Best Approaches to Improve the Labour Market Integration of Government-Assisted Refugees

Report on Consultation Workshops held in Calgary (February 18, 2002) and Toronto (February 20, 2002)

Submitted to Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Submitted by Social Research and Demonstration Corporation

I. INTRODUCTION

The Social Research and Demonstration Corporation (SRDC) organized 2 one-day policy research workshops sponsored by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) on February 18, 2002 in Calgary and February 20, 2002 in Toronto.

The primary purpose of the workshops was to discuss possible interventions to help improve the integration of government-assisted refugees (GARs) into the labour market. More specifically, CIC was interested in learning further about effective ways to increase language acquisition in order to improve labour market outcomes of government-assisted refugees in the years immediately following their arrival to Canada.

The discussion was based on four models described in the SRDC options paper *Promising Interventions to Improve the Integration of Government-Assisted Refugees Into the Canadian Labour Market*.

Forty-eight participants, from eight different provinces, attended the two workshops — 23 in Calgary and 25 in Toronto. Participants represented various stakeholder groups such as Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) providers; service deliverers in settlement, language training, and employment areas; federal and provincial government departments; universities; and former refugees. A list of workshop participants is provided in Appendix A.

Participants were invited to debate the merits and viability of taking the proposed interventions forward as research demonstration projects. Their views and reactions are summarized in the present document. The report is organized in four sections: (1) comments and reactions to a statistical profile of government-assisted refugees presented at the workshop; (2) reactions and suggestions regarding the four proposed models; (3) reactions to and comments about the research framework, and (4) final remarks and observations.

II. REACTIONS TO THE STATISTICAL PROFILE OF GOVERNMENT-ASSISTED REFUGEES

To provide some basic information about the target population, participants were presented with the highlights of a document that SRDC had previously submitted to CIC — Statistical Profile of Government-Assisted Refugees. The document outlined selected characteristics of government-assisted refugees at landing, as well as information about their employment, earnings, income, and mobility in the years following their arrival.

The SRDC presentation emphasized that unlike most immigrants who plan and choose to leave their home countries in search of a better life, GARs flee their countries to escape persecution and seek protection in a foreign country. Other key points included the following:

Socio-economic Characteristics

- GARs represent a small proportion of total immigrants who settle in Canada; they represented five per cent of all immigrants who arrived in Canada in 2000.
- Over the last two decades the number of GARs arriving to Canada has decreased.

- Before 1990 more male GARs were arriving to Canada, but more recently an equal number of males and females have made Canada their new home annually.
- Since 1991 more principal applicants arriving to Canada are married and are accompanied by spouses and/or dependants.
- Overall, GARs tend to be younger than the Canadian population specifically they are over-represented relative to the Canadian population in the youth (under the age of 24) and "prime" working age groups.

Where Government-Assisted Refugees Come From and Where They Settle

- Since 1994 most GARs have arrived to Canada from Eastern Europe, mainly Croatia, Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Russia.
- Most GARs initially settle in urban centres across Canada such as Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa, Edmonton, Calgary, Quebec, Hamilton, and Winnipeg.

Factors Affecting Labour Market Integration

- Most principal applicant GARs who arrive to Canada say that they wanted to work (96 per cent), but roughly 70 per cent report they cannot speak one of the official Canadian languages at landing.
- Principal applicant GARs tend to have a lower level of education than other immigrants and Canadians as a whole.

Labour Market Outcomes

- GARs who arrived in the midst of the 1990–91 recession or shortly after experienced lower rates of employment in the initial year of arrival compared with earlier arrivals those arriving in the late 1990s seem to be doing better.
- In the first year after arrival, earnings for GARs are lower than they used to be. Furthermore, recent GARs received, on average, lower annual earnings in subsequent years relative to earlier cohorts.
- Male average earnings one year after landing are highest for those who reported being able to speak one of the Canadian languages at landing this earnings gap remains five years later. Financial benefits associated with having knowledge of one of the Canadian languages seem to be higher for female GARs.
- Education appears to have a positive effect on earnings, but this effect is not as large as expected. Female earnings differences as a function of education are more pronounced five years after landing but they remain rather small for men.
- A low proportion of GARs are engaged in self-employment in the initial years after landing over time the proportion is similar to the Canadian average.
- Over time, the proportion of government-assisted refugee tax filers per landing cohort who report EI benefits converges to a level around 15 per cent a level comparable to the rest of the Canadian population.

Reactions to the Profile

Participants were asked to share views on (1) whether the "statistical profile" corresponded to their own observations on GARs' personal and socio-economic characteristics and (2) what they thought made GARs a "special" group with integration and settlement needs different from other immigrants.

- Several participants raised concerns about the unreliability of self-reported data on language ability and education. As one workshop participant put it, "governmentassisted refugees tell Canadian representatives what they have to in order to pass security to Canada."
- While language ability is important, it was suggested that other cultural factors, such as mother tongue, play just as an important role in integration effects, and that looking at language in isolation did not paint a complete picture. An interesting question that was raised is whether the importance of communication skills was being appropriately stressed at the time of arrival in Canada do government-assisted refugees underestimate the importance of having language skills?
- In Calgary, Tracey Derwing presented an overview of recent research findings with regard to language learning and employment outcomes for refugees in Alberta. In her presentation, Derwing noted that refugees who are kept together as a family unit experienced better settlement outcomes. She used the Kosovo refugees who were "JASed with extra supports" to illustrate this point. Participants noted that full social and labour market integration is better achieved if government-assisted refugees are settled in areas that are most similar to their cultural and socio-historical background. It was felt that destiny had an impact on whether government-assisted refugees successfully established themselves in the labour market — if refugees were not destined to where their family was or where jobs suitable to their skill level were, priorities inevitably changed and they found it necessary to move to a different city or province. Derwing's presentation showed that Kosovars were not moving to the same extent as other refugees because nuclear and extended families were being kept together as a unit by the government. Repeatedly relocating may result in lower average earnings or higher debt loads, and it was suggested that secondary migration be investigated further.
- One participant remarked that it was hard to fairly assess how GARs' education differed from immigrants or Canadians, and direct comparisons were inappropriate. Because of the difficulties in the current accreditation process lack of recognition of foreign credentials GARs' educational levels are often underestimated. As one participant pointed out, refugees are usually fleeing their country to safety, so finding the time or occasion to collect their educational documents is not feasible.
- Another participant stated that refugees might be highly skilled in their homeland, but become overwhelmed with the prospect of furthering their education or finding work in Canada. Without references or previous Canadian work experience, many choose to do volunteer work in order to secure Canadian work experience and references that may increase their chances of getting a job. The participant described a situation

- where the refugee had worked without pay hoping to secure a permanent job, only to be told six months later that there would be no job available.
- In terms of education and labour market integration, it was suggested that the
 motivation to learn be examined because GARs often feel overwhelmed by the
 number of stepping stones to the achievement of full integration. Several participants
 expressed that highly trained individuals may come with a certain level of
 competency; however, their lack of knowledge of cultural issues may serve as an
 important barrier to employment.
- It was pointed out that educational levels among GARs were in some cases very polarized, and thus reporting averages did not make sense because they did not necessarily capture or reflect the educational diversity within the government-assisted refugee population. For example, Derwing noted in her presentation that national and government-assisted refugee education figures were very different than Alberta's. It was suggested that regional variation be explored further.
- It was recommended that more research be done on government-assisted refugees returning to school. Attitudes associated with returning to school in Canada are very different than in Europe where people can get a really good paying job with less education.
- It was pointed out that the educational background and skills of future GARs are likely to be lower than what they have been in the last two decades as rural populations from Africa and the Middle East will constitute a large share of the refugee population.
- With respect to earnings outcomes, it was suggested that Canadian population averages did not constitute appropriate benchmarks for comparing GARs' economic outcomes.
- GAR families are often living in desperate situations, and many of them are involved in the underground economy.
- A few participants noted that recent policy focus had been more on protection and less on integration of GARs in the first year after arrival to Canada.

III. PROPOSED APPROACHES

Four models for increasing language acquisition were discussed at the workshops, with special emphasis being placed on the *Language Internships* and *Work First, Language Second* models. Perceived strengths and weaknesses of those two particular models were discussed in length by workshop participants and are summarized here under four general category headings: (1) What Participants Liked About the Model; (2) What Participants Did Not Like About the Model; (3) Design Considerations; and (4) Other Considerations.

Language Internships

This intervention insists on the need to help participants gain language skills <u>before</u> they formally enter the labour market, in order to achieve sustainable labour outcomes. Language training would be delivered using a combination of classroom instruction and workplace

assignments, providing refugees an opportunity to acquire language skills relevant to the workplace (often referred to as "contextual" learning). A flowchart of potential program activities for this model was presented to facilitate the discussion (see Appendix B).

(1) What Participants Liked About the Model

- In general, participants thought extending RAP benefits to support language training was a good idea.
- The assessment component of the model was also well received because of its comprehensiveness.
- Former refugees expressed their preference for this model. As one former refugee stated, "without language you can't do anything it's ridiculous. Language learning in the classroom works for me." Another former refugee commented, "Without communication you feel embarrassed. It's good to learn basic language first."

(2) What Participants Did Not Like About the Model

- Although participants can benefit from real work experience, one participant described the idea as a "babysitting model," requiring a substantial amount of work to coordinate and run the program.
- A weakness of the internship concept is the lack of real work real work experience that the participant could put on a resumé. Many argued for workplace assignments that help develop skills such as life skills, management skills, and professional development skills. Concerns were raised about not providing participants with tangible marketable skills
- The reasons for why it would be beneficial to participate in the program should be made very clear to everyone involved, especially if the program should run for two years. It was suggested that employers would need training and support for a successful implementation of this model, which might not be realistic in certain settings. As one participant pointed out, many workplace assignments can be done with limited language skills.
- With few financial incentives present in this model, refugees should feel certain that they would be better off taking the program.
- It was noted that even with the 1,200 hours of language training required to complete LINC level 3, refugees' language ability still remains elementary.
- There was some confusion expressed about how this model could be more efficient than LINC, because part of LINC's curriculum is to make connections in the community. There is a community-related activity for each theme in the curriculum, and participants are exposed to the Canadian cultural environment something the Language Internship model does not incorporate into its design.

(3) Design Considerations

The following additional recommendations were made for enhancing the design and refining the procedures of the Language Internship model:

• Women-only information sessions and classes should be made available.

- Several participants thought the assessment component needs to include settlement assessment and assistance. (This comment also applies to the *Work First, Language Second* model.)
- Workplace assignments should be suitable to each participant's language proficiency level — it is important not to overwhelm them. Indicators of success should be tailored for each individual.
- To reduce the chance of a participant being exploited by the "employer," the language program should be run in conjunction with a settlement agency.
- Quality work placements should be a goal, not "sweat jobs".
- Provide opportunities for job shadowing in placements.
- Keep in mind additional program costs associated with liability insurance when participants are assigned to workplaces.
- It might be wise to partner with volunteers to reduce the reliance on employers.
- Getting support from employers should be initiated prior to the intervention. Employers also need to be trained before implementation.
- There should be a standard for training teachers of adult ESL classes.
- It was mentioned that a lot of the flexibility with LINC in smaller communities is gone part-time classes and evening classes are no longer available.
- It was suggested that the family, not just the individual, be informed about the benefits of participating in the program and what it means to the family often the benefits of educating and training women are lost on husbands, and intergenerational conflicts are frequently present.
- Other services such as counselling and financial assistance to cover daycare and transportation costs should be provided considering the low level of income participants would be receiving.
- The model needs to address professional needs of participants.
- It was recommended that reduction on the transportation loans (e.g. forgiving principal, interest, or both) be considered as incentives for participants. (This comment is also relevant to the *Work First, Language Second* model.)

(4) Other Considerations

- Broader integration goals should be kept in mind it is important to include social components and be aware of other settlement needs when running the program.
- It is essential to remember that GARs are a special group and are coming to Canada with special needs "trying to short-cut people's needs just doesn't work."
- Problems with language receptivity should be kept in mind. For example, what happens if a client is just unable to learn a Canadian language? What about GARs who are illiterate in their first language?

Work First, Language Second

This model assumes that the best way to succeed in the labour market is to join it quickly and to develop language skills on the job rather than in the classroom. However, it also recognizes that without ongoing language training, this approach may not be effective in helping participants achieve economic self-sufficiency in the long run. The program would initially provide job-search assistance to help refugees find jobs quickly. Those who are unable to find work on their own would be provided a subsidized job placement suitable for their skills and occupational goals. Once refugees are working, they would be offered incentives to continue language training. Appendix C shows a flowchart of potential program activities for this model used to facilitate the discussion.

(1) What Participants Liked About the Model

- There was strong support for the wage subsidy component or incentives to employers.
- Many participants also felt that offering financial incentives to continue language training while working was innovative and worth looking at. (Note that this is also the key feature of the third model.)
- Participants thought GARs could develop more relevant language skills in the workplace environment than in a classroom setting.
- In response to comments about this program being expensive, a few participants noted that several elements of the *Work First, Language Second* model were currently in place, and they did not think program expenses would be that high.

(2) What Participants Did Not Like About the Model

- A former refugee indicated that it is very difficult to work and learn language at the same time "you go crazy trying to keep up, in order to feel confident. You become ashamed to talk, you don't speak. And with kids it's difficult I always had change in my pocket to phone my children it's very difficult."
- Another participant said that the classroom allows GARs to establish confidence in a safe and supporting context, which is not found in workplace environments.
- Attention was also brought to the fact that GARs are often ghettoized they need a licence to work but need English to get a licence. In exchange for securing jobs that do not require papers, they give up deserved earnings.
- In terms of incentives, the question was raised, "How are you going to motivate people to communicate with the people around them, to attend class, to remain in the program? If a person is not motivated to learn, they will not learn." It was suggested that motives for going to class be examined. Financial incentives need to be more interesting and perhaps may work better if the participant is involved in deciding what type of incentives should be awarded.
- Although most participants thought wage subsidies are a good idea, one needs to consider the entire process. It may be problematic if subsidies are the only reason an employer decides to support the participant. Also, for some participants, two years of subsidy to an employer seemed way too long; six months would be enough.

- Expanding the range of supports available to help refugees might also be beneficial, for example, tools, home computers, or work clothes. Also, incentives should perhaps be based on performance in other words, outcome-based incentives. Additional ideas about incentives included interest-free periods for transportation loans, the waiving of transportation loans, or better daycare subsidies.
- Clearly outlining why taking this program would be beneficial for government-assisted refugees is a must, especially if incentives like wage subsidies go to the employer instead of the client. Current programs offered to government-assisted refugees are set up to include income support, full language training, access to child care, and transportation support. As one participant put it, it does not sound great when we say to the refugee "Go into the workforce, become marginalized, and spend less time with your family so you can work and take language classes in the evenings and during the weekends."

(3) Design Considerations

The following recommendations were made for enhancing the design and refining the procedures of this model:

- One assumption in this model is that GARs are "job ready" when they arrive to Canada the model requires an assessment to determine if this is really the case. GARs need to be job-ready, emotionally ready, and language-ready.
- Another assumption that GARs will learn the language on the job is "too big of a leap people do not find jobs that require them to speak English." The general consensus was to only accept participants with a minimum level of language skills into the program; otherwise the program will not work (e.g. How can GARs carry out jobsearch activities without proper language skills?). Suggestions for eligibility requirements included LINC 2, LINC 3, and Canadian Language Benchmark 3.
- Add a pre-employment program to deal with issues such as trauma or "readiness to work."
- Mutually agreed-upon action plans (or employment plans) should be developed with program participants.
- Incorporate the language training into the workday (given employers agree to this).
- Perform a needs assessment on each participant and identify transferable skills as noted by Derwing in her presentation, some individuals do not have the skills necessary to find themselves a job in Canada. In their source country, they get an education and then they are handed a job.
- Provide information to government-assisted refugees overseas so they know what to expect when arriving to Canada. (This was a general comment, and not one specific for this model.)
- Outreach to selected employers to fit the skill set of GARs when offering subsidies for hiring participants.
- Language training should be a mandatory component of the program.

- Apply this model to GARs at LINC 3, provide 10 to 26 weeks of wage subsidy which would result in two possible outcomes 1) individuals are subsequently hired by employers or 2) individuals know what they need to learn when going back to school.
- One participant raised the point that people, in general, have natural language
 abilities; thus, the reality is that different aptitudes exist, and a language-training
 program should not rely on outcome-based incentives. Rewarding those who are
 naturally good at language is not really fair. Additionally, it is much harder for adults
 to learn a second language than it is for children, and consequently, variable rates of
 learning must be kept in mind.

(4) Other Considerations

- The need to address psychosocial factors when designing the program was raised several times by participants. Among other things, factors included readiness to learn, trauma, fear, gender roles, discrimination, and cultural roles.
- During the workshop, Derwing spoke briefly about accents and intelligibility. Teaching those working with refugees to better recognize and understand foreign accents can decrease these barriers.
- Karen Barnes in a presentation to the Calgary workshop on lessons learned from two Alberta pilots dealing with the literacy and workplace integration of immigrants indicated that it proved difficult to recruit learners for the English as a Second Language to Work Program in a strong economy. While this general finding may apply less to a population of refugees, it was discovered that learners coming into ESL classes were more educated and skilled than predicted and were not interested in entry-level jobs. Findings also showed that the jobs that participants ended up in did not allow them to practice their skills, and so they ended up going back to school because their language did not improve at all.

These next two models were briefly discussed with participants in the Toronto workshop.

Incentives to Continue Language Training

This model provides government-assisted refugees who find work on their own with financial incentives to encourage them to continue their language training and to acquire a functional level of language skills. The hope is that with increased language proficiency refugees will have better employment opportunities and achieve better labour market integration.

This model received mixed support. Several participants thought the incentive would be an interesting add-on to current programs. Others argued that refugees do not need additional incentives to learn. Instead, they need support. One negative comment was that this model is limited to refugees who have already found work and thus a major shortcoming is that a high percentage of government-assisted refugees could not take this program, because they are unemployed.

One interesting suggestion was to consider other types of financial and non-financial incentives such as increasing the earnings disregard in RAP to 40 per cent. This would allow

individuals who are anxious to increase their standards of living to take some part-time jobs while continuing their language training.

Community-Based Initiated Programs

This intervention is an attempt to capture the creativity and entrepreneurship of community-based agencies by empowering these agencies with the mandate to make the relevant decisions about programs and services that will lead to better labour market outcomes for refugees. Instead of the government contracting out to various organizations and agencies to deliver a specific set of language-training and job-assistance services, government funds would be directed towards agencies that will commit to providing language training and to helping refugees find and keep jobs. Interventions required to achieve these goals would be solely determined by the contracted agencies. The contracting agreements will be offering performance-based incentives if agencies achieve specific performance milestones.

This model did not receive much support. One point that was stressed at the workshop about this type of model was that decentralized programs could lead to chaos. From a research perspective, determining whether or not the Community-Based Initiated program is successful to a large extent would depend on whether or not consistency in the quality of programs being offered is ensured, which in reality, may be problematic.

IV. THE EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH

SRDC provided a brief presentation about how random assignment works and the assignment of volunteers into either a treatment or control group. Participants did not oppose the use of an experimental approach to evaluate potential interventions for GARs nor its feasibility. Participants, in both Calgary and Toronto, appeared to be familiar with the methodology and supported the research experimentation approach. In Toronto several participants had first-hand experience with random assignment procedures and demonstration project implementation through their involvement with the LERN Pilot Projects.

Elisete Bettencourt presented important lessons learned from the LERN evaluation. Her presentation emphasized the critical importance of sound development and implantation phases in a demonstration project. While the projects were designed to include experimental methods, several limitations of LERN arose at a very early stage, for example several classroom-based projects had to be switched to a pretest—post-test design when too few clients participated to allow for a random-assignment design between a control group and target group. Attrition was a major problem — several participants did not start the program, and roughly 42 per cent dropped out at one point or another. Many Service Providing Organizations did not understand or misinterpreted some of the recruitment and evaluation procedures, undermining the research design thereafter. One participant who was also involved with LERN stated that she liked the one-year development phase proposed by SRDC; she noted that this feature might have solved some of the issues noted in the LERN evaluation.

One participant in Toronto proposed that perhaps the randomization should be done at the nuclear family level, rather than individual level. This would recognize the important role played by all family members into the labour market integration process of individuals.

V. FINAL OBSERVATIONS

All in all, the two workshops did not generate a clear consensus in favour of one model or another. A majority of the Calgary participants, largely comprised of representatives from the settlement services, indicated a clear preference for the *Language Internship* model, while the Toronto participants, who comprised a larger number of representatives from employment / labour market service providers preferred the *Work First, Language Second* approach. The first group insisted on the need to learn the language well before entering the labour market, while the second group stressed the importance of gaining employability skills to achieve a successful integration to the labour market. A few participants supported testing all four models — it was suggested that four sites be selected to test each option and figure out what works best for whom.

Participants not only disagreed on the best approach to labour market integration, they also shared different, sometimes contradictory, views on the current situation and characteristics of GARs. For instance, while some pointed out that many refugees frequently miss language classes for no obvious reasons, others argued forcefully that GARs are highly motivated to learn and to take up all opportunities offered.

There were however some areas of strong consensus. Participants supported the idea of testing interventions to help improve the labour market integration of government-assisted refugees. They also pointed out that many programs are already available and should be reviewed with the objective of finding what works and what does not.

Most participants underscored the need for flexibility in terms of the models and interventions that are offered. When employers are involved, it is important to engage them early in the process (even during the design phase). It takes a lot of effort to work and link with employers; they need training and supports.

Participants also spoke favourably about the time when HRDC and CIC collaborated together to help settle and integrate refugees into the Canadian culture. The point emphasized here was that a new partnership between HRDC and CIC to efficiently deliver integrated services is needed. About 10 years ago when the two departments were together, both LINC and the Labour Market Language Training were run side by side under EIC. When EIC split into CIC and HRDC in 1994, CIC continued to offer LINC, but HRDC ended LMLT in 1996 with the introduction of the new EI Act. As one participant stated, "That is where difficulties started: policies and programs were developed holistically when together to deal with various integration issues; now the two departments are divided and good programs have been eliminated"

Appendix A: Calgary Workshop — February 18, 2002 List of Participants/ Liste des participants

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Colleen Calvert Research Officer, Strategic Policy, Planning and Research, Citizenship and

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Clifford Bell Director, Training Institute, The Immigrant Services Society of BC

Fariborz Birjandian Executive Director, Calgary Catholic Immigration Society
Rita Chahal Executive Director, Employment Projects of Winnipeg Inc.

Diana Dennis Manager of Business, Employment and Training Services, Calgary Catholic

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Tracey Derwing Co-Director, Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and

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Patricia Duff Director, Modern Language Education, University of British Columbia

Ana Maria Fantino Program Manager, Immigration and Settlement Service, Catholic Social Services

Chris Friesen Director, Settlement Services, The Immigrant Services Society of BC

Milos Kotur Former refugee

Non-governmental Organizations (continued) / Organismes non gouvernementaux (suite)

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Toronto Workshop — February 20, 2002 List of Participants / Liste des participants

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Bonnie Doughty Employment Facilitator, Multicultural Association of Fredericton

Peggy Edwards Executive Director, Skills for Change

Bridget Foster Executive Director, Association for New Canadians

Laraine Kaminsky President, Malkam Cross-Cultural Training
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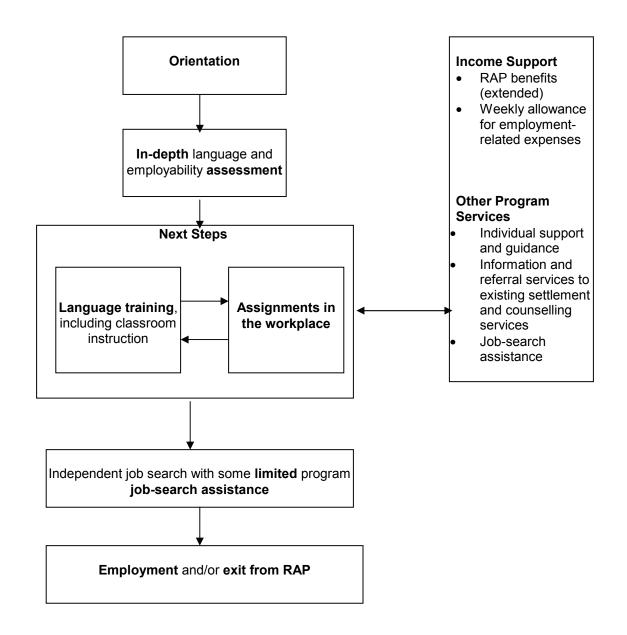
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Appendix B Potential Language Internship Program Activities and Participant Flow



Appendix C Potential Work First, Language Second Program Activities and Participant Flow

