic representation of the desired body. Those who are white are granted automatic access to the fabric of Canadian society and are afforded the privileges of this membership (Dumbrill & Yee, 2003). The process of "othering" occurs to set the boundaries between those who are "white" and "not white." "Non-whites" are marked with an imposed identity that is characterized by a deviation from the norm. Whiteness remains a fixed position whereas the perceived "other" is fluid, shifting according to its relation to whiteness. In terms of this research project, my identity is considered stabilized in relation to the privilege afforded to a "white" body.

The centrality of whiteness in the immigration discourse has created a "charity model" where those people leaving their country of birth require various amounts of assistance from the receiving society (Mohamed, 1999). Canada, therefore, creates itself as a giving nation that fosters and nurtures aspirations of upward mobility. The "North" is then created as a nation of civilized persons and possesses the ability to teach those from the "South" the tools to access membership in a civilized society. In terms of immigrants and refugees, upward mobility is linked to the ability to access the privileges allotted to whiteness and is most commonly achieved through assimilative practices (Porter, 1997).

The visibility of 'race' and the meanings assigned to the particular social location associated with a race complicates this process of assimilation and upward mobility. Canada defines persons of Latin American origin as "visible minorities" according to both Immigration Canada and Statistics Canada. Therefore, persons of Latin American origin become symbolic representations of the perceived "other" by virtue of their skin colour and ethnic background. "Other" is a space that is defined by being "not white." In the racialized relations of Canada and Immigration Canada, this perceived "other" represents a threat to the national unity and to all that is Canadian (Razack & Jeffrey, 2002).

This brief description of the process of racialization and immigration is not intended to denote that 'race' is a fixed category. Nor is this description intended to delineate other forms of oppression that may have been experienced by the study participants (e.g. heterosexism, ablesim, sexism, and classism).

With this being stated, it became evident to me through the research process that my subject location as a white person granted me access to opportunities and privileges by marginalizing others. This conclusion was based upon learning from the research participants'

stories and the inherent experiences of racism within their narratives. In thinking of my own identity, it became clear that my "access" to opportunities such as higher education occurred because someone else did not have "access" to these opportunities. In addition, the reasoning for why it was granted to me became clear. This access allowed me to occupy the position as "researcher," a position that both symbolically and concretely has access to power (the power to collect, interpret, and create the project). My perception of my subjective position was based in part on the interpretation that I was perceived as a representation of Canada. This symbolism shaped the interactions between the participants and I. Therefore, not only because 'race' and ethnicity were used as the unifying characteristic for the sample and the entry point of analysis, 'race' and racialized relations became the mediator of many of the aspects of this research. As a result of this, coupled with my perceptions of interactions with participants, I chose 'race' as the salient portion of my identity that located me in the research.

Racialized and other disadvantaged groups are often required to teach the dominant groups about themselves (Hooks, 1999). They achieve this through their physical presence and continuous contact with the receiving society. Through re-settlement, ethnic identity is re-negotiated in various ways but remains continuously in relation to the dominant norm. The magnitude of these shifts is often linked to the process of acculturation or the ability to access the privileges of society (Da, 2002). Since the Latin American community is a relatively new group in the landscape of Canada, particularly in the Waterloo Region, the negotiation of their identity and spatiality is in the beginning stages (Da, 2002). Learning about how this negotiation is being mediated within the landscape of Canada, a landscape characterized by power imbalances, is one of the initial reasons I was attracted to this project. However, one of the "dangers" of being a white researcher working with a marginalized community was that this project had the potential

to reproduce forms of domination (Dumbrill & Yee, 2003) by requiring the participants to teach me about their culture. Another danger was that my interpretation of the findings through a lens of whiteness might contribute to the oppressive understandings of the "other."

I acknowledge that, in many ways, the research participants and I were on opposing ends of a continuum in relation to power. I benefited from a structure that seeks to create marginalization and oppression. These benefits presented challenges to the research. However, with a commitment to social justice and Anti-Oppressive Practice, efforts were made to avoid the "dangers" of being a white researcher. Unfortunately, the power imbalance that characterizes Canadian society, which created the standards of research I was required to follow, did not allow for a full actualization of this goal. After drawing on Foucault (1997) and through her own research in New Mexico, Wallenstein (1999) concluded through a full literature review that, due to the unexamined identity of the researcher in the larger research context, the unexamined identity continued to shape the interplay between participants/ researcher. My subjective location presented challenges throughout the research process which will be discussed in the limitations of the project. To explore this, I will discuss the 'insider' 'outsider' status in my methodology chapter and highlight the advantages and disadvantages of each.

A critical analysis of my location as researcher. Critical Social Science research (CSS) posits that the power afforded to the researcher is created by illusions and myths that the social context is based upon (Neuman, 1997). CSS identifies that the social world specifically creates these myths and illusions to afford power to some and not to others. This power is not static; it shifts according to space and context. Critical Social Science acknowledges that there are observable facts in the world and one of these observable facts is that certain groups are consistently marginalized. The dominant space has created power, of which I have access to, that

was created in the dominant space's own self-interest. This allows for control over dominant ideologies and the systems that seek to oppress others (Neuman, 1997). These systems and ideologies create the "material conditions, cultural context and historical conditions," which seek to constrain the marginalized and benefit the powerful (Neuman, 1997, p. 77). This system ultimately creates and subsequently continues to validate the researcher's power position in the research.

By aligning myself with this perspective, I was able to identify the power relations between the study participants and myself through a critical analysis of my subject location. Adopting this perspective also allowed for the acknowledgment of the structural forces that created these relations and attempted to open up a space where the participants and the researcher were able to create a dialogue. This approach contributed to the engagement practices that facilitated the participants' voices to be central and to root the data in their experiences, which is the main focus of the research. Without this, the research was vulnerable to producing and validating knowledge within and in the interest of the dominant space.

Foucault (1997) argued that knowledge and power seek to create a normalized truth through relations characterized by power dynamics. However, these relations are not immutable (Foucault, 1997). Foucault suggested that, in narratives of "subjugated knowledge," people without access to power express their resistance. When the researcher's position is not deconstructed, the research has the potential to take ownership of the marginalized voices and re-claim them as their own in their own self-interest (Wallerstein, 1999). Should the research lose the participants' voices, the ability to bring about change in an unjust world diminishes (Wallerstein, 1999)

Reflective note of the author. Implicit with locating oneself in the research is the impact of "insider and outsider" status and how the research is shaped by this status. "Insider/outsider" refers to the degree that the researcher shares the commonalities of identity with the participants (Poteet, 2002). In the context of this research, I largely occupied an outsider status in terms of 'race' and gender. While I shared a common gender with the female participants, the ways that our differences in 'race' mediate our gender challenged our experiences of commonalities (Dumbrill & Yee, 2007). One of the benefits of "insiders" status is that insiders are often able to access information with greater ease than an "outsider" because they are often familiar with issues of the community (Poteet, 2002).

Overall, I did not feel that gender translated into a common 'community.' As an example, each of the participants interviewed had obtained various levels of post-secondary education in their country of birth. None of them were employed in this field in Canada. While this is not necessarily related to gender, my 'race' and my 'natural citizenship' (as one participant referred to me as having) has allowed me to access the privilege of a degree that is recognized in Canada and other unearned privileges.

Outsider status, which I occupied as being from outside of the community and as being an English-only speaker, was both a positive and a negative in the context of this research study. I believe that my outsider status hindered my ability to recruit research participants. In addition, the use of a translator challenged the accuracy of the data, which will be discussed further in the limitations, and hindered rapport building between the participants and I. Furthermore, in many of the interviews, the participants expressed their gratitude towards Canada for allowing them to re-settle here. The participants spoke highly of Canada and, in my interpretation; it seemed difficult for them to articulate any negative viewpoints because of my subjective location. Many

of the participants spoke of negative experiences but qualified these experiences with positives about living in Canada. In two particular interviews, the participants apologized for seeming negative about Canada because they identified that Canada has provided them with a safe place to live and with opportunities.

In one interview conducted with the translator, a participant asked her to tell me that "I never meant to invade her country; I had every intention to go home." This comment proved to be pivotal in the way that I interpreted the interactions between the participants and I. In reflecting on previous interviews, I noted that various comments and misunderstanding could not be attributed entirely to a "culture gap." I believe they are a result of the differences in subject locations and that my position placed me in a space where I felt that I became a symbolic representation of Canada.

Regarding the positives of being an "outsider," outsiders can often note the nuances and the slight differences in perspectives that may be missed by an insider's familiarity (LaSala, 2003). Therefore, an "outsider" may be better suited to remain open to what the data reveals (Poteet, 2002). Ultimately, neither position is more or less desirable. Poteet (2002) identified that, in the current context of research, there is no ultimate resolution to "insider/outsider" debates. Researchers have identified a need for another space to be created to conduct research effectively (Poteet, 2002). In this project, while a "third space" was not fully created, as discussed in the following section, incorporating multiple perspectives in research design and using critical reflection assisted in balancing the tension between "insider/outsider."

Chapter Five: Findings

This chapter explores the themes that emerged from the analysis of the individual and conjoint interviews and the focus groups. First, the participants' experiences of migration and resettlement and their losses, the barriers, and the impacts they experienced as a result of resettlement are presented. Next, the participant-identified needs and the structural and communal resolution to those needs are presented.

Migration and Re-Settlement

Each of the participants was asked to comment on their own processes and paths of migration, their experiences leaving their country of origin, and their experiences of re-settlement in their host country. Many of the participants commented on the push-pull factors of their re-settlement process and what occurred as a result of the shifts they encountered through their experiences. This highlighted a sense of loss regarding their country of birth, the perceived barriers in their new country, and the experiences of trauma emerging from their past.

Losses. The participants noted that, in their process of re-settling into the Canadian social fabric, there were many "gains." However, they also noted that there were many losses associated with leaving their country of birth. These losses centred on shifts in their ethnic identity, in sharing an identity with those around them, and in community connections.

***Country of birth*.** The sense of loss was consistent with feelings of *starting at zero* in a new cultural system, language, and community. The participants noted, "We did not choose to come, so we came with nothing, we had much stuff at home [pause], we left our family, and I cannot even be employed as a (profession) here, I am not what I was there (country of birth),

here." A few participants detailed a strong desire to return home, if it was a possibility: "I would like to be where I know my people because I know people here but not really [pause]; I miss (country of birth)." Many of the participants noted that they shared values, practices, and a sense of culture based around a shared identity created and maintained in their country of birth. Holidays, festivals, and recipes, based in traditions and religion, were some of the practices that participants noted were ways that this sharing of culture was transmitted, and how a sense of belonging was created. The participants identified the loss of these various cultural traditions through the re-negotiation of their lives through re-settlement. After this shift, the participants either accepted that these traditions could no longer be practiced in the same capacity or they acquired new traditions synthesized within the context of the receiving society. The participants identified consistent attempts to maintain some semblance of cultural traditions and connections. The following provides some of the participants' accounts of the negotiations made during re-settlement. One participant stated:

> Sometimes it's hard to figure out who you are because there are many places you do not fit. When I was [in] (country of birth), we danced, we had fun every day, we lived, we were happy [pause]; we were the same because we had the same things and the same culture [pause]; this is not here [pause]; you change when you come.

Community. Articulated by the participants was the notion that community was the larger framework of inter-connected personal relations. Relationships in Latin American societies were noted to be based upon mutually beneficial and egalitarian exchanges. In reflecting on inter-personal relationships:

> You don't get [to interact] when you live with institutionalism. Where I come from you get to live more into a friendship or relation. Somebody who knows someone, this is

> pretty common in Latin American countries. So there are more relationships between people. The socialization occurs in a different way. There are many places where you can socialize in a different way than here. The community is very open to bring people in their homes and go into more direct communication like people communication.

One of the struggles identified by participants was the lack of community connections and the feelings of isolation: "Isolation is one of the main issues."

In describing a dearth in sense of community, a participant stated:

> Where can you find support, cozy environment [pause] in your house, where can you feel more protected? In your house what could protect you better? Your community. This is the way it was at home. Here if you are a minority, if you are a refugee, you need your community. . Because they speak your same language, they can provide you information. They are what makes you feel safe, so from there they can help you and then you can grow [pause] not the case when we moved here. Latin[o]s are not together, not working and helping together.

Furthermore, "here (in Canada) it is different, you need to make appointments to see your friends [pause]; you just don't see people as much." What was articulated through experiences was that participants perceived a sense of community with others in their country of origin that did not transfer into their Canadian experiences.

Lacking a sense of community, where people could share and promote a sense of collectivism, was identified as a significant loss. When discussing the lack of connectedness within the community, one participant stated:

> We are scattered. You find a little group of Latinos from El Salvador living in one place and then there is a group of Columbians somewhere but we don't gather. You feel the sensation

of being lonely. Being artificial. You only see cars, right? You feel very much alone. I am generalizing, you feel more separate and like a machine and not like a human being.

One participant stated that this social shift affected the ability to build relationships since individualism seemed to be valued over the collective. Relationships are also based on close kinship network, including extended family. The sense of *communidad* (community) in Latin American cultures was reflected in the participants' desire to participate in their larger society: "Maybe the answer is in our background because we, for example in my country, the society always shows us that it's important to work for the society because that's good for us."

Within this absence of cohesion and community, the participants also noted a struggle to maintain a Latin American identity that was reciprocal within a larger community. For example, one male participant reflected that some Latin American people "think that to be a Canadian, you can no longer be Latin American, so they leave that behind in our country." In commenting on the fragmentation of the community, one participant noted: "[We need] something where we can see there are Latin American people there, there's a group there. I think we are very isolated. In my case, I am alone here."

They added that this lack of connections also made it challenging to engage in various cultural practices and "keep traditions alive," where they would have preferred to engage the larger community. Connected to this were a number of participants who identified the lack of connections to other community members who were Spanish speakers. The participants were able to speak to their families in Spanish but, in social interactions, they were often required to speak in English.

Language. When discussing the shifts experienced in moving to a new country, language was a theme that emerged in the interviews and entailed many complexities. In examining this theme, participants expressed losses around language and the ability to speak in Spanish in the community as well as a decrease in Spanish speaking in the younger generation. The participants stated that some members of the Latin American community are happy and express great pride when their children no longer speak Spanish or engage in traditions and are "successful" at assimilating and distancing themselves from the Latin American culture. The ability to speak Spanish was identified by one participant as the "way to know who we are" and learning to speak English is the way to "learn your new country." Other participants noted a different approach to integrating into society, where people are both Latin American and Canadian:

"You are a new Canadian and a Latin American; it is your new Canadian society that embraces you and nurtures you now."

All of the participants identified Spanish as their first language and identified a strong desire to continue language instruction and language maintenance with their children. The majority did note that passing the language to their children and through the generations was a challenging task:

> It is nice for the kids to grow up and I don't want to change that for anything but if I, could change something in my life is when I came over here for my first time to teach my kids the language because they forgot the language and the culture and now they want to learn these and they get frustrated because one thing is one way.

In discussing language, another participant identified: "So one of the problems as Latin People we have is that we don't have enough people to teach Spanish to our children. This is one of the main problems."

The loss of language occurred within peer groups and lacked generational transmission. The study participants noted that it was one of the main ways to maintain culture and build a strong basis for a Latin American identity.

Loss of traditional gender roles. In this study, just over half of the participants reflected that, in their countries of birth, there is a division between men and women's gender identities. This differentiation between men and women's identities shifted the context in which they experienced re-settlement and created an environment where gender identity was re-negotiated. The site where the gender differentiation was identified was in terms of how each gender was expected to support the family unit. The perspective that women maintained the home and emotional support and men supported the family financially was relatively consistent throughout the findings. In speaking of their country of birth, one participant commented, "Women will remain at home and keep the family because that's part of the way they raise their families." Another commented:

> Our culture is, like, the woman has to stay at home raising children, cooking, whatever. So the woman is so isolated. A man they can do whatever they want so they are allowed to go here and there. They have more rights than the woman. Whereas men engaged in trades, schooling, and employment outside of the home.

In terms of re-settlement, this translated into a shift in external relations outside of the home that impacted the gender dynamics of the family. The participants explored the concept of *machismo* and identified the perception that men were not only to support the family financially but to act as a pillar of strength also. When discussing gender shifts, one participant commented on how women would seek out help in terms of language acquisition, school, and other methods to assist in re-settlement but that this was not true for men. The reason for this was because:

> They are supposed to be strong and they are supposed to show the strength that they don't even have but the truth is that unfortunately is a barrier in their minds and unless they overcome those barriers they will not be able to get some help.

The ability to seek help was identified as one of the reasons why women obtained employment, acquired language skills, and developed a social network sooner than their male counterparts did. In speaking about obtaining financial security and re-settlement, a participant stated:

> Men are usually better off than women at home but it doesn't happen always but once they are in Canada. The chances are that the special levels will be such that the men will not be able to get jobs or learning the language as fast as women. And, as a result of that, they will be at a full disadvantage.

The ability to adapt to these gender norms was identified as an area that was problematic. Women and men identified a sense of loss around their identities and the need to forge new ideas of gender roles. Notions around shifts in gender were highlighted in terms of the differences in re-settlement and inter-personal relationships and the family system. One participant commented:

> When they're coming over here, they think that they can do whatever they want. They have, for example, to keep the woman, keep the kids, pay the money, and they think that we are still over there but in reality we are not over there, it has to be a partnership. If it's not a partnership with the wife, it's going to break up that marriage.

Some participants identified that there are more notions of a "liberal woman" in Canada. These notions were derived from women "learning and knowing the rules." Speaking in terms of a gender relationship to power, the female participants felt as though women had a greater access

to power than in their country of birth. One participant commented "it is liberation here [pause]; it's not a problem if a woman wants to change her life here, even if she wants to break up her marriage." When discussing shifts in gender, one participant felt that both men and women needed to re-learn the ways they engaged with their partner: "For men to be more of a parent and father and friend and husband." The need for informal support networks to help engage and move through these shifts was identified in this research.

The senses of loss were correlated to the changes of gender identities encountered during the re-settlement process. Male participants most commonly reflected on a sense of loss related to status and professional identities. Women identified feelings of grief associated with losing networks and a sense of community. Also, in discussing the role of women in the community, one participant noted, "As women, we need to change how we think when we come to the country [pause]; we are not the same anymore, women and men are different here." Women reflected on feelings of isolation due to the lack of connections and the ability to nurture and support the community. Men described a similar process but with a different outcome; they reflected that they no longer felt a sense of pride in their capabilities that they had developed in their country of birth. One male participant stated:

when you can no longer use your experience and knowledge, it's sad [pause]. It makes you feel worthless to yourself and what you did before [pause] you come as a doctor or a lawyer and you are cleaning now [pause]. It makes you not feel like the same person.

Grief. Elements of grief through re-settlement were noted throughout all the interviews. One participant commented on the negative impacts of the grief process in identity re-negotiation: "For how long are you going to be crying for (Latin America)? For how long are you going to pretend like you are still in (Latin America)?" Grief and bereavement were related

to the loss of family connections through the severing of geographic ties and the loss of identity as detailed above. In discussing extended family relations with those in the country of birth: “I miss my family back home, my mom and my sisters. It is very expensive to phone [pause]; I would have liked my children to know their grandparents better.” “I would like my mother to move here with us, to be close, but she is old and will not come.” The participants identified that, during the re-settlement process, they needed to resolve their feelings of loss and the subsequent grief of losing and having to re-negotiate portions of their ethnic identity.

Diaspora in Diaspora. Another example of the multiplicity of grief, Diaspora, emerged as a related theme. One participant identified people she had known who had returned to their country of birth. “They went back and it wasn’t the same. They could no longer be there anymore, but they didn’t belong here either. They had nowhere.” The process of re-settlement changed people’s perceptions and their ethnic identities and created a struggle where people felt that they did not belong anywhere. Another participant commented, “People do not know where they should be. They don’t feel that they are Canadian [pause], but they go back to (country of birth) and they don’t feel that they are Latin American either.” Forced migration and policies in their country of origin that prohibited their return further compacted feelings of loss and grief. One participant commented that “maybe it’s because we can’t go back and so we don’t belong in (country of birth) [pause], that we try so hard here even though we want for (country of birth) and we can’t have it.” The concept of “diaspora in diaspora” for participants represented a significant feeling of loss and a unique experience of grief. Feelings of loss from their country of birth and the inability to return left many participants feeling as though their existence was not rooted in a sense of their geographical location.

Barriers

The following portion explores the barriers that participants experienced and their hopes for a successful experience through re-settlement. In each of the interviews, the participants highlighted the challenges faced and explored how that experience could have been enhanced. The study participants indicated a variety of barriers, which included not having their credentials recognized, experiences of discrimination, the fracturing and division of the Latin American community, a downward shift in social status, isolation, and challenges in language acquisition.

Lack of recognition of foreign credentials. When asked about the barriers faced by Latin American people, the participants consistently identified the inability to work in their chosen profession. Both men and women identified a strong desire to utilize their knowledge, training, and experience in Canada and felt that they had a significant amount to contribute in their chosen profession. The majority of the participants discussed a downward shift in economic resources and employment status. Many of the participants, both male and female, came to Canada with the belief that they or their significant other would have the opportunity to be employed in their chosen field. One participant discussed the struggles of looking for employment without Canadian experience: spacing issues

> But they really don't care; whatever you studied or you've done in your country, they don't care about it. Still she (my sister) has been looking for a job for a long time but they always ask for previous experience. You can't get experience if you don't have the opportunity. Even though they [Latin American people] have experience, they have to start all over again.

This often caused frustration and disillusionment in participants who identified: "This makes you feel low and down, you realize the discrimination of it and, so, why did we come?" The participants acknowledged that their professions may be slightly different here but that they wanted the opportunity to use their skill sets in Canada. A theme that echoed through the interviews was stated by one participant: "This is one of the biggest problems in Canada. People bring degrees, professional degrees, and they are not allowed to use them." Another participant discussed his training in his country of birth: "I come here as a (profession). I am told that I cannot practice here because things are different. I don't even think that they gave me a chance. I did it in (country of birth) and I know that I can do it here." Also:

> I have a degree, a good degree [pause] and I am working at (place of employment)? How am I supposed to get ahead? How am I supposed to feel like I am worth something when I have knowledge and experience and I am not using it? I know that I could bring good work and new knowledge to (chosen profession).

Within the discussion of foreign credentials, the study participants highlighted a lack of clear messaging regarding why their credentials are not recognized and regarding the process to have their credentials transferred. For example, in discussing the immigration process, a participant commented:

> If you go to the web site, immigration web site of Canada, it says ok, come to Canada, if you're a professional, you get these number of points, if you speak these languages, English or French, you get these number of points. Or if you have this experience for many years, you get these points and you follow those instructions. But when you come here, you realize that your title, your experience, or your training is worthless here so nobody tells you when you come to Canada that whatever you bring from your country is worthless here. It should be, first of all, a point to tell the professional - you're a doctor in your country but you're a nobody here.

Another participant identified that "I wish I had known I would not be able to work as (profession). I did not know before I came." Furthermore, another participant stated, "I know you can apply, in some careers to be able to work here, but it's different for all careers and there's not much help. And we need to work as soon as we come."

Another participant discussed the process and shared the experience: "they told me I needed to take a course and, halfway through, they told me I needed to take a different one instead of this one. This is why it's hard because its energy and money."

To complicate an unclear process further, obtaining education or training in Canada is also costly and time intensive. This added additional financial and time pressures when the study participants were re-settling and attempting to obtain employment, learn English, and maintain family and community relationships.

Discrimination. One of the most prevalent themes that emerged through the participants' narratives and experiences was racism and negative stereotyping. The participants identified various systemic barriers and experiences of racism that shaped their re-settlement experiences. Since Canada identifies itself as a multicultural nation, one participant indicated that the level of discrimination was surprising: "Most people don't understand immigrants' frustrations but, here in Canada in a country where the quantity of immigrants make it extremely multicultural and many people still discriminate."

One of the most common stereotypes assigned to the Latin American culture is that of drug traffickers and gang affiliation (Carrillos, 1999). These were echoed in this project. The participants identified that experiences of this stereotyping are common in the Waterloo Region. When talking about the barriers to the Latin American community, one participant identified these stereotypes as one of the main barriers and commented, "If your daughter (referring to the researcher) becomes involved with drugs, that's because she's a teenager. But if my daughter becomes involved with drugs, it is because she's from Colombia."

Two participants from Colombia noted that Canadian-born people believed that they had acquired nice homes through drug trafficking. "They come here and they say, 'How did you get this? (the person muttered under their breath) - drug dealing?'" This participant stated: "If they knew us, they would know that we did not get our home by trafficking." These stereotypes were also present in the youth community. One participant identified stereotypes as the largest barrier

facing the younger generation, relaying a story that had occurred recently in the Waterloo Region:

> They were all fighting, Canadian kids, Latino kids [pause], all of them. Things got bad, not that bad, but no good. There were many [people] fighting, no one was really hurt, I don't think [pause]. Someone called the police and only the Latino kids got charged. They thought it was gangs or drugs. No Canadian kids got in trouble and no one got hurt. I know some of these Latino kids. They are good kids, I know their moms [pause]. I know the [police] think that it is never their Canadian kids because they are too good for that.

Another stereotype that was identified were notions that Canadian people felt that immigrants and refugees came to Canada thinking that they would receive a lot of assistance, in essence a "free ride." During the refugee claimant process, one of the participants recalled an experience with a professional: "The interpreter said a comment, a putdown comment saying that we thought that, because I was a refugee, that would open the doors for me. And I told her I know it's not easy." Conversely, another participant commented: "Like the same sense of invasion, taking other people's places. If I get the job, is that somebody else's job (and I took it away from them) or something like that. That's why everything we were offered was cleaning."

These two quotes represent a double bind for those re-settling. In some instances, there is a perception of a free ride and, in others that people are "taking away" from Canadian-born people. These stereotypes and the enactments of these double bind thoughts led to feelings of separation from the mainstream society among the participants. Many participants also expressed that they were very grateful for the opportunity "to live in safety in such a beautiful country." While acknowledging their gratitude towards Canada, they did identify feelings of "other" in

relation to mainstream society. The participants commented, "Sometimes you are qualified or a great deal in this society. I don't know why you get categorized in a certain way and then that sometimes can be subject to a feeling of discrimination. Sometimes. Not always, but sometimes."

This quote reflects many of the participants' feelings of not only being discriminated against but being judged based on their difference from the dominant space. Another participant identified:

> 'Cause I have felt where, just because you're a different culture, they [Canadian-born people] look at you differently. In a way they [pause], like in my case, they have even called me ignorant, and I really can't say anything because I don't know my rights.

Day-to-day experiences of discrimination and racism were articulated in the interviews in relation to formal systems and services. The following two examples were identified:

Housing. For example, in attempting to obtain housing, another participant discussed feeling that the housing provider did not want "her kind" and that maybe the provider thought she was going to be problematic because she was Latin American. In terms of finding affordable housing, she stated, "they (Waterloo Region) have subsidized housing there but it is kind of hard to get in and because I am Spanish, the ***l***ady [landlord] makes it harder because they think we are trouble."

Health care. Another key area where participants identified systemic racism was in health care. A female participant reflected on her experiences with one doctor who commented to his nurse practitioner "It doesn't matter what I do, she doesn't understand that well." Another participant struggled to obtain appropriate services because the doctor would not take the time to

work with her so she could describe her symptoms. When discussing the inability to obtain appropriate medical services as a barrier to re-settlement, one participant reflected: "they don't have or take the time to try to understand; we try to say our best, but we need them to try, too. When I am in there, they make me feel like I take too much time. One time, I had a translator and I felt like I wasn't there, they barely looked at me.

In another experience, a participant overheard a conversation upon leaving the doctor's office. She heard an administrative assistant comment, "they are a drain to the system anyways." The participant added, "That makes me feel like I shouldn't be there [in the doctor's office]."

In reflecting upon experiences of racism and discrimination, these were acknowledged to be less overt and more covert. A participant who had been in Canada for a longer period of time (10 years plus) commented, "it's more different now [pause] the way it happens [pause] subtle, but you know why it happens." Highlighted in this quote is the participant's knowledge of why they were being construed as "different." Both of these quotes are reflective of the processes by which the creation of the "other" occurs from the dominant space. People expressed different experiences and access to power based upon the racial lines of difference.

Internal division of the Latin American community. The theme of "ethnic shame," leading to division in the Latin American community, emerged within the research. The participants reflected on feeling judged by other co-ethnics, particularly in terms of the reinforcement of dominant stereotypes such as drug trafficking. Also, existence of prejudice and shame among community members was thought to be one of the largest barriers to community participation and engagement. Many of the participants discussed ethnic shame and the subsequent division of the community:

> Because we think things, bad things, of each other. People do not want to work together for a common goal. I feel it sometimes from other Latinos as much and Canadian people. They don't want to be seen as relating to other (Latin Americans) because Canadian people think we can't do anything. It's sad that we cannot all [work] with each other.

In the interviews, common stereotypes were expressed in relationship to alcohol misuse and the negative impact it had on the relationships between co-ethnics. This concern was compounded by the negative image of Latin Americans in the larger society. In discussing community organization, the participants felt that other Latin American people who struggled with addictions could ruin the efforts of the community.

Commenting on stereotypes, some of the participants identified that they felt that the members of the Latin American community engaged in discrimination toward each other. One participant suggested that part of the struggles in re-settlement were linked to a lack of knowledge of other Latin American community members, which led to judgment and prejudice in the community. One of the barriers identified was: "In the Latin American community, I think there are two things (barriers): self esteem and the other thing is prejudice [between us]."

In referring to other members of the Latin American community, “They feel that what they have is not much. They can’t understand that other people are able to have things that they do or have not been able to have.”

Another participant from Colombia stated, “People from (other Latin American countries) say we’re drug dealers because they had a very simple life and then they come here and see us and we are doing well.”

These negative stereotypes and classist beliefs were viewed as challenging the cohesiveness of the Latin American community; a challenge to the value of collective culture. One participant likened the division of the Latin American community to “when we get to these countries to better ourselves and, instead of becoming a community, we are like ten different cities.” This division impeded the efforts among Latin Americans to assemble collectively in order to foster cultural development and unity and any efforts to move ahead as individuals and as a larger Latin American community.

Decrease in social status. In discussing the barriers related to successful re-settlement, the study participants identified a shift towards downward mobility in terms of social status. In this area, the participants felt there was a myriad of factors working. The most notable factor was economic positioning and its relationship to material wealth. The majority of the participants discussed a downward shift in economic resources and employment status. Many participants, both male and female, came to Canada with the belief that they or their significant other would have the opportunity to be employed in their chosen field. This shift structured time to reflect the implicit monetary value and the correlation between money and time. From this correlation, one participant reflected “no money, no power.” The participants linked time and money to the ways that people can become visible in society and become successful according to Canadian

standards. This often caused frustration and disillusionment in the participants. The same participants identified, “This makes you feel low and down, you realize the discrimination of it and, so, why did we come?”

Isolation. The study participants identified that one of the key outcomes and the barriers of re-settlement was isolation. Isolation was experienced on a continuum and had a multiplicity of factors. Some of the participants identified that they felt isolation as an outcome of immigration while others felt it from the Latin American community. The challenges that isolation presented in attempting to move through the experience of re-settlement emerged.

Isolation was identified as a result of migration and re-settlement. One participant commented that it is “just a part of the immigrant experience.” Furthermore “how could you not feel isolated, you are in a new country and new life. It makes you alone.” Another participant commented, “because immigrant people are isolated when they come to Canada. They feel isolated, they feel depressed, and all kinds of feelings.”

In feelings of isolation within the Latin American community, one participant noted, “there are Latin American people there, there’s a group [over] there. I think we are very isolated. In my case, I am alone here.” The participants reported that isolation from the community was seen as a barrier to the maintenance of culture, knowledge sharing, general well-being, support, and the ability to maintain connections to their country of origin. They also identified a lack of collectively that was a result of isolation. One participant highlighted, “Latin American communities are not working together to help each other get jobs, houses, or help out.”

Lack of language skills. Language was identified as a significant barrier to achieving positive re-settlement. There was a wide range of English language acquisition among the participants. One participant stated, “I did not know one word of English when I came” while other participants felt fluent in English. One participant commented, “we need to know the language. Simple.” Another participant added: “Of course language is the one of the main issues, when we came [to Canada] it was so difficult. Of course it was another country, another people, but the language is the most difficult.”

For one participant, English knowledge would have assisted in engaging with the shifts of re-settlement. This participant stated, “It is different here, not completely, but knowing the language would help to learn how to be here.” The participants identified language as the main barrier to accessing employment and services, networking, building relationships, and existing on a daily basis (e.g. going to the grocery store and the bank).

Language brokering. Language acquisition presented challenges to the family system. “Language brokering” occurs when the children acquire language skills at a higher level than their parents do. Some of the participants identified this issue as problematic to their relationships with their children and the ability to assist them in succeeding. The participants in this research noted that language brokering created a distance between themselves and their children. One participant reflected on her daughter in school:

> My kids have homework and I can’t understand or understand differently. They talk to me and I don’t understand and I feel frustrated, I feel bad . . . she must tell me what is going on in school and help me understand what forms and how they are learning.

Language was presented as an over-arching theme throughout the interviews, one that was complex and served as a major shaping factor of re-settlement.

Trauma

In some instances, the re-settlement process created or enhanced a sense of fear. Fear was expressed in two ways. The first was the fear of the unknown in relation to Canadian systems and society. The participants linked their struggles in negotiating a new identity to experiences in their countries of birth. They identified experiences of war and violence as "following" them to Canada. In reflecting on re-settlement, one participant commented on the struggles of overcoming what had happened in their country of birth and the subsequent perceptions of Canadian society. While discussing previous trauma, the participant stated that, "some people just cannot work (as a result of) what happened back home. They are scared to go to school and get a job. But no one knows, they think they are lazy."

One participant reflected on people coming from a country that had a history of governmental violence:

> Yes, and some people, they never look for a job because they're afraid. It is not because they are lazy, it is because they are afraid [pause]. They need help to get out of these feelings that are because of home.

Also, in discussing community organization, one participant reflected on an experience:

> Yes. Especially in my own community, my [cultural] community here, we have had a bad experience, my husband and me, trying to do something for ourselves. We tried to organize an association or a [cultural]/Canadian organization using the internet you know, building a website. The [cultural] community didn't answer you know, one of the reasons, we discovered that one reason is [they are] afraid. Fear about putting your name maybe because we came from a country that persecuted people so maybe that's a big reason to say no, no, no, no, no, I don't want anything.

One participant identified that the requirement to interact with Canadian systems that are strict in nature, such as the legal system, often brings past trauma to the surface:

> During the legal process of just staying in the country, they [the immigration professionals] tell you, 'You need to remember a lot of things, a lot of things, a lot of the reasons why you left your country or you fled your country.' There are things that come to your mind because you need to remember the events exactly how they happened because all of that is going to be asked by the judge to make the decision. Basically, it's like reliving it. I have had many sleepless nights because, during that time, you can't work and one doesn't know the language.

The requirement to re-count experiences through contact with various organizations kept these feelings at the forefront of the participants' minds. These two quotes may represent past trauma experienced by participants. Another participant identified that it was difficult to move on when they were constantly being asked to think of harmful memories of the past. Upon reflecting on past traumatic experiences, the participants identified that the Latin American community needed more time to establish a feeling of safety and trust. When asked what would help people with their feelings of trauma, one of the suggestions was "time, just time to be here, and learn to trust people and each other." These experiences have obviously affected their experiences of a positive re-settlement process.

Needs

In this research study, the study participants were asked about their migration and re-settlement experiences. Within the questions and discussions, the participants discussed what they perceived their "identified needs" to be in relationship to what they had identified as their losses through re-settlement, proposed strategies to deal with and overcome barriers, and how

support for past trauma could occur in a meaningful capacity. Responses in two key areas emerged: first, how they believed the structures and systems of Canada in relation to immigration could be more responsive; and, second, how internally the Latin American community could build the community capacity to respond and meet identified needs and build strength.

Structural. The participants identified the process by which they came into contact with the formal systems of Canada. This occurred through the immigration process, employment and labour markets, services for learning English, housing, and health care. The following were suggestions on how these systems could be improved to enhance the capacity to respond to the re-settlement. Suggestions for Canada as a nation to change, promote, and create strategies to assist in the re-settlement process emerged from these interviews. The suggestions focused largely on identifying portions of the immigration, employment, education, and language systems.

Immigration systems. In terms of a larger systemic context, one participant felt that, if the immigration system and processes could be more responsive, they would assist in creating feelings of "home." It was commented that a process that instilled a notion of "this can be your homeland, too, this can be your home" would ease the sense of loss from their country of birth. While the participants identified a sense that their country of birth would always be "home," they had a strong desire to build a new life in Canada.

Many of the participants confirmed that part of the struggle of the re-settlement process was linked to the challenges associated with navigating the Canadian formal and informal systems. The participants commented that negotiating these systems successfully was integral to their feelings of success in Canada. What was noted is that there was little support and the

participants felt that there was no guidance as to how to navigate the systems, both the formal ones and the informal ones. Information provided by the Canadian government on immigration was viewed as insufficient to prepare people for living in Canada and was perceived as false or misleading. The participants used the following sentiments to describe this process: “It is a shock.” “You are shattered”. This shock was thought to be minimized if there was more education around the differences between their home country and Canada in the immigration process prior to migration. One participant also stated, “If people can build themselves to understand and help others to understand about how it is here and [at] home, and how to live here together with both of these things in their minds, they wouldn’t be so shocked.”

One participant commented on Canada’s immigration process, noting that people applying to live in Canada received a certain number of “points” for possessing post secondary education. These points were used to determine eligibility. In their opinion, this application system gave the impression that, because of the advanced standing given to credentials and experience, there would be an opportunity to use their knowledge, skills, and experience in Canada. Another participant commented, “Immigrating is a game. But Canada keeps changing the rules, so why don’t they tell us all the rules and we can all play? This would be better for everyone.” Another participant commented, “Immigration doesn’t tell you anything, no one does [pause]; the rules here are different and, when we don’t know, we get in trouble. I think it would be a lot better if we knew, I think.”

To provide assistance for learning the rules, participants suggested having one point of contact:

> I met with one person and they told me to go to another place. That place told me to go to another place. It was like no one knows what they are doing. I just thought “quit running

me around!" Have one person to tell you go here for English, go here for a job, go here for immigration stuff.

One participant identified that she would find working with one person to obtain all the necessary information more useful and less confusing: "They would have to be specialized people to be telling you the information and giving you guidance and telling you where to go and what to do. . . in Spanish."

Many participants echoed these sentiments in terms of having one co-coordinating service or point person. People felt it would make the process less arduous and stressful by simplifying the process and that it could possibly speed up the process.

***Employment and credentials*.** Many participants identified that transferring their professional skills and knowledge was a challenging task. Alleviating these challenges would provide immigrants and refugees with not only financial stability but also the ability to maintain a professional identity and contribute to their chosen profession. One participant articulated that "If people could work in their profession it would be so important to their transition; it would be shorter, really short, so they could get involved with the culture and benefit from Canada." Another participant commented: "What would be useful is getting knowledge of the language and at the time, being able to work in a job that they know how to do and give back."

The following discussion highlights how the study participants felt that Canada could create change to assist people in using their knowledge and credentials.

The study participants reflected on being taken advantage of because they did not have access to the same knowledge of Canadian labour laws. The participants reflected on the pressures they felt when they knew that they were being taken advantage of but chose to remain quiet because they needed to work due to the economic constraints. A participant noted: "You

have kids. You have to [work] to take care of them. You forget about your rules because the rules (are different in Canada) and you don't know the rules and some people take advantage of this." The participants consistently identified a strong work ethic in the Latin American community and wanted the opportunity for full participation. This work ethic included the desire to learn and to know their rights. To resolve this, the study participants suggested the Canadian government create and maintain courses and consultants to assist people in learning about labour laws. While there are a few programs that address this, one participant explained that they were not accessible: "Programs to help are only open during the week until five. How can I go when I need to work?"

Transferring education and professional credentials. Other suggestions were standardized tests for each profession, advanced standing in education programs, and government financial support for training and re-testing. Another suggestion regarding knowledge transfer and credential recognition was: "There can be an agreement between any university and, say, a law school, where a lawyer trained somewhere else could come and volunteer and those hours would be recognized towards education."

Ultimately, the participants identified a strong desire to contribute to their profession and to Canada through their full economic participation. Through this contribution, many felt that they could rebuild, start new, and mitigate some of the losses that they had experienced.

Obtaining Canadian experience. In discussing employment, the study participants also highlighted that it was a challenge to obtain Canadian experience. The participants noted that it is also a struggle to locate employment opportunities. An awareness of job banks, word-of-mouth opportunities, or learning how to write a "Canadian" resume, networks, and knowledge were identified as struggles to access. Many found alternative jobs but experienced challenges when

doing so. People commonly found job opportunities through other co-ethnics and networks. In discussing job searching, one participant identified that, when he could not find meaningful employment, he started his own business and attempted to hire other co-ethnics. “I started my own company and I hire Latin people to teach them, to help them, so they can have job. I am helping them, because they are not doing so well finding job.”

Regarding obtaining Canadian experience and using their knowledge, the participants had suggestions around apprentice-type programs and ways to have their experience validated. For example, “Maybe that person cannot work right away as an engineer but maybe as a technician or as something related to his career. The Government could help do this, as a training program.” Suggestions centered on government-based assistance in learning new skills in the Canadian context. Along similar lines, another participant suggested a mentorship-type program: “Someone to work with us one-on-one, and show us how to do things. It could be like being re-trained but not from nothing, because we know stuff, too. They could teach us and show us how to do things.”

The study participants also noted that they were required to upgrade their skills but were not provided with the information on how and where to do this. One participant suggested a coordinated body that examined credentials and decided what further upgrading was necessary.

> They would look at your practice and your diploma and we’re going to analyze them and we’re trying to match it to the Canadian standards and tell you, ok, you need to take these courses, you need to take this exam, you need to do these for experience and so you can be a nurse in two years.

Language acquisition. All of the participants identified that acquiring the English language was one of the main barriers to successful re-settlement in Canada. The need for English was linked to employment, education, and navigating daily life. One participant stated, "For us, the issue is language, we need to know the language." Another commented, "We cannot do anything until we understand the language." All of the participants who had taken formal language training identified struggling as a result of the teacher only speaking English. To resolve this problem, the participants felt that learning English from a teacher who spoke English and Spanish fluently would be extremely helpful. One participant commented:

> If you come from (Latin America) and you don't speak any English only hello, how are you and my name is and you are going to a class where your teacher only speaks English, no Espanole here. You're not going to learn it because it's difficult. And if these people from 20 years old and beyond it is going to be a lot more difficult. So, if you have a Latin person teaching, it's going to be a little easier because he's going to explain how to use the structure and when to use the structure because its Español , it's easier to explain. For you (referring to me), the structure is easy because English is your language but how are you going to explain it to me if I don't understand your language. See that's the problem. So, more Latinos teaching Latinos and showing Latinos what to do would be a good thing.

In working with a teacher who spoke Spanish, the participants felt that English language training should also include informal outings to learn about various things such as the bank, the grocery store, and other regular daily activities.

> We need people to go out with us and teach us about taking the bus, where to go to get groceries, how to get groceries. We need this in Spanish because this is stuff we need right when we come here, before we learn English.
>
> Also,
>
> So if you have a few people helping you to acquire the language in a very useful way like teaching the class and saying we're going to teach you, for example, the names of the different produce like how to go to a supermarket and buy things, for example, and the next day we're going to gather at Food Basics, for example, with my class, we're going to go in and buy things in English. We have somebody explaining how to fill a paper with your personal information. How to tell your doctor I'm feeling a pain in my ear or I couldn't sleep last night or I have a sore throat. Some people don't know how to say that in English unless somebody is helping them how to do that on a day-to-day basis.

The resolutions identified by the study participants were twofold. First, during the period when people are first re-settling and learning English, information in Spanish should move beyond the basics to assist in navigating the systems, to orientate people to Canada, and to lessen the anxiety associated with immigration. The second suggestion was for coordinated information so that people can obtain consistent, useful information. On obtaining information in Spanish, one participant commented,

> I think people need to get information about the programs, the information from the schools you know and give it to them, deliver it to them, give it to them and to read it because it's possible they don't know English right and to explain them that this is the forms and give it to them, the information (and help them fill it out in Spanish). To give more options; to give options to the people. Not just the basic information - here is the supermarket, here is the bank,

and here is the church. To facilitate the process of migration assistance in language acquisition, transitional processes, and formal systems, the participants identified that there would be increased meaning and applicability if it was offered in Spanish.

Therapeutic counselling in Spanish. When discussing issues around trauma, the study participants consistently identified a need for therapeutic counselling for the successful resolution of issues they brought from their countries of birth and for their subsequent experiences in Canada. Similarly, participants felt that counselling could help immigrants and refugees build their psychological capacities to deal with the "shock" of migration. One participant described the immigration experience in the following manner, "The hardest part is to survive. Because immigration is traumatic." Another participant described feelings of coming to Canada as, "You know [pause], I think immigrant people are isolated when they when they come to Canada. They feel isolated, they feel depressed, and all kinds of feelings [pause]; they need help, professional help, to not feel this way anymore." Another participant stated, in relation to country of birth issues: "Sometimes people are still crying for things that happen in (country of birth). These things are still affecting them in Canada and this is not healthy. Many people need help to get over these feelings."

Throughout the project, the participants felt that these issues and the shock of migration were one of the barriers to the successful re-settlement of individuals and the building of the Latin American community. One participant stated:

It is hard to be in Canada, work, live and love when you are feeling depressed and you can't figure out why. Things happen to make you come here. When you come here, things happen, people are scared and that makes them not know how to do things. People cannot grow and live in Canada when they are feeling this way.

The participants felt that it was important for different social service organizations to provide counselling. However, many identified that is would be more meaningful to receive services from the Spanish speaking community. The participants stated that, ideally, service providers, specifically therapeutic counsellors, should be of Latin American origin. The need for co-ethnic counselling was a theme that occurred numerous times throughout the interviews with women. This was linked to the belief that members of the same community share, to some extent, a social, cultural, and political background, which would grant them "insider" knowledge. This knowledge was identified as being important to participants because "they know where you came from, what it was like and you wouldn't have to explain it to them." The participants linked this knowledge to an easier rapport building process and subsequent meaningful engagement based on a shared history. One participant identified that expressing oneself is easier in Spanish: "We need to talk in Spanish. It is easier to say what I am meaning in Spanish." Another participant discussed the affinity of experiences as making the therapeutic relationship easier and more meaningful: "When you work with people from (Latin America), they know what you are talking about. They know what it was like and they understand."

In discussing the use of translators, two participants noted, "We need counselling in Spanish. Not to have translators because translators sometimes they come from other countries and don't know your language and they say things and we don't understand what he's talking about."

The study participants did identify that translators were helpful in situations where the counsellor did not speak Spanish. However, their preference was to receive counselling services in their language. The participants felt that agencies should make efforts to recruit and train qualified Spanish speaking therapists.

Emergency services in Spanish. Another way to promote feelings of safety in the community is to create accessible crisis lines or emergency shelters that provide services in Spanish. The participants recounted times when emergency services such as the ambulance, police, or fire were needed and when they or someone they knew phoned and there was no one there who spoke Spanish or they felt a significant language barrier. Stories and experiences of not being able to access emergency services due to the language barrier resulted in the participants feeling unsafe in their community. A participant in the following manner articulated the impact of not feeling safe:

> It makes people not want to reach out [pause]; it cuts people off from the community and things that maybe can help them. [In referencing fearing calling the police] at that time, I was very nervous and I called and I was able to say the most important part. If there were somebody who spoke Spanish, it would have been better.

Creating a community of support and promoting community safety was one of the ways in which participants identified ways to move through untrusting feelings towards the community. As participants identified, these responses created barriers towards engagement with other Latin Americans and a distrust of Canadian systems, further compacting past experiences of trauma in their country of origin.

Communal Responses: Community Development and Capacity Building

The second set of suggestions focused around the desire to build a capacity for responding to re-settlement within the Latin American community. This capacity would enable members to celebrate and maintain culture and to build and nurture strengths to promote the ability for the community to respond to its members. One participant highlighted that this approach “must start in the community for our community.”

Community space and agency. Throughout all of the interviews, the study participants identified a range of possibilities linked to the development of a community network and other development initiatives. One participant identified that the community supports and nurtures people and can respond to re-settlement needs. The participants felt that, along with nurturing each other, a Latin American community network could help nurture and transmit their culture through the generations. The majority of the participants reflected that one of the most effective ways to build community and networking was a community centre. Funding was needed to provide to the tools to do this but participants felt that the community already possessed the knowledge and skills. The creation of a forum, specifically a Latin American centre, would promote the existing sense of community and develop further senses of agency within the Latin American community.

One participant commented, "We need a place for Latin[o]s. We can come together, help each other, teach each other, and celebrate, where we can be proud to be Latin American." Another felt that people who felt isolated had access to Spanish groups would be useful, "If we, if we help them to participate in groups, like, for example, if we have some group/groups in Spanish, in Spanish could be nice [pause], and help people meet others and talk and not be alone."

Uniting as Latin Americans and (as one participant called it) "New Canadians," providing support through the creation of a physical space where mutual learning and enjoyment could occur, enables immigrants and refugees to negotiate living between two worlds and moving through the barriers of re-settlement.

Promoting culture to decrease forms of racism and stereotypes. The participants' suggestions for resolving stereotypes by native-born Canadians and other Latin Americans were

based on increasing connections and knowledge. A community space would provide a physical location for these to occur. The study participants reflected on the ability to express their culture in daily practices and in the public domain. The participants felt that celebrations of culture would not only keep culture alive but would re-affirm ethnic pride and identity. This was also a way to keep the Latin American culture alive and transmit values, customs, and language through the generations. One participant felt that a community space and celebrations would "teach our children about Latin America; they could love Latin America and try to keep it alive and not forget where they came from [pause], or their roots."

One participant suggested assistance in creating gatherings:

> Latin America in Canada or something like that and help you to gather, to create a profile, to create Spanish classes for people who want to come and learn Español or create festivities so people come and see us like we are normal people, that we are not drug dealers, we are not pushers, that's what.

Knowledge of Latin American culture and the various countries and customs was seen as very limited. One participant identified:

> What they [Canadian-born people] know about Latin America is just a name, so we wanted to find a place to take them. For example, we want classes of Español or show them a little bit more of our culture, about what being a Latino is like.

The study participants felt that sharing knowledge and enjoying each other's customs would significantly decrease the rigidity around the category of "other" and create more mutual respect, thus decreasing the experience of racism. Another participant commented, "We want to be united. We want to be united and we want to show Canadian society and everybody that, as Latins, we can do and think in any other place in the world."

Volunteerism and civic participation. Ideas around civic participation as a vehicle to strengthen the community were also identified by the study participants as something that was important to them in their country of birth, but they were often unable to complete that type of service in Canada. One participant reflected on mutual exchanges as one of the ways that Latin American people could build their strength as a community. "I am giving help to others; it is not for nothing - because they help me. In our society this is easy." Another participant noted:

> I mean, in our country, we used to volunteer all the time. So, for us, it's not a problem, you know, work other than for money. I think that's strength too, to work as a volunteer, which at the same time you help the society in many ways.

Civic participation is a mode by which participants felt they could strengthen not only the Latin American community, but also increase co-understanding by furthering their contributions to the larger community in a meaningful way.

Cultural exchanges. As Canadians learn about Latin American people, the hope identified by the study participants is that negative stereotypes and exclusion would diminish and an environment would be created where different cultures were celebrated and people could flourish. One participant discussed the need to have a sense of belonging in Canadian society: "We will always be different. I don't know if we will ever belong [pause], but we have to try because we are new Canadians now." In articulating this multiplicity of identity, another participant stated, "You are not Latin American anymore, but you are not Canadian either. You don't have to be one or the other; we need to find ways to be both."

The need to belong is thus two-fold: (a) developing a sense of community that reaches not only other Latin Americans but includes the larger society and (b) assisting in a mutual understanding that is thought to break down stereotypes and decrease barriers.

Development of community leaders. Other suggestion by the participants was to have key members of the community act in a leadership role. There were two kinds of roles identified. The first was to organize the community. One participant defined this role as:

> I think that is what is missing - leaders that want to donate their time, and not charge for it. And to get us out for outings, going out, let's organize one to go out and unite people and let's make events in parks, ball games or whatever, things like that.

These leaders could be key contacts for people to learn where to go for various services, such as immigration, and utilize their knowledge to assist in day-to-day life as well as navigating the formal systems.

The second suggestion for leadership would be to promote a collective voice. For example: "I think everybody just needs to come together and [pause] have someone who represents maybe like each culture and just bring up just bring up what the issues are and why and how everybody feels and needs."

Having a system where people could discuss issues would be helpful in advancing the Latin American community. Having a community leader to represent these views in the public arena such as at stakeholder events and in political discussions would allow for a greater knowledge of the needs of the community.

Chapter Six: Discussion

This chapter begins by exploring the findings reflected in seminal and relevant research literature. These themes were discussed in the literature review and acted as sensitizing concepts to enrich the knowledge of the researcher. The second part of this section presents findings that have yet to be conceptualized fully in the literature on Latin American re-settlers in Canada and the United States. It highlights new emergent themes and explores ones that have yet to be grounded in the theories pertaining to the process of re-settlement for Latin Americans in Canada.

The findings of this study contribute to the existing literature in two ways. First, the findings serve to strengthen the data previously collected throughout Canada and the United States on Latin Americans' re-settlement. Second, it contributes to a growing body of literature that critically examines experiences within the specificities of the region. The following section gives a brief synopsis of the findings supported in other studies and identifies them as expressed "needs" to transition through barriers of re-settlement.

Latin American Youth

For example, the findings reaffirmed that youth struggle to negotiate their identities while existing within two worlds (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003; Martell, 2002). Moreover, they struggle to renegotiate the value of familismo within their family units and across transnational borders (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Beiser, Turner & Ganesan, 1989). All of the participants were asked, when appropriate, to comment on their views of the re-settlement process and to identify significant or critical issues facing Latin American youth. In the cases where participants provided a response, they identified having intimate knowledge through a family or friend relationship of the particular situations of Latin American youth.

One of the key research findings was that Latin American children and youth are often lost in the process of negotiating an identity that is simultaneously Latino and Canadian. The dual identity-development experience by immigrant and refugee youth is one of the only issues that has been well documented in the literature (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003). The majority of the experiences and needs of immigrant and refugee youth have been absent from the literature on re-settlement. The findings of this study pertaining to dual identity development support the findings of Roffman (2003), Suarez-Orozco (2004) in the United States; Carillos (1999), Poteet (2002), Anisef and Kilbride (2003) in Toronto; Janzen and Ochocka (2003), and Martell (2002) in the Waterloo Region. Translated into an expression of need, the requirement to develop a positive dual identity can be facilitated through assistance in understanding both worlds around them. Youth experience expectations derived from their countries of origin and from their families in addition to expectations in a new culture learned through the school environment. At times, having access to both cultures, combined with an expectation to perform in accordance to the norms and customs of each, can create tension. Support through this tension that facilitates learning and maintenance of the culture of origin, coupled with assistance in the transition to a new culture/language, has been identified (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003).

Latin American Seniors

Another example is that of Latin American seniors. Latin American seniors represent a unique segment of the population which was identified as “invisible,” a theme that emerged in this and other research (Mis, 2004). When asked about the issues facing Latin American seniors, the participant’s answers were consistent with one another and with the relevant data. The most prevalent theme was consistent with the “invisibility” of Latin American seniors. Mis (2004) identified this invisibility to be indicative of the position of racialized immigrant and refugee

seniors in Canada. This isolation and invisibility was further compacted by a type of forced migration that is most often seen in the senior's population.

Language acquisition was linked to seniors' inabilities to access appropriate medical care, social services, transportation, and social networks. Seniors were also found to have less access to economic resources as a result of low education levels, language questions, and a lack of access to pensions and other social support programs. In addition, they were often unable to work. These findings support studies completed by Mis (2004) in Hamilton; Miloslavich-Vera (1999), Jetelina (2007) in Toronto; Tsenkova (2007) in Calgary; Antunes et al. (2005), Farone et al. (2005), and Garroutte et al. (2003) in the United States.

Latin American seniors face specific challenges during their re-settlement process. It has been identified that the experiences of this population have been left out of the discourse on re-settlement (Farone et. al., 2005). Mis (2004) suggested that, in order to enrich seniors' experiences, changes must be made to the policies and procedures that currently render seniors invisible. This means that funding should be provided to re-settlement agencies to define the needs specific to seniors and to provide the ability to respond appropriately. In the current context, the needs of seniors within the re-settlement process necessitates going beyond their struggles to identify factors that can assist them and promote positive experiences.

Language Needs

The desire to learn English and speak fluently was one of the primary "needs" identified by the study participants. In each interview, it was identified as the main hindrance to increased participation in Canadian society. The findings support many studies in terms of transition and re-settlement to other countries (e.g Kilbride, 2000; Morals & Hanson, 2005; Tse, 1996).In this

study, participants' highlighted ways to enhance English language training by employing Spanish speakers and hosting "on-site" training in places such as grocery stores and banks.

The brokering of language created outcomes that ruptured the family system for parents and children, particularly youth. The space to create a dual identity was often fractured due to language barriers, particularly "language brokering." Language brokering exists within many ethnic communities whose first language is not English. The literature and this study consistently found that language brokering negatively impacted the family process of re-settlement (Morales & Hanson, 2005; Weisskirch, 2005; Tse, 1996; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Kilbride, 2000).

The participants also identified language as the main barrier to accessing employment and services, networking, building relationships, and navigating daily life (e.g. going to the grocery store, bank, etc.). Participants also felt that the higher their language acquisition, the more they were able to engage in civic participation and give back to Canada. These findings are consistent with those of Lamba (2003), Israelite (1999), Israelite and Hermann (1999), Israelite, Herman, Khan, Andino, and Pancini-Ketchabaw (1997), and Pierce (1994).

Gender Shifts

Friere (1995) suggested that the "core" identities of Latin American men and women are distinctly different. For example, a significant portion of the male identity includes supporting the family financially while the female's focus is geared towards emotional and day-to-day support (Friere, 1995). While the specificities of the shift in gender identity and relations remain contested in the literature, just over half of the participants in this study reflected that Latin American women and men experience a shift in gender identity and gender relations during the process of re-settlement. This finding confirms that gender identity and subsequent relations are impacted. This has been linked to a number of external factors related to the context of the

receiving society, namely the requirement of women to work and the differences in gender roles. These findings support those of Carranza (2001, 2007), Skogrand (2005), Brown, Pottie, and Dunn (2005) in Canada, Tienda and Booth (1991), Friere (1995), and Vega (1990) in the United States. Implications relating to the ways in which this shift affects the family system have yet to be fully theorized.

Throughout the previously mentioned research, both men and women required external or outside-of-the-family opportunities to explore the shifts in gender roles and norms. Friere (1995) discussed the difference in power conferred on women and men in North American society. He also highlights the differences in cultural norms and the subsequent requirement of Latino men and women to adapt to new gender norms reflective of this power difference. The translation of these shifts highlights a need for extensive gendered work with both men and women. The need for support, both formal and informal, through networks and peer support has been a theme throughout this and other research. In terms of gender dynamics, this need is central to the resolution and ability to re-settle successfully. Peer support groups have been helpful for men in particular to re-negotiate their gender identities while remaining consistent with their country of origin and successfully create an identity that belongs in their new context (Pottie et al., 2005).

Emerging Discussions and Analysis

The following discussion presents an analysis of the major findings in this research. Interwoven within the themes presented is an overarching theme of barriers, primarily that of systemic racism. It is the position of this paper that the examples of barriers given by participants, such as the lack of foreign credential recognition, experiences of discrimination, and certain elements of culture shifts, are enactments of systemic racism in everyday experiences. Also, the lack of appropriate language acquisition programs, meaningful counselling, and the

means and ability to community organizing are also symptomatic of expressions of racist discourse and "othering."

Systemic racism. "Racism" and subsequent overt acts are viewed commonly as part of a historical process of biological determinism (Watt, 2005). However, in the current landscape of Canadian society, racism often occurs within everyday practices and experiences. Essentially, a discourse of white privilege has allotted a said privilege to create and define reality. In terms of analyzing practices of race, in examining this discourse it becomes apparent that this privilege is embedded in the ability of the dominant group to create a "reality" through the creation of "the other" (Bell, 2003). The participants in this study articulated experiences of systemic racism and prejudice, which relegated them to the margins of being "non-white" and learning to exist within the predefined category. It became evident in this study that Canada, as a nation which is dependent on its flow of immigrants and refugees, is also dependent on systematically discriminating against those constructed as the "other."

Regarding foreign-trained professionals, the lack of recognition of foreign credentials is one example of a vehicle that is used to enact everyday racism. Participants consistently reflected on the fragmentation of information received regarding their credentials. They also noted opportunities to have their credentials and experience recognized, yet, for various reasons, these always seemed to be out of their reach. Receiving recognition for their credentials also meant that they must adhere to Canadian standards and regulations around work. Therefore, implicit goals of Canadian professionalization are present. By the denial of immigrants' and refugees' meaningful entrance into the labour market, as a result of policies and practice, Canada has consistently yielded the marginalization of immigrants and refugees in the economic discourse of Canada. This is achieved by constructing education and experiential credentials as "other" and

forcing assimilative practices on those who are allowed to engage in their chosen profession. Through these practices, Canada has, in effect, strengthened the notion that the Canadian equivalent is more desirable.

To maintain a continued confidence in Canadian training, experience, and credentials, parameters around the acceptance of other credentials are strictly enforced. Acceptance, then, seemingly only occurs when an immigrant's education and experience are reflective of the dominant space's ideologies under the guise of "standards." This is accomplished through the creation of an education system and labour market practices that are reflective of the values, norms, and knowledge produced and maintained by the dominant space. The interplay of these results in terms of knowledge and norms becomes indicative of the way "Canadians" do things or want them to be done. This does not exist in isolation. Similar to the construction of immigrant and refugee discourse, the "self" is constructed only in relation to the perceived "other." To achieve this there must be a systematic dismantling of all of the practices of the perceived "other", which render it inferior. Therefore, foreign-trained credentials and experiences become discounted knowledge because of a perceived lack of affinity with Canadian credentials.

The denial of foreign credentials and experience, as well as cultural and ethnic identities, led the participants in this study to convey notions that they are *starting at zero*. The denial of their previous life experience and the stripping of their history created a void with a particular assigned meaning. They were to begin a "new life" with an identity that was already designed for them and imposed upon them upon their entrance to Canada. This identity is fraught with assumptions about immigrants, refugees, and Latin Americans. It also outlines the appropriate ways to interact with Canadian society and ascribes their place within society. The notion of

starting at zero highlights the distance between the perceptions of the Canadian nation and Latin American people. While Latin American people feel they have nothing, Canada not only gives them entrance to the nation but also ascribes their existence in the margins. In popular and mainstream perceptions of the status of immigrants and refugees, living in the margins of Canada is preferential to living in many countries in Latin America. This can be seen in the way that the immigration and refugee discourse is constructed in Canada through the use of a "Self/Other" dichotomy.

Systemic discrimination has been found to be one of the main influences on the re-settlement process of immigrants and refugees, yet there has been little analysis of its impact on the experiences of immigrants and refugees (Papillon, 2002). One of the main outcomes of systemic racism and its subsequent barriers is the diminished ability to navigate the overarching immigration systems. Many of the participants identified that part of the struggle of the re-settlement process was linked to the challenges associated with navigating both formal and informal Canadian systems. Participants commented that negotiating these systems successfully was integral to their feelings of success in Canada. This is consistent with the literature regarding social cohesiveness and civic participation among immigrants and refugees (Grant & Thompson, 2000).

Examples of other formal systems are consistent with this theory as well. The Child Welfare System actively engages in promoting parenting strategies that are reflective of Canadian standards of parenting. This is enforced through legislation which places limits on parents regarding the discipline of their children. Many times, parents are denied the ability to use "culturally" appropriate parenting methods since these methods are not consistent with the

Canadian style of parenting. This translates into the assumption that forms of "other" parenting which are not sanctioned by Canada are somehow inferior.

In learning to negotiate these systems, the participants reflected on experiences of systemic barriers and racism. These experiences have come to characterize the experiences of the perceived "other" in relation to the perception difference from the dominant space. The literature on acculturation and re-settlement is consistent in that immigrants and refugees experience, to some extent, systemic racism. This knowledge, and the resulting impact of this racism, has not been addressed meaningfully within the public arena. While Canada presents itself as a welcoming, friendly nation towards immigrants and refugees, the reality is much different and this reality is maintained consistently. It is my perception that systemic discrimination and racism are the manifestation of attempts to marginalize further the perceived "other" and to reinforce the necessity of assimilation in order to be allowed the ability to contribute to the fabric of Canadian society. These exclusionary practices send a clear message that difference is *tolerated* but is not the preferred method of re-settlement.

Why does this occur? It relates to the foundation of Canadian nationalist ideologies that implicitly favour assimilative practices. In nation building, Canada must produce a favourable framework, a term I refer to as "Canadianism," to capture the essence of what it means to be Canadian and what is *not* Canadian. What is *not* Canadian is defined by inferior elements Canada has constructed to exert its own superiority. The implicit and explicit efforts of the Canadian government to promote the assimilation of immigrants and refugees are what I refer to as "Canadianization." This term is reflective of the same meanings associated with its counterpart "Americanization" where immigrants and refugees, or the perceived "other," are required to move towards becoming a reflection of a dominant mode of thinking. What is different in

"Canadianization" is that the rules of this identity are embedded implicitly within Canadian society as opposed to "Americanization" where assimilation and the mode to achieve it are stated explicitly.

Canadianization is produced and re-produced through the policies and practices of the Canadian government and the subsequent cultural norms to which people are required to adhere. "Canadianism" is based, therefore, upon a mythical idealistic cultural identity that is characteristic of the dominant space. Persons born in Canada have been indoctrinated with these ideologies throughout their life courses. One participant commented (referring to me): "You know how it works because you were born here, [pause] but no one tells you when you come." As a result of "growing up Canadian," these practices have been normalized to be reflective of nationalist aims and reproduce this identity in every day interactions. For those perceived as "other," engagement with Canadian society requires them to actively attempt to work towards assimilation into this identity.

Producing discrimination: The "other" by native-born Canadians. One of the systems through which the government enacts the everyday practices of racism is the construction of negative stereotypes. These stereotypes serve as a paradigm through which the dominant space creates and contains "the other" in relation to itself. Common stereotypes assigned to Latin American culture are those of drug traffickers and gang affiliations (Carrillos, 1999). The stereotype of gang-affiliation was highlighted most notably by, but was not limited to, adolescent participants of Colombian origin. The participants felt that many of their experiences of discrimination were a result of Canadian society's negative perceptions of them, which emphasized their perceptions of Canadians' lack of understanding. These stereotypes and the corresponding lack of understanding were based upon two different, yet interwoven, elements

present in the creation of an imposed identity for Latin Americans which seeks to render them inferior.

The first element is the reproduction of negative stereotypes, such as that of the Latin American drug dealer, particularly as related to people of Colombian origin, which are based upon negative, false assumptions regarding the Latin American community. These stereotypes are fraught with stagnation and limited upward mobility. The second element is the creation of a "multicultural" identity through "Canadianization" and nationalist goals which deny the differences between cultures and categorizes all immigrants and refugees within the realm of the "other" and places them within the margins. These two elements work simultaneously to cement the distance between the dominant space and the Latin American people.

While the one of the study participants expressed that they were very grateful for the opportunity "to live in safety in such a beautiful country [Canada]," they also identified feelings of "otherness" in relation to mainstream Canadian society.

Existing as the perceived "other," leads to social exclusion and renders people to existence within the margins of dominant society. Existing within the margins flows into the previously mentioned theme of starting over at *zero* and correlates with a decrease in social status because Latin Americans were distanced from the dominant space. The study participants identified that "people have to leave everything they have, and it's hard to come here with nothing and start again from zero." The sense of "starting at zero" was described by the participants in relation to various elements of the re-settlement process - specifically living in the margins facing barriers to full participation.

Controlling expressions of culture. Parameters are strictly regulated around expressions of culture in the public domain. This is maintained so that Canadian culture, norms, and laws are

not threatened (Li, 2001). Expressions of culture and deviations from Canadian society are at best *tolerated* (Papillon, 2002). Seemingly, because acculturation revolves around how immigrants and refugees adapt to and negotiate the dominant culture, expressions of multiculturalism "on the ground" or in everyday life have appeared to become a time-limited celebration of "all that is not white" or not "Canadian." Responding to different nuances of cultures, the participants discussed the diverse ways that Latin American community members integrated into Canadian society. Different stories revealed the different responses to the shifts in culture. For example, one male participant reflected that some Latin American people "think that to be a Canadian, you can no longer be Latin American, so they leave that behind in our country." Another participant stated that members of the Latin American community are happy and express great pride when their children no longer spoke Spanish and were "successful" at assimilating and distancing themselves from the Latin American culture. Other participants noted a different approach to integrating in society: "You are a new Canadian and a Latin American, it is your new Canadian society that embraces you and nurtures you now." Others discussed the need for more community networking, identifying that there is some negativity associated with developing a closed community: "They don't want to be Canadian. [pause]. They just want to be around other Latin people, and that's good for them, I guess."

The participants reflected on the experience of seniors and youth. In recalling a story about a family friend, one participant told the story of a young woman "who didn't know where to be. She couldn't be at home with the rigidity, but didn't like Canada either." Another participant commented that seniors are often isolated because "they don't want to learn, they feel too old to become part of Canada. They just want to listen to Latin radio and watch Latin T.V. They sometimes don't know other Latins and they don't care." These examples appear to be

consistent with three of the four modes of acculturation theorized by Berry (1988): assimilation, biculturalism, and marginalization.

Internal division of the Latin American community. Experiences of racism and discrimination brought forth notions of co-ethnic shame. The participants discussed feelings of judgment and prejudice from other members of the Latin American community. These stereotypes highlighted an internalization of oppression experienced by native-born, primarily white Canadians. The participants identified co-ethnic racism as a hindrance not only to community organizing within the Latin American community but to their participation in Canadian society. This lack of community organizing and capacity-building contributes significantly to the fracturing and fragmentation of the Latin American community. Experiences of co-ethnic racism were often reflective of the internalization and reinforcement of dominant stereotypes. Co-ethnic racism is also a mode by which people are able to distance themselves from "other" co-ethnics in an attempt to move closer to the dominant space.

Ethnic pride and resiliency. The desire to maintain language and culture is highly correlated with ethnic pride. Ethnic pride in this context referred more to the "essence" of the Latin American culture and moved beyond the common understanding of ethnic pride, which indicates a pride in a racialized identity (Carranza, 2007). The theme of ethnic pride emerged throughout the research interviews. The participants reflected about feeling a sense of pride: "I know who I am and where I came from. [pause]. That doesn't mean I am not Canadian and not (Latin American)." A strong sense of ethnic pride was a key theme in the participants' perceptions of successfully negotiating re-settlement and identity.

Ideas around civic participation and building a sense of community were linked to many aspects of this research, particularly to ethnic pride. The participants identified that relationships

are privileged in Latin America in contrast to Canada where productivity, structure, and individualist notions saturate society. Re-settling in Canada within the different social and political climate means they need to make a significant adjustment to the way people interact in the social order (Padilla & Perez, 2003). This, in turn, shapes how Latin Americans' social interactions and contacts exist within the receiving society.

While the shift between collectivism and individualism is indicative of one of the many cultural shifts required of people upon entrance to Canadian society, maintaining a semblance of collectivism was a source of pride for many participants. The participants reflected that, in Latin American societies, relationships are the foundation of community. *Communidad* is not a given. It is worked for and maintained through networks, sharing, and reciprocity. The participants reflected that it is part of their cultural histories to actively engage in their societies and exist within relationships of mutual reciprocity. It is also linked to the meaning associated with time. "Latin American" time is created in the relationships between people as opposed to in Canada where there are specific requirements related to time. Canadian time is highly structured and accounted for. The ability to build relationships and a sense of civic participation is related to feelings of engagement and affinity within not only the Latin American community, but also with Canadian society.

The development of capacity in the Latin American community was identified to promote community and resistance in a number of ways. First, community organizing was correlated to the development of a sense of shared ethnic identity and strength. The participants identified strength in Latin American identities and believe that this strength was one of the key elements to furthering their community. Examples of resiliency were woven throughout the narratives that the participants shared. One of the ways that the participants believed the losses of re-settlement

could be resolved simultaneously with building agency was through building on the resilience of the Latin American community and strengthening networks and community. Through sharing and promoting strength, the participants identified their ability to combat negative stereotypes through shared and exchanged knowledge. Ethnic pride and a commitment to shared "Latin American" ideologies could create a space where culture is represented and valued. The participants felt that, by highlighting the positive aspects of their culture and engaging in mutual understanding, systemic barriers could be minimized or abolished. The participants consistently felt that Latin Americans had much to contribute to Canada and that if given a "chance" they could prove their worthiness. It appeared to me that, while the participants desired a "chance" from Canadian society, they felt that asserting themselves was also necessary to "earn" their place in the landscape of Canada.

Finding a place in the fabric of Canadian society was related to the theme of "giving back." This concept reflects the multiplicity of experiences and perceptions. "Giving back" and contributions to Canadian society were constructed in a number of various ways. First, people felt that the knowledge and experience they brought form their country of origin could enrich the knowledge base of Canadian society, professionally, personally, and culturally. The ability to bring a new perspective was a source of pride for participants and also a way in which they felt could expand the minds of Canadians and deconstruct notions of difference. The second feeling of "giving back" was related to reciprocity for the opportunity to live, work, and flourish in Canada. The participants appeared to feel a sense of responsibility to reinvest in Canada and to, in a sense, "re-pay" Canada for what they had received. Along these lines was the idea of strengthening Canada, because, in turn, doing so would contribute to fostering their own development and a positive re-settlement process for future generations. This particular

motivation to “give back” is linked to the collectivist social structures people bring with them from their country of origin. Finally, “giving back” is linked to the creation of a new identity. Civic participation and contributing to Canada was one of the ways that participants seemed to learn how to navigate systems and create an identity that is based partly on their ethnic identity and partly on a new Canadian identity.

To promote social and cultural participation, the study participants identified that one of their “needs” was to establish a community space where people can celebrate Latin American culture. Discussing ways of building community networks, one participant suggested that “we share many things amongst Latin Americans. [pause] We could come together through arts, a nightlife, as you say it. We could celebrate, we could come together if we had somewhere to do this.” The participants felt that this would give them the opportunity to engage with other Latin Americans and learn about other cultures, build ethnic pride, and, ultimately, resist assimilation. It was also a way to engage the larger society and a way to break down barriers and stereotypes. This is also reflective of a shared commitment to co-exist within the larger society. Through strengthening the Latin American community, the participants felt that it could be place for all Canadians to come to learn and engage in the mutual sharing of cultures.

Although the development of community capacity and the creation of physical space were consistent throughout the interviews and the analysis, the reasons were varied among participants. These reasons varied from the fracturing of the Latin American community to a lack of knowledge of community members. I perceive that, on the informal level, the Latin American community has not developed because of a lack of awareness of other Latin American people and the physical and historical context of the Waterloo Region. Although the Waterloo Region is reflective of larger Canadian cities regarding its various ethnic groups, it does not boast the

degree of plurality that is found in areas such as Toronto and Montreal (Carranza, 2007). I echo Carranza's (2007) position that there may be a lack of acceptance of ethnic and racial diversity in Waterloo Region since most citizens are white and of European origin. While this cannot be confirmed definitively, both my interaction with participants and the data suggest that this may be the case.

In terms of a formal base for the Latin American community, I assert that this is reflective of the lack of reciprocity in the relationship between Canada as a receiving society and its immigrants and refugees. The participants identified that there seemed to be a lack of funding from organizations in the Waterloo Region and that they did not believe there could be funding for a Latin American organization. It is my position that lack of funding is a result of Canada's approach to re-settlement in that much of it is left to chance and that ownership is placed on the individual (Martell, 2002). It is also my position that building a sense of community, both formally and informally, would contribute to the successful re-settlement of Latin American immigrants and refugees in the Waterloo Region.

All of these strategies identified by participants, primarily ways to build formal and informal networks, highlight self-discovered resolutions to identified "needs." The participants were forced to give up portions of their identities, experience decreases in social status, undergo culture shifts, and experience a lessened sense of belonging. The possibility of creating voice and reclaiming power exists within the development of the Latin American community. Working collectively, the Latin American community could seek to create a counter-narrative to the discourse of individualism where hierarchies are maintained and power is concentrated in the dominant space. Implicit within this counter-narrative is the development of ways to engage with both Canadian and Latin American societies in ways that are meaningful to them. The

participants felt that the resolutions identified would combat these negative elements and contribute to increasing positive re-settlement processes for other Latin American people.

Trauma in pre-migration and re-settlement. One theme that emerged significantly in analyzing re-settlement and cultural transition is that of pre-migration trauma. As opposed to immigrants that come seeking strictly upward mobility, the process of re-settlement for those who felt a "push" out of their national borders has yet to be theorized fully in terms of age, gender, and social class (Portes, 1998). Trauma in one's country has been linked to a significantly different path of re-settlement (Wasik, 2006). The experience of becoming a refugee or asylum seeker, coupled with experiences of torture, significantly shapes a person's identity, trust, and feelings of safety and security (Carranza, 2001).

The "shock" of migration is thought to compact experiences of previous and current trauma according to this research. Pre-migration trauma was linked to the participants' cultural histories of governmental violence which re-emerged when they encountered the formal systems of Canada. In this research study, the participants identified that meeting with lawyers related to the immigrations process, repeatedly retelling their stories, and having to prove their "need" for asylum often triggered feelings of trauma. In working with refugees, Balgopal (2000) noted that, often, categorizations imposed by the receiving society and the strict procedures brought out feelings associated with trauma experienced in a refugee's or immigrant's country of birth. In the context of this project, the meaning of "trauma" rejects the typical North American interpretation of trauma, which focuses on personal deficits as a pre-cursor to experiences of trauma. Trauma is contextualized to experiences in one's country of birth and cannot be separated from experiences of collective trauma.

Researchers have argued for a reconceptualization of trauma that establishes its links to the larger context (Lee, 2007). As a result of the Western medical model and narrow research approaches, outcomes of the research and interventions often focus on how to "fix" the individual or, worse, on how to manage their symptoms. Reconceptualizing trauma would recognize that experiences of trauma differ significantly among various ethnic groups and individuals, which has various outcomes for the process of re-settlement.

While it may be possible to work within the confines of Canadian ideologies, one element that was consistent through the project was that, in working to resolve issues, the participants felt that their community had the knowledge and resources to respond. The participants perceived that other members of the community possessed insider cultural knowledge, which would translate into an understanding that was not as readily accessible to outsiders in a therapeutic relationship.

To respond meaningfully to the re-emergence of trauma due to contact with formal Canadian structures requires a shift in policy and practices on the behalf of the Canadian government and agencies dealing with immigration and re-settlement. I believe that the only way to achieve this shift is for government practices to promote a flexibility that allows for an approach that is consistent with the needs of the person involved with the system. This would require a shift in the approach to immigration from a one-directional charity model to an approach of reciprocity where a mutual understanding promotes the centrality of immigrants' and refugees' lived realities. The participants felt that settlement organizations should promote and train qualified people from the Latin American community to respond to therapeutic needs.

Community recommendations. One of the primary recommendations of this project is to establish an organization that is able to provide both formal and informal assistance. This

would include learning about the Canadian systems, resume writing, learning about daily living, etc. As indicated by participants, this organization should promote community leadership and mentoring and provide opportunities to celebrate in culture. It should also be inclusive of different degrees of language acquisition and have the capacity to respond to individuals who would like to develop their language skills. Concurrently, this organization should work from a social justice lens. Advocacy work and public education are two examples of work done by community agencies in other cities (e.g. Hispanic Development Council) in an effort to support social justice. The overarching mandate of the agency is recommended to be strategy aimed at eliminating the root cause of oppression in an effort to transform society into one characterized by social justice and caring.

Political representation and access to voice through fostering community engagement. The lack of political participation among immigrants and refugees has been well-documented. Low voting rates and little access to political office contributes to the invisibility of ethnic minorities (Reitz & Banerjee, 2005), a situation that many participants felt was occurring with Latin American people currently in the Waterloo Region. Participation in the political system is thought to be a sign of the level of acculturation and civic participation according to Canadian standards. I assert that the lack of political engagement of Latin American people in the Waterloo Region is a result of the lack of the reflection of their interests by the political realm.

Pro-active measures to gain voice are required for the community. This proactivity requires a shared sense of a common goal within the Latin American community. One participant commented that he/she did not believe they had enough numbers to be politically persuasive. However, the Waterloo Region has the same percentage of Latin American people as

Toronto and Vancouver do. What distinguishes these regions is the level of racial segregation and the lack of visible diversity in Waterloo Region (Carranza, 2007), which is visible in Toronto and Vancouver. If change is possible, a politically organized group at the community level must work to make the voice of the Latin American community heard.

Implications for Policy

The participants identified various levels of knowledge surrounding immigration policy and other policies they felt affected their re-settlement experience. Some had knowledge pre-migration and others learned it through the process of re-settlement. As discussed in the analysis chapter, the most prevalent theme surrounding policy was that there was a lack of coordinated and accessible information. What emerged through discussing and analyzing policy was that there was a significant shift in policy "on the ground" that did not provide a context for successful re-settlement.

Actualization of policy objectives. "Multiculturalism's" policy objective was to enhance Canadian society through the fostering of the contributions made by various ethnic groups. The government signalled an intention to support this goal through programs and policy initiatives. This strategy was intended to eliminate systemic discrimination (Reitz & Banerjee, 2005). With the growing trend toward non-white, ethnically, and culturally diverse acceptance of immigrants and refugees, the focus on racial equality has been subsumed by an opaque, benign linguistic discourse that hides the expression of racism (Li. 2001). The Multicultural Act and the Employment Equity Act have implicitly codified this language and have created a milieu where it is socially acceptable to consider non-white immigrants as "other" (Li, 2001).

One of the impacts attributed to this shift is that policies are concerned with larger ideals as opposed to specific goals and objectives (Reitz & Banerjee, 2005). Although there are a

number of policies in place to combat racism, they are not implemented in a coordinated fashion. This renders a double bind in terms of expressions of racism. First, acts are approached in such a way that the language is ambiguous and left to interpretation. Second, without coordination, there is confusion on who deals with what and how. The conclusions drawn in this study echo that of Reitz and Banerjee (2005), Li (2001), Mis (2004), and Stewart (2005). Policies require coordination at all three levels of government with specific goals and evaluation measures in place.

For the successful re-settlement of immigrants and refugee populations, the discourse around immigration needs to be shifted away from the charity model. Canada is dependent on immigration for fertility, economic, and social capital reasons. The maintenance of this myth begins with the application to re-settle in Canada and is implicit in the applicant screening process. While there needs to be measures in place to protect National security, these measures should not be based on class, gender, or ethnic lines (Li, 2001; Mis, 2004). Nor should they reflect the charity model, which perceives that people are "getting something for nothing." Adherence to this "smoke screen" thwarts the efforts of many people coming to Canada and contributes to larger reinforcements of systemic barriers. The academic literature acknowledges that this is a falsehood. Therefore, an information and dissemination plan needs to be enacted to allow all Canadian to have access to this information.

Translation of policy into practice. Immigration policy remained a mystery to many of the participants. Some noted that the picture they were given pre-migration was significantly different than the reality they experienced post-migration. This inconsistency is most evident in the issue of foreign credentialism. "You are crying for doctors. Canada needs professionals, but when we are here, you don't want them." An analysis of immigration policy "on the ground" is

needed. Along similar lines, it is Canada as a nation's responsibility, as the power holder in this relationship, to investigate where this misinformation is coming from and to devise a plan to institute the needed changes. Immigrants and refugees deserve to have access to accurate information prior to coming to Canada. Both of these factors are areas of further research required to help immigrants and refugees make informed migration choices.

Foreign-trained credential recognition. Professional associations only give a certain number of certifications per year despite continuing demands for professionals. A regulatory body in Canada is lacking to supervise the certification process and no measure exists to investigate decisions. Ljijak (2000) suggested the development of a co-coordinated effort between assessment centers, educational facilities, and professional associations. A regulatory body should monitor these organizations and meetings should be scheduled regularly to ensure effective communication and recognition of the interests of foreign-trained credentials.

As it is the governmental responsibility to ensure the safe re-settlement process of immigrants and refugees, there should be money allotted to these organizations. This cost would be significantly less than the costs associated with the underutilization of economic and human capital. Promoting foreign-trained credentials would also significantly enhance cultural and social contributions through social inclusion. It would also bring diverse perspectives and new ideas into the workplace and contribute to a growing knowledge-based economy.

Education policy. Canadian policy uses educational institutions as an agent through which to promote collective welfare. Education is used as a means by which people can achieve agency through the promotion of skills and knowledge that foster the ability to engage meaningfully in society (Cornelius & Hollifield, 2003). However, educational institutions remain reflective of the dominant ideologies that reproduce marginalization (De Vos & Suarez–Orozco,

1990). Latin American students are subject to covert and overt acts of discrimination from their peers and teachers (Suarez-Orozco, 2003).

The educational system is noted to be one of the main agents of the socialization of all children. Therefore, educational policy should adopt a proactive stance of education and prevention measures on racial discrimination. This would not only seek to eliminate discrimination but would foster a sense of mastery and agency in all children in their relationships with their peers. Egalitarian relationships between students, teachers, administrators, and parents would create a safe, supportive environment for children and adolescents, which would nurture their academic goals. With positive social mirroring and reciprocal relationships between the family and the school system, the sense of social distance among Latin American children would diminish, internal conflicts would lessen, and a healthier environment that promotes the advancement of Latin American children in school and in the larger society would flourish.

Policy and economic support for community-based re-settlement organizations. When involved with services in the past or present, the study participants identified that staff members behaved as if their services were trying to "do too much with too little." Another participant identified that another organization "was doing a good job, but if they had more money, they could do more." This is consistent with the findings on research into service organizations that work with immigrant, refugee, and other marginalized populations (Mis, 2004). Often people are misinformed about services and are left to feel disillusioned, which negatively impacts their desire to try again. Working with an agency in attempt to gain economic support, one participant commented, "what I thought they did and what they did were not the same. It was if they couldn't or didn't want to help me. [pause] It made me not want to ask for help again." Other

participants commented, “when we ask for help, maybe we get it, maybe we don’t. [pause] But when we encounter things there that are not good, we don’t want to ask again.”

Ultimately, the participants identified that, in response to their needs, was the desire to work with other Latin American people. The participants felt that their community has the social and cultural capital to provide this support but that it is missing the economic component. Mutual aid by co-ethnics was identified as key because they share insider knowledge of the re-settlement process and a cultural background of community and reciprocity. They also share affinity towards the same goals of promoting their culture in the larger society. The participants also identified a need to communicate in their own language (not through a translator), which is possible when working with other co-ethnics. Re-settlement is about more than assistance in financial and housing resources. It is about learning to navigate a new society and negotiating one’s place in it (Mis, 2004). The participants identified that other co-ethnics were more acutely aware of this as opposed to their Canadian-born counterparts. This translated into a sense of care and nurturing that was missing in social service organizations in the Waterloo Region. One participant commented that, “they do it because it’s their job.”

The recommendation of this project is to establish an organization that is able to provide both formal and informal assistance. This would include learning about Canadian systems, resume writing, learning about daily living, etc. As indicated by the study participants, this organization should promote community leadership and mentoring and provide opportunities to celebrate in culture. Concurrently, this organization should work from a social justice lens. Advocacy work and public education are two examples of work done by community agencies in other cities (e.g. Hispanic Development Council) in an effort to support social justice. The overarching mandate of the agency is recommended to be to develop strategy aimed at

eliminating the root cause of oppression in order to transform society into one characterized by justice and caring.

The participants in this study identified a lack of information about settlement services and other organizations. Since participants have identified this as a "need" in this and other studies (Martell, 2002), I assert that the mandate of these organizations is to assist the participants of this study. Therefore, it is the position of this research that social service organizations have a responsibility to respond to this need. Providing assistance in political organization and disseminating information is the beginning of this process.

Practice Implications

In discussions with the study participants, many shared suggestions for those working within the "helping profession." These professions varied from nurses, doctors, and immigration workers to therapists and social workers. The following presents the over-arching themes and the recommendations for meaningful engagement.

Genuine caring. One participant commented on working with a counsellor. The participant perceived the attitude that this was the counsellor's job and that was it. Other participants who reflected that people in helping relationships often reflected the position of knower echoed this sentiment; they were there only to fix problems. This is characteristic of the Western notion of the charity model, which builds upon social work. Again, this conclusion is based in part on my subjective position as a professionally trained social worker.

Meaningful interactions were described as those that were characterized by genuine concern for the person and mutually working together to resolve issues. A shift in counselling focus is recommended, which will be discussed in the next section. Possible recommendations for improvement in this area concern "helpers" continually updating credentials. Another

recommendation is for helping professionals to utilize supervision opportunities to identify burnout and vicarious trauma. These recommendations are somewhat general as the root cause of this disconnect in relationships is unknown. Further research in this area is required to establish causality so that proper recommendations can be established.

Moving beyond culturally competent services. Dean (2001) identified the problem with the adherence to "culturally competent services." He asserted that multicultural competency is flawed since the discourse surrounding this subject area makes assertions that are implausible. First, culture is fluid and changing in nature and shifts over time and space. Second, competence indicates control and effectiveness. How can one be competent of something that is fluid and changing? Also, how can one profess a sense of mastery over something in which they are not engaged?

As the move towards culturally-competent services grows, mastery over these services is seen as increasingly important in the social work field (Williams, 2003). Jeffrey (2005) asserted that social work as a helping profession is linked implicitly with the characteristics of being a "good" white person. An example of this is the "generic" skills taught in social work education that are reflective of the dominant space. These skills are thought to be universally applicable yet the reality is they deny the different lived realities of those who are perceived as "other" (Jeffrey, 2005). This is a result of the Euro-centric ideologies of the privileged assisting the marginalized and working towards the attainment of socially appropriate norms and values, both of which are ideologies of the dominant space. As these services are not reflective of the "needs" of participants in this study, the recommendation is towards a shift in orientation of services.

The recommendation is a synthesis of *postmodern view* and *socio-political perspective* as outlined by Dean (2001). The postmodern view emphasizes the continual fluidity of culture and

recommends that helpers work from a “not-knowing” position. Helpers are required to sift through their own knowledge and assumptions about culture, what Dean refers to as “cultural baggage,” and place it at the forefront of their consciousness so that it does not impact work with service users (Dean, 2001). This places the helper and the service user in a dialogical relationship where constant learning on both parties occurs. This perspective should not force the client into teaching the helper about their culture. What is important is that the helper work *with* the service user in the meaning making process in interpreting their reality or in the re-authoring of stories.

The second component is the socio-political approach. This places service users’ struggles within the larger social milieu of racism, sexism, classism, etc. The complex interplay of structural forces is an imperative piece of counselling. Implicit within this approach are the notions of consciousness-raising and social justice. This work is therefore, action-oriented, where service users as a part of their journey reshape the context of their understandings and interactions within larger society.

These two theoretical approaches have the ability to work well together and have positive impacts on services users and implications for change elements. Using the two approaches is consistent with the approaches taken in countries that do not utilize the Western medical model. These approaches to therapy and counselling identify the problem as an external locus and do not blame or pathologize the clients. The relationship between helper and service user is transformed into a dialogical relationship where meaning-making and knowledge is co-created. It is my position that this approach also possesses the elements necessary to working with victims of trauma since the approach is consistent with Wasik’s (2006) notions of helping immigrants and refugees, which have been relatively successful.

Chapter Seven: Limitations and Reflections

While attempts were made to mitigate the limiting factors, there are still some areas that could have further developed. The following is a discussion of these issues and the possible impacts that could have occurred in the research.

Reflections

Subjective reflections. As the interviews were based upon the mutual exchange between the participants and me, the possibility exists that the emergence of some of the themes were in relation to my position. I became most acutely aware of this in the emergent of the "ethnic shame" theme. So, in this sense, my subjective position (as rooted in the dominant space) must be analyzed in relation to the emergence of this theme. Since "shame" is constructed in relation to that which is perceived superior, my whiteness could have prompted this response. This could be reflective of the context of Canada where I am a member of the dominant space. Therefore, expressions of "shame" could be a conscious or unconscious attempt to develop an affinity of identity. This also could occur in relation to my being a representative of European whiteness (which is my background) used in the violent process of colonization and reflective of the legacy of oppression and colonization that is present within the Latin American community.

Limitations

Relationship-building. One of the major limitations of this study was the time frame. This type of work often requires a lengthier commitment on the part of the researcher to develop two different types of networks. The first would be to establish a presence in the community and to build trust and rapport with community members. In a communication with an individual working in the social services field, she indicated that Latin American people respond better to more personal approaches as opposed to flyers and radio announcements. Carranza (2007)

discussed the importance of developing rapport and trust with El Salvadorian families who come to Canada as refugees. I believe that these findings apply to this project as well. Throughout the interviews, the participants asked me various questions which amounted to what Carranza (2007) noted as "an interview of me" (p. 215). Through the process of my research, I realized that, in promoting the project, time would have been a benefit for me to establish a relationship with the participants. Poteet (2002), a white researcher with the Latin American community in Toronto, echoed these notions. He noted that, the higher his level of engagement with the participants, the more open and honest were the responses he received. While there is no way to be certain that developing a profile in the community would have yielded positive outcomes, feedback from members of the community and from C.L.A.R.O. indicate strongly that it would have strengthened the project.

The second type of networking would be with community agencies. At times, I felt that the agencies were mistrustful of the project, which hindered a willingness to promote participation and support the project. In a meeting with a community member, he explained that there had been a wealth of research conducted in the Waterloo Region. The research that had been done had yielded mixed reviews from the participants. Often, the participants were left feeling used since the results were never put into action. Another service provider commented: "The barriers are already known! Do something!" I believe that developing a service network could have assisted me in not only promoting the participants but also obtaining other viewpoints and feedback on the study.

Ethical considerations. The second limitation was the parameters established by the McMaster Research and Ethics Board. I acknowledge that these policies and regulations are necessary and must be followed to ensure ethical research and participant safety. However, the

challenges of “cross-cultural” research are often expressed in the different values of cultures. For example, the parameters placed on relationships with participants. Ethical guidelines suggest that special steps must be taken when study participants and the researcher have a prior relationship. This limits the possibility of developing not only a profile in the community but also a meaningful relationship with participants based upon trust. It also suggests that study participants are passive and lack agency. These assumptions are heightened especially when the population is marginalized.

In terms of this research, the participants showed a high level of agency and strength, a characteristic they identified to be indicative of the Latin American culture as a whole. Along similar lines, the development of a research relationship is synonymous with a “singular” or “one-sided relationship.” This is in stark contrast to the Latin American value on community and inter-personal relationships as described by many participants. If I had had the time and the ethical clearance to build rapport and engage with the community, I could have constructed a more reciprocal relationship. The participants discussed relationships based upon mutual exchanges and, in this case, I had nothing to exchange other than the hope that this project would ultimately benefit them.

In addition, the implicit ethical requirements to comply with a structured relationship acted as a barrier to this research. Researchers that are perceived to be formal have been found to instil a sense of distrust and suspicion or a feeling that the participant must “please” them with their answers (Stutman & Baruch, 2002). The rules of engagement with participants create a sense of authoritarianism. The encounter begins with the discussion of the confidentiality, goals, and objectives of the research and, finally, the signing of the formal documents. It gives the illusion of a highly structured interaction and also places the researcher in a power position

simply because they have defined the rules that must be followed during the engagement. Different groups respond differently to this type of structured interaction. In the case of this research, although the forms were mailed out previously, the participants seemed to be at odds with the process and reflected feelings that I was managing their behaviour as opposed to vice versa.

Translation and language. One of the main limitations of the study was that I was only an English speaker and that I relied on the use of a translator. While the translator was trained professionally, there are some inherent problems with differences in linguistics. One of the myths of translation is that conceptual understandings can be adequately translated. This is not always a possibility since phenomena may not share the same meanings or may not have an equivalent in both languages (Lange, 2002). Marin and Marin (1991) highlighted that this is particularly relevant with Latin Americans due to the nuances in their language according to their country of birth. Lange (2002) suggested selecting an interpreter that has experience with the daily interactions of the population being studied. Although mentioned as a limitation, I am confident that the findings are as a close to accurate as possible. The translator consistently checked with the participants to ensure the accuracy of their statements. The study participants also commented on the translator's excellent skills.

Collaborating with a community organization and my social location. C.L.A.R.O. is an organization that has undergone serious structural changes over the course of the past few years. Previously, they had an international mandate where service provisions were directed at various countries in Latin America. They are currently trying to rebuild their organization with a new mandate to provide services to the Latin American community in the Waterloo Region. C.L.A.R.O.'s attempts to begin from the "ground up" will begin with the data obtained from this

project. It is not clear whether the previous organization of C.L.A.R.O. continues to have an image in the community. Since C.L.A.R.O. is not an established agency, there may be a lack of trust in the community. The study participants seemed unsure of C.L.A.R.O.'s role and their mission. Similarly, as I am not a member of the community, there could have been a lack of trust in me. One thing I did note was that, at the beginning of the interview, I shook hands with the participants. At the end of the majority of the interviews, largely with female participants, a semi-hug was exchanged. One participant told the translator to tell me, "she's a nice Canadian."

The last possibility related to my identity is that, as an outsider, I may have missed implicit meanings within culture that an insider may have accessed more readily. This I believe was counter-balanced in the interviews with the translator, who would often direct my attention to such nuances and implicit meanings.

Interviews with service providers. Since some of the services identified by participants exist within the Waterloo Region, this study would have benefited from hearing the perceptions and experiences of service providers. Their perspective could have provided an insight into how these services are being used and why they may not be. It could have also generated ideas as to how to create an awareness of services or identify potential changes that needed to be made for people to utilize the said services.

Latin Americans as a cultural category. While there is much to learn about the Latin American culture generally, one of the limitations of this study is that it did not recognize each culture distinctively. This is one of the major pitfalls described by Lange (2002) in doing research with Latin Americans in the United States. She explained that, due to the varying histories of colonization, civil war, and economic structure in Latin American countries of origin, the differences, as much as the similarities, require highlighting (Lange, 2002). Although

demographic questionnaires were completed and people identified themselves according to their country of birth, these were not published with the data to protect the anonymity of the participants because of the informal networking and small sample size.

The final limitation is the inclusion of people of all motivations to migrate. Forced migration is a significantly different path than that of other immigrants. In the specific case of Latin American forced migrants, the motivations of forced migration may include colonization, governmental violence, political strife, civil war, and torture in their country of birth. Forced migration also impacts the second generation in ways not experienced by other immigrants (Suarez-Orosco, 2004). While forced migrants share the larger issues associated with migration, differences such as limited choices in receiving societies, language preparation, and emotional and mental preparation, among others, mediate their re-settlement process (Carranza, 2007). While these limitations are significant, the exploration of re-settlement and the themes that emerged contribute to an understanding of the portrait of Latin Americans in the Waterloo Region. It contributes to the larger social arena of research in that it strengthens previous hypotheses, begins directives for further research, and suggests directions for new research.

While these limitations are significant, the exploration of re-settlement and the themes that emerged contribute to an understanding of the portrait of Latin Americans in the Waterloo region. It contributes to the larger social arena of research in that it strengthens previous hypothesis, begins directives for further research and suggests directions for new research.

Suggestions for Further Research

- Impact on the family system, both in Canada and abroad in relation to the shift in gender relations
- A conceptualization of the process that occurs in the shifting of cultures
- Research into the meanings associated with time, the shift that occurs and the impact on interpersonal relationships and community
- How to create information systems and communication strategies that are consistent with the Social Service's mandate and values and are able to reach Latin American immigrants and refugees
- The specific "needs" association with the Latin American force migrants within the Waterloo region, with a specific focuses on women, men, youth and seniors
- Research into the perception of a lack of caring in service providers, so that proper recommendations can be established.

Conclusions

Re-settlement must be the shared responsibility of those migrating and more importantly, Canadian society. As the flow of racialized immigrants and refugees continues to be increasing (Region of Waterloo, 2001) and the re-settlement outcomes are decreasing, it is imperative that the receiving society become more pro-active at fostering the development of sustainable communities. Notions of sustainable communities in this research reflect a commitment to social justice that fosters the civic participation of *all* citizens. The social, cultural, economic and political growth of Canada is dependant on the fostering of multiculturalism in its truest form, as opposed to the current climate that promotes a white vs. non-white dichotomy. This would reflect the plurality of Canada and eliminate the various forms of oppression that exist in Canadian society.

This requires a sharing of power between the dominant space and those that currently exist on the margins. The contributions of immigrants and refugees that have enriched the fabric of Canadian society must be acknowledged as opposed to rendering them invisible in favour of promoting a one-directional relationship that supports the charity model of immigration. Through the promotion of community development initiatives, supported by the dominant space in terms of funding and a shared commitment to reciprocity, power relations can be equalized and a bi-directional relationship can be established.

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Appendix A

Information for potential participants willing to participate in focus groups

My name is Liz Grigg and I am a Masters Student at McMaster University looking to research the Latin American Community in Kitchener-Waterloo

The information that you provide if you choose to participate will be included in my Masters Thesis. It will attempt to explore the needs of the Latin American community by conducting a needs assessment. The purpose of the needs assessment is to identify the issues facing the Latin American community. I believe that participating in this project will provide you with the opportunity to give your opinions and suggestions for change.

In addition to the Thesis, I will also be writing smaller, more accessible document/article that I hope will communicate the results of the project.

I would like to hold a focus group with members of the Latin American Community. The purpose of the focus group will be (a) to hear your opinions on the needs of the Latin American community and suggestions for improvement; (b) to provide any information that you think would be relevant to my thesis and C.L.A.R.O and Friends.

Focus groups will be audio recorded, with the permission of the group, to ensure accuracy of data.

The commitment time for this focus group would be about two hours. A member of C.L.A.R.O and myself will arrange the date and location of the focus group.

Each group member has the right to be anonymous in the written report; no real names will be used in the written report(s) unless requested by the group member (s).

I greatly appreciate your help and hope that this will be a rewarding and beneficial experience. I have attached a copy of the informed consent form that you will be asked to sign. If you have any questions please feel free to call or e-mail myself or the research supervisor.

Researcher
Liz Grigg
(905) 393-5999
griggej@mcmaster.ca

Research Supervisor
Mirna Carranza
(905) 525-9140 ext. 23789
carranz@mcmaster.ca

Appendix B

Información para participantes potenciales que deseen ser parte del grupo de discusión.

Me llamo Liz Grigg y soy estudiante del programa de Trabajo Social (Social Work) en McMaster University. Actualmente estoy trabajando en colaboración con CLARO para hacer un Estudio de Necesidades con la comunidad latinoamericana de la región de Waterloo.

Si usted decide participar, una parte de la información que usted proporcione se incluirá en mi Tesis de Maestría. Se entregará un breve informe a CLARO. Se espera utilizar dicho informe para conseguir fondos para tratar algunas de las necesidades que los participantes identifiquen. Además, la versión breve del informe estará a la disposición de los participantes que lo requieran.

El propósito de este estudio es identificar algunas de las necesidades que la comunidad latinoamericana enfrenta en el proceso de asentamiento. Se espera que el participar en este proyecto le brinde la oportunidad de compartir su opinión y sus sugerencias de cambios en su comunidad.

El propósito del grupo de discusión es doble: (a) escuchar su punto de vista acerca de las necesidades que tienen miembros de la comunidad latinoamericana en la región de Waterloo, y (b) obtener sugerencias para el mejoramiento.

Para asegurar la presición, el grupo de discusión será audio grabado con autorización.

Los participantes en el grupo de discusión se comprometen a emplear aproximadamente unas dos horas de su tiempo. Un miembro del CLARO y yo fijaremos el lugar y la fecha para el grupo de discusión.

Cada miembro del grupo tiene el derecho de permanecer anónimo en el informe escrito, no se usarán nombres reales en el (los) informe(s) a menos que así lo requiera(n) el (los) miembro(s) del grupo.

He incluido una copia del formulario de consentimiento por si decide participar. Si tiene preguntas o necesita clarificar la información, me puede contactar al teléfono: (519) 497 1237 o al (905) 393 5955, o al correo electrónico: griggej@mcmaster.ca. Si lo desea, también puede contactar a mi supervisor de tesis Dr. Mirna Carranza, Ph. D. al teléfono (519) 623-9222 o al (905) 525-9140 ext. 23789 o al correo electrónico: carranz@mcmaster.ca

Si tiene preguntas o si desea participar en el proyecto, no dude en contactarse conmigo
Gracias.

Researcher
Liz Grigg
(519) 497 1237
(905) 393 5999
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Appendix C

Consent for Participation in

A Needs Assessment of the Latin American Community in the Kitchener-Waterloo Region

Student Investigator Elizabeth Grigg
griggej@mcmaster.ca
905-393-5999
Thesis Supervisor: Mirna Carranza
carranz@mcmaster.ca

Purpose of the Study
The purpose of this study is to learn about the needs of the Latin American individuals in the Kitchener/ Waterloo Region. I hope to gain an understanding of these needs through the opinions of members of the Latin American community.

Procedures involved in the Research
If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in a focus group. The composition of the focus groups will be dependant on age and gender and will last approximately 2 hours. I will be asking you to provide your opinion on what is important to and the needs of the Latin American community.

I will also ask you for some basic demographic information like your age, country of origin and education.

Potential Harms, Risks or Discomforts:
If at any point you do not need to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. You will not be penalized in any way for not answering.

Potential Benefits

The research hopes to learn about the Latin American community and the needs within the community.

Confidentiality:

Anything information you choose to share while participating in this study will not be told to anyone else. Your name or any other personal information will not appear in the final research report. Anything that we find out about you that could identify you will not be published or told to anyone else, unless we get your permission.

Although this research and your participation have been initiated by C.L.A.R.O, none of its members will have access to the data collected. They will have access to the final report, in which no names or any identifying information will be included.

The information obtained by my will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my home office. It will only be available to my Thesis Supervisor and myself. The information will be kept in my office for 6 months after the completion of the study, after which time the data will be destroyed.

b) Legally Required Disclosure:

Information obtained will be kept confidential to the full extent of the law and I will treat all information provided to me as subject to researcher-participant privilege.

The only exception to this is if in the event that it disclosed during the course of this research that a child under the age of 16, is at risk of harm, than it is a legal requirement to report this to the authorities.

Participation:
Your participation in this study is voluntary and is appreciated. As it is your choice to participate, you can withdraw at any time, even after signing the consent form or part-way through the study. There will be no consequences for withdrawing at any time. In case of withdraw, the information you have provided me with will be destroyed unless you indicate otherwise. You are not required to answer any questions if you choose not to. You can still participate in the study even if you do not answer all of the questions.

Information About the Study Results:

Access to the finding will be available to you through C.L.A.R.O or myself. I will be preparing a document for the participants, if you would like a copy please leave me your contact information and I will provide you with the document.

Information about Participating as a Study Subject:

If you have questions or require more information about the study itself, please contact my Thesis Supervisor- Mirna Carranza

This study has been reviewed and approved by the McMaster Research Ethics Board. If you have concerns or questions about your rights as a participant or about the way the study is conducted, you may contact:

McMaster Research Ethics Board Secretariat
Telephone: (905) 525-9140 ext. 23142
c/o Office of Research Services
E-mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca

CONSENT

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Elizabeth Grigg, of McMaster University. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about my involvement in this study, and to receive any additional details I wanted to know about the study. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time, if I choose to do so, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____

Name of Participant

In my opinion, the person who has signed above is agreeing to participate in this study voluntarily, and understands the nature of the study and the consequences of participation in it.

_____

Elizabeth Grigg

Appendix D

Consentimiento para Participar en

Una Evaluación de necesidades con la Comunidad Latinoamericana

en la Ragión de Kitchener- Waterloo

Estudiante Investigadora: Elizabeth Grigg, B.A (Hons), B.S.W
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Propósito del Estudio:
Este estudio se hace en conjunto con Centre Latino de Residentes en Ontario and Friends (CLARO). El propósito del estudio es utilizar la opinión y las experiencias de los miembros de la Comunidad Latinoamericana para identificar los problemas que se enfrentan durante el proceso de asentamiento en la región de Waterloo.

Procedures involved in the Research

Si decide participar, usted formará parte de un grupo de discusión. El grupo estará formado por personas de diferentes edades y género y tendrá una duración de aproximadamente dos horas.. Estas son algunas de las preguntas que formarán parte de la discusión en el grupo: En su opinión, ¿cuáles son los asuntos mas significativos que enfrenta la comunidad latinoamericana? ¿Cómo ve usted que estos asuntos afecten el funcionamiento de los miembros de la comunidad? ¿Tiene alguna idea de lo que se necesita hacer para mejorar el avance de los miembros de la comunidad?

Con su consentimiento, se audio grabará el grupo de discusión para asegurar precisión.

Confidentiality:
Es probable que los participantes de los grupos de discusión estén preocupados de que se conozcan sus puntos de vista. Por esta razón, voy a pedir a cada miembro del grupo que mantenga la discusión privada y que no comparta con otros información acerca de quienes participaron en las discusiones del grupo o que es lo que dijeron. Sin embargo, no puedo garantizar que esta petición se cumpla. Por esta razón, le pedimos que solo comparta información que no le importe compartir en público.

Con respecto al estudio, cualquier información que usted decida compartir al participar en este estudio no se le contará a nadie más. No usaré su nombre ni ninguna otra información personal que pueda identificarle.

Aunque esta investigación se hace en conjunto con C.L.A.R.O, ninguno de sus miembros tendrá acceso a los datos directos (sin interpretar) que se recolecten, sólo a los resultados finales.

La información que se obtenga por mi conducto se mantendrá en un archivero con llave en la oficina de mi casa. Sólo estará disponible para mi Asesor de Tesis y para mi. La información se mantendrá en mi oficina durante 6 meses posteriores a la terminación del estudio, después de dicho tiempo, los datos se destruirán.

Participación:
Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. De la misma forma que es su decisión participar, usted puede retirarse en cualquier momento, aún después de firmar el formulario de consentimiento o a mitad del estudio. No habrá consecuencias por salirse. En caso de que se retire, la información que me haya proporcionado se destruirá a menos que usted decida otra cosa. No se le pedirá que responda a ninguna pregunta que usted decida no contestar, usted puede participar en el estudio aún cuando no responda a todas la preguntas.

Avíseme por favor si desea ver una copia de su entrevista para revisar cualquier falta de precisión o para agregar información. si hay cosas que no sean precisas o agregar información.

Información Acerca de los Resultados del Estudio:

El acceso a los resultados será a través de mi o de CLARO. Prepararé un documento breve que comunicará a los participantes los resultados del proyecto. Si desea una copia, por favor déjeme sus datos al final de este formulario y yo le proporcionaré el documento.

Si tienen dudas o necesita más información acerca del estudio, por favor contácteme a mi o a mi Supervisora de Tesis- Mirna Carranza.

Este estudio ha sido revisado y aprobado por el McMaster Research Ethics Board (Oficina de Ética en Investigaciones de McMaster). Si tiene dudas o hay algo que le preocupe acerca de sus derechos como participante o acerca de la manera que el estudio se lleva a cabo, puede comunicarse con:

McMaster Research Ethics Board Secretariat
Telephone: (905) 525-9140 ext. 23142
c/o Office of Research Services

E-mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca

CONSENTIMIENTO

He leído la información que se presenta acerca de la investigación que conduce Elizabeth Grigg de McMaster University en la carta de información. He tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas acerca de mi participación en dicha investigación y he recibido detalles adicionales que quería saber acerca de la misma. Entiendo que puedo retirarme de la investigación en cualquier momento si así lo decido, y acepto participar en dicha investigación. Se me ha proporcionado una copia de este formulario.

_____

Nombre del Participante

En mi opinión, la persona que firma ha aceptado voluntariamente participar en esta investigación, y entiende la naturaleza de la misma y las consecuencias de participar en ella.

_____

Elizabeth Grigg

Además de la Tesis, también prepararé un documento/artículo mas corto que espero comunique los resultados del proyecto. Si desea una copia del documento, por favor deje su dirección y yo se la enviaré por correo una vez que el proyecto haya concluido.

Calle y No. De Apartamento:

Pueblo/Ciudad:

Código Postal:

Appendix E

Focus Group and Individual interviews Questions-General

Adults

Introduction

-Review the Consent letter
-Purpose of the research and my thesis

2. What do you believe are the strengths of the Latin American community?
   2. b) *In your opinion, how can these be built upon*?

3. In your view, what are the most significant or critical issues that members of the Latin American community face?

4.-How do you see these issues as affecting the functioning of the community members?
-Are there issues that are being addressed now?
-What is not being addressed? Are there gaps in the services available?

5. Do you have any ideas about what is needed to improve the advancement of community members?
-In terms of settlement issues?
-What do you see as barriers to the development of Latin American community and its members?

6. What do think would be beneficial in resolving these issues?
-In terms of community supports or programming

7. Summarize what has been discussed. Have we missed anything? Is there anything we should discuss that we have not covered?

Appendix E

Are you interested in Community Development or Social change?

Request for Participants:

"A Needs Assessment for the Latin American Community

In the Waterloo Region"

My name is Liz Grigg and I am a McMaster University student in the Social Work program. I am currently working in collaboration with Centre Latino Americano de Residentes en Ontario and Friends (CLARO) in order to conduct a Needs Assessment with the Latin American community in Waterloo Region.

I am currently looking for **male, female** and **youth** members of the Latin American Community in the Waterloo Region, to participate in focus groups and individual interviews.

This study aims to explore the needs of the Latin American community. The purpose of this needs assessment is to identify the issues that members of the Latin American community face during their settlement process in the Waterloo Region. Participating in this project would provide you with the opportunity to share your opinions and suggestions for change in your community.

The purpose of participation is twofold:

(a) to hear your views about some of the needs of that members of the Latin American community face in Waterloo Region, and (b) suggestions for improvement.

Commitment time would be approximately 1 hour for the individual interviews and 2 hours for the focus group.

If you have any questions or need further clarification, I will make myself available by phone, email and in person to answer any questions. The research supervisor, Dr. Mirna Carranza is also available to answer any questions.

If you have any questions or would like to participate you can contact me at the provided local number to discuss the project or participation.

Researcher
Liz Grigg, B.A (Hons), B.S.W
(519) 497 1237
(905) 393 5999
griggej@mcmaster.ca

Research Supervisor
Dr. Mirna Carranza, Ph. D.
(905) 525-9140 ext. 23789
(519) 623-9222
carranz@mcmaster.ca

Appendix F

ESTAS INTERESADO EN UN CAMBIO SOCIAL EN LA COMUNIDAD?

Requisitos para participar:

"Investigacion de las Necesidades Primordiales de la Comunidad Latino Americano en la Region de Waterloo"

Me llamo Liz Grigg y soy estudiante de la Universidad deMcMaster en el programa de Trabajo Social. Actualmente estoy trabajando en colaboracion con CLARO and Friends en orden de conducir un sondeo dirigido a la Comunidad Latina en la Region de Waterloo.

Se estan buscando Hombres, Mujeres y Jovenes Hispanos para participar en las encuestas por grupo y en entrevistas individuales.

Este estudio pretende explorar las necesidades de la Comunidad Latino Americano. El proposito de este Proyecto es identificar que los miembros de la Comunidad Latina enfrentan durante el proceso de adaptacion en la Region de Waterloo.

Participar en este proyecto podria proveerte la oportunidad de compartir tus opiniones y sugerencias de como mejorar tu comunidad.

Durante tu participacion se planea:

a) Escuchar tu punto de vista acerca de las necesidades que la Comunidad enfrenta en la Region de Waterloo.
b) Sugerencias para mejorarlo.

La duracion de la entrevista podria ser de aproxiamdamente 1 Hora para entrevistas individuales y 2 hrs para los grupos de encuestas.

Si requieres mas informacion. Estare en contacto via telefonica, email o personalmente para contestar cualquier pregunta. La supervisora de la investigacion (aqui me hubiera gustado escribir una palabra menos amenazadora) estara tambien disponible para contestar cualquier pregunta.

Si tienes alguna pregunta o te gustaria participar, puedes contactarme al siguiente numero de telefono local

Researcher
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