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Cultural Sensitivity in the Context of Ethnic Polities: A Comparison of Two Family Service Agencies

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January, 2001

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Abstract

This study explores the complex issues in culturally sensitive social services in the context of ethnic polities. We examine the reasons why the social service sector fails to provide equitable services to minorities. We explore the concept of ethnic match, services delivered by ethnic personnel, in an ethnic agency and using ethnic practice, as an attainable solution to the problems, by comparing with a Chinese and a Jewish ethno-specific family service agency in Montreal. The ways they deliver sensitive services to communities members and the challenges they face are documented. The dynamic of the ethnic polities in which these two agencies operate is also examined. We argue the formation and functioning of these agencies are shaped by a set of internal factors (within the communities) and external factors (in Quebec society). Culture plays a vital role in service delivery and help seeking, and also in the organization of these ethnic communities. Policy implications are discussed, and future research is suggested.

Résumé

L'étude explore les questions complexes dans les services sociaux culturellement sensibles dans le contexte du régime ethnique. Nous examinons les raisons pour lesquels le secteur des services sociaux ne réussi pas à offrir des services équitables aux minorités. Nous explorons le concept de la congruence ethnique (*ethnic match*), les services fournis par un personnel ethnique, dans une agence ethnique et utilisant une pratique ethnique comme moyen accessible aux problèmes, en comparant avec une agence chinoise et une agence juive offrants des services aux familles ethno-spécifiques dans Montréal. Les façons qu'elles fournient des services sensibles aux membres des communautés et les défis auxquels elles font face sont documentés. La dynamique du régime ethnique dans lequel ces deux agences opèrent est également examiné. Nous disputons la formation et le fonctionnement de ces deux agences formées par une série de facteurs internes (à l'intérieur des communautés) et par des facteurs externes (dans la société québécoise). La culture joue un rôle vital dans les services offerts et dans les moyens de les rechercher, et également dans l'organisation de ces communautés ethniques. Les implications politiques sont discutées, et des recherches futures sont suggérées.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Morton Weinfeld, whose knowledge, style of teaching, patience, and support have been helpful to the completion of this dissertation. His financial assistance throughout my study has been beneficial.

I would also like to thank the Department of Sociology at McGill University. The professors and staff have always been supportive. Their guidance has helped me overcome many hurdles during the years at McGill.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the cooperate of all the staff and clients in the two family service agencies. Their contribution to this dissertation is greatly appreciated.

I am also thankful to Venessa, Howard, and Raymond for their editorial support. Their time and help are greatly appreciated. The errors in the chapters remain my personal responsibility.

Tammy's assistance on interviewing some of the participants should be acknowledged.

My doctoral program can never be complete without the unconditional endurance of my wife throughout the years. Her loving support for my whole academic life is beyond any description of words. The arrival of our two lovely daughters has really spiced up the occasional mundane academic work.

Table of Contents

Introduction

> One of the most popular free email services on the web now provides services not only in English, but also in French, German, Portuguese and Japanese.
>
> Some large long-distance phone companies now have multilingual staff who can answer questions in as many as 40 languages for multilingual clients.
>
> Very often, new high-rise residential buildings in Toronto do not have a "fourth" or "thirteenth" floor; in these buildings, apartment number 301 exists but 401 or 1301 do not. The reason is that the pronunciation of the number "4" resembles that of "death" in Cantonese, and the number "13" is associated with bad luck in some Western cultures. The builders do not want to turn away Cantonese-speaking customers, or those who believe the number thirteen will bring bad luck.

The examples above illustrate that business people have come up with effective marketing strategies to serve clients better and attract more customers of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Contemporary Canadian society is truly multicultural; Canadian society is made up of people from all over the world. The business sector is adaptable enough to sense the demographic changes in society, and redirect its marketing strategies to meet public demands. Many private-sector services are now conducted in a culturally and linguistically sensitive fashion.

Can the same be said for services in the public domain? Individuals, groups and institutions across Canada have expressed concerns about how proper social services and health care can be delivered to its ethnically diverse population. They demand an evaluation of the efficiency of present health care services and inquire as to why the system fails to provide proper services to minorities. As indicated in many studies, cultural barriers are the major reason for this failure, which will be discussed in depth later on. The Caucasian majority of human service caregivers are likely to be unfamiliar with the cultures of their minority clients. The minorities' help-seeking patterns and ways

of expressing problems and needs, for example, may be very different from those in the larger society. Often the caregivers and their foreign-born clients lack a common language to communicate with each other. In order to respond to the situation, researchers and practitioners now raise the issue of cultural awareness in social and health care services (see Masi, 1993; James, 1996; Henry et al., 2000), advocate the need for culturally sensitive services (see Cox and Ephross, 1998; Lum, 2000), and discuss how to deliver services in a cross-culturally sensitive manner (see Ryan, 1993; Green, 1999).

Most of these studies, however, tend either to focus on cross-cultural service delivery, offer a general description of the problems in the human service sector, or focus on policy aspects. While many studies discuss how cross-culturally sensitive social services are delivered, very few studies attempt to examine how culturally sensitive services are actually delivered to the members of ethnic communities by ethno-specific service agencies. Will the practice of "ethnic match", linking caregivers and receivers from the same ethnic background, enhance the outcome of the interaction? Nor have studies paid much attention to how a social environment affects the ways ethno-specific agencies deliver their services, since ethno-specific agencies do not exist in a vacuum. As Elazar (1976) argues, an ethno-specific agency is operated in a larger context: within both an ethnic community and the larger community surrounding it. This dissertation attempts to address some of these neglected issues by adapting a comparative approach. We explore how a Chinese family service agency and a Jewish family service agency, both based in Montreal, deliver sensitive services to members of their communities. The advantage of this approach is that we are able to compare how these two very distinct ethno-specific agencies, which share very few cultural and social background factors, function in the same social setting.

This study proceeds within a theoretical framework, which emphasizes the concept of polity (Troper and Weinfeld, 1999; Breton, 1964 and 1991; Elazar, 1976). This framework is particularly useful for this study. It examines the complexity of an

organized ethnic community by exploring different factors that operate interactively on the community dynamics. We also attempt to explore how the immigrant experiences and the development of these two communities (internal factors), and the French-speaking social environment in Montreal (external factors), have an impact on the delivering and receiving of culturally sensitive social services in the communities. Furthermore, this sociological study is also informed by an interdisciplinary approach to understanding the complex issues in culturally sensitive social services. Our literature, review and analysis build on the contributions from sociology, sociology of health care, political science and social work.

We begin in Chapter One by reviewing the literature that relates to the concerns of inequitable services to minorities, the concept of "culturally sensitive social services", relevant studies on ethnic organizations, the organization of an ethnic community, and its relationship with the state. Chapter Two will report the methods we employ to carry out this study. Chapter Three will discuss the history of Chinese and the Jewish immigrants in Montreal, their social-demographic profiles, and their traditional cultures. In particular, it will examine how they provide care to their people within their own traditional cultural context. The reader will have a better understanding of these peoples' backgrounds, of their lives in Montreal, and the development of their communities in response to their needs. We will use the understanding of their cultures to help analyze the issues raised in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Four will introduce the characteristics and the structure of the two studied ethno-specific agencies. The ways in which these two agencies deliver culturally sensitive services to their members will be examined in Chapter Five and Six respectively. Chapter Seven analyzes how the immigrant experiences, the development of the communities in Montreal (internal factors) and the French-speaking social environment (external factors) impact on the ways of delivering and receiving culturally sensitive social services. Chapter Eight will discuss the implications of our findings.

Chapter One

The Issues: Equity in the Canadian Social Service Sector

Although this dissertation will focus only on the social service sector, there are two reasons why a literature review on barriers to services includes studies from the fields of both social and health services. First, clients face very similar barriers when they seek services in the social and health care systems, such as language barriers, racial discrimination and a discrepancy of health concepts and social values. Second, the service areas covered by social services and health care providers may overlap, as in the areas of mental health, chronic illnesses and care of the elderly. As Cox and Ephorss (1998: 132) observe, "providing acceptable and accessible health care to ethnic and minority individuals is a prerequisite to the improvement of their health status. Because a key function of social work is to improve individual's functioning and to help assure that the environment is responsive to individual needs, the discipline has a primary position in the health care field."

Although the primary concern of this study is in a Canadian context, other immigrant-receiving countries such as Australia, Britain, and the United States also experience similar challenges. The relevant studies in these countries will also be incorporated in the review of literature.

In this study, the terms "mainstream society", "larger society", and "larger community" are used interchangeably to avoid repetition. The same is true of the terms "care providers", "caregivers", "practitioners", "social workers", counselors", and "workers".

Why is cultural sensitivity in the Canadian social and health care sectors an issue? The changing ethnic composition of the population in Canada plays a very important role in this concern.

It is important to understand the change of ethnic composition in Canadian society so that we can have a better perspective on the new challenges to our social and health care sectors. Canada has always been a country of immigrants. The ancestors of native Indians from Asia arrived here thousands of years ago. At the beginning of 16th century, the so-called founders of this nation or charter groups of French and English colonizers gradually settled in. At the turn of the 20th century, other Europeans in large numbers began to immigrate. Europeans were the most preferable source of immigrants until the beginning of the 1960. Since then, many of the discriminatory immigration laws have been removed, and in 1967 the point system was introduced, based on neutral factors such as age, education, adaptability, occupational demand and skills, arranged employment, knowledge of English and/or French, and family relation to someone already in Canada. This system allowed "non-traditional immigrants" to enter Canada. For example, in 1966, before this point system, seventy-six percent of immigrants admitted were Europeans. Six years after the law was changed, the percentage of European immigrants dropped to only thirty-nine percent (The Immigrant's Handbook, 1981: 40).

This trend continues today. Although Britain and the United States remained the leading source countries throughout the post-war period, the European countries have given way to countries from Southeast Asia, the Caribbean and Central and South America (Kalbach, 1990: 26). Moreover, immigrants can now apply under different classes: entrepreneur, independent, family and refugee (Fleras and Elliott, 1992: 43). In short, because of changes in immigration regulations, Canada has seen a new ethnic demographic emerge. As a consequence, Canada now has a diversity of inhabitants whose cultural, linguistic, socio-economic and political backgrounds are significantly different from one another.

Such diversity presents a significant challenge to the present social service and health care sectors for three major reasons. The first concerns culture and ethnicity. Mensah (1993:35) observes that different cultures have different views about illness, health and ways of healing. For example, immigrants from non-traditional source countries might have a very different understanding of mental illness compared to the Western perspective. Such differences can also be found in other aspects of life, such as the value of family ties. Therefore, when delivering family services to ethnic clients, social workers' views on problems and ways of dealing with them might differ from or even conflict with those of their clients. However, we are aware that some peoples from non-traditional source countries could share similar views on these issues, perhaps from having more contact with the West through business or education. In brief, we have no evidence to assert that peoples from non-traditional source countries necessarily have different perspectives on health and social concerns.

Moreover, in immigrant-receiving countries (including Canada) an ethnic client is likely to see a white care provider (Sue, 1992: 189). Because of the discrepancies in viewpoints between the ethnic clients and practitioners, gaps in understanding problems and delivering help might result. Examining the same cultural misunderstanding of the client-professional relationship from another perspective, one might find that since the caregivers are trained in the Western tradition, they might not have enough knowledge about subcultures from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds (Boynton, 1987). For example, rich empirical and medical data suggest that certain diseases are more common in some ethnic groups than others (Harwood, 1981; Qureshi, 1989; Waxler-Morrison, 1989). Are the Western-trained medical professionals familiar with these differences? If not, ineffective delivery of health care might be the result. Lum (1996) also points out that there is a discrepancy between some Western and non-Western values and strategies of intervention. The former emphasizes individual growth, and the latter emphasizes kinship and is more group-centered.

The second reason, though it can be studied separately, is strongly related to the former one. It is the service delivery system itself and its potential biases. The existing health and social service system was founded at the time when the majority of the population was of European origin; the approach to care is of Western origin, and is very different from that of most Third World countries (Anderson et al., 1989:252). For example, help-seeking patterns vary from culture to culture (ibid.). Some may rely more on family support; some on professional care. Clarke (1993) points out that most Canadian hospitals are organized in the Western tradition. Consequently, the institutions and the health system might not adequately respond to the needs of ethnic clients. The same problem is found with mainstream social service agencies. Therefore, it is questionable whether the Western approach can provide fully for the needs of immigrants who do not come from European countries. In other words, the question of whether ethnic clients can benefit equally from the social and health care systems is raised.

The third reason is an issue of equity. Weinfeld (1997: 250-1) argues that there are two central factors that bring about the requirement of equal treatment for all citizens, including minorities. First, the policies of the post-war period have led to the increasing involvement of governments in the public domains of education, health, social services and culture. The second is the human rights revolution of recent decades. As a consequence, immigrants and minorities, as citizens and taxpayers, have demanded that the state take into account their needs when developing public policy. Health and social service sectors were obliged to respond to such demands. Before we discuss the changes these sectors have attempted to implement, we must first review the problems health and social service sectors are facing.

Although each helping profession, such as social work, medicine, nursing, psycho-therapy and so on, has its own particular specialties and problems in delivering care, they share many common difficulties in providing effective and equitable care to minorities. The first barrier examined is language.

1. Language

Although we have many means to convey information such as drawing, gestures and so on, language remains the most essential medium through which information is exchanged. Imagine a case where a client seeks advice from a caregiver but the two do not share a common language. How adequate can the caregiver's assessment of the client's problems be? Even though a patient could touch her forehead to indicate that she has a fever, it would be impossible for the doctor to inquire much further into the patient's condition. Lack of a common language between the client and caregiver can have greater consequences when the problem is more than just a fever.

The consequences of language barriers can be critical. When immigrants settle in a new country, they are unlikely to be familiar with its social system. It is important for them to rely on essential community resources through which they can carry on their daily lives, especially when they require particular services. However, when their command of English or French is limited, social isolation and lack of proper service delivery may result. One study points out that many of the ethnic elderly in Canada cannot obtain necessary help because of language difficulties (Saldov, 1991).

Even when ethnic clients who have limited language proficiency are able to find channels to get help for their mental problems, for example, a language barrier might lead to incorrect assessment and treatment (Sue et al., 1991). The 1988 Report of the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees quotes

a statement from a submission from M.O.S.A.I.C. in Vancouver that notes, "We speak to our emotional needs and describe traumatic experiences in our first language and there are not many in treatment agencies who can communicate with the newcomers in their first language" (p.39). A study finds that in Metropolitan Toronto, the majority of care providers in the established mainstream agencies speak only one language, English (Medeiros, 1991, cited in Henry et al., 1995: 158). Another study also finds that sixty-seven percent of service providers in mainstream organizations in Metropolitan Toronto admitted that the forms which must be completed by clients for direct services are available in English only (Doyle and Visano, 1987). The fact that this occurs in the most ethnically diverse city in Canada indicates the significant problem of language barriers in the delivery of social services and health care.

2. Racism

Racism exists in all levels of any given society; and Canada is no exception. Racism constitutes a major barrier to the delivery of health and social services. In the health care system, racism can emerge in two forms: personal and institutional.

Sue (1992) observes that a significant number of African-American clients feel that their therapist is prejudiced against them. One possible "minor" negative outcome is that they turn away from white caregivers who still make up the majority in the health care system. A more "serious" outcome could be biased assessment (Snowden and Cheung, 1990:353). The Canadian Task Force on Mental Health gives the following example:

> In the case of black clients, we know that the assumptions are based on the many negative stereotyping of blacks as being lazy, lethargic, unmotivated, aggressive, etc. (characteristics which are described in the literature as classic symptoms of depression). As a result of this attitude, blacks who are suffering from depression as a natural outcome of the stresses of living with unemployment, inadequate or unavailable housing, harassment,

> and racial abuse are not recognized as suffering from stress (1988: 40).

Racism in society in general also creates another barrier between caregivers and their ethnic clients. Hepworth and Larsen (1990) observe that ethnic clients are skeptical about and hostile towards helping agencies because they have negative experiences with the dominant culture (p.246).

Institutional racism is another barrier to health care for ethnic minorities, which can manifest itself in a very subtle way. For example, if ethnic jokes or racial prejudice are acceptable among the staff of an institution, their negative racial attitude might be consciously or unconsciously manifested in their practice. Auger (1993) argues that a dichotomy (we: the host society versus them: new immigrants and refugees) in health care for ethnic seniors has emerged, particularly in the Atlantic provinces, due to a prevailing imperialistic ideology and limited health-care budgets. Instead of facilitating the ethnic clients' own expression of their needs, " 'we' are tolerant of 'their' needs...'we' ask 'them' what they need from 'our' system of health care delivery..." (ibid.:159-160). As a result, such a health-care system becomes a matter of privilege rather than a right for ethnic groups (ibid.). In short, racism in the health care system precludes proper service delivery to ethnic clients.

3. Discrepancy in Health Concepts

Different cultures have developed their unique explanatory systems to account for the occurrence of distress and illness; likewise they have also developed their own ways to deal with these problems (Lock, 1993:151). Very often, these explanatory systems and ways of controlling problems vary greatly from culture to culture and might even contradict each other. This phenomenon is not unique to medicine; it can be found in all aspects of life. For example, we could ask why the family is organized in different ways

among differing cultures, and what problems families attempt to cope with by their type of family structure? Though Canadian immigrants might have left everything behind when settling in Canada, one possession they always bring with them is the culture that has shaped their values, beliefs and behaviors. From this viewpoint, values, beliefs and behaviors of Canadian caregivers, who are still mainly of European descent, might not be compatible with those of immigrants from non-traditional source countries. This gap might hamper appropriate delivery of health care to the population. This can be demonstrated by the following examples.

To start with a basic concept, when we feel ill, we see a doctor to help us to find the cause and treat it accordingly. The orientation of Western medicine tends to focus on treating a diseased organ (Mensah, 1933:35) and on the biomedical orientation toward diseases (Harwood, 1981:21; Lock, 1933:151). However, Murdock (1980 cited in Toumishey, 1993:120) classifies causation beliefs of illness or injury from different cultures around the world into four types: natural causation, supernatural causation, animistic causation and magical causation. This notion indicates that one shortcoming of a biomedical orientation is that while medical professionals might relieve the physical symptoms of their patients, they could neglect the cultural components of the symptoms, such as pain caused by reasons other than natural causation. This approach is definitely inadequate when providing care for a multicultural clientele. For example, a Native American approach can illustrate this discrepancy. Aboriginals view diseases as a lack of balance with nature. In order to eliminate the illness the whole person should be treated, and the family, neighbors and community are actively involved in the treatment (Mensah, 1993:35). As Cheetham (1982) observes, other minority groups also view social and health concerns as a collective problem. Members of the immediate and extended family expect to play a role in the assessment of the problem as well as the treatment. Such a view is in great contrast to the individualism, independence and assertive behavior so centrally valued in Western societies.

Other contrasting social values between mainstream society and some minority groups are found in certain social service programs. Caregivers tend to develop those programs that are believed to be culturally neutral and suitable for groups from different ethnic backgrounds with relatively minor modifications (Schwager et al., 1991:246). However, it is argued that social services workers are trained in major institutions where the techniques taught are based on the dominant European, middle-class, urban, and English speaking values and beliefs. It is assumed that their own standards are functionally normative with regard to family functioning, childrearing or psychological adjustment (Green, 1982:24-26; Boynton, 1987), while in fact these practices are not culturally value-free. The caregivers are socialized in their unique subculture, which is quite often not compatible with clients from other ethnic backgrounds. Many examples can be found in childrearing.

In Canada, an infant's health is not only the responsibility of the parents but also of health caregivers. The latter set strict nutritional guidelines at prescribed times, for example, when to bottle or breast feed the baby, at which period cereal or fruit can be introduced in the child's diet and so on. However, in many countries, parents do not adhere to these guidelines, instead feeding their babies on demand. Furthermore, the perception of what constitutes a healthy baby may vary from culture to culture. The Portuguese consider a chubby baby to be in excellent health while in Canada, obesity would be the interpretation, and nutritional restraint might be suggested. Last, but not least, is the case of child discipline. In many cultures physical punishment is an accepted way to discipline a child, but Canadian parenting experts not only denounce such practices but also see them as a kind of child abuse. The law requires professionals to report what they discern as abuse (Pask and Yoshida, 1993). These discrepancies have created misunderstandings between caregivers and their clients.

Another area worth exploring is help-seeking patterns. Immigrants from different cultural backgrounds may have different perceptions of mental health, for example.

Likewise, their help-seeking patterns can vary a great deal. The Report of the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health (1988) indicates that some may try to ignore the problem: some may accept the problem as fate, while others might consult a religious leader, a family physician, a folk healer, or discuss the matter among the family. For example, many Asians feel that it is unacceptable to disclose their feelings about loneliness or suicide to their doctors. Even when Chinese, Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian patients visit their doctors about their mental health, they concentrate on the physical symptoms of depression such as eating, sleeping problems, weight loss and pain (Ibid.:37-38). When reviewing literature on mental health, Hepworth and Larsen (1990) also indicate that Japanese and Koreans feel that it is shameful to express a need for mental health services (p.246). Consequently, if caregivers in this profession are unaware of their ethnic clients' attitude toward mental health, the consequences could be that their clients' problem is either overlooked or that an inadequate diagnosis results.

4. Other Barriers

There are other barriers that might prevent adequate care delivery to minority populations, and among these low income is very important. As noted above, many immigrants with a language barrier may be deterred from seeking professional help. One solution suggested is to rely on interpreters. However, in some cities like Metro Toronto, interpreting services are charged to the patient. Limited-income clients might not be able to afford the fee for interpretation and therefore not seek help when necessary (Saldov, 1991:274). Furthermore, some medical insurance such as Medical Services Insurance (MSI) covers for psychiatrists but not psychologists. Clients may need a psychologist but may not be able to afford it (Report of the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health, 1988:38). Unfortunately many new immigrants, ethnic elderly citizens and refugees are poor.

Another factor to be taken into consideration is family influence. The family and the extended family play an important role in many cultures (Anderson et al. 1990:250). Caregivers who are unaware of the family's influence might not be able to provide proper care to these clients. For example, feminist approaches to the care of women may be effective with Anglo-Canadian women, but not necessarily with women of other ethnicity. A battered wife might not be willing to leave her family because she fears that if she does so, she would risk isolation from her community. Another example is that a client may agree to treatment, but he or she does not follow through if the family says otherwise. Asian Indians rely heavily on their kinship network for emotional, financial and other supports. In turn, they are often reluctant to seek help from mainstream services. If social workers are not sensitive to such an informal support network, they either overlook the problems or have to develop creative preventive services (Balgopal, 1988).

Furthermore, many immigrants do not believe in or completely trust Western medicine. As discussed above, each culture has its own unique way to deal with its problems or illnesses. Many turn to folk medicine or herbal remedies when they are sick (Anderson et al., 1990:261). One example can be found in Puerto Rican practice. If they encounter intestinal disorders, muscle aches and broken bones, some would consult a folk healer instead of a Western-trained doctor (Deligado, 1988). Another example is where some Chinese and Vietnamese consider Western medicine too strong for certain illnesses, and may turn instead to herbalists in their communities who have knowledge about folk medicine.

The next element to be discussed is that in Canada few caregivers are knowledgeable and skillful enough to deal with victims of torture who came to Canada as refugees (Anderson et al., 1990:248). One example is that in Canada, many caregivers do not have any experience dealing with Holocaust victims or "boat people". Newly-trained professionals are more likely to be nexperienced in dealing with such problems.

The last barrier is also a very important one. There is great concern about the severe shortage or under-representation of ethnic professionals in the health care delivery system (Griffith, 1977; Augirre, 1988; Nanton, 1990; Moore, 1991). One of the major reasons for this is passive discrimination in the process of recruitment. In a United States study, Nanton explains that passive discrimination "can be defined as the absence of action on an agreed policy or the establishment of nominal policies, i.e. policies which are not being implemented 'or' ways of delaying agreed policies affecting ethnicity and training opportunities with the knowledge of low or no entry by ethnic minorities into a particular profession" (1990:81-2). He further illustrates this point by citing a Commission for Racial Equality Annual Report for 1987 which explains why there was a lower success rate for minorities in a medical school. First, for those responsible for selection, the model of the successful candidate is someone who engages in extracurricular activities and holds office in clubs and societies etc., a standard which may be unfair when applied to ethnic minorities. Second, the unconscious negative attitudes held by job interviewers towards people from different racial groups have impaired their ability to identify able black candidates. A third factor was an interviewer's lack of awareness of the possible effects of previous experiences of discrimination on black candidates' 'self-presentation' (cited in Nanton, 1990:82). A similar discriminatory situation can also be found in the field of social work. Black social work graduates in Nova Scotia have more difficulty finding desirable jobs than others. They tend to find part-time jobs or jobs with limited or term positions. Even if they are able to obtain a full-time position, there are few opportunities for advancement. Their salary levels tend to be low as well (Bambrough et al., 1992, cited in Tator, 1996: 159). Therefore, recruiting more ethnic health-care professionals through proper recruitment practice is not only a way to combat racism and discrimination in society in general, but also a probable measure which benefits ethnic clients who might receive better care by caregivers of the same ethnic background.

In sum, this section has highlighted some significant cultural barriers in the social service and health care system that have hampered delivery of adequate health care to the population. However, the elements highlighted are not exhaustive. In the following section, measures to improve the present health-care system will be discussed.

Different Approaches to Improve the Health Care and Social Service Delivery System

It is obvious that the Western approach to health care or social services, which claims to be culturally neutral, has failed to provide adequate services to an ethnically diverse population. It has been argued that the system is unable to deliver culturally sensitive services to clients from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Consequently, different policies have been suggested to modify the present unsatisfactory health-care system. Here is a review of some of the major suggestions.

There are two models (cross-cultural encounter and ethnic match) that can be implemented at both individual and institutional levels. Cross-cultural encounters refer to situations in which caregivers from the mainstream society, mainly whites, deliver services to clients in ethnic minority groups. One of the pioneers in this area is Green (1982, 1999) who explains that the cross-cultural model stresses the caregivers' cross-cultural learning. The main focus of the learning is to be culturally competent. That means the worker must learn about other cultures from different sources ranging from background preparation to the use of cultural guides to participant observation. The elements to be learned from the cultural group should include their cognitive belief and value system, expression of problems, help-seeking behavior, and if possible, the language. It is believed that cross-cultural learning facilitates the helping process, so that "social services can and should be provided to people in ways that culturally acceptable to them [clients from minority groups] and that enhance their sense of ethnic group

participation and power" (Green, 1999: 5). And in general, it also facilitates "social change and improvement in the lives of people of color" (Lum, 1996: 12).

Ethnic match (Sue et al., 1991; Weinfeld, 1997; Troper and Weinfeld, 1999), however, emphasizes the advantages of matching the ethnic background of professionals and clients. The assumption is that the caregivers from the same group are more likely to be culturally competent, so that more effective services can be delivered to meet the needs of clients. Furthermore, it presumes that the effect of racism is absent during the service delivery. As a result, trust between the givers and the receivers can be more efficiently built. Such ethnic match could be beneficial to the clients as some literature suggests (Flaskerud, 1986; Poland et al., 1992; Kalichman et al., 1993).

The implementation of the above models can be materialized in different settings. As discussed before, there is a shortage of ethnic professionals in the health and social service sectors due to discriminatory recruitment and admission (Moore, 1991; Nanton, 1990). Therefore, there is a need to develop an outreach and recruitment program that would attract more minority applicants (ibid.). In addition, it is also suggested that curriculum content has to be culturally relevant (ibid.; Bernard and Thomas, 1991; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991). The benefit of these changes would be the improvement of employment equity in general. Furthermore, the modified curriculum can sensitize white students to the needs of different ethnic clients and strengthen cultural awareness. It also has the same effect on other minority students. A black student might not be equipped to deal with clients from Malaysia, for example. In addition, when there is a large enough pool of caregivers, an ethnic client can choose a worker from his or her similar ethnic background who shares more or less the same values and beliefs, and can communicate in the same language, if he or she is not comfortable with workers from other ethnic backgrounds.

Other than strengthening an individual caregiver's sensitivity to cultural differences, and increasing representation of minority members in the professions, there is

also an institutional approach, of which there are two forms. The first is the ethnic organization or so-called ethno-specific (parallel) program or organization (Matsuoka and Sorenson, 1991; Sue et al., 1992). As Matsuoka and Sorenson (1991: 259) put it, this approach is one where "...ethnic organizations themselves provide services to their own communities. Ethnic organizations, while being considerably more flexible, more culturally sensitive, and more effective in terms of their links with existing networks, are typically under-funded and staffed by non-professional volunteers who must meet many other demands placed upon them" (also see Tator, 1996). This type of ethnic organization usually exists among some of the older immigrant groups in Canada such as the Jewish, Italian and Chinese communities.

Another form of institutional approach can be labeled as the bridging model (Matsuoka and Sorenson, 1991). The characteristics of this model are that mainstream institutions such as hospitals and social services centers hire workers from different ethnic-cultural backgrounds so that multilingual and multicultural services can be offered to diverse ethnic groups. The word "bridging" indicates that these institutions link their resources to other ethnic communities. They would develop liaisons with those cultural community organizations mentioned above. Through this connection, both the mainstream institutions and the ethnic organizations can be cross-culturally sensitized.

A pioneering project like this can be seen at The Montreal Children's Hospital, which attempts to overcome cultural and linguistic barriers (Clarke, 1993). The hospital develops multicultural programs in which educational programs, intercultural seminars, mini- and major-workshops and a multicultural library are organized. The purpose is to establish "development of cross-cultural education and development for staff at all levels, the elaboration of appropriate interpretation services, the gathering and sharing of resources, the development liaison between the institutions and acting as an advocate for multicultural change" (Clarke, 1993:61). The third approach is that some mainstream

institutions maintain their staff, set up programs and talks to sensitize them to deal with the needs of their ethnic clients. They do not recruit minorities deliberately.

Weinfeld (1997) conceptualizes the possible configurations of ethnic match discussed above. He argues that the minimal match would be the case where minority group members are treated by mainstream professionals, in a mainstream setting, using a non-ethnic approach. On the other hand, the maximal match is delivered by ethnic personnel, in an ethnic institution, using ethnic practice. Variations of practices fall between these two extremes.

This section by no means exhausts all the possible changes and innovations implemented in the social service and health sectors. For the purpose of this dissertation, we will explore how ethnic-practice is delivered in the maximal match by comparing two family service agencies in Montreal: one Chinese and the other Jewish.

Ethnic Organizations Providing Services

Ethnic minority members may receive services from mainstream institutions, such as public schools, hospitals, etc, and also from organizations or agencies in their own ethnic communities. Ethnic organizations can exist in many forms such as individual churches, associations or voluntary associations, institutions, centers, schools, clubs. The list goes on. Some of them are more active than others; some bear more significance to the community and some less; some have more influence on Canadian society and some do not. Some are political in nature, while some are more cultural. Jenkins (1981) defines an ethnic organization in the following ways:

The agency (1) serves primarily ethnic clients, (2) is staffed by a majority of individuals of the same ethnicity as the client group, (3) has an ethnic majority on the board, (4) has ethnic community or power structure support, (5) integrates ethnic content into its program, (6) views strengthening the family as a primary goal, (7) maintains an

ideology that promotes ethnic identity and ethnic participation in the decision-making process (cited in Cox and Ephross, 1998: 102-3).

These ethnic organizations have a long history in Canada. Burnet and Palmer (1988: 185) observe that "ethnic associations tend to be dominated by immigrants." The existence of these organizations is meant to meet the needs of these new settlers. These needs relate to settlement in the host country, and include services, information, and establishment of a network (ibid.). Very often these needs cannot be met by the community at large because of many aforementioned barriers.

Jenkins (1980) further argues that these agencies play a strong role in minority rights advocacy. Beyene, Butcher, Joe and Richmond (1996) examine immigrant service agencies in Toronto's ethnic communities. They find that these ethno-specific agencies play a strong anti-racist role in the social services sector. These agencies advocate the rights of immigrant domestic workers, ensure that services are accessible, consult mainstream organizations on anti-racist organizational change or on the development of accessible programs, and advocate for changes in government policies that sustain discrimination and racism.

Regardless of the contributions of these ethno-specific organizations or service agencies, they have been accused of creating a 'duplicate' or 'parallel' service system that threatens the "normal" operations of the mainstream service system. They are perceived as amateur and unprofessional organizations since they provide services on a mainly volunteer basis, and the 'cost-effectiveness' of these organizations is often questioned. These unjust accusations against ethnic-specific organizations often lead to poor funding and restrict their role as referral centers, channeling their clients toward the 'professional' service providers in the mainstream institutions (Beyene, Butcher, Joe and Richmond, 1996). Other studies (Breton, 1964; Anderson and Frideres, 1981) argue that ethnic community organizations inhibit participation in the institutions of the host society.

Impact of Internal and External Factors On Formation and Functioning of Ethno-Specific Organizations

As mentioned above, ethno-specific organizations do not operate in a vacuum. They function within their ethnic communities, and in the larger community that surrounds them. Several studies (Elazar 1976; Breton, 1991; Rosenberg and Jedwab, 1992) examine the impact of internal and external factors on the formation and functioning of ethnic organizations. In the following section, some important and relevant factors will be discussed.

One of the first studies of the ethnic community in the Canadian context is the article on the "institutional completeness" of ethnic communities, written more than 35 years ago by Raymond Breton (1964). The study compares 230 males from 30 different ethnic institutions in Montreal. Breton points out three factors that affect the formation of ethnic organizations. First, if the ethnic groups possess social and cultural traits that differ from the host community, such as language, color and religion, they are more likely to have a higher degree of institutional completeness. Also, the degree of institutional completeness is shaped by the problems the immigrants face on arrival, such as discrimination or a language barrier. Breton (1991) later terms this as "social demand". Second, factor the degree of institutional completeness is strongly related to the level of resources among the members of the ethnic group. This concept has been further developed in his later study (Breton, 1991). Breton proposes a "social supply" approach, one that views an ethnic community organization as an opportunity for those community members who seek to gain power, prestige, income, or ideological commitments for themselves. They may also gain access to and control of resources for organization building. Third, ethnic organizations are organized in relation to the specific needs of particular waves of immigrants. The number of immigrants in a particular wave is also a consequential factor in the formation of ethnic organizations.

O'Bryan et al. (1976: 20-1) have a line of argument very similar to Breton's third factor. They find that different waves of immigrants coming at separate times form specific types of organizations to meet different needs. Although many of the earliest organizations were formed to provide for members' urgent social and welfare needs, some of which still remain today, many postwar immigrants are no longer content with the earlier establishment because of their different educational and cultural backgrounds. The latter groups, which tend to be more highly educated and skilled, form their own professional organizations or societies that move beyond their ethnic communities and are more involved in Canadian affairs. With the influx of intellectuals after the Second World War, some ethnic groups have established their own scholarly institutions and research centers.

Elazar's study (1976) on community and polity, focusing on the organizational dynamics of American Jewry, offers some insight on the formation and functioning of ethnic organizations. He describes and analyzes how integration has been achieved through the efforts of the organized Jewish community, which functions as a polity; not a state, but operating as if it were a state. This study outlines a systematic treatment which may apply to other ethnic communities. Elazar's framework includes five factors that shape the American Jewish polity: 1) the environment (internal and external) in which the community operates; 2) the supremacy of local institutions which emphasizes local control; 3) the functional groupings which emerge in the community; 4) the diversity of people and activities, both religious and secular, that separates and links institutions; and 5) the actual and potential leaders in the community. By examining the political structure and process within the people, institutions, and social environment mentioned above, Elazar demonstrates how the Jewish community in the United States has developed a comprehensive and sophisticated "institutionally complete" polity. Another contribution of Elazar's study is his observation on the transformation of the Jewish communal structure from undivided and primitive to increasingly articulated. He finds that there are

five different domains in the community in which organized activities take place. They are religious-congregational, educational-cultural, community-relations, communal-welfare, and Israel-overseas. Each of these domains serves a specific interest in the community.

Two studies reviewed below are particularly relevant to this study. They articulate how state policies impact on the formation and functioning of ethnic organizations. Ho's case study (1983) examines the changes undergone by the Montreal Chinese Hospital from 1981 to 1982. It gives a detailed analysis of the relationship between an ethnic organization and the state government. The establishment of this hospital, which was once Church-dependent, was meant to serve the poor and chronically-ill elderly Chinese in Montreal's Chinese community. However, it became "Chinese in name only" (ibid.: 176) because of the changes described below.

Bill 65, an act intended to organize health and social services, was passed in 1971 and implemented in 1972, and had a strong impact on the hospital's organization. The bill took effective control of the board of directors and professional employees. As a result, more and more administrators who controlled access to higher positions within the hospital's heirarchy tended to be French. The French administrators operated the hospital as if it were a business, and running the hospital with greater economic efficiently became the priority.The number of Chinese staff dropped significantly and most of the Chinese staff were concentrated at the lower-to-middle strata. The new staff spoke either English or French, but no Chinese.

At the same time, the majority of the patients were still Chinese. The staff, however, could not speak Chinese, not even the nurses who took care of the patients. They had problems communicating with their clients and understanding their psychological feelings and needs. All of these changes led the hospital to focus more on the regulations of the state government than on developing a hospital aimed at the special

needs of elderly patients. The hospital could no longer maintain the initial goal of caring for elderly Chinese.

Another study (Rosenberg and Jedwab, 1992) takes a comparative approach to ethnic communities. Rosenberg and Jedwab examined three ethnic communities in Montreal: the Italians, Jews and Greeks. They questioned scholars, such as Breton (1964), Anderson and Frideres (1981), who view ethnic institutional completeness as a barrier to ethnic members' participation in the institutions of the host society or as an alternative which discourages such participation. Rosenberg and Jedwab observe that in fact "ethnic communal and organizational development is *itself* [italics in original] a mode of participation in Canadian society, economic, and political life" (1992:267). Because of the unique political nature of Quebec in Canada, and the high degree of willingness of the ethnic groups in the study to participate in the receiving state, the growth in the role, function, and activism of the state has enhanced the institutional development of these three ethnic communities. The authors further argue that although the state in Quebec has become quasi-universalistic, it has remained centrally francophone since the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976. It was at first assumed that the state might play a role in undermining the legitimacy of ethnic diversity in the territory. On the contrary, the state appears to be developing a partnership or new social contract with the various ethnic communities, so that new immigrants can integrate into the francophone milieu more successfully. The authors speculate that this partnership could also exist in other ethnic communities, such as the Chinese community which plays an important role in providing assistance to immigrants from Hong Kong.

The authors also point out the reason why the Italians, Jews and Greeks have established a relatively high degree of institutional completeness, despite the fact that these ethnic groups show a willingness to take advantage of the services offered by the state. The problem lies with the fact that not all the services offered by the state can meet the specific religious, linguistic and cultural needs of these three groups. This study

illustrates how the formation of ethnic organizations within a community is shaped by state policies, and such formation results because the existing services in the host society cannot meet the specific needs of a particular ethnic community.

Delivery of Culturally Sensitive Social Services

Barriers to social and health services have been examined; proposed approaches to overcome barriers have been discussed. We must now examine how culturally sensitive social services are actually delivered. What are sensitive health and social services really like when they are delivered to minorities? To date, there are very few case studies that examine how an ethno-specific agency provides culturally sensitive social services to minorities. However, reading through the relevant literature, some theoretical perspectives and suggested strategies can be found.

Masi observes, "culturally sensitive health care is not a matter of simple formulas or prescriptions that provide a single definitive answer; rather, it requires understanding of the principles on which health care is based and the manner in which culture may influence those principles. That influence may affect or bias physicians, patients, and institutions serving the community" (cited in Ujimoto, 1994:203-4). This implies that one of the most important components in delivering sensitive social services is that caregivers should be able to understand patterns of client behavior, which are derived from a particular cultural ethnic group. These patterns include languages, values, beliefs and so on. Furthermore, these cultural elements vary a great deal from culture to culture. The so-called sensitive social services might adequately suit one ethnic group but not another. Therefore, the strategies used to serve a particular group should in theory be unique to that particular group. Two examples are provided.

The first considers the care of black clients in Nova Scotia. In recent years, the Association of Black Social Workers (ABSW) has been trying to bring about changes in the delivery of social services to blacks (see Bernard and Thomas, 1991). It has organized conferences to develop training programs to raise awareness among the social work community of the social service needs of black families. One of the major attempts of the ABSW is to increase awareness within the community of the structural barriers to adequate social services. Since blacks have no language barrier in Canada (unlike other minorities such as Asian or Arab groups), and many have been living in Canada for several generations, language and values are not the major concerns. However, because of their racial history in North America, their major barriers to services are racism and structural discrimination (ibid.:238-239). This means that in order to offer sensitive social services to blacks as initially established in the "Social Service Sensitivity Training Program" project, three aims should be considered: "1) identify and consider strategies to address racism and cross-cultural issues; 2) increase the knowledge and expertise of ABSW members in their understanding of cross-cultural issues; 3) develop an anti-racist education package to be used in agencies by members of ABSW" (ibid.:239).

The second example shows that when delivering services to any ethnic group, social workers should not only value but also expect diversity within a group (Castex, 1994:290). Castex uses the Hispanic group as an example. In the United States, social workers have faced difficulties in providing services to people of Hispanic origin because of diversity within this group. Castex's analysis (ibid.) of the profiles of this group articulates the directions social workers must follow to provide adequate services to Hispanics. The social category "Hispanic group" was created by a U.S. federal order in the late 1970s. This group consists of people from 26 different nations in North, Central and South America, the Caribbean and Europe. Although these peoples share a common "Spanish culture", many prefer not to call themselves "Hispanics". Instead they prefer to call themselves Latino or Latina. Furthermore, they do not all speak Spanish, but five

major European languages (Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English). Although the majority of this group is Roman Catholics, the number of Protestant Hispanics is growing rapidly, and many hold other faiths. Overall, these people are in a unique situation. A high percentage of this population is undocumented, meaning they do not have the legal right to live and remain in the U.S. Their illegal status affects living conditions such as mobility, employment availability, the ability to assert rights and so on. As a consequence, when social workers try to provide adequate services to this group, they have to be sensitive to their profiles such as ethnic origin, language use and citizenship status which affects their access to many rights. In other words, uniformity should not be assumed to exist within the group.

The current study intends to explore how two ethno-specific family service agencies provide their community members with culturally sensitive services. Such exploration will take place in the social context of Montreal, Quebec. A comparison of two agencies in two distinct ethnic communities will definitely yield a better understanding of the complexity of the issues in culturally sensitive social services. The studies which examine organizational aspects of ethnic communities provide a useful framework for this present study. We focus on several key internal and external factors that affect the formation and functioning of ethnic organizations. One internal factor is the specific needs of the community, which differ in accordance with various waves of immigrants, depending on their socio-demographic characteristics. Another internal factor is the supply in the community, which comprises the resources, motivations and visions of the elite in the community, upon which the development and functioning of ethnic organizations depends. The external factors include a subset of social environments: the general social environment; availability and equitability of social services in the mainstream society; and state policies that include legislation and funding, to name a few.

Chapter Two
Methodology

Two ethno-specific family-services agencies in Montreal have been chosen for this study: one in the Jewish community (Jewish Family Services) and the other one is in the Chinese community (Chinese Family Services). There are several reasons for these two choices. The two agencies are ethno-specific agencies, and provide services to their community members. The range of services provided by JFS include: 1) School Social Services, 2) Family Life Education - Prevention and Support, 3) Family and Child Services, 4) Le Mercaz, a physical resource service center that provides service in food, clothing and furniture, and 5) the Community Assistance Program. The major services CFS covers are: 1) services for senior citizens, 2) services for families, individuals and women in difficulty, 3) services for problem gamblers and their families, 4) services for immigrants, and 5) French classes.

The Jewish community has a long history in Montreal and is one of the largest Jewish communities in North America. JFS has existed in the community for more than 130 years. It would be interesting to examine how this well-established agency plays a role in helping Jews in need. Although the Chinese are not new in Montreal, the Montreal Chinese community has been relatively small compared to those in Vancouver and Toronto. With the recent influx of Hong Kong immigrants to Canada, many have chosen to settle in Montreal. The demographic characteristics of these recent immigrants are very different from those of the previous waves. The newcomers are highly educated, and many are professionals as opposed to those who came a century ago as laborers. The newcomers are also more affluent.

The Chinese community has been growing very rapidly. Their demands on the community and their ensuing impact on the greater community are of sociological interest. It would be fruitful to study how CFS, which is less than 20 years old, has had

to adjust rapidly to meet the new challenges brought on by the newcomers. Contrasting a well-established agency with a newly-organized one will offer some insights into the issues surrounding culturally sensitive social services.

While both groups share some cultural values, which include the central role of the family and the importance of caring for family members and communities, their ways of expressing these values are very different. A detailed discussion of this will appear in Chapter Three. It would be intriguing to compare how the groups' cultures impact on the ways in which they care for their community members at an organizational level.

This study was conducted using qualitative research techniques. A total of 60 in-depth interviews were carried out. In CFS, the executive director and 8 program co-ordinators were interviewed, as well as 2 staff, 2 board members, and 8 clients. Other interviewees included 3 key figures in the Chinese community, and 3 Chinese-speaking CLSC workers. Because CFS does not offer much counseling, it is difficult to draw a comparison with JFS, which offers counseling. In order to make a more comparable analysis with JFS, a Chinese family service agency in Toronto (TFS) was brought into this study. Five social workers and the director were interviewed. In JFS, the executive director and 5 supervisors were interviewed; others included 8 social workers and counselors, 2 staff, 1 program director, 3 board members, a director of the Federation, 2 key figures in the community (one of them a rabbi), and 4 clients.

The questions were semi-structured. In order to understand how the agencies are run, we focused on the structure and characteristics of the agencies, as well as the funding resources. At the service level, the executives and professionals of the agencies were interviewed. The purpose of these interviews was to explore how the agencies conduct their culturally sensitive services, what kinds of problems they face, how they solve issues of cultural conflict, and so on. The interviews with the key figures in the communities help us to understand how the communities view their own family service agencies.

Clients were also interviewed. Through these interviews, the question of why they chose their ethnic service centers over those in mainstream society were explored. From the clients' point of view, we examined the advantages and the disadvantages of culturally sensitive services over services in the mainstream society. Two methods were employed to recruit clients. Where the caregivers were asked to help recruit clients for interviews, we hoped that through the persuasion of caregivers, the clients might have more confidence in speaking to the interviewer. Another method was to leave information flyers at the reception desks of each agency and indicating that participation in the study was rewarded with two movie tickets. Because most of the clients who sought help from CFS were not fluent in either official language, and because there are no Chinese cinemas in Montreal, twenty dollars in cash was offered to those Chinese clients who participated.

Our anticipation that many clients would be reluctant to talk about their problems to strangers or outsiders turned out to be true. It was rather difficult to locate clients, particularly among the Jewish community. No Jewish clients who received counseling were interviewed. The interviewed clients mainly sought financial help from JFS; others sought help from a program for psychiatric problems. There might be two reasons for the difficulty. Perhaps clients did not feel comfortable sharing their personal problems with others except with their caregivers. Another possibility was that they might not trust an interviewer who did not come from their same cultural and ethnic background (see Troper and Weinfeld, 1999). However, clients in the Chinese community were more responsive.

Generally each interview lasted about an hour to an hour and a half. However, the duration varied depending on the interviewees. The longest interviews totalled as much as four hours, and were conducted over several appointments. In order to understand more in depth about the agencies, other means were also employed. Non-participant observation was conducted. I attended board meetings and staff development sessions, and observed how front-line workers conducted their work with clients of both agencies.

I was also fortunate to follow through a pilot project, "Friendly Visits For Chinese Seniors at Risk", in CFS from the beginning to the end. Such intense participant observation generated much detail and valuable data. I was invited to assist with this project, and in a way, my involvement became a participant observation. I was aware of the disadvantages of this method. Researcher's own interests, point of views and personal biases might influence the activities carried out in the project. Therefore, the executive director of the agency, the co-ordinator of the project and I agreed that I would not give any opinion on how this project had to be carried out. I helped by following the decisions made for the project by the co-ordinator, and offered my help wherever I was needed, in a non-leadership capacity. I took care to keep my influence on the project to a minimum.

The languages used in the interviews were Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese) and English. Whenever possible, the interviews were taped (with the permission of the interviewees) and transcribed. The interviews conducted in Chinese were translated into English. Furthermore, a trained interviewer was used when the author could not conduct the interviews because of role conflicts or issues related to gender sensitivity.

A systematic analysis and comparison between two ethnic agencies were carried out. The analytic themes focus on the elements of culturally sensitive services, their structural differences and commonalties, differences and similarities between their ethnic sensitive programs and differences in the way in which they are delivered (if any). Furthermore, this analysis focuses on how external and internal factors affect the formation and functioning of these agencies. To study the significance of these factors, we closely examine the demographic characteristics of the two communities, review existing literature, and analyze data collected from interviews.

The confidentiality of the interviewees, especially the professionals, is highly valued, but because there is only one family service agency in each community, it is not difficult to guess who participated in the study. Also, because the majority of workers in the caregiving field are women, it is possible that male interviewees could be identified.

Therefore, care has been given when presenting sensitive views, and great effort has made to minimize identifying information.

The nature of this study involves a dilemma that is often debated in social research: the "insiders" and "outsiders" debate (see Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979: 123-7). Many scholars argue that being a member of a group has advantages in studying the issues within the group. Finch (1993) finds that there are advantages for a female interviewer studying the lives of other women. One of the key reasons is that "both parties share a subordinate structural position by virtue of their gender" (ibid.: 170). She further observes that interviewees show a high level of trust in her, and expect her to understand what they mean simply because of her gender. Phellas's study (2000) also demonstrates that being a Greek gay man enables him to obtain much information from a group of Cypriot men who are not necessarily gay, yet who engage in sex with men.

Notwithstanding, I am content with Troper and Weinfeld's (1999) view. They argue that "we believe that academic research is best when it builds bridges rather than walls. We accept the old notion that there are benefits to research conducted by both insiders and outsiders" (ibid.: x). My position is also strengthened by the argument proposed by Schwartz and Jacobs (1979). They question the ultimate authority to decide who knows best: the insiders who are involved in the activity or outsiders who are not. They state that "it is clear that we are dealing with an almost political issue. We are dealing with how groups confer "entitlement", that is, how someone becomes "entitled" to know something from the point of view of others, whether or not he in fact knows it" (ibid.: 125).

Naples further argues that "as ethnographers we are never fully outside or inside the community" (1996: 103). I am a Chinese, and so are the workers and clients in CFS. Does this make me an insider? Not necessarily. Perhaps the similarity between them and myself simply ends here. In CFS, there are workers and clients who came from Mainland China. I was born and raised in Hong Kong, so I could be considered an outsider when

interviewing those who come from Mainland China. I am a graduate student and they are social workers and clients: does this make me an outsider? Moreover, as a Chinese, when I interview Jewish workers and clients, does this make me an outsider? These Jewish and Chinese workers share an interest in my study. They welcome my study comparing two ethno-specific agencies in two different ethnic communities and would like to see the outcome of my study. Furthermore, all of us share a minority status: they as a religious minority and I being an ethnic minority. Are we all insiders within these realms? Using Schwartz and Jacobs' notion of "entitlement", I feel that the workers in JFS and I had a very positive relationship. Since I am not a Jew and did not know much of their culture and religion, they were very willing to explain details. I feel that being an "outsider", I learned a great deal in the interviews. It seems that because I am a Chinese, I was able to pick up some issues more quickly when interviewing the Chinese workers. However, it was only from reading previous studies that I had some vague ideas on what difficulties some immigrants face when they are settling in this new society. When listening to the interviewees' stories, my perception of their struggles was increased. Overall, I do not feel being an "outsider" in JFS has had any negative impact on my study. Nor I do not feel that I have collected any more valuable data than I would have otherwise.

Chapter Three

The Chinese and Jews in Quebec

In the literature review above, we have noted that barriers to equal access to social and health services do not exist in a vacuum. Instead, they are, amongst other factors, culturally bound. Problems exist in the discrepancy between the service providers (the culturally dominant group) and the receivers (the minority groups) in matters of values, beliefs and practice. The different responses from different ethnic communities in meeting the needs of their members and the attempts to fill the service gaps in mainstream society have been shaped by the organizational styles, as suggested by Rosenberg and Jedwab (1992), which is also culturally bound. The creation of a Jewish education system reflects the fact that neither Protestant nor Catholic school boards are able to meet the needs of Jews in Montreal. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the barriers to services for the Chinese and Jews in Quebec, it is necessary to examine the cultural and ethnic characteristics of these groups, and review the literature on how these groups develop their communities to respond to their specific needs. Their communities, like other ethnic groups (except for the First Nations), have been built by waves of immigrants. Therefore, there is a need to review the immigration history of both the Chinese and the Jews. Furthermore, the discussion below will also help us to understand the ways in which CFS and JFS serve their own community members, which is explored in subsequent chapters.

The Chinese

The History of Chinese Immigrants

The Chinese have a long history in Canada. Instead of coming directly from China, the first small wave of Chinese migrants came to Canada from the west coast of the United States around 1858 for the gold rush in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia. With the coming of the intercontinental Canadian railroad mega-project, and the challenge of building part of the railroad through the Rocky Mountains, laborers were recruited directly from China as railway workers (Li, 1998: 16). Upon completion of the railway's construction, the Chinese workers were dismissed because they were no longer needed. Because of the unusually poor pay of the Chinese, a direct result of discrimination, many who could not save enough money for the voyage were unable to return home (Chan, 1983: 67). Despite getting help from the newly established Chinese Benevolent Association, no more than three thousand out of seventeen thousand were able to return China (Chan, 1991: 17). The rest were forced to seek work elsewhere, within Canada or outside Canada; some stayed in Victoria and Vancouver, while others followed the Canadian Pacific Railway route and moved eastward. Facing strong racial discrimination and prejudice, including an exclusion act and a head-tax system, they could only take unwanted jobs in the Prairies and eastern Canada. Along the way, some established themselves as peddlers, grocers, and cooks, while others worked as laundrymen and servants for white families. Chinatowns were subsequently formed in cities and towns along the route (ibid.: 28).

The Chinese, like the Jews, can be considered a diaspora group, but the reasons for this and their characteristics are very different. Instead of being driven out of their homelands (Palestine and Europe) due to persecution and anti-Semitism, the Chinese decided to go overseas as a result of economic and political hardships in nineteenth-

century China (such as invasion by Japanese and Europeans or internal conflicts among warlords). Most of these overseas Chinese were sojourners who planned to save money by working as coolies and laborers, then return home. The Chinese migrants at that time were mainly unskilled, illiterate workers. Unlike the Jews, however, the Chinese at least had a homeland to look forward to returning to. There were an estimated 36 million Chinese overseas in 1993 (Sowell, 1996: 175), far outnumbering the 8 million Jews outside Israel. The Chinese primarily came from two southern provinces in China, Fukien and Kwangtung, while the Jews came to Canada from both Europe and the Middle East. A great majority of the 36 million overseas Chinese reside in many Asian countries including Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

According to the 1991 Census (Statistics Canada, 1993, cited in Driedger, 1996:242), there are nearly 600,000 Chinese in Canada, representing 2% of the Canadian population. Twentieth-century Chinese immigrants came in three distinctive waves: the pre-World War II period, the period from 1960-1980, and the Hong Kong wave from 1980 to the present. Prior to the 1960s, the number of Chinese immigrants was initially small due to the Chinese Exclusion Act. Only after new immigration regulations using a points system were implemented did the number of foreign-born Chinese increase sharply, jumping from 77,750 in 1971 to 464,039 in 1991 (calculated from Li, 1998: 1050).

The demographic characteristics of the new Chinese immigrants are different from previous ones. Many in the new wave are skilled, highly educated and English-speaking urban dwellers. The ratio of men and women has balanced out from the pre-war period. The largest ratio was 2,790 men per 100 women in 1911 (Chan, 1991: 215). There were two reasons for this. First, it was partly due to Canadian government regulations that barred the entry of women and children into the country. Second, for pragmatic reasons either economic or emotional, the men did not want their family members to join them. The gender balance gradually improved after new immigration

regulations were implemented in the 1960s. The policy of exclusion before World War II and the admission of a larger number of immigrants have created a "delay of a second generation" as Li (1998: 72) termed it. Before WWII, the Chinese community could not reproduce itself because wives were barred from entering Canada. As a result, 70 per cent of the Chinese in Canada were foreign-born as late as 1991 (ibid.: 73). According to the 1996 Census (Statistics Canada, 1996), only 11.7% of the Chinese in Montreal, 15 years old and over, were native-born. In other words, the Montreal Chinese community remains a largely immigrant community.

The most recent wave, sometimes called the Hong Kong tide, consists of vast numbers of Hong Kong immigrants. Since 1967 when the points system was implemented, immigrantion from Hong Kong has steadily increased. But in the beginning of the 1980s, when China and Britain announced that China would regain sovereignty of Hong Kong in 1997, those who feared for Hong Kong's stability under Communist China migrated to other countries. Their favorite destination was Canada, followed by the United States and Australia. Not only were these Chinese from Hong Kong highly educated, skilled immigrants, but many of them who entered Canada as entrepreneurs or investors were relatively wealthy. For almost a decade, Hong Kong led the list of birthplaces for newcomers, with 96,500 of 1.24 million recent immigrants (Statistics Canada, 1994: 13). However, the tide has fallen because Hong Kong's future is becoming less uncertain. In addition to this Hong Kong tide, Chinese immigrants from other places such as Mainland China and Taiwan have also increased at the same time. Among the immigrants who came to Canada between 1981-1991, Chinese was the most frequent reported ethnic origin at 236,810. Among all immigrants, the Chinese have become the second largest ethnic group in Canada at 425,800, just after those from Britian (ibid.: 22).

Like most immigrants, Chinese tend to be urban settlers; two-thirds of them live in Toronto and Vancouver. The 1996 census indicates that about 46,000 people in

Montreal are Chinese (The Gazette, February 18, 1998), making up 1.4% of Montreal's population (calculated from the source above). The number of Chinese in Montreal was initially very small. No more than seven Chinese were in the province by 1881, and the number of Chinese had increased to 1,000 by 1912 (Wickberg, 1982: 91). Population growth was blocked by the Chinese Exclusion Act and the head tax. After the repeal of the discriminatory Act in 1947, a sharp increase in the Chinese population in Montreal was seen in the 1950s, from 1,904 to 4,794 (ibid.: 218). Quebec, like other provinces especially British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario, has made a concerted effort to attract affluent immigrants from Hong Kong since the 1980s. However, what sets Quebec apart from other provinces in terms of the immigration selection is that Quebec has unique power to admit immigrants. Mont and Fennell (1989: 105) write, "Quebec, in fact, can even admit immigrants who do not meet the federal government selection criteria, so long as they are not rejected on security or medical grounds." Many Hong Kong and Taiwan entrepreneurs have been using this "back door to Canada" as a stepping stone to settle elsewhere in Canada, usually Toronto. A study shows that in Montreal, 225 of 351 Chinese entrepreneurs could not be found to be interviewed (ibid.: 100). Because of loopholes in immigration policies (both provincial and federal), the French milieu and the unstable political situation, Montreal has never successfully captured the hearts of the Chinese (Chan, 1991: 231). Montreal has not gained substantial Chinese immigrants compared with Vancouver, Calgary, and Toronto. Of 633,933 Chinese-Canadians in Canada in 1991, 46.4% resided in Ontario, 30.8% in British Columbia, 12.6% in Alberta, and finally only 6.5% in Quebec (Li, 1998: 104). In turn, this certainly hampers the development of Montreal's Chinatown, since its human capital and financial resources are relatively limited.

Early Montreal Chinatown, like its counterparts in Vancouver and Toronto, was organized around the traditional Chinese clan associations (based on the same surname), district associations (based on the community or county in China), and a Chinese benevolent association (controlled by the merchant leaders). Some see the latter organization as an umbrella-like community organization (Thompson, 1989: 9); some see it as symbolic, usually not functioning as it aims to be (an informant, cited in Chan, 1991: 142). In fact, it is fair to say that as formal community organizations, the Chinese ones are rather weak. There might be three possible explanations for this. First, the traditional Chinese mode of organization has been primarily through clan or lineage that is strongly familial (Wu, 1985; Fricke, Chang and Yang, 1994: 27-8). This type of organizational orientation has been transformed into varying forms and can be found in many overseas Chinese societies (Wu, 1985; see Serrie, 1998). Although the concept of community is not new to the Chinese, it is very different from what is commonly perceived in Western societies. Traditionally, a Chinese community is organized around the members who are associated with a common ancestor (Wong, 1982; Cohen, 1985). Second, the Chinese communities in Canada, including the one in Montreal, are often divided into the two political camps of the nationalists and the communists, although the conflicts were more serious in the past than in the present. A good indicator of the split is the fact that China's National Day celebration is held twice: once on October 1st for Mainland China and on October 10th for Taiwan. Third, the communities are divided by age into the old and the young. Wickberg puts it well:

> From the late 1960s there were two versions of politics in Canadian Chinese communities. One was firmly rooted in the older community organizations and was dominated by older men whose consciousness was marked by discriminatory rules and regulations and saw accommodation, not confrontation, as the effective strategy. A second version was dominated by younger,

> professionally oriented members of the communities, who were willing to use the system and, if necessary, challenge it (1982: 256).

In his study of New York's Chinatown, Wong (1988: Chapter 7) distinguishes two types of Chinese leaders, Kiu Ling and agency brokers. His observations are very similar to those made by Wickberg (1982). The Kiu Ling, which literally means the leaders of the overseas, are more concerned with preserving Chinese culture and are usually older entrepreneurs with pro-Kuomintang (the National Party in Taiwan) sympathies. They exclude those who are second- and third-generation "Americanized" Chinese who cannot speak Chinese. They also feel that these Americanized Chinese do not share their Chinese values, pro-Kuomintang ideology or code of behaviour. They tend to believe that Chinatown is a self-sufficient community with the ability to solve its own problems. They prefer not to participate fully in the larger society except in some sectors, mainly business-oriented. When dealing with the dominant society, they seek a harmonious relationship with whites and other ethnic groups. They strongly oppose protests and demonstrations as tools to negotiate with the dominant society. Finally, they see themselves as the legitimate representatives of the Chinese community, and maintain that there must be a hierarchical social order of Chinatown where Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) is the super-patron and should take the lead.

The agency brokers tend to be younger, more highly educated, knowledgeable of both the Chinese community and the larger society, and dissatisfied with the Kiu Ling of the community. They do not exclude any types of Chinese, and do not support the hierarchical structure of Chinatown promoted by the Kiu Ling and CCBA. Their activities focus on helping community members adapt to the larger society, and educating the Chinese on how to participate in the dominant society. They encourage the Chinese to participate fully in American society and to make use of public resources. When fighting for their equal rights and equal opportunity within the dominant society, they

adopt social pressure tactics that contrast sharply with the Kiu Ling's approach. Wong writes:

> The Kiu Ling-Patrons and the agency-brokers differ not only in social, economic, and educational backgrounds but also in their conceptions of the Chinese ethnic boundary; the differential use of ethnic symbols and ethnic identity; their views of internal social order; and in the adoption of different strategies for dealing with outsiders (ibid.: 251).

Montreal's Chinatown also cannot escape this division. Because of the demographic and social factors that set the old and the young apart, Montreal's Chinatown has been divided by the conflicting approaches in dealing with external and internal affairs. The older immigrants who are mainly Toishanese-speaking settlers and their descendants have united themselves under The Montreal Chinese Community United Center (MCCUC), which dominates Chinatown politics and represents the Chinese community in dealings with the wider society. The core power of this institution is rarely open to other Chinese. MCCUC was initially established to act as an umbrella organization to represent the entire Chinese community in Montreal (Chan, 1991:300). However, recent immigrants who are Cantonese-speaking Hong Kong professionals have set up their own organizations and professional associations to represent their own particular interests. Chan (1991: 286-7) observes that these two groups often run into conflict over government funding and community leadership.

Interviews conducted for this study reveal some of the reasons why Montreal's Chinatown is not united and why it is difficult to establish an umbrella structure in Chinatown. A key figure in the Chinese community who has been involved in MCCUC observed:

> The United Center has been established for 21 years. In the early stage of the establishment, anyone could join in, but nobody did so. Some members argued that the Center needed a constitution

> to guide the operation, but some objected saying that there has never been any constitution in the Chinese community in the last 100 years and why is there a need now? Chinese do not unite; they take care of their own business. To me, members of an organization should have some obligations, but people do not have this concept. The majority is not well educated, and does not have the sense of groupness. And they do not donate, though it is gradually changing...it is difficult to unite people here, let alone in Toronto where 30 [sic] thousand Chinese reside. It is not easy to establish an organization that can represent so many people's interest. Why do I need to follow you when I can establish my own organization to represent my voice?

Another leader, the chairperson of a professional organization, shared similar views about why it is difficult to unite the Chinese community [a verbatim translation from Chinese follows]:

> Most of our forerunners came to this country as laborers and with little education. Even in our own community [back in China] before they came, they were never among the leaders. They were from Toishan, the country-side from the south. Decisions were never made by these people, even before they came from their homeland. When they came here, they fought for survival...and because of language difficulties, they tended to stick together for self-protection. They felt more secure.
>
> The Chinese community, basically it is not centralized; there is no central organization. Anyone can establish their own center or organization for their own benefit or for the well-being of others. We Chinese believe that we are like a pot of loose sand [never sticking together]; we have to improve ourselves. Those who make such comments know there are too many obstacles to achieve that. It takes a long time to build up such a central organization. It is very energy-consuming. To unite each other already burns so much energy. The existence of such an organization requires a lot of clerical work and costs. If anything goes wrong, for example one of the members is not behaving, there are a lot of steps to work with. You will denounce him publicly. But before you do that, you have to warn him first. This creates a large bureaucracy. Do Chinese have this kind of spirit, like civil servants who receive salary from the public, people representatives who like politicians are sensitive to voters? Like the Chinese Benevolent Association which has a

self-imposed mandate, it is responsible to the general membership such as keeping records of the members, collecting membership fees etc. Can you manage that? Those leaders only come to take benefits and don't want to give anything back. They don't even want to spend energy on little things. Now United Center, many employees, 350 dollars a week, executives and some volunteers are required to function. That is the basis to co-ordinate everyone, not mention dealing with issues and projects. Where do they get financial support? No, they don't get any. Before, the government gave the Center some recognition and subsidizes for 7 years, each year about $70,000 to $80,000, so that you have enough money to run the business of the association. But we are not smart enough to get all the funding, so they have to rely on grants for projects. Asking for donation is nil; people don't even donate a penny. They complain, if you ask them to be volunteers for two hours.

This is a vicious circle. In fact, no associations or organizations here show good achievement in the community. You have to show your work that is up to standard; then people will trust you. The common comment is that, "they [the organizations] take the money for a feast!" People who are naive believe these kinds of rumors. Surely, they might donate 5 dollars, but they expect a lot of results from this 5 dollars. They talk and give a lot of suggestions to the chair. But the chair is also a volunteer. He does not have much time to listen to you. In many cases, the suggestions are not practical. If you don't listen to the donors, they complain that you don't support them. Many chairs can't stand this kind of thing and quit. It is a vicious circle.

When asked who can represent the community when major concerns and issues come up, he responded:

If you have to name one, it is the United Center. Do we need such structure? Sometimes we don't; it costs too much money. It burns a lot of resources to be united. Sometimes an incident suddenly emerges, such as the zoning by-law which prohibits the development of Chinatown; someone will come out to fight. It was me at that time. Other incidents, such as head-tax, or Diao Yu Tai [the dispute of the sovereignty of the island between Japan and China], some people who have been involved in those events before would come out to organize something. It costs too much for the United Center's survival. But the representative of the umbrella group can be dangerous; it all depends on the leader's personality. He can't represent everyone. One example

> is last year when city hall approved several million dollars to clean up Chinatown. But this year, it announced that the money will go to Old Montreal. A reporter came to Chinatown, looking for reaction. But you could not collect public opinion at that time; you had no time. A reporter called me. I said that was the last straw; we can't cooperate with the government anymore. They target a well-recognized group that is weak economically and politically. They don't dare to play such tricks with the Jewish community.

A board member of CFS who is also a well-established businessperson in the community has very similar doubts about the leadership of MCCUC. He said, "Let's take, for example, the United Center. They've been in the market and they've disappeared." This indicates that some leaders do not think the center is working for community members or representing them.

Moreover, Montreal Chinatown is still at the early stages of development as compared with Toronto's. With the help of recent immigrants with new human capital and financial resources, the Toronto Chinese community has been transformed completely, becoming more institutionally complete. No doubt Montreal's Chinatown has been well developed as a commercial and tourist area. In terms of social services, Montreal's Chinatown does not have a Jewish-like federation to look after the needs of its members. The most active and better-organized agencies are the Montreal Chinese Family Service, the Chinese Neighborhood Society, and the Chinese Volunteers Association (Chan, 1991). It will take some time to unite all the Chinese under an umbrella structure, and develop into an institutionally complete community as Jews have in Montreal.

The Chinese Residential Pattern in Montreal

Social scientists have created a gini index that measures the concentration of ethnic groups in a given area. The index 1 indicates the highest concentration of a group; as the index slides down, the less concentrated a group is. Comparatively, Chinese who live in Montreal (.71) are more segregated than those in Toronto (.65) and Vancouver (.63), but scored lower than Jews in Montreal (.93) (Driedger, 1996: 216). Because of intense racial discrimination against early Chinese bachelors, they were forced to confine themselves to Chinatown (Lai, 1988); furthermore, they were limited to labor-intensive jobs. In particular, during the turn of the century more Chinese laundries were found in Montreal than anywhere else in Canada (Chan, 1991: 167). However, Chinese immigrants can compete with the general population and the tendency of high residential segregation is diminishing (Driedger, 1996: 231). Brossard, a middle-class suburban area of Montreal, has become a new and favorite residential neighborhood for recent Chinese immigrants.

Socio-Economic Status

In terms of social economic status, according to the 1991 Census (cited in Driedger, 1996: 246-7) the Chinese fare poorly on occupational status (only 34.3% in white collar occupations) and income ($26, 392), below the Canadian mean income of $28,946), despite having the highest mean of education (14.9 years) compared with other groups. The Chinese in Montreal have even lower socio-economic status. According to the 1996 Census, the Chinese in Montreal had an annual income of only $16,066, below that of the general Montreal population, at $30,024.

Chinese Culture

1. Language

Chinese culture is very diverse. Recent immigrants have come from very diverse social and geographical origins. They are divided by linguistic, economic, demographic, generational and historical differences (Chan, 1991: 286). Other than the division between early and recent immigrants, Chinese are also set apart linguistically. Although Chinese share a common written language, by no means do they share a spoken language. Due to differences in dialect, Cantonese-speaking Chinese may not understand what Shanghainese-speaking Chinese say: immigrants from Hong Kong who mainly speak Cantonese cannot communicate easily with others from China or Taiwan who speak Mandarin. Moreover, everyday living habits and behaviors also divide Chinese culturally. Although people from China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Vietnam and other countries such as Thailand, Singapore and so on are of Chinese origin, their diet, lifestyle, and belief systems may be very different. The influx of refugees from many parts of Asia who come from different socio-economic and political backgrounds adds another layer of complexity to the existing Montreal Chinese community. Chan writes:

> It is perhaps more accurate to speak of several Chinese communities in Montreal, than one united, solidified Chinese community. Each and every Chinese group has been intent on consolidating internal community dynamics. An "association of associations" remains at best an ideal which, unfortunately, can sometimes backfire and cause division. The Montreal Chinese community should perhaps be best seen as a loosely structured system with as much inter-organizational conflict as internal solidarity and cohesiveness (1991: 287).

Given that neither English nor French is the mother tongue of Chinese, if Chinese Canadians want to interact with the mainstream society, they have to acquire some

knowledge of the official languages. However, one-third do not speak either English or French (Statistics Canada, 1994: 28). For those who are able to speak English, French poses an additional barrier, since the majority of them are more likely to have been exposed to English in their homelands, especially those who came from Hong Kong. Only a small number of immigrants from Vietnam, which was once a French colony, have knowledge of French. Those who have no knowledge of either official language are more likely to confine their activities to Chinatown, although many new immigrants are taking language courses in Chinatown or elsewhere. Unfortunately, data on how many of the Chinese in Montreal are able to speak French is not available, although the general Census can give us some idea of the picture. The 1991 Census (Li, 1998: 109) indicates that only 1.1% of the Chinese had the ability to speak French, while only 5.5% of them had the ability to speak both English and French. We may infer that the number of Chinese in Montreal who can speak French does not exceed 5.5%.

2. Religion

While the Jewish community has a religion to unite their members from all over the world, the Chinese do not have this advantage. According to the 1991 census (Statistics Canada, 1993b), 93.7% of Jews claimed to follow Judaism, while the majority of the Chinese said they were not affiliated with any religion. About 60% of the respondents claimed the category "No religious affiliation", while 13.3% claimed that they were Catholic, 15.6% Protestant, and 11.9% Buddhist. However, questions in the Census only include mainstream religions in broad categories, and do not include other traditional rituals that can be considered forms of religion. It is difficult to determine how many of the Chinese Census respondents who claimed to have no religious affiliation in fact practice some of the traditional rituals indigenous to Chinese religion.

Other scholars have studied the issue. Chan (1991: 184) writes: "The Chinese way in religion is one of polytheism, rather than monotheism." It is not surprising to find a household in which more than one god or deity is worshipped. Indeed, gods and deities in Chinese culture are numerous. Many Chinese worship spiritual figures for more than just blessings and protection: sometimes they look to these gods for healing as well (Lee, 1996: 257). Linda Wong points out a few differences between indigenous Chinese religion and the Judeo-Christian tradition. She writes: "First, there was no creation myth about the universe. Second, there was no universal church. Third, there seemed to be two distinct cultural traditions. One, the Taoist of folk tradition of the common masses, manifested itself in polytheist worship of anything from gods, ghosts, and spirits to natural objects. The other grand tradition, followed by the Confucian orthodoxy, proscribed supernatural and animist beliefs and practices" (1998:28). Chan (1991: 186) argues that every Chinese is religious in that deceased ancestors are worshipped by family members. In short, there is no central religious authority analogous to those of the Judeo-Christian tradition that governs Chinese religious culture.

Indeed, Christianity does have a significant impact on the lives of the Chinese. Its influence started with the visits of Catholic missionaries to China in the mid-19th century. Many Chinese had received much spiritual and material relief during those politically and economically unstable days, most notably during the Japanese invasion in the early 20th century. In fact, nowadays many Chinese in Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas are Christians; Chinese in mainland China do not openly practice Christianity due to the suppression of religion by the Communist government.

In Montreal, Catholic and Protestant churches have made tremendous contributions to Chinatown and to the lives of overseas Chinese. Churches have offered many services to the Montreal Chinese community since the beginning of the 20th century including material aid, language teaching, education, medical help, liaison with government departments, and ministries dealing in immigration and citizenship matters.

The Montreal Chinese Hospital in the Chinese community was established in 1918 by the Catholic Church. It offered health care to the sick and the old (Chan, 1991: 195).

Family

What cultural characteristic links the Chinese who are linguistically, culturally, geographically and religiously diverse? It is probably the common conception of the family. All cultures place a high value on the family, but what makes the traditional Chinese family unique is the heavy influence of Confucianism, which emphasizes harmonious interpersonal relationships and interdependence. The daily function of the family is governed by prescribed roles defined by family hierarchy, obligation and duties (Lee, 1996: 252). Filial piety is one of the most salient virtues in the Chinese family. Filial piety demands that children show their highest obedience to their parents, especially the father who has the highest authority in the household. Another aspect of filial piety is that it demands that the family be the center of loyalty. This virtue reinforces the dutiful obligation of adult children to take care of their elderly parents. Moreover, family elders also have the obligation to look after the welfare of other family members (Leung and Nann, 1995:2). As mentioned above, the basic model of social organization in traditional Chinese society has been primarily familial. In other words, the family is the dominant feature and is highly valued in both private and public life. Although this type of traditional family has made tremendous adjustments to modern society, the core family values remain influential on the everyday lives of the Chinese (Leung, 1992; Thornton and Lin, 1994).

Family and the Social Welfare

Who is responsible for the social welfare of the people in traditional Chinese society? Leung and Nann (1995: 11) attempt to answer the question in the following way: "The traditional Chinese welfare system has been largely one of mutual help based on the family, the clan, and the local neighbourhood. Nevertheless, it did not mean that the role of the state was non-existent. There were situations like natural disasters for which need for assistance extended well beyond the capacity of families; and there were people who had no family or recourse to a family support." The importance of the family as the building block of society and the nation can be traced back to the teaching of Confucius, who taught of five specific types of relationships. These were between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and between friends (L. Wong, 1998: 26). Three of these relationships are family-based. Leung and Nann further argue that the other two are modeled after the family, "because the nation was regarded as an extension of the family order: the emperor as *tianzi* (son of Heaven); benevolent officials as *fumu guan* (parental officials who love their subjects as children); and friends as brothers. The nation was regarded as a big family, and the family as a small nation. In fact, the Chinese term for the state *guojia* literally means 'state-family' " (1995: 2, italics in original). As discussed above, the key governance of the family is the notion of filial piety. Each family member is obligated to care for the welfare of other family members.

L. Wong (1998: 28) also notes that one has no obligation to people who are not related to oneself. This is contrary to the Christian concept of the good Samaritan helping strangers and the common Western thinking that social welfare is the natural source of assistance when hardship occurs. Wong explains that such differential treatment of others in Chinese culture comes from the notion that people share five affinities: same surname, same clan, same village, same master and same place of work. She states

(ibid.): "The more distant the location from the centre, the weaker the claim, so that ultimately one did not have any obligation to people not known to oneself." This may explain some observations made by the leaders of the Montreal Chinese community that members are not too enthusiastic about charity or the broader collectivity.

The traditional Chinese philosophy on welfare, which stresses that families should look after individuals and not society, has not changed much throughout Chinese history. The role of the state in welfare has always been limited to specific situations, such as disaster and famine, that are beyond the ability of the family to handle. Even in today's China, the state welfare policy is still based on utilitarian familism as the core instrument of social care. Some may argue that the philosophy behind such policy has been developed out of a unique set of historical and cultural conditions (L. Wong, 1998). Some argue that by limiting welfare provisions, the Chinese government is deliberately trying to avoid the consequences faced by welfare states in the West, such as budget deficits (Leung and Nann, 1995). L.C. Leung (1998: 64-65) also documents that the Hong Kong government has deliberately adopted utilitarian familism in setting its welfare objectives and policies, quoting the social welfare proposal for the 1990s and beyond, prepared by the Hong Kong Social Welfare Department:

> The welfare programs of Hong Kong have been designed and developed with cognizance of the deeply-held local values of concern for the family, commitment to self-improvement, self-reliance, mutual support and generosity, reluctance to be dependent upon "welfare", high respect for social order and a combination of ingenuity and resourcefulness.

Overseas Chinese, like other immigrants, have created various social organizations to meet their different needs. As reviewed above, these organizations are established on traditional familial principles. Serrie's study (1988) on social organizations beyond the level of the family in 13 Chinese communities in mainland China, offshore and overseas provides us with more evidence. To no one's surprise, of

the five types of organizations studied (kinship, surname, residence, origin, and contractual), the first four recruit members based on relationships directly supplemental to the family. Even the contractual organizations which are not normally family-based, such as those established for common interest, needs of subsistence, educational, political, religious and social purposes, tend to follow this familial model. These members can be free of prior connections that extend from family of domicile. However, the actual recruitment is often based on kinship, surname, residence or origin. Serrie concludes that "Chinese social organizations seems to build outward from the familial to the familiar, with the principle of contract (and its potential for total prior unfamilarity in recruitment) least preferred" (1998: 214). In other words, this familial-familiar orientation is in the heart of many Chinese social organizations, which play a role in caring for the welfare of the members.

The Chinese, throughout the long course of Chinese history, have developed a sense of self-reliance, with assistance given almost exclusively from the family system. This has reduced expectations of help from government and non-local agencies. When relief comes from the government to help with problems such as natural disasters or famine, people's feelings are more akin to gratitude than a sense of entitlement (L. Wong, 1998: 30). It is not surprising to find that the notion of rights is alien to many of the disadvantaged (Jones, 1990: 460). L. Wong (1998: 30) sums up other findings and concludes that many welfare recipients feel a stigma for having failed to remain self-sufficient, and in China today, people who live on state and community support feel humiliated by it.

In short, having examined the traditional Chinese view of welfare, the use of the familial principle to organize a social network, and the role of the state in welfare, it is fair to say that the Chinese have used and are still using the family as the primary source of social assistance. Generally speaking, the Chinese have few expectations of help from government or any organization with which they have no affiliation. People expect their

family members to take care of them when problems occur. When they cannot obtain such support and are forced to turn to social assistance, they often develop a strong sense of shame and humiliation (Lai Ching Leung, 1998: 120; L. Wong, 1998: 30).

The Jews

The History of Jewish Immigrants

Migration has been a central element in Jewish history. The Jews lost their homeland when the Romans captured Jerusalem in the first century B.C. Since then, Jews have been dispersed, settling in many countries, but by no means were the resettlements peaceful. The Jews have suffered persecution, expulsion and massacre, forcing them at times to become refugees. The modern state of Israel was established in 1948, and Jews from all over the world were welcomed back. However, unlike the diaspora of other peoples, the large majority of the world's Jews, 9 million or almost 70 percent, live outside Israel. The most popular destination for settlement, other than Israel, has been the United States, followed by Russia, the Ukraine, France and Britain (Sowell, 1996: 234-5).

The Jews have a long history in North America. Unlike the early Chinese settlers who arrived in the west, Jews first established themselves on the east coast. Sack's research reveals that Jews first came to North America at the same time that French explorers were forming colonies throughout the North American continent, in the late 17th century. Thus the history of Jews in Canada begins before the British conquest (1965: 1). While the first Chinese came to build railways and work in the gold mines, the first Jews came as traders and businessmen to facilitate France's colonial trade (ibid.:13). At the time, however, the Jews could not establish a permanent settlement because French laws barred all non-Catholics from settling in the colonies (ibid.: 2). Jews at the

time were prohibited from openly practicing their religion and culture (Robinson and Butovsky, 1995: 11). Therefore, they did not settle permanently in Canada until the beginning of English colonial rule, after France ceded the colony (Sack, 1965: 39).

As Montreal continued to flourish under British rule in the mid-18th century, Jewish merchants who actively engaged in the fur trade started to settle in Montreal (Tulchinsky, 1992:10-2). Unlike the early Chinese laborers who had almost no knowledge of English or French, and who struggled to survive on low wages, Jews, equipped with a high level of education and sophisticated experience in commerce and trade, were able to enjoy a better immigration adjustment. They also participated in various charitable and philanthropic endeavors, as well as the political life of the colony (Kage, 1981: 30-1).

The founding in 1768 of the first synagogue, Congregation Shearith Israel, marks the real beginning of the Montreal Jewish community. The services were conducted according to Sephardic ritual, and the synagogue maintained close connections with Portuguese Jews in London (Sack, 1965: 50-1). This small community started with a group of Jews who immigrated to Canada either directly from England or via the United States. The group that came directly from England included Jews whose families had been settled there for some time after first arriving from Eastern or Central Europe. The group that arrived from the United States included descendants of Sephardic families (Shaffir and Weinfeld, 1981:9) whose ancestors had been expelled from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1497, moved to the Netherlands, and later to England (Tulchinsky, 1992:9). A small number of German Jews came in the mid-1800s to join the Sephardic pioneers. In 1831 there were 50 members of the community, and the population increased rapidly. In 1901, 7,000 were counted. Due to continued immigration and a high fertility rate, the Jewish population continued to grow (Waller and Weinfeld, 1981:416). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a great influx of Eastern European immigrants, estimated at two million, settled in North America. Though most went to the

United States (Tulchinsky, 1992: 96), some helped boost the size of the Montreal Jewish community. The majority of them, sometimes called "Russian Jews", came from the Pale of Settlement, an area that included parts of present-day Russia, Poland, the Ukraine and Lithuania, as well as the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Romania, where Jews had established themselves as a religious group for over a thousand years. The immigrants left Europe to escape poverty and persecution in Eastern Europe, and were attracted by the prospect of economic prosperity in the New World. There were 56,055 net Jewish immigrants in the years between 1901 and 1911. Over the following ten years, another 42,029 arrived in Canada (L. Rosenberg, 1939: 136, cited in Tulchinsky, 1992: 158). Between 1901 and 1911, Montreal's Jewish population rose by more than 400 per cent, while Toronto's increased by 600 per cent. In the subsequent decade, the population growth was much more modest--60 and 70 per cent respectively (ibid.: 308, cited in Tulchinsky, 1992: 130). Before this wave of immigrants slowed, the Montreal community had increased to 58,032 members by 1931 (Robinson and Butovsky, 1995: 13).

This wave of immigrants not only transformed the community in terms of demographic characteristics, but also in terms of the community's culture and social structure. First of all, the older and relatively more acculturated Jewish community, mainly composed of Anglo-Sephardic or Central-European Jews, was losing leadership to their counterparts due to sheer numbers. They felt threatened by the Eastern European newcomers (ibid.: 14). The vast majority of this wave of migrants were drawn by poverty to North America, and unlike earlier Jewish settlers they tended to lack the necessary language and commercial skills to make a successful living in their new home. Their dominant language was Yiddish, and most of them were attached to orthodox religious observances, with a strong sense of Jewish identity (Hertzberg, 1989:160-176, 224, cited in Feagin and Feagin, 1996: 161).

The Montreal Jewish community grew larger as more Jewish immigrants arrived. More schools, congregations, and shops were built. While the Chinese sought new chances eastward, some Jews moved westward, and attempted to find new opportunities in other major cities such as Toronto and Winnipeg, and eventually Vancouver and Victoria (Sack, 1965). Tulchinsky (1992: 163) points out the importance of creating a formal organization within any Jewish community of the time. He writes, "One of the major purposes of the formal organization of the community was to provide for religious needs, such as kosher meat and fowl, instruction of children, and prayers." Robinson and Butovsky (1995) studied the unique situation of the Jews in Quebec during the turn of the century that in many ways helped Jews in Montreal to develop a community of their own, neither assimilating themselves into the French nor the English community. They did, however, show more support for the latter.

Jews, being a unique religious and ethnic group, could not find an appropriate place in either the Catholic or Protestant communities of the French and English. Until 1999, the educational system in Quebec was controlled by two religious school boards, one Catholic (French) and the other Protestant (English). Since 1999 the education system has been administered by two linguistic school boards. Judaism had no role in either system, and neither board could serve the religious needs of Jews. However, since the religiosity of the Protestant school system, compared with the Catholic, was relatively less intrusive and more accommodating, the Protestant School Board eventually educated Montreal's Jewish children. Another reason that led Jews to opt for cultural adaptation to English society is the fact that earlier Jewish settlers came from English-speaking countries, either England or the United States. Given their ties to the American Jewish communities, it was more logical to be affiliated with the English community in Montreal. Waller and Weinfeld (1981:417) conclude that due to the nature of the school systems of the time, and the definite advantage of English proficiency in North American

business and professional life. Jews have adopted English and oriented themselves toward the anglophone community.

As the influx of the Russian Jews continued, pressures and tensions in the community rose. The existing community could no longer handle the enormous influx of Jewish immigrants in such a short period of time, since limited community resources could not meet the new demands. Only a small number of Jews were able to receive help from existing philanthropic societies. Jews, like anyone else, were unable to rely on others except their own (Tulchinsky, 1992: 130).

As a visibly distinct religious and linguistic group among the French and English in Quebec, the Jews were forced to build a stronger and more formal community to cater to their needs and meet their specific demands. Robinson and Butovsky (1995: 18) describe how Jews dealt with internal problems and what they had achieved at the turn of the 20th century.

Drawing on the resources of their European experience, within a few short years they created a host of cultural, social, and political institutions, a veritable network that supported and sustained a vibrant community life for the next several decades. Among the most significant cultural agencies were the daily Yiddish newspaper Keneder Odler (The Canadian Eagle), the Jewish Public Library, elementary and high schools, a large number of synagogues, theatrical groups, literary societies, adult education courses, and teacher-training seminars. While the schools at first gave instruction in Yiddish and Hebrew that was supplementary to the instruction of the Protestant school system, they later included instruction in secular subjects as well, along with English and French. Social needs were met by an integrated network of health and welfare agencies that included hospitals and clinics, orphanages, homes for the aged, free loan societies, and community welfare organizations. All of these were united, at least theoretically, under the Jewish Community Council (Vaad Ha-Ir) in the 1920s. In addition, a host of political parties and factions represented the full range of ideological positions in the community,

including anarchism, socialism, communism, Zionism, trade unionism, middle-class benevolent societies, Liberal party supporters, Bundists, and many other vocal groups.

With such an elaborate and wide array of social, political, educational, religious and welfare institutions, the Montreal Jewish community has what could be described as the richest quality of Jewish life in North America. Although Jewish immigration slowed down after 1931, the in-flow had been constant. There were two distinct waves of Jewish immigrants to Montreal after the end of World War II (Elazar and Waller 1990: 73). In addition to the several thousand survivors of the Holocaust who arrived after the war, an estimated 12,000 to 20,000 Sephardic Jews arrived from North Africa, primarily from Morocco. Some smaller groups came from Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab countries, mainly Iraq and Syria. This group of Sephardic Jews has added new demographic features to the more acculturated and affluent English-speaking community that already existed. The vast majority of these Sephardic Jews are French-speaking and less wealthy than their predecessors. Their dark complexion and black hair makes them stand out against the fairer Ashkenazi, the English-speaking Jews of European origin (Weinfeld, 1993: 176).

Although the Montreal Jewish community had enjoyed positive population growth, it faced a decline during the late 1960s and early 1970s when the political climate in Quebec changed. The nationalist Parti Quebecois continues to push for an independent Quebec. In addition to a poor provincial economy over the last two decades, a steady exodus from Quebec continues to this day because of an uncertain future. The Jewish community's population has dropped from 92,545 in 1961 to 81,460 in 1991 (Smith, 1997: 32). The core group of the exodus is aged between 25 and 45 (Elazar and Waller, 1990: 75); coupled with the exodus is a low fertility rate and an aging population (Smith, 1997: 103), factors that are raising considerable concern.

The most recent Jewish immigrants from Russia add another layer of diversity to the Montreal community. This small group consists of about 5,000 members who retain

almost no Jewish religious practices and few cultural traditions due to repression in Russia over the last 70 years. They also have little knowledge of English and French (ibid.: 37).

Language and Culture

The Jews in Montreal, like other ethnic groups in Canada, are very culturally and linguistically diverse. As seen above, the present-day Montreal Jewish community comprises Jews from all over the world, and its demographic characteristics have been shaped by different waves of immigration over the past three centuries. The Montreal Jews are mainly made up of the Ashkenazi, who came from Eastern and Central European countries and include large numbers Holocaust survivors. Before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, increasing numbers of Russian Jews have arrived in Montreal. Ashkenazi Jews originally spoke Yiddish, and gradually became linguistically assimilated into the anglophone community. Although passive knowledge of Yiddish remains high, it is only commonly used by elderly immigrants and among the ultra-Orthodox Hassidic groups (Weinfeld, 1993: 176).

Furthermore, the increasing francophone and/or Sephardic Jewish population has created a sub-Jewish community within the Montreal Jewish community. They share a very different cultural background from their Ashkenazi counterparts. Their cultures are strongly influenced by Islam and Arabic culture as opposed to the Christian European influences of the Ashkenazi Jews. The Sephardic Jews have been the dominant Jewish migrants to Montreal since World War II. They came mainly from former French protectorates such as Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria in North Africa, and their language orientation is French (ibid.: 175). With other French-speaking Jewish immigrants, such as Ashkenazi Jews from France and Belgium, Sephardic Jews have formed a large francophone community within the Jewish community in Montreal.

Although the population is small. Hassidic Jews are another important element in the larger Jewish community. They tend to segregate themselves in the districts of Outremont. Snowdon and Boisbriand. and total a population about several thousand. Their common language is Yiddish. Like many other Jews. the earlier orthodox Jews came to North America to seek new opportunities. or as refugees who tried to escape World War II and the Holocaust (Shahar. 1997). In an introduction to a comprehensive study (ibid.) of the Hassidic and ultra-orthodox communities. Werzberger defines the term Orthodox Judaism:

> The term Orthodox Judaism. of which Hassidism is a part. came into prominence in the early 19th century following the French Revolution and the period of emancipation. Orthodox Jews were those who maintained strict adherence to the traditions and laws of the Holy Scriptures. the Torah. as opposed to those Jews influenced by the Reform movement. begun in Germany. which encouraged the liberalization of religious practices and assimilation into modern society.

For the Hassidism. as for all Orthodox Jews. the Torah is central to the way they conduct their lives. The Torah contains 613 commandments touching on every aspect of daily life. The Hassidim and ultra-Orthodox believe that the Torah was divinely revealed to Moses at Mount Sinai and therefore is inviolate. This is one of the fundamental principles of the Jewish faith which must be genuinely believed to consider oneself truly religious.

Jews in Canada speak different languages. emigrated from different countries. and have been influenced by the cultures of the lands where they have settled. sometimes for more than a thousand years. So who or what is a Jew? A Jew can be whoever defines himself or herself as a Jew. However. scholars commonly agree that an ethnic group generally consciously possesses a collective sense of "a named human population with myths of common ancestry. shared historical memories. one or more elements of common

culture: *religions, customs, or language*, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members" (words in italic added, Hutchinson and Smith, 1996: 6). So Jews are a named human population, who, despite the fact that a majority of them still live overseas in many different countries, believe that they are the descendents of the people in Israel described in the Bible. They have established a strong tie with their homeland, Israel, though many have never had a chance to visit it. Shared historical memories include the Roman conquest of Jerusalem in the first century B.C., the subsequent exoduses, and more recent Holocaust experience before and during World War II, to name a few.

In terms of common cultural elements, Jews share the Jewish languages of Hebrew and Yiddish. Although daily language use has shifted to French and English, in 1991 Statistics Canada found that about 15% of Montreal's ethnic Jews spoke Yiddish at home, and about 5% Hebrew (calculated and cited in Smith, 1997: 37).

Furthermore, Hebrew is the language used in Judaism, and in Montreal, children are exposed to the language in Jewish schools and summer camps. This language has a significant role in Jewish identity because Hebrew songs and dances are regularly performed at Jewish festivals and in entertainment. In addition, it is also a language Montreal Jews use to communicate with their friends and relatives in Israel (Weinfeld, 1993: 177).

Tulchinsky describes what a Jew is expected to do:

> Jews must pray in a congregation of at least ten men, circumcise their sons eight days after birth, marry only other Jews, partake of meat and fowl only if they have been slaughtered according to a rigorous code, and refrain from eating forbidden food. They are required to bury their dead in separate ground, support the sick, aid the poor, and protect the orphaned. They are enjoined by their holy books and hallowed tradition to observe all of those and many other religious and social practice that cumulatively decree and prescribe in minute detail the order of their lives from birth to death, from their waking in the morning to the waning of their consciousness at night (1992: 9).

Like any member of an ethnic group, the degree of how close one follows the rules varies a great deal. However, Jews, like other ethnic group members, do have a set of cultural codes to govern their behaviors. Within this set of codes, religious practices play a role. Jewish life cannot be separated from its religious dimension. Weinfeld (1993) argues that Jews are an ethnic group, and at the same time a religious group. Traditionally, in the last two thousand years Jews were bound by common beliefs and religious practices strictly guided by the Torah. However, today's Judaism can be categorized into four main branches: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist. The former represents those who still follow the strict traditions closely. Those in the last three newer branches attempt to modify Orthodox Judaism and integrate it into their modern lives.

In Montreal, about 41% of adult Jews identity themselves as Orthodox, 35% as Conservative, 9% as Reform. The rest are either Reconstructionist or choose another label like "traditional". Although Montreal Jews do not attend synagogue frequently, they do observe many festivals (such as attending Passover seder, lighting Sabbath candles and fasting on Yom Kippur) and continue to practise many rituals (such as circumcision, bar and bat mitzvah, and the *shiva*) at various stages in life. In addition, the Jewish community in Montreal has established a strong private network of Jewish day schools where children can learn about their Jewish culture. In short, the ethnic and religious aspects of Jewish life often function correspondingly (ibid.).

Despite possessing a wide range of living styles, from very Orthodox to secular and pragmatic, Jews are considered to have strong support for retaining heritage and culture. In many ways, Jews have strong ties to their identity. At home, many rituals are still maintained, and festivals are observed. Shahar's study indicates that an extremely high percentage (ranging from 85% to 99%) of Montreal Jews across religious affiliations observe a Passover seder, and Montreal Jews have the highest level of ritual adherence in

North America (19 97: 17-19). Furthermore. Jews tend to show a strong identity with the state of Israel. Shaffir and Weinfeld (1981: 18) say. "One reason is the centrality of Israel to the Jewish liturgy. in the setting of much of the bible -- in short. to Jewish peoplehood." Again. Montreal Jews in particular show strong feelings toward their peoplehood. They have the highest percentage (74%) to have visited Israel (Shahar. 1997: 40-42).

Many Jewish traditional and religious values are well integrated into their everyday lives. as seen in their family life. Like all families in industrialized societies. Jewish families supply new members to and socialize them into society and their own communities. Since Jews in Canada are diverse. so are Jewish families. Davids (1981: 98) indicates the challenges in studying Jewish families: "Hassidic families differ from the large majority [of other Jewish families]. which are not so intimately committed to religious observance. The Sephardic francophone Jews and the post-Holocaust immigrants differ in some important ways from those Canadian Jews whose ancestors came from Eastern Europe in the great wave of arrivals before the First World War." Regardless of the different kinds of Jewish families. Rosen and Weltman (1996: 613) observe several central religious and cultural elements that hold across them. Getting married is in fact a way to follow God's law. The very first commandment of the Torah is. "You shall be fruitful and multiply." This suggests that establishing a family by getting married and raising children is a core of Jewish tradition. They observe three other factors that explain the unusually strong Jewish emphasis on marriage:

> (1) the child-focused nature of the Jewish family. with children and grandchildren considered the very essence of life's meaning; (2) the powerful forces of suffering and discrimination. which imbue the family with the quality of "haven and refuge" when all other social institutions cannot be trusted: and (3) the strong connection Jews feel to previous generations and to the obligation to preserve their heritage (ibid.).

That is why great emphasis is placed on harmonious family life, strong support for children, spouses and elderly parents. However, modern urban life has a great impact on many traditional values, including the family. Of all the changing family trends, two in particular hit Jewish communities hard: intermarriage and a declining fertility rate. The result is a shrinking of the communities. Scholars such as Isajiw (1990) suggest endogamy is a form of ethnic identity; endogamy is one of the variables used by Driedger (1982) to measure ethnic cultural identity; in other words, intermarriage or exogamy indicates a weakening of ethnic ties. Although Jews and Asians have been the most endogamous groups in Canada, the annual rates of intermarriage have been increasing for Jews since the 1960s (Weinfeld, 1994b: 244). In Jewish culture, intermarriage causes other "technical" concerns. According to Orthodox law, Jewish identity is traced through a Jewish mother. A child whose mother is a Jew is considered a Jew, even though she marries a Gentile; however, if a Jewish father marries a Gentile, their child is not considered Jewish unless the mother converted. Members who have newly immigrated tend to be younger men, and a gender imbalance resulting in more boys than girls creates a problem for the community. In addition, regardless of the question of availability, more Jewish men tend to marry outside the community (Weinfeld, 1991: 370-1). The intermarriage rate among Canadian Jewish men is estimated at 29%, and among women at 25% (Weinfeld, forthcoming).

Sociological explanations of intermarriage tend to include changes in attitudes, declines in Jewish religious practice, increasing educational attainment for young Jews, the effect of an open society and so on (Weinfeld, 1991: 371). These changes certainly have a positive impact on the acceptance of divorce. In contemporary North America, the attitude toward divorce and sexual freedom has changed. Sexual mores are not so restricted, and divorce carries much less of a stigma. Divorce rates tend to be lower in Jewish communities, but are not significantly lower than in Canada as a whole. For example, in 1991, the divorce or separation rate among Jews in Montreal and Toronto

was 6% while the national rate was 7% (The Federation of Jewish Community Services of Montreal, 1995: 15). For millennia, Jews have relied on family stability and endogamy to reinforce their cultural and religious identity. They are now on shaky ground.

Another strong Jewish cultural element is the notion of volunteerism and charity. Partly, these virtues come from the guiding principles in Jewish religious traditions expressed by Simeon the Just in the Pirke Avot (Ethic of the Fathers) who commands social action and religious ritual: "Torah, worship, and acts of loving kindness" (Mintz, 1992:2). Mintz further elaborates the concept of loving kindness, which governs social action: "Acts of loving kindness not only bring satisfaction to the giver and to the receiver but establish a community-wide ambiance of joy and satisfaction. Acts of loving kindness and charity (*tzedakah*) go hand in hand. When there are pain and inequality in the world, those who practice their piety can help to redress misfortune through the performance of *mitzvot*" (italics in original, ibid.). Others (Sack, 1965; Morris and Freund, 1966) observe that it starts as a response to the needs of earlier immigrants centuries ago. The first organized public assistance in the Montreal Jewish community can be traced to the founding of the Hebrew Philanthropic Society in 1847. The aim of the organization was to offer assistance to the poor and needy, especially among the newer immigrants (Sack, 1965: 139). A key interviewee in this research recalls:

> I think what we do well is that we take care of our community, and that's probably the reputation we have. If it's so, then it's well deserved, because we do. We're very organized, we're very focused. Jewish children are taught charity, the giving of charity from almost the first time it's taught, it's ingrained.

These practices, teaching and practicing charity, are important driving forces that help their communities to survive. Through such teaching, in families and schools, Jews have a very strong obligation to look after more vulnerable fellow members. The level of volunteerism of Montreal Jews (28%) is in the top three among Jewish communities in

North America, just slightly behind Dallas (32%) and St. Louis (30%) (Shahar, 1996: 13). Such practice is not only restricted to helping out in Jewish organizations, but also non-Jewish organizations, although far more time is spent within their own community. In terms of donations, Montreal Jews also prove that they are following these traditions. About seventy-one percent of the households report that they make a contribution to Combined Jewish Appeal; that is only second to Cleveland (74%) (ibid.: 12-15). Almost one-third donate between $100-$999, and a little more than one-tenth donate at least $1,000 (ibid.).

The Jewish Residential Pattern in Montreal

Most Jewish immigrants to Canada have settled in metropolitan centers, and have high residential concentration; Jews in Montreal are not exceptional. Close to 70 percent of Jews are segregated in five districts in Montreal: Cote St. Luc, Cote des Neiges, West Island, St. Laurent and Snowdon, according to the 1991 census (cited in Shahar, 1996: 3). Compared with other minority groups, indexes of Jewish segregation are very high at (.93) in Montreal (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1995: 12, cited in Driedger, 1996: 216).

Incorporation into Canadian Society: Socio-Economic Status and Political Position

In general, one can say that Jews are relatively affluent. The 1991 census indicates that a significant percentage of Jews over non-Jews hold senior and middle managerial positions and are professionals (analysis of the PUMF 2% sample of the Census). National census data in 1981 and 1991 indicate that Jews rank first with average incomes (Census Canada, 1991, cited in Driedger, 1996: 198). In another Toronto study, Jews enjoy high social economic status (Sev'er, Isajiw, and Driedger, 1993). They rank first in all three indicators: education, overall income and occupational

status. And not surprisingly, they also rank first in the composite score (ibid.). In terms of Jewish representation in Parliament, Jews in Canada fare quite well. In 1993, a study (Black and Lakhani, 1997) indicates that while Jews makes up only 0.9% of the total Canadian population, 1.4% of MPs elected to the House of Commons are of Jewish heritage. For other visible minority groups who make up about 9% of the total population, only 4.4% of the elected MPs belong to the category. Finally, a large-scale study conducted in Toronto (Breton et al., 1990) examines, among other dimensions of ethnicity, the incorporation of seven ethnic groups (Jews, Ukrainians, German, Chinese, Italians, Portuguese, Chinese, and West Indians) in the social fabric of Canadian society in social, economic, and political structures. Jews are found to have high level of economic and political incorporation, although less so at a social level. In this study in general, Jews, along with Ukrainians and Germans, are considered to be doing far better than other ethnic groups in this area.

The Montreal Jewish Community

Virtues of philanthropy, volunteerism and devotion to religion are definitely the strengthening forces behind the Jewish community. So too are the social realities in the countries where they live and had lived before emigrating. As mentioned above, the actual needs of the poor, and the rich experience that they are able to draw from their experiences elsewhere, has strengthened Jewish self-government. Other scholars argue that the experience of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust has also played an enormous role in shaping the life of Jews and their community. Sociologists such as Boldt (1985: 95) observe that groups are more united and cohesive when they face external threat--it is a survival strategy. Brym (1993: 74) uses Jean-Paul Sartre's writing in the aftermath of World War II to illustrate the point that anti-Semitism is one of the great driving forces that generates strong cohesion in Jewish community. Furthermore, memories of the

Holocaust still linger deeply in the minds of many Jews, especially Holocaust survivors who make up a large proportion of immigrants to Canada. In many ways, a cohesive Jewish community functions as a buffer to protect its people from anti-Semitism. Indeed, Jews have developed a very strong community of which Montreal is a good example. The Jewish community has its own schools, hospital, social service organizations, social clubs, synagogues, and other volunteer associations to meet the needs of its members. While the community receives donations, it supports various services for its members. The Combined Jewish Appeal is such a fundraising organization. The donations collected are allocated by The Federation of Jewish Community Services of Montreal (CJA) which is responsible for community planning and providing social services for its members. Under the CJA, there are 14 local organizations such as Jewish Family Services, the Jewish Vocational Service, Jewish Support Services for the Elderly, Jewish Immigrant Aid Services, and so on.

Another organization that works side-by-side with CJA is the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC). The CJC works at national and local levels. The section responsible for affairs in Quebec is the Canadian Jewish Congress, Quebec Region. One of the functions of the CJC is to represent the Jewish community's interests to both the federal and provincial governments in Canada. It might involve itself in a wide array of issues, ranging from following the trail of Nazi war criminals in Canada to the French labeling of kosher food in Quebec, a recent incident.

This community is governed through a complex formally organized polity, with Federation-CJA representing social services, and CJC representing Jews on political and other issues. It involves collective decisions, community events, debates and controversies over issues, leadership selection, and many other activities. According to Elazar and Waller (1990), such established structures in the Montreal community, like in other Jewish communities elsewhere, allows Jews to settle differences among themselves and maintain consensus. The language issue is a good example. As we have discussed

above. Jews come from different linguistic backgrounds. Ashkenazi Jews mainly speak English while Sephardic Jews speak French. Quebec is a challenging state where language choice is an important issue. There are many reasons for the Ashkenazi Jews to adopt English. At the time, and even now, English Protestant schools accept Jews. English is more instrumental for political and economic incorporation in the rest of Canada and the U.S. Obviously, English is the dominant medium for communication with other Jewish communities in North America. Quebec is a French-speaking state, however, and with the recent separatist movement French has become the only official language. As the number of Sephardic immigrants grows, along with their institutions and synagogues, the use of French in the community is on the rise. Analyzing a survey of Jewish life in Montreal concerning the language issue, Smith notes:

> For the Moroccans it was easier to communicate with fellow French speakers than attaining anything from the English Jewish community. This was the case, even into the 1980s. This is illustrated by the fact that the Federation CJA (new linguistically hybrid French-English name) staff work and publication were only in English well into the 1980s. The Communauté Sépharade du Québec (C.S.Q.) was formed to combat these slights and to keep their French-speaking community informed. In 1996 the C.S.Q. works within the FCJA, all publications are bilingual, and the FCJA staff is almost bilingual (1997: 87).

Another example of challenge to the community can be found in religious disputes. The problems are usually dealt with by deference to the Orthodox approach. Generally, community institutions and buildings observe *kashrut* and are closed on Shabbat. Orthodox and non-orthodox groups are willing co-operate on *halakhic*, conversion of adopted children and to a lesser extent on intermarriage problems (Elazar and Waller, 1990:119). The concerns in the community have been devoted to internal issues such as increasing trends in intermarriage, integration of recent Russian Jews,

education, better social services, to broader external issues such as the impact of Quebec nationalism, and Israel (ibid.: 72).

Community and Social Welfare

Much of the evidence and analyses discussed above suggest that Jewish community plays a very significant role in providing care for its members, unlike the Chinese whose welfare is mainly looked after by the familial and the familiar. A recent Montreal survey (Shahar, 1996) echoes the findings in the Toronto study (Breton et al., 1990) that indicate that Jews tend to favor the use of organizational resources of their community. In Montreal, few Jews would prefer not using Jewish-sponsored services for help with family problems, financial assistance, job-seeking, dating services, teen recreation, disabled children, and elderly housing. Additionally, 41.4% of the sample reports that they would very much prefer Jewish rather than non-Jewish sponsored services (Shahar, 1996: 22-3).

Conclusion

Today, the Chinese and Jewish communities are still made up of a large proportion of immigrants, and are shaped by different waves of immigrants coming in over the years. Although Chinese and Jews have a long history in Canada, their settlement patterns differ greatly. Both groups are diasporic in nature, but their reasons for migration are very different. Jews immigrated because of the loss of their homeland and experiences of anti-Semitism abroad, while political and economic hardships led the Chinese to emigrate. However, both groups have been attracted by new opportunities in Canada. While the Montreal Jewish community is one of the largest in Canada, Montreal's Chinese community is relatively much smaller. The former has a highly

organized community but the latter does not. This may be due to different cultural traits that shape the ways in which they organize themselves. Although both groups enjoy high educational status, the Chinese have comparatively lower economic status than the Jews. Furthermore, the Jews have adapted themselves into both the English and French milieus more successfully than the Chinese, many of whom still do not speak either official language, especially French. The Jews and the Chinese are very culturally and linguistically diverse, however, there are cohesive forces that hold each them together as a common group. Among other forces, the religion of Judaism, peoplehood and a strong community hold Jews together, while the family in the main holds the Chinese community together. Due to cultural and social experiences, Jews tend to rely more on the resources of the community. The Chinese, on the other hand, rely on the family and organizations formed in the familial manner.

Finally, the Quebec separatist movement might affect the survival of both communities. Large exoduses of both groups have taken place since the Quiet Revolution, and many recent Chinese immigrants tend not to consider Montreal as a place for permanent settlement. The both communities sense the challenge to their survival when they witness such rapid loss of human and financial capital. It would be interesting to see how the new wave of immigrants shapes the structure and life of the Chinese community, and how the recent wave of Russian and francophone-speaking Jews adds new complexity to the Jewish community.

Chapter Four

The Characteristics of CFS and JFS

JFS has a much longer history than CFS. JFS has been helping the Jewish community since 1863, while CFS was established in 1976. Regardless of the length of establishment, both agencies have devoted themselves entirely to serve their community members and to ensure their well-being. This chapter will give a general introduction to the two agencies. Chapter Seven provides a detailed analysis of why the agencies were formed, and contrasts their functional differences. The agencies will be evaluated with regards to the composition of the board members, the staff, the clients and the financial resources available. This will help us to analyze how these agencies provide culturally and linguistically sensitive social services, and the difficulties they face when providing services. Furthermore, a comparison of the two agencies will yield some insights into the roles they play in the polity of the communities.

The Structure of CFS

The Composition of the Board Members

As with any kind of organization or corporation, the board is the most important part of a service agency. It is responsible for the planning, finance, and supervision of the agency's day to day operations. It also sets the direction of the agency. The distinctive feature of the CFS board is its ethnic composition. Fourteen are ethnic Chinese, one is Jewish, one French and one Peruvian. There are eleven male and six female members. Of the members, five are administrators or managers in the financial and banking sectors, three are medical professionals, two are social service providers, two are lawyers and others are a real estate associate, a consultant, an animator, a chartered accountant and a

system programmer. It is interesting to note that the board of CFS consists of members from different ethnic backgrounds, although one might expect all the board members to be Chinese. Our interviews reveal that there has been a conscious effort to include non-Chinese members practically since the agency's inception. This allows CFS to expand, and to develop channels of communication with the resources that it needs. One community leader who came to Montreal as a student in the late 1950s, was a board member for several years in the 70s, served as a chairperson once, and is now an academic administrator, recalls:

> When I was on the board, there was a conscious effort to invite outsiders to become board members, such as those who had connection with Centraide. CFS was not strong enough; we needed to tap into the resources which were needed by CFS.

The executive director described how they look for the right candidates:

> CFS does not recruit board members publicly. Members are nominated by the nominee committee which assesses the composition of the board and makes sure the board members are representative. If there is an opening for an accountant, current board members may refer known reliable candidates, and CFS will invite him/her to join the board. In one case, the invited accountant also knew of another accountant who was also interested in working for CFS. Both ended up working for the board.

A Jewish social work professor who has been very active in CFS and served many years as a board member echoed:

> ...they [non-Chinese board members] can bring skills and expertise to the agency. For example, a journalist can link up CFS with outside contacts. Some come from other areas. Once in a while, some come from a hospital. Someone is chosen because they can bring skills, knowledge or resources to the board. Yes, that is important. It is a way to make communication with the mainstream, to link up.

This decision, deliberately linking the agency with the mainstream society, is reflected in the board's mission statement. During the course of conducting this study, we were fortunate enough to witness the process in which CFS refined its mission statement to more closely reflect its actual function. In both the old and new mission statements, the element of integration of the Chinese community into Quebec society remains clear. To CFS, integrating into the mainstream society is a priority. A conscious effort to recruit non-Chinese to the board reflects the desire for integration. The old Mission statement reads:

> To work with governmental and non-government organizations as well as other communities to facilitate the harmonious integration of the Chinese community into Quebec society.

The new statement that was announced during the 20th anniversary reads:

> The CFSGM is an organization which promotes the well-being of members of the Chinese community by providing services and programs as well as by developing adequate resources to foster their integration and development within Quebec society.

CFS refined and developed a new mission statement to reflect the new issues it faces. A board member recalls the discussion on the reasons why the board decided to redefine the mission statement. He said, "We're in the whole process of looking at our mission, mandate, structure, and organization, because we're questioning what we do, and what we want to do [in terms of] long range planning."

When discussing how the new mission statement should be written, some of the staff suggested that the notion of facilitating the contribution of the Chinese community to Quebec society did not exist in the last statement. Others wanted a statement that indicated that the Chinese community had been part of Quebec society, because the old

one read as if this were not the case. What has been settled is that CFS will continue to provide services and programs that will promote the well-being of members of the Chinese community. CFS will continue to develop adequate resources to help its members to integrate and develop within Quebec society.

As we discussed in the last chapter, the Chinese still find it a struggle to integrate into and develop a stronger community within Quebec, unlike the Jews in Montreal. This is why CFS continues to help members of the community achieve such purposes by offering adequate services to them.

During this critical period of rethinking the direction of CFS, other issues were brought to the board. One of the issues was to restructure the agency. In the past, the executive director looked after both internal (supervising all the projects and attending the routines of the organization), and external affairs (public relations). Since the services have been expanded and public relations are always demanding, CFS has created a mid-level management position for a new service coordinator. This co-ordinator relieves some of the burden of the director and focuses on internal matters; the director can now shift more energy toward public relations.

Another urgent issue still being dealt with is finding a new permanent location for CFS and Man Siu, because the leases of both locations are expiring. CFS is considering either the rental of a new location or the purchase of a piece of real estate of their own. Some of the board members, using their connections in the community, have been helping the agency to look for a suitable and affordable space. They have also sought help from the local government.

The board members have to deal with not only these major issues which could affect the operation of the agency, but also other routine functions such as funding, hiring of staff, staff salaries, and so on. However, where service programs are concerned, the executive director and the staff have a major impact on the decision-making. Usually there are two ways a service program materializes. The workers and the executive

director, who have contact with the clients and the community on day to day basis, have a profound understanding of their needs. Sometimes CFS conducts surveys to explore a problem and determine if a new program is needed. They reflect existing needs and submit proposals for service programs to the board through the staff representative and the director.

As an example, the in-take workers receive many complaints from clients who have difficulty finding jobs. The staff observes that many of their clients could not find work because they lack skills and also lack a good command of French. Even though they are entitled to attend job-training programs in the mainstream service agencies, their lack of French proficiency prevents them from attending the programs. In response, CFS puts emphasis on language training rather than job training, although funding for the latter program is also available. The program "Francization For Immigrants" (PAFI) has been launched. French courses are offered in classes and also in the factories in which many Chinese immigrants work. Classes are organized in the factories because many of these workers have the time to attend classes after work. The best location for classes would be in their workplace, with the cooperation of the employers.

In another example, CFS conducted a survey on conjugal violence in the Chinese community. The results suggested that many women in the community needed services because of conjugal violence. After exhaustive preparation, the Conjugal Violence Project was launched in 1991. The Problem Gambling Project was also developed in a similar fashion. These examples indicate that those who are more in contact with the needs of the clients may have more insight into what types of service programs the community needs. The board generally trusts the workers and the executive director, and approves the service program proposals. A staff member observed, "the board only looks at the infrastructure of the center but does not look into the services it provides. The director is the only person who leads the services."

The Staff

CFS is a much smaller organization than JFS. The size of its staff varies, depending on the number of ongoing projects. There are nine regular staff members. Two of these staff members work as in-take workers and also as French instructors. There are two French teachers who are responsible for teaching French only. All these teachers are ethnic Chinese. Some of the interviewed workers are new employees, while some have worked for CFS since its inception. All employees interviewed work full time. The in-take department always has three workers. The rest of the staff mainly work as project co-ordinators whose positions end with the conclusion of the project. CFS tries to maintain a group of experienced co-ordinators by assigning them new projects when these become available. The new position of supervisor was created to oversee the project co-ordinators.

Although CFS has staff members who are not Chinese, all the staff who serve the clients directly are ethnic Chinese. The Chinese staff are all immigrants and come mainly from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. CFS has also hired Vietnamese-Chinese to join the agency. As of 1997, all of the project co-ordinators from Hong Kong hold master's degrees in Social Work and have been trained in Canada. The others have some training relevant to their work, such as training in Family, Life, and Education, Psychology and Gerontology. Since the project co-ordinators trained in Social Work have insufficient French-language skills, they have not attempted to write the language examination which is required to be a member of Ordre Professionnel des Travailleurs Sociaux du Québec, with the exception of the director who does not have any direct client contact. Other project co-ordinators who have come from China are mainly trained in either French or French literature, and have studied in France for a period of time. In-take workers have not been trained in social work. Except for a few, their pervious work experience was not related to social services, especially those who have come from Mainland China.

Although all workers are Chinese, they do not necessarily share a common dialect because they come from different countries of origin. Chinese from Taiwan can surely communicate with those from the Mainland in Mandarin. However, not all Chinese from Hong Kong, where people mainly speak Cantonese, are fluent in Mandarin. Furthermore, Chinese from Hong Kong and Taiwan have no problem with English, but those from mainland China, though fluent in French, are weak in English. In short, there is no single language or dialect that everyone can feel comfortable with. A worker talked about his frustration, caused by language use in the office:

> ...the frustration also comes from the languages. I think using French and Mandarin is most suitable in this office setting. ...For me, I don't know one [French] and also not fluent in the other one [Mandarin].

This phenomenon does sometimes pose a problem in meetings. On some occasions, translation is needed to clarify what has been going on in the meetings. However, there has been some improvement in the last two years. Since Cantonese is the dominant dialect in the community, workers who are not fluent in Cantonese have plenty of opportunities to practice this dialect. Those whose mother tongue is not Cantonese are getting better use of Cantonese.

The Clients

The clients of CFS are almost exclusively ethnic Chinese who may originate from several countries, mostly from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Vietnam. Most of them are recent immigrants whose ages range between 30 to 50 years old. The second largest group of clients is the elderly. However, CFS serves people from all ages.

A small number of clients are local-born Chinese students who are interested in learning about Chinese customs and traditions. People from mainstream society also

come to obtain information about Chinese culture, festivals, and ways of living. Theoretically, CFS serves anyone who comes for help, although the executive director explained:

> CFS's target population is the ethnic Chinese community, no matter where they come from. If a Vietnamese, not of Chinese origin, who can't speak Chinese [comes for help], CFS refers them somewhere else. CFS mainly serves those who cannot speak the official languages well, or those who are culturally cut off from the mainstream society and those who are not familiar with the resources available in the mainstream society. If the workers find out that the clients are able to speak the official languages well, they will encourage them to seek services from the agencies in the mainstream society. If the client is not Chinese and seeks help from us, we would refer her to the mainstream agencies.

The clients' educational background varies a great deal. Some are highly educated and able to master at least one official language, while many come with very limited education, poor English and French language skills and limited work skills. A project co-ordinator categorized these clients into two types: more independent and more dependent. This was illustrated when she talked about what kinds of services they need:

> The more independent clients want the addresses of the available services. These people come less frequently because they know the language and have been here for over five years already. For those who don't know how to speak the language, they will come back frequently if they have any problems. Some of them have kids to help them at home; some do not. If there is no one to help them, they will come very frequently for assistance. They think that we help them a lot, because they have no one to turn to. People from all walks of life come here, the rich, the poor, the educated. Some never received any education. As I estimate, most of the clients who come here are those who have relatively low income and with low educational level. Those educated people will come, and once they know the ways to do things, they can handle things by themselves.

The clients come to CFS with a wide range of problems, but basically there are two types. The first type of problem is of a clerical or informational nature, involving information requests on topics ranging from immigration and government policies, to school systems, to application procedures for Social Insurance or Medicare cards. Those who do not have sufficient command of the official languages to fill out the forms are assisted by the in-take workers. The second type of involves counseling for issues such as divorce, family violence, child education and parent-child relations.

There are many reasons why the Chinese come to CFS for help. Other than the "usual problems" that everyone has in everyday life, regardless of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, there are three unique reasons that draw the clients to CFS.

1. Language

As indicated in the last quote, language is one of the major barriers for many clients. When immigrants cannot speak the official languages, they become linguistically "handicapped". Many immigrants who have language problems always describe themselves as deaf and dumb. A worker who helps clients every two weeks in CFS, and also works full time at CLSC in the region, gave several examples to illustrate the point:

> A client of mine, a middle-aged man wanted to apply for welfare because he had cancer. He worried that he was not qualified because he had some money in his bank account. The same situation would be different for those who can speak French. They don't have the same worry because they can phone the Welfare Department and ask for all the information before they actually apply. They know French so that they have advantages over the Chinese. They can get all the information. For the Chinese man, he doesn't know the telephone number of the Welfare Department and he doesn't know how to speak French. He needs to make much more effort to get the same social service, which is very simple to the French and English speakers. Thus, our Chinese clients have the language problem and don't have the updated information about the government's policies

> and information. The English and French speaking people are so lucky that they can watch the TV news reports everyday, and they know and are familiar with the newly released government policies. Some Chinese do know. Some don't know. Some Chinese immigrants are here, but they are only here physically; they never participate in the local society. They don't know anything about Canada. The only thing they know is their work. Those who speak English or French know the newly released government policies, they know all the relevant telephone numbers, and they know their rights. Whenever they are in need of the social services, they are able to ask for help. If the providers don't answer their inquires clearly, they have the ability to complain. They will say they don't understand and request the providers to explain more. Then, the providers will give them more information. Unfortunately, in Quebec, we have a 24-hour hot-line, but they are provided in English and French only.... If I am French, it is much easier for me. For example, I don't receive my old age allowance. For the Chinese, they will be very nervous about that. For the French, they can phone the right number to ask or to phone the 24-hour hotline. They can tell their story and ask what they want. However, the Chinese don't know how to do so and they can't express their questions in fluent French. They suffer a lot from their language and communication problems.

2. *Information seeking*

For immigrants to Montreal everything is new, from something as simple as bus routes to issues as complicated as government policies. To put it simply, they do not know how the system in Quebec works. Although friends and even the agents who help with their immigration applications can give them a hand when they arrive, CFS is an "official" source of assistance. A client who came from the Mainland as a refugee about six years ago explained:

> CFS is for those immigrants who need it for survival. It is a window for immigrants. How much do they know about Canada? CFS is like an organization, in a way representing the government. It informs people about legislation, such as regulations governing the sponsoring relatives. The information

> they give is reliable. They have the responsibility to be reliable. The information you get from friends may not be accurate.

Another client came to Montreal in 1991 and married her fiancée. However, she found that her husband never improved himself and did not further his study. She wanted a divorce and her husband agreed. She described how she collected information about the divorce procedure in Quebec:

> I sought help from McGill University's legal aid office which is run by students. A student gave me some handouts because he had never dealt with a divorce case before. I did not feel good about it, since this was a very important matter. Although my English is ok, I feel a peace of mind, when I am able to seek help in my own language. After seeing [the worker in CFS], in just over an hour, I got all the answers I wanted. [The worker] also gave me information on government legal aid [on divorce].

Another client who immigrated to Montreal from Taiwan five years ago with his family is in the import and export business. He is fluent in English, but has difficulties with French. He had received a degree in Statistics from a Taiwan university, and had worked at an international bank in Taiwan. He needed a letter from the School Board before he was able to help his nephew to apply for a school here. After visiting the Protestant and Catholic school boards, he realized that they not only had no relationship with each other, but also had no relationship with CEGEPs. It was information on the CEGEPs that his nephew needed. He explained that he had no problems with how the school system worked in Taiwan:

> In Taiwan, I knew everything. For example, it is so natural to be promoted from primary school to junior high school and finally to senior high school after the yearly examinations [implying that only one school board handles all types and all levels of schools in Taiwan]. It's not a problem for us. We know such information and are familiar with the procedures naturally because we experienced that before. In Taiwan, there are no

problems. It is just as easy as shopping in a market: it's not a problem.

Usually, these new immigrants are not familiar with how their host society works, at least not in the short term. They need information and guides to help them understand the legislation and social systems so that they can integrate themselves into the society more easily. One of the main functions of CFS is to assist the new immigrants in achieving a smooth settlement.

3. Cultural differences

In many cases, immigrants may confront cultural differences that may puzzle them or put them in a very difficult position after they have moved to Canada. Sometimes they find that the social values here are different from what they are used to in their homelands, and that what was accepted at home may be unacceptable here. Some of the examples have been delineated in the literature review chapter. Our interviews reveal that some cultural differences that might create obstacles to adaptation may range from differences in help-seeking patterns, views on gambling, parenting styles and gender issues. These issues will be discussed in depth in the later chapter that deals with how the workers in CFS and TFS offer sensitive services to help their clients.

As we have seen, Chinese clients who come to CFS are mainly immigrants with mixed educational backgrounds. They visit CFS for a broad range of reasons. Those who have no knowledge of both official languages rely heavily on CFS services. Their problems can be as simple as filling out forms, such as for Medicare, Social Insurance Cards and so on, while some can be as complicated as family problems that require counseling. The clients suffer most from language barriers that prevent them from seeking help from mainstream service agencies.

Financial resources

Social service agencies rely heavily on funding, and CFS and JFS are no exceptions. Funding resources influence the programs offered in two ways. Sometimes the organizations need to convince the funding sources that their programs are needed and deserve top priority. Other times the roles are reversed, and the funding sources believe that the agencies are the most qualified to launch certain services. In these situations the funding source will initiate the process for collaboration. Funding for the agencies comes from five sources: 1) the communities, 2) grants from the three levels of government, 3) foundation grants from the private sector, 4) charities, and 5) user fees. CFS does not receive as strong financial support from the community as JFS does. Therefore, CFS must seek more funding from other channels.

CFS has to raise money for itself and actively seek sources of funding. In 1995 and 1996, only about four percent of the total money received came from fundraising. Ten percent of the money in 1997, more than double the total of the past two years, came from fundraising. Almost eighty percent of the financial support CFS relied on in 1997 came from grants. The Francization for Immigrants project is a good example of self-financing. In 1992, CFS realized that one of the key reasons why their clients kept returning for services was that they lacked the linguistic skills needed to integrate into Quebec society. CFS actively approached different funding sources to demonstrate that it planned to develop culturally adapted and competent programs such as French language programs for Chinese immigrants. The executive director recalled, "[We] approached, lobbied, went to the minister, to the commission hearings of the parliament, and talked to different levels of government, to tell them that the Chinese are interested in learning French and want to integrate into Quebec's mainstream society." As a result, this program received sponsorship from the Ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration and became initiated."

In 1995, Société des Casinos du Québec sought collaboration from CFS to develop a program to prevent gambling addiction. CFS decided to embark on this project because data from the Conjugal Violence Project suggested that in the Chinese community, some family problems were gambling-related.

Some services require user fees to support the agency financially. Starting in 1996, services offered by the Information and Referral Team required user fees. Other services were provided through the financial support of Centidle, the Rotary Club, Hydro-Québec and the banks. With continuous government cutbacks to social services, fundraising for CFS has become even more important.

The Structure of JFS

The Composition of the Board Members

Although the executive director said that anyone, including non-Jews, could sit on the board, JFS board members are exclusively Jewish. There are a total of thirty-four board members, with equal numbers of males and females. Four of the members are Sephardic, three Orthodox and the remaining twenty-seven are from other denominations. There are twelve businesspeople, seven social service providers, five educators, four lawyers, three accountants, and the rest are either rabbis, doctors or community volunteers. The executive director of JFS explained:

> [The board members] come from different parts of the Jewish community...They come from the English but also Russian-speaking communities. Their ages are also very representative.

A member in the executive committee was invited to the board, and described how the board searches for the desired candidate:

> [The board members] are invited essentially, although I'd say that almost anybody if they wanted to get on the board and expresses their interest would be invited, it's not exclusionary, I was on the nominating committee in fact, and that's exactly what they did. They went through the demographics of the board and tried to isolate some areas where the board was lacking. One of the new board members last year was in the academic area. We wanted to have an academic, we were under-represented by academics, and in fact I invited a friend of mine whom I play hockey with. He is a senior professor at Concordia, but because he was traveling and because he had other commitments he just said, 'I just can't make that time commitment'... so he declined, but we went around and we asked people to submit names of people who might be interested. I, in fact, was responsible for bringing another chartered accountant from a smaller accounting firm, although we'd had some charted accountants on the board, and I guess what we're trying to do is have a representation, and we certainly do, we have social workers, we have professionals, we have manufacturers, lawyers, businessmen.

Like any board, the board of JFS carries out many functions. There are regular meetings in which various topics are brought out and discussed. The purpose of the meetings is to make sure that the organization runs smoothly. The agenda includes day to day business such as reports on the progress of programs, funding, hiring of staff, staff salary, policy on subsiding services, and so on. The issues discussed can be characterized in the following ways: 1) ensuring that the mission is fulfilled; 2) ensuring that the organization is well-funded and staffed. The mission of JFS is "to provide or to ensure the provision of social and community services to the most vulnerable individuals, families and groups in the Jewish community, and, generally so, to the entire Jewish community." Both CFS and JFS are concerned about the well being of the most vulnerable members in their communities. However, unlike CFS, JFS does not emphasize the integration of its community members in their mission statement. Perhaps, as we discussed in the last chapter, the Jews in Montreal are already sufficiently integrated into Quebec society, precluding the need for this element's inclusion in the JFS

mission statement. What is emphasized beyond the mission statement is to help the most needy members to enjoy a Jewish life with dignity, according to a joint statement from the president, chair of the executive committee and executive director in an annual report of 1992-3. When we examine the services that JFS provides to the community in Chapter Six, this point will become evident. Many services are geared toward this goal, and the mission statement echoes the philanthropic spirit of Jewish religion and culture, which stresses assistance to the poor and the needy.

In deciding what service programs should be offered to the community, the JFS board shows a very similar pattern that of the CFS board. The workers and the executive director are integral to the day to day decision making. One board member explained:

> It may be a proposal, but you know darn well it's going to go through, and that's essentially what happens. But the board is there to give out their opinions, to disagree if they see something wrong. Primarily the agency is run on a day to day basis by the executive director and the professional staff. The guiding policy would come from the executive, subject to ratification by the board.

Despite the executive director's assertion that the "Board of directors makes decisions on what programs JFS offers", interaction between the board and the other important bodies in the community has an effect on the decision-making process. For example, these community groups can be funding sources, or the CJA. In particular, the CJA will carry out research, and provide JFS with demographic analysis, census and general information about the community. The staff of JFS will synthesize the data from the CJA and work with the lay leadership of the agency to determine what service programs will be of priority to the community. A relatively new program for adult chronic mental problems is a good example. JFS and other working agencies in the community had identified the problem. CLSC did not have the resources to take care of these clients. The Federation could not decide whether JFS should create a program

focusing on this group or not. A research team, which included representatives from JFS, investigated the problem. A year later, in 1995, JFS was supported by the Federation and received the mandate to set up this program to serve the clients who suffered from chronic problems. In short, in both organizations, although the boards have the final say on how the organizations should be run, the recommendations and proposals made by the staff and directors are highly respected.

The Staff

There are at least sixty workers in JFS, although that may vary, depending on the time of the year. Although not all workers are Jews, the great majority is. None of the workers interviewed claimed to be orthodox Jews, although some of them were raised in an orthodox family. Their ethnic extraction is Ashkenazi. Their religiosity ranges from moderate to somewhat moderate, and claimed to be "very religious". Of those who claimed to follow Judaism, all were married to Jews. Even though one interviewee was not a Jew, her divorced husband was Jewish.

All of the social workers and counselors in the sample have at least a Bachelor's degree in Social Work; the majority have a Master of Social Work degree, except those who are in the Community Assistance Program (CAP) who received training in accounting, marketing or other fields. Two of them have received a doctoral degree in Applied Psychology and Psychology. Most of them are part-time social workers or counselors, or "permanent" part-time workers. The executive directors and the supervisors work full time. All of the employees have mainly worked in their own field since they graduated. They have a long history of work experience within the community, however some of them have their own private practice, and have worked in both the private and public sectors. The average time they spend working for JFS ranges from a few years to more than ten years.

Unlike the situation at CFS, there is no language or dialect barrier between the workers in JFS. Almost all the workers interviewed were Montreal-born and locally educated. They reported that they were at least second- or third-generation immigrants. They have no problem with either English or French. Furthermore, according to the executive director, all of the staff speak both English and French, plus an additional language, e.g. Spanish, Russian, Hebrew, etc.

The Clients

JFS clients are almost exclusively Jewish with the great majority being Ashkenazic Jews. JFS also serves some non-Jewish clients, although the percentage is small. The executive director reasoned:

> "JFS's target population is the Jewish community. We also include people from other communities. It makes sense to do it, because there isn't large enough critical mass, or funding source to keep the program exclusively for the Jewish community. Sometimes on human rights or humanitarian bases, JFS wants to make the program open. This is also a way to enable JFS to fund Jewish programs more effectively by opening up some other programs to a broader base. We serve people outside the Jewish community, although the portion is very small. All the programs funded by the government and outside organizations are open to everyone. In fact anyone can come in to ask for services, but non-Jews have to pay more to get the same service."

The demographic profiles of JFS' clients are very different from those of CFS. In general, JFS does not serve recent immigrants (those who have not been in Montreal more than two years), since there is another agency under the Federation specializing in that area, called the Jewish Immigration and Aid Society (JIAS). JFS does offer counseling to these recent immigrants, but for no more than 3 months, and fees are involved. Although there are no official figures to suggest the exact number of

immigrants served, the percentage would be minimal, according to the executive director. A worker in the Community Assistance Program (CAP) described how some immigrants received services from them:

> There are a lot of immigrants, people who have gone through JIAS, that's the Jewish Immigration and Aid Society, who have got help for two years from them, and they still need some help. So they're passed on to us because there's a two-year mandate with the JIAS program. These are the Russian immigrants who have come here. We even have Ethiopian clients.

There is another area of service in which a higher rate of recent immigrants might be found. JFS offers extensive services to schools, mainly Jewish schools, although non-Jewish schools can also buy the services. The supervisor of the School Services Program explained that some of the school children are in fact immigrants:

> We could see a student because he's not doing well in school. We could see his parents because he's acting out. We could see parents and children because a student is not speaking properly, and we'll send a speech therapist. As much as possible, we try to match the services to the needs of the community. So, we have very orthodox schools where the language at home is Yiddish, we have Yiddish-speaking speech therapists. We have Russian immigrants in some schools so we have a Russian psychologist who does testing in Russian.

The last area of service where immigrants need help most is Le Mercaz. Le Mercaz receives support from both JFS and the JIAS. It provides immigrants and non-immigrants with all the basic necessities such as housewares, clothing, furniture and food.

A very small percentage of immigrants may receive help from counseling services. Whenever these immigrants require provisions, they will be referred to Le Mercaz. However, only one third of the counselors interviewed mentioned that

immigrants required their services. In brief, the estimation of the volume of recent immigrants served is small.

The workers at JFS only identify those from Russia or Israel as having problems with the official languages. Those who migrated from Morocco are able to speak French. A staff member at Le Mercaz described the main languages used in their services:

> French and English almost 100%. [And a small percentage of] Hebrew, Russian...very much Russian, which is why we make sure there are Russian people staffed here because there are some people who just come over and they don't really speak any other language until they learn.

A worker in the CAP said much the same thing about her client's spoken languages:

> English or French, predominantly. I'd say it's about 50-50 with the English and the French. We've got some Russian only, we have some Yiddish, and there might be the Ethiopians. Normally they will speak in English or some other languages. Those are the basic languages.

The above quotes suggest that the majority of the clients are either French or English speaking. Other evidence also supports this. Weinfeld says of the Jews in North America, "English is the lingua franca of the Jewish community" (1993: 189).

In principle, JFS does not serve those over sixty. There are other specialized service agencies that take care of the specific needs of this group. For example, under the Federation, the Jewish Support Services for the Elderly (JSSE), provides the elderly with home-care service. However, as the supervisor of the In-Take Department of JFS said there were exceptions. She explained, "there are cases in my department, for example, where clients are requesting counseling, and they may be over 60, and we will see them."

Generally though, JFS does not serve elderly clients which is in contrast to the practice of CFS which serves clients of all ages.

Clients seek help from JFS for a wide range of problems. According to a supervisor:

> The socio-economic context of today has been very powerful in affecting and being affected in the service. We're seeing a lot of unemployment, a lot of unemployment in the young, a lot of unemployment in people who have worked their whole lives and are now unemployed, and all of the repercussions that these may have on the family, including the financial affect, the stress, and the despair, depression, the rate of divorce, etc.

A counselor echoed this and elaborated what kinds of problems his clients had:

> In the young adult cohort, which is 18-35, we see a lot of basic life cycle transition issues that we used to see in the age group that was about ten years younger. I think it has a lot to do with North American society where youth are kept in adolescent roles for another ten years. You know the basic fact that we're students for so long, we marry later, it's harder to get into the job market, there's financial dependence on parents for longer, which leads to emotional dependence and more difficulty in separation from the family origin. I think there are more youth in single parent homes and they don't have role models about parenting, they have more difficulty in any type of intimate relations when they get older... All that type of thing, so we're talking about people who have had difficulties in stable relationships, a lot of difficulty in commitment, fear around that. There are some issues with gambling or substance abuse, alcoholism coupled with violence, or depression. This used to be centered around bereavement issues, a loss of parents, that five years later are still trying to be dealt with.

Another therapist who works with children, individuals, couples, adolescents, and families observed:

> I think [the clients' problems] are a mirror image of the community at large, with the same kinds of problems. If it's

> couples, there are stresses on the marriage. The usual things that bring couples into therapy are communication problems, sexual problems, fitting in, and financial pressures. And in general I see people for bereavement, adjustment to job loss, separation and divorce, you name it, whatever you could find in the larger community, it's reflected in this small microcosm, the same problems."

The workers in JFS perceive that the problems their clients have reflect those in the larger community and in the general society. In contrast, the problem of CFS' clients are more likely related to immigration. Moreover, the clients in JFS can be divided into two categories: newcomers and the experienced ones. An in-take worker described an obstacle in providing services for the newcomers:

> We have to reach out for those [newcomers]. That is what we are struggling with all the time. A lot of these clients, especially our Russian clientele, they are coming from a country where they do not trust their government. It is their culture; it is what they learnt, very suspicious of the kinds of services that are provided, to be very private. And all of a sudden they are coming to a country where the services are provided and they don't know how to reach out for them.... [The experienced ones] do know what services are available and they do know where to go.

The supervisor in the CAP classifies the clients in the same manner:

> People come to us and they're very vulnerable, and some are very knowledgeable, I mean some have been living this kind of life for many years; that's their existence, and they're very resourceful, so they know more than we do. But others don't. Others are very frail the first time they're in this kind of situation or they just don't have the strength or personality to manage, and we help them.

Like those in CFS, it seems that some JFS clients depend on the services a great deal, but their reasons might be somewhat different. According to the supervisor in CAP,

some clients have to rely on the assistance of JFS to survive. Perhaps this finding is not so surprising, because as other workers suggest, clients' problems reflect the general problems in the community. Since many of them are unemployed or under-employed due to the general economic situation in Quebec and Canada, they might need financial assistance from CAP just to maintain basic living standards. Moreover, such hardship may generate other family problems, creating the need for other JFS services.

1. Language

As some of the quotes above have suggested, some immigrants, such as those from Russia, are not yet able to master either French or English, so they have to seek help from Russian-speaking staff in Le Mercaz and JFS. One in-take worker expresses empathy for these clients:

> A lot of these clients don't use CLSC. They are intimidated by it. You can't really blame them because they are not necessarily being served in the language they understand.

A Russian-speaking worker made the following observation:

> You know, most of them [her clients], no, all of them speak Russian, of course. But some of them cannot speak enough English or French to explain their situation to other workers, so they need to talk with me. [Their English and French are] not enough for explanation of their situation to an English or French speaking worker. There are a lot of clients who speak English and French well, but they want to talk with me. Not with English or French-speaking social workers, and every time I ask them: "Why? Your English and French are okay, you can go to other workers", because they need to wait for my appointment with them for maybe 2 or 3 weeks, [they say] "No, we want to meet with you because only Russian-speaking persons with Russian mentality can understand us at first, then we are embarrassed to talk about our problems in a foreign language and to foreign people." Because I'll look in your eyes, I can understand

> immediately...the social worker can use a translator, but the people do not like it, and I can understand this because they need to talk about their personality problems, and then in front of the social worker, and then the translator before them, it is a terrible situation.

Language barriers are common for some ethnic minority immigrants who are not able to use the official languages to seek what they need. As we have discussed in the literature review, some clients find it easier and more comfortable to express their personal problems in their mother tongue. For these clients, the only option is to seek help from the service agencies in their own communities where they can use their preferred languages.

2. Primordial Tie

It is a strong Jewish tradition that the Jews take care of their own people through community effort. This practice has been the driving force behind the survival of the community. As we have discussed in the last chapter, Montreal Jews demonstrate that they are particularly dedicated to taking care of their fellow community members. In JFS, Jewish workers and Jewish clients share this same expectation. An executive member of the Federation explained:

> The word we use in Hebrew draws from a root which means justice, or social justice as opposed to charity. Charity, I can decide to give or not to give. But what I'm involved in, in the Hebrew word is *sedakah*....it comes from the word justice or righteousness and the truth is it's not an option. In the Jewish community we take care of people who don't have, so our fundraising as well as our social services are based on a social value system that says that we have a moral obligation and a social responsibility to take care of those in need. Its not a luxury, it's not an option if I feel like taking care of them or not. I have a responsibility.

There are other reasons that draw Jewish clients to JFS. One of them is the element of Jewishness. Literature suggests (Cox and Ephross, 1998: 117) that some ethnic clients feel more comfortable and build trust more easily in their own ethnic settings when they look for help. JFS has achieved this. A social worker observed:

> There is a connection between you and your clients. There is a sense of understanding, it is easy to engage a client who knows where you are coming from, who understands your culture, your feelings, your up-bringing, and the impact that all this has on you emotionally. Very often your client says you are Jewish. Sometimes it helps, and I think that is a very important feeling that you are coming to a place, and you have specific needs whether they are emotional, whether someone is on your wavelength only because you share the same cultural identity. Clients feel that they are in the environment, it is everywhere. We close on Jewish holidays. There is a very distinct element that is being filtered through.

JFS operates according to the Jewish calendar. Even its setting is also very Jewish. There are *mezuzahs* attached to most of the door frames, and some Orthodox clients kiss them when they enter the room. The supervisor in psychiatric services explained the element of Jewishness in her program:

> [The element of Jewishness] is not the main mandate of the program, but I think it's inherent in everything we do...what we were trying to create was a service that could not only fill in some of the gaps in terms of concrete needs of a psychiatric client such as a daily living assistant accompanying them to appointments, reminders of appointments, and links to volunteer work and employment programs, but also to focus on revitalizing their Jewishness, their sense of Jewish identity, and bringing them closer to the Jewish community which they may have strayed from because they're very isolated and because many are in areas of the city where programs are part of the wider community.

The strong sense of Jewishness is apparent in the services, the service setting, and in the belief and attitude of the service providers. The clients also share the same kind of primordial feeling with JFS. A woman expressed her feelings toward the service that she sought:

> Yeah, when we meet as a group or individually it just feels good because there's a link to the Jewish society. We talk about Rosh Hashanah sometimes. When the rabbi comes to talk to us and explains the Torah and things like this it feels good because you have someone to fall back on and you're able to learn about your roots. I started going back to the Jewish library now.

3. Unique Services

JFS provides services (both at an individual level and at the group level) that are not available in the mainstream agencies. The psychiatric program mentioned above is a good example. It can help clients for a much longer term than comparable services found elsewhere, unless one pays a much higher rate to a private practitioner. Another example is the unique service provided by Family, Life and Education. This department mainly offers services to Jewish private schools but also to some other private independent high schools, both Protestant and Catholic. The department receives contracts from schools in need of the help of professional educators, to organize talks for students of different ages and levels on topics such as puberty, sex education, conflict resolution, friendship and eating disorders. The supervisor claimed:

> A school can't get that many educators at one time to lead group discussion for, let's say two hundred students. We have that many educators, the expertise, and credibility. This type of service is unique in North America.

Another unique feature of JFS' services is that although they charge user fees, JFS charges fees based on a sliding scale. Therefore, even the clients who cannot pay in full are still able to utilize their services. These clients cannot easily find private services that offer such an advantage. The executive director explained:

> JFS does not develop programs which overlap with those in the Jewish community and the government agencies. We pay a lot of attention to what is missing in the community and in the mainstream society. We do not want to waste money to complement services offered by existing agencies.

Other unique services will be discussed later to illustrate the ways in which JFS delivers its culturally and linguistically sensitive services to clients. One of the key functions of JFS is to fill the service gaps in both the community and mainstream society.

Financial Resources

JFS enjoys solid financial support from the Jewish community, and it can also generate some financial resources through self-financing. Fifty-five percent of the funding comes from the Federation, since JFS is one of their fourteen local constituency organizations. The Federation raises money through the Combined Jewish Appeal, which is a fundraising body that allocates the donations to different constituencies. According to the director of the Federation, JFS is the primary recipient of funds and receives about three million dollars a year.

Another forty-five percent of the funding comes from other sources. As in the case of CFS, the private sector approaches JFS with ideas for the development of programs. Farah Foundation, a non-Jewish organization, funded JFS to launch an AIDS prevention program in 15 public schools. Another way in which JFS generates financial resources is to sell their services to schools in both the Jewish and non-Jewish

communities. The director of the School Services Program explains how funding has changed:

> We used to be a department completely funded by the Jewish Federation and by the Jewish community. It is now a department, a fee-for-service department, and we get only a third of our budget from the Jewish community. Two thirds of our budget we generate from fees. So we changed in funding. We are a multi-disciplinary department that offers support services to schools and we offer different kinds of packages of service right now to about 40 schools in Montreal, all private, mostly Jewish, but not all Jewish...[The non-Jewish schools] purchase services; there is no subsidy; they pay full price.

Like CFS, JFS also implements service charges. Clients need to pay for their counseling, although a sliding scale is available to those who cannot afford the full charge.

In short, CFS's fund raising can only generate minimal resources. Survival of the programs in CFS requires substantial financial support from agencies and organizations outside the Chinese community, grants from the three levels of government, and payment from its clients. The director sums it up:

> Our structure, programs and orientation are very fluid. Funding sources influence the programs a lot.

JFS, on the other hand, is able to gain most of the support from their own community. Services and programs are more stable in JFS. Even though Jewish clients and Jewish schools cannot afford to pay full price, they can apply for subsidies, and the money for subsidies also comes from the community. When a past board member who recently left recalled how JFS survived after the provincial government decided to stop funding them, she says:

> [JFS transformed itself] into an entrepreneurial organization that is self-financing, so that it can exist on its own.

The above discussion suggests that even though there may be urgent needs in the community and service agencies are enthusiastic about helping, program development and initiation depends heavily on funding sources and availability. It also seems that in terms of offering social services, JFS, with full community support, expertise and human capital enabling them to be self-financing, is more capable of meeting the needs of the community than CFS.

Conclusion

This chapter has given a general introduction to CFS and JFS. We have discussed their boards, staff, clients, and financial resources. We can see that due to the different needs of the agencies, different types of demands from the clients, and perhaps different cultural origins, the formation and functioning of the agencies are different. We will have a more in-depth discussion of this issue in Chapter Seven, but it is quite evident that in terms of financial and human resources, CFS is less developed than JFS. It is precisely for this reason that CFS deliberately recruits expertise from outside the Chinese community, and it must develop more connections to available resources. Since Jews are more integrated into mainstream Quebec society than the Chinese, it is logical that the mission of CFS is to foster their clients' integration. The composition of the CFS board reflects this strategy.

JFS has a much larger structure, which constitutes a larger number of staff than CFS. While all of the workers in JFS are professionally trained, many of those in CFS are not. The French-speaking environment and social work regulations inhibit the professionally-trained Chinese workers from making the most of their expertise. In order

to accommodate the situation. CFS has no choice but to hire workers who are fluent in French, even though these workers have not received formal social work training.

Since the Chinese community is still largely an immigrant community, and their native language is very distinct from European languages, many clients face challenges regarding both settlement and language issues. The most highly-demanded services in CFS are still very much related to immigrant needs. The Jewish community, on the other hand, has a well-developed structure, in which social services are very specialized. JFS does not serve immigrants *per se*. Jewish immigrants are assisted by other specialized agencies. Although most of the clients in JFS are able to seek help from mainstream service agencies, they prefer services offered by their own community organization. This strong primordial tie is the result of a long tradition of community care in Jewish religious teaching and culture. It is interesting to note, however, that workers and clients of CFS do not bring up the concept of primordial ties in their interviews. Instead, they tend to focus on practical reasons for services. In the following chapters, we will explore how the different nature of these two agencies affects the ways in which they offer culturally and linguistically sensitive services to their community members, and what difficulties they face. Furthermore, the general introduction of these two agencies offers a set of rich data to help us reflect on their role in the polity of their communities. This will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Five

Culturally Sensitive Social Services: The Case of Chinese

This chapter will explore 1) how a Chinese family service agency offers culturally sensitive services to its members, 2) under what conditions the benefits of culturally sensitive social services can be seen, and 3) the challenges that the workers and the agency face. The services offered by CFS can be largely categorized into three areas: form filling, information and translation; service programs; and counseling services. Service programs, a more macro approach to meeting the clients' needs, refer to programs that may carry out a theme targeting a particular group. An example is a program to take the message of AIDS prevention to adolescents. Each service area will be discussed in turn, and in the next chapter the case of a Jewish family service agency will be discussed in the same fashion.

1. Form Filling, Information and Translation

In CFS, in-take workers spend a great deal of time helping clients to fill out forms such as applications for Social Insurance Cards, Medicare Cards and so on. Another busy area involves giving out information such as how to apply for unemployment insurance or child benefits. They also make doctor's appointments for their clients if translation is needed. These kinds of services merely require linguistic assistance, and minimal cultural sensitivity.

In-take workers also organize talks that provide information for different targeted groups such as parents, women and new immigrants. About twenty talks on different topics are given throughout the year. The topics cover "the practical needs of the clients" as one in-take worker puts it. He added:

> Our talks are very comprehensive. They can be about renting an apartment, taxation, buying or selling real estate and so on. Many new immigrants don't know the details in rental regulations. They don't know how to terminate their lease or whether the rent increase is reasonable or not. Our talks aim at telling our clients more about their rights and what they should know when they live in Quebec. When clients often come up with the same question, and I can't answer them, there is a need to organize a talk on that topic. How to write a living will and how to file for divorce are good examples.

If an in-take worker is not knowledgeable in the area and cannot give a talk, he or she will invite an expert in the field, who might come from the mainstream society. Then the talks will be given in either French or English; the worker will assist as a translator.

2. Service Programs

Many CFS programs illustrate the culturally sensitive elements of its services. Consider an AIDS prevention program: some immigrants, mainly the husbands, return to their homelands to work, while their wives stay in Montreal. One worker worried that the men who were working in Southeast Asia might be exposed to unprotected sex. The original aim was to sensitize women who may be at risk of contracting the disease from their husbands. The group, six females and one male, met once a week for six sessions.

However, the worker worried that there might be a difficulty in attracting women to the program if she used the word "AIDS" in its title. She believed that it would scare the participants away. If they came in to attend the session, a stigma would be attached to them if they were spotted by others. Therefore, she used an indirect approach. She came up with the title: "Parents Who Care". She hoped that if the program was about their children, the mothers might show more interest. She observed, "They [the mothers] are not very concerned about their own health. Through parenting programs, I hope parents become more involved."

When asked how she prepared the content of the sessions so that they would be especially suitable for Chinese, she gave the following response:

> I used an indirect approach, when I prepared the materials. In the first section they got to know each other. I mentioned that parents might find it difficult to bring their children here. I also talked a bit about the different parenting approaches in their homeland and Canada. Then another topic was all about parenting. I had two focus groups. The first group which I had finished was for mothers who have younger kids. I focused more on discipline. For those with the focus on high school kids, courtship and making friends was the focus. Communication was the topic. I brought up the Chinese way of discipline...that is, Chinese believe that physical punishment can bring up a good kid, [an idea] which is not shared by Canadian society. I talked about when to learn from the Western ways of parenting and when to retain their own best ways. I also found communication was very important: if it doesn't exist, there is no further sex education. The third topic was the core: sex education. I found this was the most lively session. I intended to have the issue of AIDS following, but I couldn't. They wanted to carry on the discussion. Because we have a Chinese audience, I know they won't talk about sex education at home. I again used the indirect approach by using puns: instead of saying "sex has it good nature", I used Confucius' teaching "men were born with good nature". [The wording of these two phrases is exactly the same: the word for "sex" and "nature of a person" is exactly the same.]

She further commented that sex education as taught in the West is very different from "what we usually teach". This implies that she could just copy the conventional kind of sex education used in mainstream society. She would modify the ways of teaching and stress what she thought the Chinese were more concerned about. She elaborated:

> I will tell the parents what the schools teach on sex education. And from the Chinese point of view, what else needs to be added. For example, the sex education in schools here is very technical and only informational because they have their limitations. Moral values might not be brought in. Being a parent, we hope we can convey our Chinese traditions and values

to our children. How do we convey those ideas? Through parents like us. We hope to build on the topics of communication to promote the idea that parents can talk with their children.

Then in the next step we can supplement what is left out at school or correct their misconceptions about sex. What do I supplement? Many things. It happened to my son, who is in Grade 3. One day he came home, put his school bag aside, and asked me, "Mama is it true that a man has to put his penis into a woman's vagina?" He tells me in those technical terms. I am surprised. I believe I am a very open mother. I was surprised!! Grade three. I am shocked. Then I asked him where he got such an idea, to determine whether it came from the playground or the classroom. Then he told me it was from his teacher. I think he got it from the class on moral education. I asked him further what else was taught, and if his teacher showed him any pictures. Yes, he replied. I was very shocked. I had discussed the concept of sexual abuse with him, because he told me it happened to his female classmate...I cannot control what he is exposed to. I have to follow up on what he has been exposed to, and give him the right concept of things. Then I asked the parents if their children have learned such things [referring to sex education] at school. They said no; their kids did not mention anything like this. I thought their kids just didn't mention what they learned about sex at school in the home. They have no way to avoid such exposure.

My son asked me if I did the same thing with Dad. It is a normal question for a child. That means you should prepare yourself for these questions. When he asked more specific questions, I answered them. This went on in the whole night, stop and start again. He also asked his Dad the same question while they were watching TV. What I want to say is that we need to follow up at the appropriate time. My son commented, "yuck, how did you do that?" Then I replied, "it is only between two people in love and when they are married." I am trying to fill in the details from this perspective. I am a little concerned since he has learned so much. So occasionally, I quiz him. On the same night, I asked him when people can do such thing. "When they are in love", he replied. I asked, "and...?" This 'and' is very important you know.

I think I will use different approaches to talk to him about marriage in the coming ten to fifteen years. He won't follow you if you just mention this once. That is impossible. I have to convey this to him repeatedly, and hope that he can internalize this value. I consider this as part of sex education that half, even

> 2/3 of the class comes from a divorced family. His phone book lists Stephanie's father [her son's classmate's father] and Stephanie's mother's phone number. So I am concerned about his concept of marriage. Of course, this is a much broader context in sex education. I think it is important that you can't just talk about sex to your kids. [The interviewer asked if she discussed these in her sessions.] I touched upon those points. I told them sex education can be very broad, such as sexuality, growing up. I want to tell them they can't ignore these issues. I don't want them to think there is plenty of time to talk about sex. It is right in front of them.

Excerpts from this interview reveal several key points about the concept of cultural sensitivity. The agency understands the lifestyle of these immigrants. The workers realize many husbands might be absent because they have found better job opportunities in their homelands, where they might be exposed to unprotected sex. In turn, their wives who remain here might also be at risk if their husbands have contracted AIDS. The agency is also sensitive to the mentality of Chinese women, who always put their children first. In order to draw these women's attention to the issues of AIDS, the co-ordinator has to use a strategy that is more effectively suited to the targeted group, including having a more "appropriate" program title. Not only do we see that the preparation phase involves cultural sensitivity, we also learn that the ways of conveying messages and the content of the presentation must be modified to meet the mentality of these Chinese women. Moreover, when the co-ordinator was asked in what way her program suits Chinese, she replied, "the language." Therefore, culturally sensitive social services involve an understanding of the clients' cultural backgrounds, mentality and language. As Cox and Ephross (1998: 106-107) argued, when it comes to accessibility, even titles matter.

Another program, "Friendly Visits For Chinese Seniors At Risk", also serves as a good example. The well-being of Chinese elderly in the Chinese community is always the concern of CFS. Man Sau Chinese Seniors' Center, a center for the Chinese elderly

under CFS, has always been active in organizing leisure activities. While CFS was eager to plan other activities which were more service-oriented, the Canadian Association on Gerontology (CAG) welcomed proposals for the "National Development Program For Seniors At Risk".

In the spring of 1996, CFS obtained funding from the CAG to launch a pilot project called "Friendly Visits For Chinese Seniors At Risk" in the Chinatown district of Montreal. The project's aim was to establish an outreach program to help housebound or low-mobility Chinese elderly by training more able-bodied Chinese elderly as friendly visitors.

Like the project of AIDS prevention, Friendly Visits identified the existing needs of the community. Although a similar service is offered by the local CLSC, the results have been unsatisfactory. First, there is a shortage of Chinese workers in the local CLSC: there is only one who works for home services and she also serves non-Chinese clients. Demand for her is very high. Second, some Chinese clients do not appreciate workers from other ethnic backgrounds who may not understand their needs and/or mentality. In a consultation meeting for this project, an elderly representative told her story:

> Once my husband was sick, I needed help from a social worker because I could not deal with everything by myself, from chores to caring for my husband. The social worker was a graduate and a Canadian [a white]. The social worker suggested that I go out and have fun and she would take care of my husband. But how could I feel relaxed? When I was out I was still worried about my husband. He was not happy either. He did not like to be served by an outsider. He expected me to stay home to take care of everything, even helping him to use the washroom. These expectations had become my routine and I expected myself to carry out the duty. I can't be as 'easy-going' as some Westerners. The worker just didn't understand.

Incidents like this inspired CFS to launch their own service for the elderly of the community. As Gatheil and Tepper remind workers in cross-cultural settings, "To

effectively serve culturally diverse older families, social workers draw primarily on two knowledge bases: aging and diversity, always being sensitive to the interactions between the two" (1997: 104).

The targeted elderly, who are in their 80s and 90s, are very isolated. Some of their children do not live with them or do not live in Montreal at all. Even if their children live with them, they are seldom home. Their family members are not available all the time. They cannot go out because of health problems, or linguistic or cultural barriers. They also lack knowledge of and/or access to community and public resources. They are confined to Chinatown.

During the preparation phrase, the co-ordinators were sensitive to the cultural backgrounds of the elderly, both the clients and the volunteers. The challenge was that volunteerism is not a well-understood concept among some Chinese seniors. Some even have negative views about volunteering, commenting that "volunteers are outsiders who have nothing to do at home and at work", "volunteering is second rate work", "they may have bad intentions in helping other people"' or "even if they are nice, it is better not to bother people who are not family members." One worker described how they tackled this problem:

> We had to be careful when we promoted the concepts of volunteering and mutual help among seniors, and tried to overcome cultural taboos concerning volunteering, including both becoming and accepting volunteers. Some of the volunteers were very skeptical when they joined the project. The first step we took to make them feel more comfortable about being a volunteer was that we organized the training meetings in a very informal atmosphere. We avoided inviting speakers to give speeches to the trainees. When we discussed the skills of volunteers, we tried not to preach. Instead, we shared and chatted informally when passing them the materials which the volunteers needed to acquire. The coordinators emphasized the virtue of mutual help in the Chinese culture, that actually many Chinese are doing similar work but only in an unorganized manner, and also that there are needy elders who need such services.

What is intriguing about this project is that because of the diversity of the elderly within the Chinese community, the workers faced other challenges. First of all, a language/dialect barrier existed between the workers and elderly, clients and volunteers. The targeted elderly are early immigrants who came from the Toi-shan district in southern China and speak mainly the Toi-shan dialect. The workers, recent immigrants from Hong Kong, cannot speak Toi-shan. A worker recalled:

> Toi-shan, I understand a bit but I can't speak the dialect. Mandarin too, I am not so fluent but can get by. Many elderly clients who speak Toi-shan also understand Cantonese. They speak Toi-shan and I speak Cantonese. If you don't understand their dialect, it is O.K. for a meeting or two. For thorough communication or an interview, I need the assistance of an interpreter. I think if I could master Toi-shan, they would feel closer to me. I think it is better and easier for them to express themselves in their own dialect. Although I am still able to communicate with them, I am not familiar with their customs or taboos.

One incident illustrates the importance of being sensitive to clients' customs and taboos. When the workers assigned volunteers to clients, they tried to match their sex, spoken dialect and cultural backgrounds. For example, a female volunteer who lived in Shanghai for a number of years would be matched to a female Shanghainese client. However, a worker recalled the following problem:

> Although we have been trying to be sensitive to the concerns and the needs of the clients, conflicts did occur. We matched their sex, spoken dialect and cultural backgrounds. In one instance, we had to assign a volunteer couple who had a car to visit an elderly lady living alone outside Chinatown. [The couple were the best choice at the time; other elderly volunteers could not drive or did not have a car.] We presumed that because the visitors were a couple, it should work out the same as two female visitors, but it did not. After several weeks, the elderly lady declined the service. We contacted her later to find out the

> reason. It appears that she did not feel comfortable when a man was present, even though he came with his wife. She said she felt good about the visit only if the wife came.

Perhaps, it is this elderly woman's personal choice not wanting any male companions even if one were accompanied by his wife. However, it is possible that elderly women from this cohort are more conservative and strongly believe in sexual segregation. A worker in this project commented:

> I think this [Chinese coming from different countries of origin] is only one of the difficult challenges at work. Other reasons include my age, my educational background and other things that create barriers between us. Therefore, I need to pay more attention to understand them.

According to another worker, however, what made this project work, despite the diversity of the group, was something very Chinese:

> Besides the dialect differences, religious differences are also remarkable. Some are Christian while some are Buddhist. There are many frustrations and difficulties during the process. But we still have some common beliefs: [the regard] of the family towards the elderly is a common ground for us to work with.

This project demonstrates two points: 1) Cultural sensitivity is very important in all aspects of the project such as recruitment, training and the actual execution. 2) Because of the diversity of the backgrounds of the participants in the project, many difficulties are encountered. It is suggested that ethnic matching might not work all the time. No ethnic group is homogenous, and members of an ethnic group or community could very well have different subcultures, customs and beliefs, and speak different dialects (see Castex, 1994; Shams, 1994; Hsu & Serrie, 1998).

One worker who serves 26 primary schools and 4 high schools on the south shore is a Vietnamese Chinese. She emigrated from France, and speaks both official languages as well as Cantonese. She serves as a bridge between the immigrant parents and children on one hand, and the schools on the other, because there is tremendous misunderstanding between these two groups. Under Bill 101, all immigrant children, unless a parent of theirs had attended English schools in Quebec or one of their older siblings received a certificate of English language instruction, must attend French schools. However, a great majority of immigrant parents speak either limited French or none at all. Almost all of the students, having no French training in their homelands, are placed in 'welcoming classes' which focus on learning French. Before they graduate from these classes, they cannot take regular subjects. Many parents are frustrated with the progress of their children's education. On the other hand, teachers are not satisfied with the children's progress and complain about their unruly behavior in classes, behaviour that might be caused by language barriers between the students and teachers. Moreover, teachers are most concerned that some Chinese parents use corporal punishment as a method of parenting.

This particular school worker attempts to enhance communication between parents and the schools and reduce misunderstandings. On one occasion, a child showed signs of fear and hid in a corner at school. When asked, this child said he was hit by his mother. A teacher contacted the worker at school and wanted to see the mother. The school worker at CFS said:

> If I was not present, the atmosphere of the meeting could have been confrontational. The parent might not accept the interference of the teacher. She might insist that it is her way to discipline her kid. However, I would approach the mother indirectly, and sensitize her to the fact that corporal punishment is not accepted in Canada. And in turn, I will ask the teacher to suggest alternatives. Then the teacher can discuss the alternatives with the parent.

Without the school worker's mediation, the misunderstanding might have worsened. If the teacher had suspected that the parent's discipline was too severe and was harming the child, she would have reported the case to the Child Protection Department, putting the parent in a difficult situation. Corporal punishment is a very sensitive issue in Canada. Even though section 43 of the Criminal Code allows parents, teachers, and caregivers to use "reasonable force" to correct children's undesirable behavior (Eshleman and Wilson, 1998:369), teachers and other professionals are also obliged to report any sign of child abuse to Youth Protection, a government agency for child protection. Sometimes teachers might interpret "reasonable force" differently from parents. Without knowing the laws and norms in Canada, the parents might take a very defensive position when confronted. The parents, through this school worker, explained to teachers that although corporal punishment is often applied to their children, they do not punish their children severely. According to the school worker, teachers now realize corporal punishment is an accepted parenting practice among some Asian parents, but they try to convince the parents to avoid using it as much as possible. This school worker also helps schools to understand other aspects of Asian families. She holds talks to introduce the school system in Montreal to parents. Furthermore, parents learn new parenting skills and learn about available social services in their community from the school workers.

3. Counseling

Since CFS lacks registered social workers and not many of its programs involve counseling, only limited counseling to individuals is available. Therefore in this section, most of the examples are drawn from a Chinese family service agency in Toronto (TFS). In CFS, the most extensive counseling service is available in the Problem Gambling Project. However, one worker said that in other services, workers play a role as good

listeners when clients need to talk to somebody. The workers encourage their clients to see social workers at the local CLSC if they need counseling services. If translation is required, the workers in CFS will accompany them to the sessions.

Cultural sensitivity in counseling services and during intervention can be explored in the three phases of counseling: initial contact, the process and outcomes. The findings indicate that cultural sensitivity plays different roles in each phase. The following section will discuss cultural sensitivity in three different phases.

A. Initial Contact

This is the very first moment where a client meets a social worker or counselor. The key element here is to gain the client's trust. Without that trust or "click", nothing works ("Engage with a client" is more of a social work term). To achieve this engagement or "click", a worker must understand the client from both linguistic and contextual points of view, as well as in regards to value systems. All workers interviewed agreed on this.

There are several cultural elements that can help counselors gain the trust of their clients: language, cultural knowledge and immigrant experience. As has been discussed before, many Chinese clients who seek help often suffer because of language barriers. One way in which clients feel comfortable with counselors is by speaking the same language. A worker in TFS who is mainly responsible for individual counseling observed that immigrant children generally have adjustment problems at school. For many reasons, teachers are sometimes unsure as to how the family feels about the school and about their children attending the school. When non-Chinese school workers have problems dealing with these immigrant students, they call the center for help because of the language barrier. A counselor told the story of a young student, aged 8, whose teacher complained

that the student was not interested in learning and did not co-operate with anyone. The counselor recalled:

> I was the first Chinese social worker who spoke his language and the first Chinese-speaking social worker whom this kid met. He opened up. Then he told me how he felt about his school. The kid knew how to articulate his feelings about his school. That is a different picture from what the school told me. The kid actually had friends, contrary to the school's view. He didn't show interest in school because he couldn't understand the teachers.

With cultural knowledge of their clients, social workers have a better chance of engaging their clients. Another TFS worker who deals mainly with family violence discussed how to gain clients' trust:

> In the beginning of counseling, victims complain a lot [the original Chinese expression is: spit out the bitter water]. But not many mention abuse to me if they are not referred by the police. They seek tangible services such as day care for their children. They have language problems, get no support, [and] need money. But the fact behind the case is that the client's husband complains that she does not contribute financially to the family and beats her up. After a few sessions, stories are revealed...traditional Chinese women are more conservative, and won't expose their problems very quickly. After helping them to get some services, victims have more confidence in me and the center. They will tell me more.

In other words, the way to gain trust from her clients is to satisfy some of their tangible needs first. Without knowing the help-seeking patterns of clients and jumping straight ahead to the more profound problems, clients may be scared away.

B. Clinical process

If a counselor cannot engage the client at the initial stage of contact, it would be difficult to do any further work. After the client is engaged, what role does cultural sensitivity play during the counseling process, and how does it help a client?

Most of the counseling services offered by CFS can be found in the Problem Gambling Program. At the time the interviews were completed, only a few clients had sought help from this new program, and there were only thirteen cases. The counselors started with the clients as they normally did (see Lum, 1996: 107): engaging the clients, making a comprehensive assessment of their situation, and finding out what the most urgent and immediate problems were. They would try to determine the relationship between the presented problems and the gambling problem, and how these problems affected the clients' personal and family lives. A treatment plan would then be developed accordingly. In normal cases, according to the counselor, six sessions would be given to the clients. For those in crisis situations, the social worker would establish a few concrete solutions at the end of the first session. For example, if the client was threatened by overdraft of credit, the client would be referred to governmental organizations through which solutions, such as the voluntary repayment scheme, could be arranged. While the government worked as the mediator between the financial institutions and the clients, the clients were allowed to repay the loans on a weekly basis according to their family's financial situation, and would not be hassled by the lenders.

In addition to this "normal" practice, the social worker's cultural competence is brought into the process. It is believed that such competence enhances the efficacy of the intervention, because the provider has a better knowledge of clients' values, customs and culture (Weinfeld, 1997: 251-2; Sue et al., 1991). One social worker who had a case involving a Chinese restaurant employee believed that care providers in mainstream organizations, who are unfamiliar with the subculture of a Chinese restaurant, might have

intervened less efficiently in that particular case. In order to elaborate this concept, he reported:

> ...for example, I feel that white counselors may not have the same understanding towards some issues as we may during the counseling process. So, they may not have a detailed understanding about the background of the problem, or their handling methods may not be good.
>
> What is their view about family relations and the relation with the community? From our experiences, some white counselors may individualize the problem. They think that it is Tom's problem and that is it. However, in our Chinese population, we may probably think that it is not only Tom's personal or behavioral problem because of his own personality, it is his entire family's problem as a whole. For example, the addicted gamblers will not care much about their family's and colleagues' viewpoints, when their financial situation is fine. For the Chinese, he will most likely be affected by the viewpoints of his family members and colleagues. If they work in restaurants, their colleagues are those who spend the most time with them. If all his colleagues are all gamblers, there is no way to help him because he is completely involved in that work situation. If you don't know anything about how many people in Chinatown are working in the restaurants and the life of working in a restaurant, you never understand how the work situation and lifestyle affect his views on a gambling problem and how to resolve it.
>
> For example, a client of mine works in a restaurant opened by Jews where both Chuen and Western food are served. He never let his white colleagues know about his gambling problem, and those white colleagues never bothered him about his problem. There are both Chinese and Western staff. My client works in the kitchen where all the staff there are Chinese. He is affected by his colleagues' viewpoints on gambling issues. If his colleagues scold him in a brotherly manner for that, he will be more motivated. Why? Because the relationship between the "principal cook" and the "assistant cook" is like an apprenticeship, like a teacher-student relation among the Chinese. Those white counselors in the mainstream society will not delve into such a relationship to solve the problem, when making use of the significant other, he may not be so sensitive to this kitchen environment and find out which one is influencing him. If you don't know much about the Chinese community in this context, you will not mention anything about the kitchen

> during the counseling process. Since I have an understanding about that, I will go into the interactions in his work situation and how such interactions are significant to his problem-solving.

Another example of the advantage of cultural competence can be found in counseling given to problem gamblers in TFS. The social worker there acquired a different understanding and approach from those in the mainstream service agencies when offering help to Chinese clients. She found that the concept of gambling is understood differently by Chinese and mainstream cultures. She discussed her cultural approach to dealing with problem gambling:

> We work at problem gambling in a cultural context. This is a very special issue. For example, playing mah-jong [a tile game that often involves money] is very common among Chinese. The Chinese do not consider mah-jong as a kind of gambling. In Western thinking, gambling is considered a habit, unrelated to social life. Mah-jong among Chinese is just a part of social life. It is so common that everyone accepts it as part of social life. But in the mainstream, although people may have a neutral opinion, they don't consider it a part of social life. This is the difference. Westerners focus on how an individual makes his/her personal change from this habit. When we [Chinese social workers] are helping our clients, we will think of how this problem affects family life, family relationships, relationships with one's spouse. The problem is that not many [of the clients] think they have a problem. But we start to discuss that fact that your wife often complains about your frequent visits to the casino, your lack of financial support for the family. She [the wife] says, "if you continue to behave in such a way -- divorce." "How do you respond?", I ask my client. Then he may have some self-reflection.

Workers in CFS and TFS share very similar views on the mainstream professionals who often treat problem gamblers as individuals only, and are not knowledgeable about how the ethnic ecology has a certain impact on the help-seekers' views on their problems and their lives. Sessions on intervention are likely to be

designed to make progress through individual effort; often the significant others in the client's ethnic and cultural ecology are neglected. These culturally competent service providers can better motivate their clients to make positive changes. The worker in TFS feels that this approach is the biggest difference between her agency and the mainstream agencies. As social work literature often stresses, it is important to perceive clients through their own cultural lens (Pinderhughes, 1995: 133; Cox and Ephross, 1998). Without a proper and undistorted vision of clients' views on their lives and problems, appropriate services can hardly be delivered.

The same kind of sensitivity can also be applied when dealing with family violence. Family violence can be defined in many ways (Baker, 1996: 250-1), ranging from an intentional physical act committed by a family member that causes another family member pain, injury, or even death, to a more subtle manipulation such as verbal and emotional abuse. Minority women and children remain the most vulnerable among all immigrant categories. Usually the women come from a very different cultural background where they are socialized to obey their husbands. When battered, they usually have few options but to stay in the unsafe relationship. These women, especially new immigrants, face language barriers, lack informal support, and live in a completely foreign environment. If these women are sponsored by their husbands, divorce is almost absolutely out of question. They must stay with their abusive husbands, or else they may face deportation or separation from their children (Mills, 1998: 27-8; Brownell, 1997). A worker who mainly deals with family violence in TFS describes helping these women:

> I have to help them to learn some language and skills. Before, only their husbands took them around. The women were only familiar with Chinatown. I have some cases where I have to go to Chinatown to pick them up. It is the only area they are familiar with. Then I have to teach them to be self-sufficient, such as teaching them how to take public transit, take their children to school, sense of direction...before, their life cycle was so limited.

Treatment programs that are simply aimed at women are not enough. To help them, these women immigrants need re-socialization as well. The worker above suggested that using common mainstream practices in dealing with the abusive husband does not apply either. These husbands must also be sensitized to the norms and laws in Canada. She explained:

> Many Vietnamese husbands complain, "I did the same thing in Vietnam; I kicked her around like a ball. How come it is not allowed here?" The women who come from mainland China and Vietnam have very few resources such as money, family support, and language skills. Some of those from Hong Kong have more resources. I don't have to follow them for long. Four sessions might be enough. In Hong Kong, for example, wife battering also exists, but the laws do not protect the women as they do here. Police here do not require the women to be witnesses as long as police are sure that the man has beaten her; then he can be arrested. Hong Kong police deal with this differently. The police would say to the couple: "You two had a fight? Got hurt? Visit a doctor. You beat your wife? Go to the Welfare Department. Look for a lawyer by yourselves. Don't fight again. OK?"

Further investigation of different police practices between the two cultures will shed more light on the importance of cultural sensitivity when dealing with wife abuse. Police in Hong Kong tend to see family violence as an internal family affair, and police officers tend to act as on-the-scene mediators between the fighting spouses, according to the social workers interviewed who had worked in Hong Kong. Although some police officers in the West share the same view, and would rather not get involved in a "family matter" for various reasons (Duffy & Momirov, 1997: 14-5; Wallence, 1996:194-6; Hendricks & McKean, 1995: 114), continuous public pressure to reform the criminal justice system to respond to family violence have resulted in tremendous changes, in both Canada and the United States. Duffy and Momirov (1997: Ch. 6) sum up the recent

reforms in the Canadian criminal justice regarding domestic violence. For example, in 1994 Ontario adopted mandatory charging, which means that where reasonable evidence is collected, police are required to file charges against the abuser, even if it is against the wishes of the victim. The discrepancy of laws between many Asian Pacific countries and Canada has created an additional barrier for abused women seeking help. Not only do these women tend to stay in abusive relationships due to cultural pressure, but if these women rely financially on their spouses, they may be even more hesitant to report the abuse to police or social workers (Mills, 1998: 42). For this, and all the other reasons discussed above, gaining the trust of these clients is essential. Even after trust is established, however, cultural competency and sensitivity are required from the social worker. A counselor explained:

> Chinese do not know much about counseling. Even though the clients can speak English, and are willing to seek help from a mainstream agency and to be seen by a Caucasian counselor, the worker and the client may have different expectations from and understanding of the counseling process. How do they differ? The worker may expect the client to take the initiative. "You come for help, then you tell me how you want me to help you out. What do you think you can do?" But if you ask the Chinese such questions, their response is: "the problem is that I do not know what to do, so I come here." In Western theory, the expectation is that we should wait for the client to take the lead. Then we help them to think of ways to solve their problems. But to Chinese, they hope that you can give them some guidelines. But I have to be cautious. When they express such expectations, it does not necessarily mean that they need somebody to tell them what they should do. They prefer you lay down ten options for them, explain the advantages and disadvantages, and ask them to think about their choices.
>
> Some Chinese clients are very fluent in English; they tell me that they have sought help from mainstream counselors. But they feel that the workers there do not understand their culture. These clients may be second-generation Chinese; they feel that if they speak to a Chinese worker, they get more understanding of where they come from, how their up-bringing was, about their family. They feel that seeing a worker from the same culture makes it easier to get some kind of empathetic understanding.

Clients' experiences and comments confirm the observation of these social workers that some mainstream workers are not sensitive to Chinese clients' culture and beliefs. In one example, a client who emigrated from Taiwan had been in Montreal for 6 years. He opened a grocery shop, spoke some English, but only very limited French. He sought help from CFS because he had a disciplinary problem with his adult children, twenty and twenty-five years old, and family problems as well. It is not uncommon to see Chinese fathers treat their unmarried live-in adult children like "children". Some fathers believe that their adult children are still "children" unless they are married. If their unmarried children do not behave in the way these fathers expect, they believe they need discipline. This father came to CFS because he found no friends to talk to about his problems. Most of his friends had moved out of Quebec. Since CFS did not offer counseling as a usual practice, he was referred to a mainstream social worker in a CLSC, who had a very different view of the father's concern over his sons. A staff member from CFS translated for him. The client commented on his experience in the CLSC:

> I go to CFS for the problems with my kids, and also my family problems. You have to solve problems. If one can't solve his problems, he has to ask for help. I can communicate with workers in CFS. The worker there refers me and accompanies me to a CLSC. Ms. X [the worker in CFS] understands my situation very well. We can talk, but I don't have the time because of this shop. However, the main problem has not been solved yet. The social worker in CLSC offered very little help. Eventually, one has to solve one's own problem. The social worker thinks differently from us, because our cultures are different. They don't experience what we have experienced. Their ways of solving things are not effective, but not necessarily bad. They always say, let the kids decide. But it can't be that; there are many things behind "let the kids decide", but it should not be ignoring discipline.

Another client had a similar experience. She came from Canton in 1975. Her husband sponsored her to come to Montreal. With very limited education, her English was very poor and she spoke no French at all. Her two children, twenty and eleven, were born here. She went to CFS because she did not understand documents sent by the government. She had problems with her children, and other problems as well. She said she did not know "how to educate and nurture her children". A staff worker at CFS referred her to a CLSC, and worked as a translator. The lady recalled:

> I got help from CFS for my kid's behavioral problems and conflicts between me and my husband. If I had a choice, I would go to CFS only. The worker in CLSC didn't give me much advice, but CFS did. The CLSC worker has been seeing me once every two weeks for about six months. But she tells me to read relevant books about my problems. If I can read, why do I need to see her? The problem is language: I have difficulty in English. However, CLSC did offer some help on applying for legal aid to get a divorce. But their thinking is different from ours. They can accept divorce easily as a solution. If they decide to separate from their spouse, they leave. It seems so easy to them. A Chinese friend of mine told me once that her white friend told her that if she can't get along [with her spouse], get a divorce. But we have too many worries: children don't want us to get divorced.

These examples confirm Green's summary (1999: 297) of the cultural contrasts between Asian-American and Anglo-American communities that emphasize different concepts of independence, individualism, help-seeking behavior, and the relationship between the professional and the client.

Despite all the advantages of cultural and linguistic competency when delivering care in an ethnic match setting, these social workers reported facing certain challenges when helping their clients. As Weinfeld (1999) illustrates in his study, these challenges do not dispute the putative advantages of culturally sensitive services, but they do demonstrate the complexities of the helping process. Conflicts between the professionals and the clients can create tension in the process of helping. Although the professionals share the same ethnic background as their clients, they may not necessarily share the same view on some gender issues, for example. Weinfeld (1999: 137) argues, "Being of the same ethnic origin or familiar with a specific client's culture, or even empathizing with the client's culture, cannot by itself dictate the nature of the professional's response." This concern is even more salient, when the empathy of the professionals cannot be extended beyond the bounds of Canadian laws.

Taking spousal abuse as an example once again, the social workers find that Chinese women tend to stay in an abusive situation for the sake of their children. Even if these women are willing to seek safety in shelters, this will only be temporary. They are likely to return home soon afterwards. A social worker found it difficult to help them make decisions, and did not agree with her client's position on the abusive relationship. She said:

> Chinese women are very conservative about deserting their family or ending the relationship with their husbands. It takes a long time to achieve that and many times problems remain. I wonder if this [the women's attitude toward family] is related to their up-bringing. They hold their family as a priority, putting their own well-being and safety second. They go in and out of shelters so many times. After two days in a shelter, [my client] wants to go home, gives her husband a chance. They don't want a divorce. As an educated person and a social worker, cases like these should be simple. After being battered, leave. But I have

> to respect their decision. Helping them to renew an independent life is a big challenge.

When these social workers face situations like the case above, they usually adopt two approaches toward their clients: sensitizing the clients, and guiding them with lots of empathy. These elements, as the workers claimed, are often lacking in the mainstream services. During counseling for abusive husbands, a worker would discuss values with them. The following is an account of a discussion with an abusive husband:

> We came from the same Chinese society. Verbal and physical fighting is part of the family life. I understand, I accept. But look at it from another angle: what is the advantage of such fights? Here, spousal abuse is against the law. So the so-called cultural sensitivity is only a matter of different value systems. That's it.

Another colleague used the same approach toward spousal abuse and corporal punishment:

> The only way to help my clients out is to educate them, encourage them not to batter their wives, or encourage them to use reward and punishment for their kids, not physical punishment. Ask them to find options that they can achieve and options that are accepted by the society here. We have to sensitize the Chinese gradually. Tell the clients that you have to follow the laws here. Morally speaking, our principle here is not to hurt anyone. It is not just a husband hitting his wife. If a wife does the same to her husband is also not acceptable. Equality and respect are the basic elements in general. [Then comment on how a mainstream agency would deal with corporal punishment.] The workers in the mainstream see such punishment differently. They do not care what has been going on. If they receive a complaint, they can take away the kid. The mother is very angry that they did that.

Linguistic and cultural competency allow these two workers to develop strong empathetic understanding of their clients. The skill of communication combined with

empathy is highly valued in culturally sensitive social services. Hepworth and Larsen stress the importance of empathy by saying that it involves the ability not only to grasp the immediate feeling from the clients, but also to share, identify and explore underlying emotions, and to discover the meaning and personal significance of feelings and behavior (1993: 86-7). With empathy, a relationship between workers and clients can be developed. As a result, these workers can re-socialize or sensitize their clients to become familiar with the laws and norms of Canadian society.

Another worker talked about empathy in his counseling:

> Counselors here [TFS] know exactly what is going on. If you come from Hong Kong, we know your circumstances by knowing when you came, if you came from Kowloon Tong, Sai Wan Ho [districts in Hong Kong], and where you studied. I have a general understanding of what has been going on because I lived and grew up in that community. Those who have experienced the Cultural Revolution, they would have such-and-such experiences and demographic characteristics. When the clients talk about the revolution, I see: they are from Taiwan....but a counselor in a mainstream agency, he has no clue what Kowloon Tong is like, or what kind of place Sai Wan Ho is. He is not familiar with your school. They have to learn from their clients. They have to believe what the clients tell them. The officers [in correctional centers] there treat you as a criminal. I will listen to them more and have more empathy with them.
>
> Mainstream workers will treat you from the perspective of rehabilitation, approach you as a criminal. They are concerned about public safety first. Because you have hurt somebody, you are dangerous; they measure you from the standard here, but I know if you are a dangerous man or not. My empathy toward [the clients] is greater. I know about the drawbacks. For example, if you are an immigrant, your cultural shock is bigger. My focus is not just on treatment but the symptoms: battering your wife, anger and so on. I will consider your other concerns. I emphasize an educational approach: you have come to this society. I re-educate them about this new society. I re-emphasize how we can work together and how and what we can provide.

Behavioral problems of some immigrants are just symptoms of other major concerns in the settlement process. Their behavior may reflect the stress of economic and social marginalization, and such marginalization tends to be linked with minority group status (Duffy & Momirov, 1997: 39). It follows that merely focusing on treatment is not the answer for many clients, as seen in the quote above. Counselors who have a better understanding of the difficulties that immigrants face may be more able to discover problems in other areas. More appropriate actions can be taken as a result. One social worker sums it up nicely, "I am myself an immigrant. I can understand more easily why they have such problems. I can share the resources and experiences with them." Chazin (1997) in fact argues that immigrants are potential service providers who are uniquely qualified to bridge the cultural gap between social workers and immigrants. If these immigrants are trained as social workers, they are especially qualified to work with the targeted population.

These workers face other challenges that require different approaches to deal with. The Chinese, like many other ethnic groups, are very diverse in terms of country of origin, language or dialect, cultural background, education and social class. A previous quote about leaving an abusive husband indicates the potential clash of values between social worker and client. When social workers were asked how they dealt with Chinese clients who come from different social and cultural backgrounds, the general response was that they could find a way to make it work by cross-checking the information with the clients. Two examples help to illustrate this. The first is about dialect--the worker from Hong Kong was helping a Vietnamese Chinese. Both of them speak Cantonese, but because of their different cultural backgrounds, the client sometimes used idiomatic expressions that the caseworker did not understand. The worker recalled:

> Vietnamese-Chinese, though they speak Cantonese, use different expressions and vocabulary to express the same things. In Cantonese, we say "document", they say "paper"; for "police", phonetically they would say "the sixth aunt" [pronounced "luk

> yee"]: "money" sounds like "daughter". Once when a battered woman came for help, she described the fight with her husband. The client said, "Then I called 'luk yee'." I asked, "how was your 'luk yee' [this worker thought the client referred to her sixth aunt] going to help you?" Then I realized that the client meant she called the police. Since this client speaks Cantonese, I can clarify things with her; but it would be more difficult to do so in Mandarin, which I have difficulty with.

In this agency, however, clients are able to choose a social worker who speaks their language or dialect. That means communication is not a major problem.

The second example is a more serious cultural gap. A CFS social worker from Hong Kong who deals with problem gamblers classifies three types of gap: dialect barrier, the generalization that all Chinese are the same, and clients' doubts about the social worker's ability to understand their situation, if they come from different cultural and social backgrounds. He admitted that these three barriers did slow down progress. He said, "I need to spend more time to develop a relationship with these kinds of clients, and start the conversation from simple problems. If the client stays in the service for a longer time, the so-called 'Hong Kong factor' will diminish." Fortunately, though it is a less efficient method, we can communicate by writing, since there is only one form of Chinese writing."

More importantly, when he modified the "standard" Anglo-oriented counseling procedure to suit the needs of his client, he often needed to double-check with his clients to determine if his counseling sessions functioned well. For example, he once wondered if group life skills training, which he learned from an institute specializing in treating problem gamblers, could work for his clients. He agreed that both CFS and his previous institute shared the same goals and purposes when offering help, but stated:

> ...for the life skills training, what they do is very different from us. They use a group setting to do so. For example, they bring the clients together and train in life skills session by session, like time-management skills, budgeting skills, communication skills

> and self-assertion skills. But, from our experience and what we hear from our clients, we think it is difficult for the Chinese to have training in groups. We discovered that. This Chinatown is especially small and concentrated, unlike Toronto with many Chinese malls and Chinatowns. Thus, many clients worry that others will easily know about their personal problems. They are afraid that other participants in the group will tell the outsiders about their own problems. And even if only one more person knows about their problems, they feel they are being exposed to the public. We have checked this with the clients. For example, whenever we have more in-depth discussion with them about their life-goals, I learn that they work 12 hours a day, weekends as well. They have no time to learn other things or develop other interests. At this point, we ask them if they will join a group of people who also have similar problems as a way to make some friends. Up to now, we haven't received any positive responses from them.

Another difficulty is caused by working with limited resources. As discussed in Chapter Four, eighty percent of the financial support of CFS comes from grants. Programs such as "Friendly Visits" and "Prevention of Gambling Problems" are good examples of how CFS works with limited resources. One major problem with such financial support is that if the grant stops, the service stops. In the last several meetings of "Friendly Visits", one important question had been raised repeatedly: how could this project continue to meet the needs of the frail elderly in the community? The host agency, the visitors and the clients value this project, and everyone wanted the project to continue. However, when the funding from the Canadian Association on Gerontology stopped at the end of January, this project had to come to an end. There was a feeling that the frail elderly were being abandoned. Although struggling under many financial constraints, the host agency was trying to work out some measures to continue this project, either by looking for new funding resources or incorporating this project with other similar ones. At the time the interviews for this study were done, the project's future was still uncertain. However, because the relationship between the visitors and the elderly had been good, many of them continued informal contact. To small service

agencies like CFS, lack of funding means lack of services. As a result, those in need suffer. CFS constantly struggles with very limited and unstable funding.

Another consequence of the lack of resources can be seen in the service offered to criminal offenders and parolees in TFS. A social worker involved in this service expressed regrets:

> We have no control of our resources. For example, if I want to refer somebody to attend a drug rehabilitation program, such a program is not available in Chinese. The programs are for the majority. I can't accompany my client to attend meetings and I can't be with him all the time when he is in the process of quitting. But we don't have resources to deal with this problem.

The examples above reveal the struggle of limited resources in some ethno-specific agencies, like CFS and TFS, which often lack sufficient and stable funding. This prevents them from setting up culturally appropriate programs to meet the needs of their clients. It seems that the effort of these workers is bound by the limited resources of the agencies and within the communities. Ideally, the solution for drug addicts in the Chinese community is to refer them to other agencies that offer such programs. According to a worker who assisted Chinese drug addicts, Chinese workers were available at the Addiction Research Foundation, which organizes programs for drug addicts. Ironically, these Chinese workers are not able to help the Chinese clients, and refer their Chinese speaking clients back to TFS. The worker quoted above observed that Chinese workers in mainstream agencies may not have the flexibility that the workers in TFS have. He argued, "In the mainstream agencies, there are Chinese workers but their job nature is different from ours. They deal much more with statutory duties. We will work more on clients' problems." This implies that a Chinese service agency can be more flexible and more client-centered. This example again suggests that some mainstream services still lack culturally and linguistically sensitive services. Even if minority workers are there to help, their services may suffer due to bureaucratic problems. As a

result, these Chinese clients, whose official language skills are low, are trapped because of a gap in services.

To summarize, several themes have emerged from the discussion above. First, it seems that equipped with linguistic and cultural competency, these Chinese social workers are able to understand and communicate with their clients better, especially when the pair come from a similar cultural and social background and speak the same dialect. The workers believe their skills of empathy, shared immigrant experience, and sensitive understanding of the needs and problems of clients are an asset to helping their clients overcome or gain new insight into problems. The workers have adopted a client-centered approach. They have set up service programs that are tailor-made for clients' needs. Sometimes these programs require some creativity, which can enhance the usefulness of the programs for clients. However, the Chinese, like many other ethnic groups, are heterogeneous, and share different dialects and cultural traits. Sometimes the intra-group differences create barriers to communication and services. The clients can choose another worker who is a better "match" for their dialect, cultural or social background, if the option is available in the agency. Furthermore, the caregivers also have different measures to overcome intra-group differences, such as double-checking the clients, relying on the written form of the language, overcoming their own biases by showing empathy, and re-educating or sensitizing clients.

Another concern is the limited resources of an agency. This often creates barriers to meeting clients' needs. In this case, the worker and client must make use of whatever means available to overcome the challenge and struggle with the limitations, especially when the clients have no other option but to stay with the helping agency.

Concern about the outcomes of ethno-specific service delivery yields mixed answers. The situation depends on the complexity of the nature of the problems dealt with. Although this study cannot provide a systematic measure of the outcomes, some clues are revealed. Clients may come once just for information and translation. Some

may only stay for a few sessions, because problems might be partly solved after that. In some cases, once their needs are met, the service is terminated. In other circumstances the clients will be on and off the service because problems are at first alleviated, but recur later on. One thing however is certain: we cannot use the clients' outcomes to evaluate the value of these ethno-specific agencies. As our examples show, these agencies are short of resources, which restricts their capacity. Often the clients have no other option but turn to these agencies. Finally, our findings demonstrate that workers are in the end bound by the law, and have obligations to obey their profession and work ethic. No matter how culturally sensitive or empathic they might be to their clients' problems, they must report the cases to the authorities, for example when sufficient evidence of abuse is detected. The workers cannot prevent the removal of an abused child from the home, or the prosecution of an abuser, although they can follow up on the cases. This is not a matter of their cultural competence, but rather a matter of duty and law.

Chapter Six

Culturally Sensitive Social Services: The Case of Jews

In this chapter, we are going to explore the case of a Jewish family service agency. As in the previous chapter, we focus on the ways in which this agency delivers its services. We explore what conditions are required for such services, and the challenges of delivering them. The experiences in JFS are quite similar to those in CFS, and their services are both culturally sensitive. The workers show sensitivity toward their clients and respond accordingly. Before we discuss culturally sensitive social services in counseling, we will explore the service programs themselves.

1. Service Programs

JFS has a number of programs that can be used to illustrate the concept of culturally sensitive social services. The programs in CAP are excellent examples. As already introduced earlier, CAP was established to manage resource development and to set up services to enhance the quality of life, more specifically a Jewish quality of life. Several services are of special interest because of their strong Jewish components: "concrete service", divorce mediation, Indigent Burial Program, and school services.

The supervisor at JFS described what "concrete service" means:

> We'll make sure that the person has a house, a this, a that, food on the table, clothes -- we do a lot of that "concrete" kind of service. The CLSC doesn't have the scope of budget to do that; they just do the counseling piece -- they just do the information referral and counseling. And some of the people that come here don't need social work services; they just need certain concrete services...rent, you know, a roof over the head, food on the table...basic needs.

Furthermore, she elaborated on the Jewish element of the services:

> This program that I'm involved with is based and founded on Jewish values and traditions. "tzedakah". meaning charity. meaning looking after your own community. So we [ensure that] people can live within their religious background. For example. during Passover we make sure that people have the kinds of food that they need to maintain the holiday. For a Bar Mitzvah. we will make sure that the child has a proper suit. and what he needs to have a bar mitzvah. Like clothing. things that are particularly important for a particular Jewish advancement in someone's life. We'll make sure that the family and the child have what is needed. There's a High Holiday season where we make sure that they are dressed properly. that they have enough food to celebrate the holiday. And also to live within the vicinity of the Jewish neighborhood. We want to make sure that people live Jewishly and we provide so that they can live in a Jewish neighborhood and [eat] kosher. We add to the baseline so that they have a life. so that they can live Jewishly.

CAP also helps Jews to maintain Jewish life in other ways. CAP financially assists Jews who want to live close to a synagogue. A worker recognized that some Jews have this preference:

> People choose certain living styles. For example. some people choose an expensive area to live in because it is close to synagogue. I can't say to the guy to rent a cheaper apartment which is far away from synagogue. In the summer. he may walk there but what about in the winter?

Another example is how CAP helps children to obtain a Jewish education. CAP advocates on clients' behalf to Jewish schools that are private and costly. If these children attend a public school. they will not be exposed to Judaism. If parents do not closely observe holiday activities. Jewish schools are a natural place for exposure. A worker described how these children are helped:

> Some parents don't initiate it simply because they say. "I can't afford it. so it's not even an option." Whereas I tell them that it can still be an option because there are subsidies and grants given

> to people in their position. Then they might not be as leery, and they may opt to go for financial assistance in the Jewish schools.

Information referrals like this can be essential to keeping the Jewish community alive and for Jews who value their way of life.

Divorce mediation is a unique service that is purposely developed to meet practical and religious needs. This program is operated by three groups in collaboration: JFS, a law firm, and two workers. This program helps couples, including non-Jewish clients, to manage divorce more peacefully and cost-effectively. A worker commented on how a couple can benefit from this service:

> They've already agreed. "There's nothing to salvage here, we're getting a divorce, we're getting separated. Let's do this as peacefully as possible." It's open to Jewish and non-Jewish clients. We think it's an excellent service: it helps couples maintain control of their separation. If you go to court, you have a judge to decide, or you have your two lawyers battling it out. So this way it helps couples maintain control over their situation, and it's also very cost-effective.

More importantly, if a Jewish couple married under Jewish law seek a divorce, they have to go through not only the same standard procedures as other Canadians, but also a *gittin*, a Jewish divorce; otherwise, the divorce is not considered completed. If a divorce is not "properly" obtained, it may create obstacles when the divorced woman considers remarriage, especially for Orthodox Jews. A Jewish divorce may involve consulting with the couple's personal rabbi or a religious court. The roles of JFS here are: 1) to raise awareness for the couple who are seeking a completed divorce both in the civil and Jewish context. And if a family is unable to assume the cost of a Jewish divorce, sometimes several hundred dollars, JFS will assume the cost for them; and 2) to keep a watchful eye on cases where the husband has refused to grant the woman the final divorce and uses this as a weapon against the woman, preventing her from remarrying, according to Jewish law.

Another service is the Indigent Burial program. This program ensures that burial for indigents is conducted in accordance with Jewish law and custom. Such a burial is absolutely required by the Jewish laws. When Jews die, they should be buried very quickly, usually within 24 hours. There are certain Jewish laws that have to be carried out before a body is laid to rest, and there are specific steps that have to be taken even when the actual burial takes place. A worker involved in this program explained:

> Obviously the costs are exorbitant, and we have a policy that anyone who dies who has not made burial arrangements, will be ensured a proper Jewish burial if they are indigent, but prove not to have funds. So what happens is that a family comes forward who clearly shows us through documentation that they have no means of paying for this, and we will do it free, as charity.

It can be said with confidence that services displaying such sensitivity toward Jewish values are not available elsewhere. Two inter-related factors make CAP important to the people in the community. First, the Jews are just as vulnerable as other Canadians to changes in the economy. Second, maintaining a Jewish lifestyle is costly, but is essential to being a committed Jew. The services CAP provides are aimed at people who are financially disadvantaged but have a strong desire to maintain their ethnic and religious identity.

School services are another program area involving strong cultural sensitivity. There are two types of school services, one aimed at the general Jewish community one specifically for Hassidic Jews. School social workers deal with problems related to school issues at both macro and micro levels. Macro level services refer to programs, such as talks and discussion groups, aimed at large groups of students. The micro level refers to problems dealt with at the individual level such as through counseling. As a way to generate financial resources, JFS sells its school services to Jewish and non-Jewish schools. The School Services Program offers multi-disciplinary support services to these schools. On average, the workers in this program see about 1,000 children over the

course of an academic year. Occupational therapists and speech therapists, psychologists and group school workers are available to schools. Again, cultural sensitivity is found in these services, starting with linguistic sensitivity. A worker explained:

> We could see a student because he's not doing well in school. We could see his parents because he's acting out. We could see parents and children because a student is not speaking properly, and we'll send a speech therapist. As often as possible we try to match the services to the needs of the community. We have very orthodox schools where the language at home is Yiddish, so we have Yiddish-speaking speech therapists. We have Russian immigrants in some schools so we have a Russian psychologist who does testing in Russian. About 30% of our families are French, so we have French-speaking staff.

Another worker said such sensitivity is not only essential but also necessary for some students:

> [For] example, in the Jewish Orthodox community, children's exposure to the media is very different from those in the mainstream community, so their linguistic exposure is different. Most of them grew up with Yiddish as their language. When they were evaluated by standard psychological tests, they usually did poorly, because they don't have the background to answer the question according to the same basic knowledge as other children have. JFS has embarked on programs to have their psychologists modify the tests, at least to modify the interpretation of the results in order to take [the students'] background into consideration. It is very similar with blacks in the United States.

School workers make sure their services are sensitive to the needs of the Jewish community, which is culturally diverse. They are very careful about religious traditions. If the Jewish schools are very secular, the services are not much different from what is offered in a non-Jewish school. However, if the school workers work in a very Orthodox Jewish school where the women wear long skirts and long sleeves, they respond in kind by dressing appropriately. One school worker, who is not religious at all, said it was difficult for her to get accepted into a school where gender and dress code are both issues:

> They [the school] are extremely orthodox. It was with great difficulty that I was assigned a job in that school, because women play a very minor role in everything. And me being a woman, it's very difficult for me to sell myself. I must dress appropriately. I must be part of what they believe when I'm in their turf, and it was a little difficult in the beginning. This is now my second year working in the school.

This school worker must conform to the customs in order to be accepted. Furthermore, one of her duties is to sensitize other teachers, French teachers, who do not come from the Jewish community. Students are instructed half a day in Hebrew and the other half in French. Because the school cannot find rabbis to teach French, it has had to hire French teachers who come from the mainstream francophone community. The school worker illustrated how she sensitized the French teachers who were not familiar with Orthodox practices:

> The [French] teachers must be appropriately dressed. The two teachers, kindergarten and grade one, came to school with open shoes which are not permitted, so I had a meeting with the teachers and explained to them what the backgrounds of these people were. The rabbi will never stare you straight in the face, he'll always look away while speaking to you, and this was a new thing for the francophone teachers coming into the school. You must be very careful what books you bring into the school. No pictures of females are allowed in the books; if you're teaching the parts of the body, you must use a male body, rather than a female body.

School services programs cooperate with Family Life Education and Group Services when a social worker identifies that there is a substance abuse problem, for instance, in the school, and decides whether it could be best addressed by group work. The school worker must also be equipped with a high level of cultural sensitivity when holding talks with students at different schools with different religious affiliations. Also, a school may ask for an educator to give a talk on a specific topic. Some Jewish schools are very avant-garde and are willing to offer any preventive programs to students such as

those on enhancing social skills. Some schools invite educators to discuss the Jewish view on sex. Students from some schools ask questions about girls, masturbation and wet dreams, however, such topics are not allowed in Orthodox schools. The supervisor was asked how an educator responded to students in those schools who had questions about sex. She answered, "If students ask those questions, [the educator] may say 'a rabbi may be able to answer the question.' And students know their boundary, too." She added, "Being a Jew, you know that; being part of the community you know that; boundary is always the issue." Having the knowledge of the community, workers are able to avoid embarrassment and act accordingly while clients' beliefs and customs are respected.

2. Counseling

A. Initial Contact

We find that as with CFS and TFS, a successful initial contact with clients is very important in the process of helping. In the Jewish case, we find that even the building itself where JFS is located bears some significance. The building, Cummings House, exhibits a heavy cultural atmosphere. All of the services provided in the building are aimed at Jews and their community; in Montreal, Jews know it is the place that belongs to them. A JFS client who had been seeing a psychologist for his depression related that his psychologist was not a Jew and had no connection with the Jewish community. Although he did not complain about the service of this psychologist, he did not feel completely comfortable with his situation. He realized that he needed a better support system. He said, "Well, I felt I needed somebody to help me, you know, help me out, and they [JFS] have a good support system there, and you know, this way if my parents go out of town, or I need somebody to talk to, I could call [the program director]." When asked how he knew JFS offered such services, he answered, "Well it's known in the community, in the Jewish community." No doubt JFS does giv4e excellent support for its clients. The

Jewish community in Montreal is one of the most institutionally complete communities. More importantly, because the community members understand that JFS, like Cummings House, was established for Jews, trust can be built much more easily even before the client and the worker actually meet. One client supports this view:

> ...it's all because of my Jewish roots, you know, they have good programs there that have Jewish content and it's a good chance to meet other people...I don't know much about the other centers [referring to non Jewish ones], I don't know if it's a question of better help but I feel comfortable there.

Furthermore, the Jewish environment in Cummings House and in the agency also helps to engage a client. When one approaches the building, one often sees a huge poster hanging outside the building advertising events in the community such as charity activities. When clients are in the JFS waiting room, they can read various kinds of posted notices in French, English and Hebrew. Posters and paintings on the walls depict Jewish museums, Israel, and the like. Jews can certainly feel that it is a place for them. *Mezuzot* (small doorpost scrolls) are on the doors. Another important feature of JFS, like Cummings House, is that it operates according to the Jewish calendar, and closes on all Jewish holidays.

As discussed in a previous chapter, workers who are able to understand some Yiddish expressions help their clients to connect with them. Devore and Schlesinger (1996: 53) noted, "A common language provides a psychic bond, a uniqueness that signifies membership in a particular ethnic group, as well as a base for the coordination of activities both social and political." A counselor at JFS observed the benefit of having a linguistically familiar counseling environment:

> ...it's a Jewish context, I think, that puts clients at ease to begin with, because rightfully or wrongfully they feel more understood to begin with. For Holocaust survivors or second-generation Holocaust survivors it's very important to have a Jewish worker. Rightfully or wrongfully there's a sense that anti-Semitism exists, and that a non-Jewish worker might be anti-Semitic. That's not

> always clearly stated, but I think that's an underlying belief that allows more comfort in being counseled in a Jewish agency.

He then gave an example:

> ...a client, an elderly gentleman, throws in Yiddish comments, or things like that, and then he asks, "Do you understand?" It's almost a test, that if you understand that word, you know my universe, you know where I'm coming from, and I can trust you. Not that I speak Yiddish, but I know a few sentences or a few phrases, enough to know common expressions...that helps put them more at ease.

Devore and Schlesinger had an insight into such a situation, where the client felt at ease when he found that the counselor was someone with the same background. They (ibid.) described, "It is the deliberation of the Spanish *a poco a poco*, the joy of the Italian *aldia*, or the audacity conveyed by the Yiddish term *chutzpah*.. Each of these words and many others retain their ethnic uniqueness in that they are not readily translated." An intake worker confirmed what this counselor had observed:

> It makes them [clients] feel more comfortable. They may say to you phrases in Yiddish and you understand what they are saying. All of a sudden you have made a connection with that client, made that client feel you areunderstanding them because you come from the same place. I think that is true of any culture. There is a connection between you and your clients. There is an understanding that it is easy to engage a client who knows where you are coming from, who understands your culture, understands your feelings, understands your up-bringing, understands what impact all that has on you emotionally. Very often your client says you are Jewish, sometimes it helps and I think that it is a very important feeling that you are coming to a place and you have a specific needs, whether they are emotional, whether someone is on your wavelength only because you share the same cultural identity...clients feel that they are in the environment, it is everywhere. We close on Jewish holidays. There is a very distinct element that is being filtered through.

The examples given in this section illustrate the role of cultural and linguistic sensitivity in the initial stage of contact between clients and workers. Clients may feel at

ease with and have more confidence in counselors from the same ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This suggests that such sensitivity plays a very important role in gaining trust. However, at the same time, according to some counselors, cultural sensitivity may not have any effect on clients at all at this stage. Clients need help, and workers deliver their services: the transaction is perhaps as simple as that. While some counselors maintained the importance of working with a client within a Jewish context, some workers thought cultural sensitivity might not be the most crucial element. When asked what were the advantages of their Jewishness, a worker responded:

> For my clients? Sometimes nothing; sometimes my clients come to see me and the issue of Jewishness doesn't come into it. I don't think it [the setting] is important to our clients. Clients come here and they see workers who are therapists who are not Jewish. Worker counselors are not Jewish. It is not important. I work with clients who are not Jewish. I think they get the very same feeling about me that a Jew gets about me. I think they like me for me, not because I am Jewish. Or don't like me for me, not because I am Jewish. Here is the agency that provides a service through a Jewish element, through a Jewish community. I don't do my work as a Jewish person. But as for who I am, I can't help it, it is there. I am not conscious all the time saying to myself I am working, I am working as a Jew.

Another worker, who was assigned to work at a modern Orthodox school and a Hassidic one, remembered an incident where she had to help the parents to decide if the daughter should stay in a particular school. She said being a Jew helped her with the case to some degree:

> It's not only that I could deal with it; I think there was a basic understanding that I knew what the issues were, as a Jew, as a parent, as a social worker in a Jewish school, and with parents whose trust I gained, and I don't think that if you would ask them, they would say "We worked with 'Cheryl' well because she was a Jewish social worker," but they would say, " 'Cheryl' was a social worker who was very helpful to us." I don't think the Jewish part is always conscious, but there's an unconscious sort of connection. [There was] a basic sense of understanding that we came from similar backgrounds, in fact this mother remembered

> me from summer camp, and I did not remember her. But she remembered me, we had gone to a Jewish summer camp, and she remembered knowing me from there, from 15-20 years earlier, 20-25 years earlier actually. About twenty years earlier. So there was a knowledge, and probably an unconscious knowledge about shared background, and some possible similar attitudes towards practice. And when I say that I mean they were not Orthodox, but they were very traditional, they observed certain holidays, not all of them, drove their car on Saturdays and I drive my car on Saturdays as well.

These quotes reveal several interesting points about culturally sensitive services. As with services in CFS such as information-seeking or form filling, some services in JFS do not require much cultural sensitivity. Some clients may just need financial support from CAP or information on social welfare. Furthermore, there are other factors that determine the success of a service worker such as age, mannerisms, personality and so on. Agency location can be a factor as well. The most intriguing point is that primordial feeling plays a role in delivering and receiving services. In other words, clients and providers are connected because they simply share the same Jewish background, which in fact plays no role or a very minor role in the actual service delivery. However, this situation has not been brought up in CFS. The reasons for this difference will be discussed in the following chapter.

3. Clinical process

The situation in JFS yields a different picture of the clinical process. JFS does not serve recent immigrants, who are assisted by another agency, JIAS, under the Federation. The majority of the Ashkenazic counselors and social workers, who are native-born, often see clients with a similar Ashkenazic background. These clients tend to be immigrants who have been in Canada for a long time, as well as native-born Jews. This atmosphere is distinctly different from that at CFS. JSF does have a Russian-Jewish psychologist who is an immigrant, like most of the workers in CFS, and helps Russian immigrant

students in schools. School services are offered to Hassidic schools where the culture and social norms are very different from those that the more "secular" counselors work in. In many cases, students require counseling. How counseling takes place in these three different settings will be discussed in turn.

Services for Ashkenazim and Sephardim

As presented above, all of the counselors in the interviews, except one, are native-born Jewish Canadians. Their perception of the importance of cultural and religious elements differs from that of workers in both CFS and TFS. As seen, the workers in CFS and TFS demonstrate that cultural competence is vital to their services. Their clients' ethnic culture and language often create problems of adjustment in the receiving country, so the social workers' ethnic identity and culture can play a part in benefiting the services. This is not necessarily the case for this group of Jewish workers, however. They recounted how Jewish religious culture and ethnic identity do not often come up when they are helping clients. The following responses illustrate this point:

> ...they come, those who can afford to come, some of them, because we're Jewish, so they feel they will be better understood, it's their own community, but they don't bring up issues related to being Jewish.

> I'm not seeing anybody who's concerned, they never talked about the political situation, they have too many other problems, so they won't bring that to the therapy. They're not concerned with being an ethnic minority.

> Well, I think the bottom line holds true wherever you counsel: where people worry about their children, their spouses, their parents, their health, their finances, and the success thereof of everything. And hopefully, not the failures. That's my feeling about people from religious Catholics to secular Catholics, from religious Jews to secular Jews, that at the basis of it we all have the same concerns.

Perhaps there are two reasons why issues related to ethnicity and religion do not surface directly during counseling. First, the clients are well assimilated into the North American culture. As a rabbi said in describing the Jewish community in general, "...the Jewish community for the most part, here in Canada, is on the average of 60, 80 years into a third generation, so we have become Canadians...[the very close ties to religious practice] have slipped away in Canada." When describing the community he leads and his religious role there, he said, "My neighborhood here tends to be a middle class or upper-middle class neighborhood...middle class people and upper-middle class people have resources, have knowledge, and have money. They are not as religiously inclined, so they have even less of a need to come to me." His observations might suggest that many Jews have other day-to-day concerns that outweigh ethnic and religious concerns. A social worker confirms what the rabbi said: "As from my practice, I'm seeing a group of very assimilated Jews."

However, this in no way suggests that Jews are not concerned about the religious aspects of their lives. Indeed, if they are, they will go to their rabbis instead of JFS. This is the second reason why religious and ethnic concerns do not surface during counseling. A worker said, "The really traditional Orthodox Jews stay within the confines of that closed community, and seek help from the rabbi and don't bring their stuff to us." When a worker receives a case that weighs on religious concerns and values, such as intermarriage, the worker would refer the case to a more appropriate service program held in YMHA. One counselor explained why she did not take the case of a particular couple, a traditional Jew and a very orthodox Italian Catholic:

> I referred them across the street to the YMHA because they have a special program for couples who want to intermarry, to deal with that specifically. I referred them to a rabbi, made sure they

> saw a priest, so I was very neutral. As a Jew I did not say to him, "Aha! You're going to have a lot of problems because she's not Jewish." I asked them to generate for me what they anticipated, their strengths and their weaknesses, what would be their problems and what would hold them together. And then we decided what they really needed was to be part of a group, because they were determined, they really loved one another.

This implies that as a rule, these workers do not deal with issues related to religion. There are rabbis, other specific social service agencies or programs to deal with religious matters. In fact, JFS is a non-religious agency, though it was founded by Jews and offers help to Jews. As the director said, "JFS is not a rabbi: it does not come from spiritual and philosophical perspectives." To further clarify the characteristics of JFS, it can be said it is a social service agency that works in a Jewish context.

Another common theme that emerges from these workers is their emphasis on a universal professionalism that "can transcend differences of culture" (Weinfeld, 1999:140). They stress that with their professional training they can help anyone, Jews and non-Jews. A counselor who had experience working with clients from different ethnic and religious backgrounds remarked:

> I worked at the Jewish General, I had more non-Jewish clients, but it's always been that way. I feel I could work in any environment. I would be comfortable working in a non-Jewish setting in a CLSC or in a hospital, or in industry. I don't think I would feel uncomfortable, but I would certainly be aware that my surroundings are not Jewish, and where there may be a certain way of interacting I would have to evaluate the system beforehand. I think I have the generic skills to be helpful to anybody, but I would have to evaluate the system carefully first before intervening.

A front-line social worker who dealt with case management also emphasized her generic skills:

> The job you are going to do is what you are putting into it. You will be the kind of social worker you are going to be whether you

> are working here or working in CLSC. The name of the game is what you can do for your clients. It is a very individual thing. I am a social worker. I always worked for JFS. I didn't come to be a Jewish social worker. A social worker is a social worker.

A psychologist observed:

> I think it doesn't matter if a social worker is Jewish or not because people are people and they have common problems: marriage, learning, so on. So a Jewish social worker is like another social worker.

The following statements show how the workers treat their clients in a universal, professional manner:

> I don't think that our mandate here is to opt for saving the Jewish community, keeping you Jewish. As a therapist, you can't take sides. You have to listen to how people see what their concerns are. Now, I've never had a family that talked about the mourning or loss of a child because of inter-marriage, but I did have a gay-straight case. I had a father whose son had come out to him because he was gay, so I tried to work with them. But I think the father wanted me to say, "This is not a good thing for a Jewish boy. It's not a good thing for any boy," and because I didn't, the son was very happy, but the father felt that he had more work to do, so I got them articles. I don't think this agency tries to impose Jewish values, like my parents would have done.
>
> [An elderly client] had a problem with depression as a result of bereavement, and I gave her the same service that she would have gotten anywhere else, but she felt safer because I was Jewish. In terms of the actual therapy that I do, I don't think there's anything [Jewish in it].

A worker talked about the way she dealt with problems, gave suggestions and offered advice:

> The young couples were upset because members of their own family, especially the mothers, got involved too much in their own family matters. I would give them the same suggestions and advice, though you do your assessment and you have to evaluate each case individually, like you can't say, "For this type of case,

> this is the solution." So, if an Ashkenazic couple and a Sephardic couple came with the exact same problem, I would probably give them the same advice, but how they go about implementing the advice might differ for each client. I might say [to the Ashkenazic couple], "Separate from your family, put up boundaries", but for the Sephardic couple I might suggest a different way of doing it.

What this all means is that in these types of cases, the element of Jewishness is kept to a minimal level. For some clients, as shown in the section where trust is discussed, that minimal level may be the agency's Jewish setting or the workers' understanding of a bit of Yiddish. However, the remark from the last interviewee suggests another area of interest. She was indeed aware of the cultural differences between Ashkenazic and Sephardic families by implementing her advice accordingly. In fact, these social workers and counselors are well aware the diverse religious affiliations and cultures within the Jewish community. They also realized that they must behave accordingly when treating Jews from more Orthodox backgrounds, as one worker put it:

> The only "Jewish" way of giving therapy would be being sensitive to cultural needs. So if I'm seeing an Orthodox family, I would not shake hands with the man, because I know that he can't touch me. Eye contact is extremely important in therapy, but I know that an orthodox Jewish man should not really look another woman in the eye if he's married. So I wouldn't say that there's something wrong with this man because he doesn't make eye contact with me, if he rolls his eyes or won't shake my hand. So I would be sensitive to those kinds of things. I would dress appropriately. I would come in with long sleeves.

Moreover, such cultural sensitivity can be seen at the organizational level as well. JFS sometimes sends out memos near summer reminding workers that very orthodox clients do come through the agency, and advise those therapists who tend to dress in shorts or sandals to dress more carefully to ensure that clients are not upset. Also, the agency sometimes organizes talks on controversial issues, such as the differing views of Jewish and civil laws on clients' confidentiality, so the staff are prepared when they face

such dilemma. These dilemmas are a common concern among other agencies and professionals (see Danzig, 1986; Miller, 1993).

Supervisors of different teams in JFS are aware of circumstances where cultural sensitivity is vital and Jewish issues matter. A supervisor made an eloquent statement that illustrates the essentials of offering culturally sensitive services: "The needs are the same, the needs are the same, the responses are different." Another supervisor echoed and elaborated that statement:

> The needs amongst all these Jewish communities are pretty much similar, but our responses have to be different, because their communities are different. So we have schools that are more secular, they're Jewish but they are more secular, and they would appear to be very similar to the public sector. Our services there don't look any different from what we would offer in a non-Jewish school. But if we were going to a very Orthodox Jewish school, where the women wear long skirts and the long sleeves, and the language is Yiddish, we want to respond in kind.

In other words, all peoples have the same basic needs and problems, but the responses to them require extremely high sensitivity so that the needs can be met and the problems solved. This type of sensitivity can be detected in services for the Hassidic communities and the recent Russian immigrants in Montreal. They are discussed below in turn.

Services for Recent Russian Immigrants

The Russian-speaking worker, in many aspects, is very similar to the counselors and social workers in CFS and TFS. She herself was an immigrant. Although her main duty is to help children in schools, sometimes their problems are related to the home. She is often involved in dealings with parents. Furthermore, many of these students and their families are immigrants. Although immigrants are not the targeted group of JFS, because of the special circumstance this Russian worker is helping many recent immigrants. She

helps children with learning problems, conducts language tests, and also helps them to understand their roles in their new society. Generally, she deals with learning problems, family relationships, and adjustment to both the Jewish community and the community at large. According to her, these Russians, especially those from Leningrad, did not follow Jewish traditions to a great extent before coming to Montreal. They celebrated Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, but only by sitting at a table, talking and eating. The occasion was more of an excuse to see each other than a religious celebration. Glickman's study (1996: 199-200) revealed a similar general pattern among these Russian Jewish immigrants. According to the worker, the element of Jewishness did not surface much in her practice. However, after these immigrants moved to Montreal, they tended to support Jewish traditions while keeping religious aspects minimal. A reason for wanting to be a part of the Jewish community is that they can adapt to life in Montreal more easily, according to the a worker. She believes that this is important for the immigrants.

The ways in which this worker helps her clients are similar to those used in CFS and TFS. First of all, like many immigrants, the Russian Jews are not familiar with what resources are available. They also do not like to seek outside help for their family problems, as it was not their usual practice in Russia. A worker said:

> They have no idea of what kind of help they can receive. For marital problems, for example, they might say: "My husband and I give different messages to our kids, such as what time he should come back after his party." There's a different message to the parents and to the kids, and it depends on the situation, of course. This family came to the social worker and talked about it. "How can we resolve the situation? The husband is not with me, I'm not with him, how can you help us?" Russian people never come with these problems. Never, because they don't know that somebody can help them, they cannot understand what is meant by social and psychological service.

She claimed that with her understanding of the mentality of these immigrants, she could pin down ways to help them more quickly. She explained:

> I have the same mentality as my clients [about the immigrant experience]. So I can understand them much more clearly, and vice versa. With a Russian social worker, they are more open because I can listen to them, and [the clients] feel I can understand them. It's the first, understanding. And I don't know, maybe it's your mentality. I don't know, because I'm Russian, not a Canadian social worker, but I felt that Canadian social workers have a question all the time: "How can I help you?" But then I talk with my clients, I never ask them how I can help them. I try to describe how I can help with directions...because I know that my clients do not know how I can help them. This is specific, so I give them a choice, in what way can I help my clients. Oh yes, financially oh yes, with my kids, oh yes, with my husband, oh, I have trouble with my grandmother, and so on.

Furthermore, she understood very well that children can adapt to a new environment much faster than their parents, so the generation gap between the parents and the children grows wider. One way to deal with this problem or minimize the impact was by organizing meetings with the parents on parenting skills, and on communicating with their children. In the meetings, parents showed great concern about the sexual development of their children, for example. She prepared the parents and let them know that some workers would be going to schools from the CLSC to talk to girls about menstruation, and about relationships between boys and girls. She also prepared the parents to face a new experience when their kids start to ask for permission to sleep over. She had to explain what sleepovers are and inform them that it is common for many school kids in Canada. She also emphasized, "The people need to change their mind, to change their point of view, or their own lifestyle. It's new, it's absolutely new for them." Her approach, in fact, is very similar to that of the CFS workers who prepared immigrant parents to face all these new questions and problems coming from their children. The role of these workers is not only to try their best to help parents, but also to sensitize parents to face their new life in Canada.

As the supervisors stressed, responding to the needs of the Hassidic and ultra-orthodox communities requires different approaches. Before further discussion, a comparison between ultra-Orthodox and other Jews might yield a better understanding of the significance of culturally sensitive services. A recent survey (Shahar et al., 1997) on the Hassidic and ultra-orthodox communities in Outremont and the surrounding areas provides a comprehensive understanding of the members of these communities. As discussed in the previous chapter, Canadian Jewry has a wide range of religious affiliations, from very religious to unaffiliated secular Jews. The former group can be generally categorized under Orthodox Judaism, and Hassidic Jews are part of this group. Although this group is composed of immigrants from various countries just like other Jewish subgroups, their distinctive feature is that they are committed to following the teachings in the Torah. These Orthodox Jews segregate themselves from the rest of the society voluntarily. A strict dress code is imposed on all members so that they can remain unique and guard their children from assimilation. In order to show modesty and chastity, women cover their bodies by dressing in long sleeves and high necklines. They also wear stockings all the time. Married women always cover their heads by wearing a wig, kerchief or turban. Orthodox Jews tend to have large families because children are seen as a blessing. They guide their lives with a strong emphasis on prayer, introspection, and studying the Torah. They maintain their traditions and religion by creating their own self-sustaining communities, though at the same time they face many hardships and difficulties. They are socially, culturally, religiously and sometimes linguistically segregated from the rest of the society.

A survey of these communities reveals major concern that employment and income levels no longer adequately meet the needs of their growing population. Moreover, from the key-informants' perspective, it is clear human services are in great demand. A JFS worker involved in providing services for these communities

acknowledged that Orthodox Jews, like any community, have problems with sexual abuse, alcoholism and family violence. How does JFS help these people? As one worker explained, the issue of trust comes first once again. The worker continued:

> Those problems have to be addressed very differently because the [Orthodox] community doesn't have the openness that the mainstream Jewish community has. They also have rules and traditions about what you talk about and what you don't. It makes our job very difficult because on the one hand, we want to educate people, and we want to protect people, and we want to make people's lives better. But if we're not credible, it's very hard to offer our help. So before we can even offer our help on some of these problems, we have to prove to these communities that we're trustworthy, and that we're sensitive, and we'll do things. Some things we're still struggling with.

The strategy JFS uses is to achieve small gains with each small step. The workers try to find certain services areas in these communities where outside help is more easily accepted. For example, it is easier to accept speech therapy than marital counseling. Interventions with families are often considered threats. So the workers start with Hassidic schools that are willing to use speech therapists, occupational therapists and psychologists from JFS. "As they become more accustomed to knowing that we will not hurt anyone, our hope is that they will accept more and more advice from us, but we have to start small," the supervisor said.

The school workers generally deal with students who have problems at school, ranging from language problems, to behavioral problems in class, to emotional problems. Ironically, the behavior of French teachers in class can be problematic, and the social worker must deal with this at the same time. The ways in which school workers deal with different types of problems will be discussed in turn.

Sometimes the problems arise from the values held by the schools. As mentioned before, these orthodox communities want to minimize their contact with the outside world, so they can continue to follow the Torah and maintain their traditions. School principals, in fact, do not desire any second language teaching other than Hebrew.

Reluctantly, they allow French to be taught at schools. The schools mainly teach the Torah, and devote the whole morning to that. Then the students learn mathematics and spelling from the Torah. The rabbis are also the teachers. Because these students have never been taught in English, but only in Hebrew, under Quebec language law (Bill 101), these students are not allowed to attend English schools. In order to receive grants from the government, the communities have no choice but to open French-language schools. As a consequence, the students are forced to learn French. Since the schools and the parents are not in favor of French-language learning in the first place, they do not care if the school workers report some students' behavioral problems in those classes. The school workers said they received very little support from the schools and parents on this specific problem. One worker expressed her difficulty in dealing with classroom problems:

> In the beginning, I was not permitted to communicate with families, because parents do not want a school social worker coming into the home, invading their privacy and presenting problems that the parents don't want to hear about. So in the beginning I worked on creating a warm atmosphere in the classroom for the teachers. You have to imagine francophone teachers coming into a classroom with these little boys who have hardly been disciplined. The children, not girls but boys, when they are born are high and mighty, so the parents just allow them to do everything. The parents also do not believe in birth control so every nine months you find the parents having children, so the mother is always busy at home nursing a new baby. They have a baby every nine or ten months. So my job at the beginning was not to intrude on the families, because parents did not want to hear that there were major problems with the children in school. You always have to reassure their parents that the children are good boys, and that they're wonderful children, and that they're doing fine. If there was a problem, it took me a long time to sell myself to the families. But I have to tell you that the discipline is terrible in the school. Awful--you imagine a francophone teacher coming in and wanting to teach, having educational skills, and these children couldn't care less. So again, in the beginning I concentrated on the atmosphere in the classroom, a warm relationship between the teachers and the students, only for the French teachers and English teachers.

To create a warm atmosphere in the classroom, the school worker must work on the language teachers, who are literally outsiders because the rabbis either cannot teach French or English or are not interested in teaching it. At the beginning of September, the school worker has to sensitize the teachers on dress code and appropriate behavior. The reward of all these efforts is, in her own words:

> The children get to know who you are. And when the rabbi began to see that the children were warming up to me, at that point he started to assign me with a few problems. He minimized all the problems, but the fact that he shared them with me was important. So we decided about halfway through the year that we were going to start meeting a few parents. At the same time, he must be in on all the meetings, so that I don't say something that's improper.

The role of these school workers is essentially as mediators between different parties, not much different from the social workers who are called to intervene in Chinese students' problems. Although the importance of trust has been stressed many times before, it must be repeated here once again, because earning trust from the Hassidic communities can be one of the most difficult challenges, if not *the* most difficult. Every single move of the social worker is intended to earn more trust from the community, from parents and students. The worker recalled her experience:

> At one point they [the Hassidic community] would not even allow Jewish Family Services to come into the community. Last year they let me come in, but I was told by [JFS] that my mandate for the year was only to be there, to be seen and not heard.

After a year of proving themselves to the schools and the parents, things have improved. Again, in a school worker's words:

> Most parents know who I am. I have used an "in" to get into the families by calling for speech therapy permission slips, parental consent for occupational therapy if need be. I've called to say,

"I've noticed that your son is not happy in class. does he have a problem?" And this way, I'm able to get myself into the families. We offer here subsidized camping for children, which is a good "in" to the families. And this year I don't have a problem at all. It's going quite smoothly.

Again, I've started this year by warming up the new teachers. I would just explain to them that I am the social worker in the school, and we have noticed a problem with their so and so, and the parents will listen. Then the rabbi will take over the issue, and say, "Look, we notice that he's extremely slow in class, and he's not doing this and he's not doing that." The minute the principal authenticates whatever I say, the parents will do what they're told to do. So if we want to do a recommendation for assessment, I will tell the family, "We feel, in this school, that your child is not performing as well as he should be performing, and we'd like to do an assessment." And if the rabbi authenticates it, it's done. There's no question, even the money, which is an issue for some families, we allow them not to pay for the assessment. So it's not an issue. So then what we do is we do the assessment, we meet with the psychologist who is assigned for the assessment, again the family must be involved. Then we have a follow-up meeting with the family and I will continue to contact the family to give them their child's up-dated progress in school. If a tutor is needed we get a tutor for them, and I don't do teaching, or work with each individual child. As far as counseling skills are concerned, I cannot use my counseling skills there unless the rabbi gives me permission.

Another Hassidic school worker shared a similar success. When this worker acknowledged that the school wanted her to pass a message to the parents that sometimes children have difficulties, whether they are academic or social, and that there are people like social workers who can be helpful in some situations, she felt, "they're warming up." She added, "They talk about it very freely now. The principal didn't always need to introduce me as the social worker, but more and more I'm getting introduced as the social worker, and more and more I'm being called on to intervene in all kinds of interesting ways."

Here are some examples of satisfactory outcomes. Once again, cultural competency is a valuable tool for winning the heart of the community. It also helps

prepare the teachers from outside the community, to minimize their cultural shock and improve the classroom atmosphere. However, school workers have to constantly work against the current, sometimes against their own values. At times there is a clash between their own beliefs and the common beliefs of their work environment, creating many obstacles. In addition, francophone teachers rarely stay in an Orthodox school for more than a year because of low pay and odd hours. This means that workers have to sensitize new teachers each year. These challenges will be elaborated in the following section.

Challenges in Culturally Sensitive Social Services

Like the workers in CFS and TFS, those in JFS also face many challenges when helping their clients. Some could be caused by a gender role conflict, or differences in beliefs and lifestyle. One social worker became more conscious of her reformed Jewish lifestyle when she started working as a social worker in a Hassidic community. Even when she was off duty, her consciousness of the difference still lingered. After she was more accepted by the community, the tension lessened. She is now very forthcoming about who she is to parents and students when they meet in the public, and there is a sense of mutual respect. She recalled her early experience:

> In the summertime we don't work. I went with my family to a small country house in an area where a lot of religious people also rent. I have done it for ten years, and it's never been an issue, until now because I'm in a very Orthodox school, a Hassidic school. One day, I was in a store in a little village, and I was wearing very fashionable clothes. I was wearing gold running shoes, and a little short outfit, like with shorts and a T-shirt, and I saw one of the Grade 6 girls and her mother. And for the first time I became very anxious.
>
> Now, it's interesting because when I meet a parent they know that I'm not Hassidic, and I'm very straight about it. So when I bump into them, I don't feel badly for the way I'm dressed. I had never met this mother before. So the girl goes and gets her mother to

> bring her to introduce me, and I felt this very strong urge to hide, which is not my style! I did say hello to her. When I saw the girl in September I said to her, "Please apologize to your mother for me, but I felt uncomfortable because I wasn't dressed properly. And please tell her I didn't mean to be rude." And I really became quite anxious because I didn't want to offend her. I wouldn't want to offend this girl's mother, who would think that this social worker parades around. They would call it "parading around". I was just shopping with my husband.

Sometimes things do not go as smoothly as all parties would like, especially when dealing with touchy issues. This section will present more complicated cases that the workers have dealt with. During the counseling process, social workers continue to work hard to gain more trust from clients so they can learn more about their problems and help them better. A social worker who dealt with a child's problem at school realized that the parents also needed help with parenting skills. But things were further complicated at home because the mother, in her twenty-second week of pregnancy and looking after her thirteen children, discovered that the expected child would have Down's syndrome. Abortion was out of question for this couple. In addition, perhaps due to the arranged marriage which is common practice in Orthodox communities, the worker realized that the couple did not get along well, but according to her divorce was not feasible either. She described the case, explaining how she gained the parents' trust and dealt with their problems:

> It's very hard, and it's a very shameful thing for parents to come forth and say they have a problem. So I assured them that confidentiality is respected, and that they must learn to trust me. Children were always going home and saying, "you know what, the social worker came in to visit today." I brought them books about the Jewish holiday, the forthcoming holidays. I brought them stencils to take home, and by word of mouth from the children to the parents I established myself within the school. I'm putting the two [the husband and wife] together, so what I'm doing is meeting the couple and trying to give them a few parenting skills at home, showing how they could best work within the time frame that they have together, and that each child

> demands attention and must have their own individual time with each parent.
>
> So the only problem that I have here is that every child goes to school from 8 o'clock in the morning till 6 o'clock, five days a week, and they go to school on Sunday from 8 to 3:30, which leaves them only the Sabbath, Friday night, and Saturday night. The fathers go to learn in the evenings, so the father is mostly absent from the home, which creates a big problem. When you want to teach them parenting skills at home, the load always ends up on the mother's head, who is overworked, over-burdened, and...[the concept of parenting skill is] absolutely new. It's very new... and it's not been a long time that he [the rabbi at school] recognized that it's even a concept. But at this point when I'm coming into the school, he's saying "Deal with the problem, it's okay" which is giving me permission to contact the family without his further permission.

The situation is further complicated by other social constraints. Abortion is not an option for them. That means the couple will have to face a mentally challenged child, a burden on top of many other children whom they must care for. In addition, because the wife was under stress at the time, she refused to have any relations with her husband. This is against the teaching of the Torah. In order to have a good Jewish home, the wife must prepare herself by having a holy bath every Friday night before the Sabbath and she has relations with her husband on that Friday night. Then they hope that the wife is pregnant. Part of their lives is governed by this particular religious ritual. The worker recalled the wife saying, "I'm not a whore, and I don't want to be approached to have relations with you because it's to make a good Jewish home. I am the mother, I am the wife and I am your partner, and I need a little bit of intimacy in the relationship in order for me to want to sleep with you." The husband felt that his wife was just turning her head the other way.

It was difficult for the worker to ease the burden and tension in this family, even more so than with an average couple. To re-establish the relationship with a fresh start for the couple is not easy when the father is often busy with his Talmud learning. In such a rigid religious environment, and with very limited resources in a community which is

still highly isolated, the family has a long way to go to overcome these hardships. The worker understands the sacred nature of the relationship between the couple, and its importance in the family.

Despite all the difficulties, the worker did experiment with some new strategies. She suggested to the couple that they separate the issue of their relationship from that of the birth of their handicapped child. The worker tried to encourage the wife to seek a second opinion from another doctor, learn what types of problems she might face when the child is born, and speak to rabbis in higher ranks to prepare herself. The worker also tried to get some form of birth control for her. Although birth control is generally not permitted, when a special rabbi permits, then women are allowed to use it. Furthermore, she persuaded the husband to work a little more tenderly with his wife, to bring her gifts before the Sabbath, bring her a cake, bring her flowers, tell her that her house is lovely, and try to warm her up without having the relations. The worker admitted that all these behavioral adjustments are not in the traditions in their culture. She said:

> It's only lately that they are starting to change their views on what the basics of religion really are. Is it so necessary for the husband to just demand it of his wife? Maybe there is a caring part and a loving part to having relations, it's possible.

Although the whole process of change is very slow, the couple manages to have regular meetings with the social worker, either together or separately. The worker reported that sometimes it worked but sometimes it did not. What is important, according to her, is that the rabbi at the school recognizes the need, the importance of parenting skills, and the couple is willing to share the intimacy of their bedroom with her. She also added, "We try and make a little maneuver."

The family problems were discovered because of one child with a school-based issue, and the rest was subsequently exposed. This case reveals several other important issues, other than cultural competence and trust, in culturally sensitive social services. As a supervisor has said before, the members of these Hassidic communities share very

similar needs with others in the larger society, although they are culturally, religiously and linguistically very different, and are visible as a minority. All these "common" problems require more appropriate responses, with some finesse and creativity. Moreover, the attitude of the rabbi at school toward change is also vital. The husband's willingness to try out options, whether for his wife's benefit or for a better Jewish life for the family, cannot be neglected. This then leads to an immediate fundamental question: are all these changes in conflict with the traditions of the community? This will be discussed in the following chapter.

The most difficult issues that a social worker must deal with when serving minority groups like the Jewish or the Chinese communities, are those where there is a conflict between Canadian laws and the standards of the community. Corporal punishment or physical abuse and sexual abuse will be used as examples. Corporal punishment is an accepted way to discipline a child in Orthodox communities. In the Torah, it is written that parents are permitted to hit their children, according to a social worker. A social worker who has dealt with this problem in the Hassidic community must take not only a more sensitive and a indirect approach, but must also employ different strategies than the usual practice for other clients. In these cases she would try to deal with the family first. She described what she observed in the community:

> So what you find is when a child does not learn his appropriate religious studies, the father will give him a pinch on his ear, or he'll give him a smack across the face, and it's accepted. What we're seeing in the schools, is that children are exhibiting sadness. We're not sure why, and when we start asking questions, the father says, "He didn't do his work, he didn't study properly, so I gave him a smack across the face." And we're finding a lot of difficulty with the parents because they think it's accepted, and what we portray is that there are laws in Quebec that do not allow physical punishment applied to children. So we have a very big conflict with these ultra-orthodox families. I have to be very careful because I've dealt with Youth Protection on many different occasions. I've dealt with Youth Protection with sexual abuse, within my other school, a lot of physical abuse. Once the case is signaled, it becomes very ugly. And it becomes open to other people outside of the community. So I

> have to kind of hold my hands back, before I really do anything major without going to the principal of the school and saying, "look, there's some physical abuse here." What we do is we try to hash it out within the community.

The social worker also described how she dealt with the situation and how the approach differed from the ways of dealing with this problem in a general setting in Quebec.

> We say [to the father], "Look, your son has been coming to school and telling us that you are hitting him. And by law in Quebec you are not permitted to hit your children." And the father will go on and on and on, and tell you all the bad things about the child, and that he's the disciplinarian. I try to offer different strategies to manage, you know, keeping his discipline in order. It's not always successful. I met with a little boy last year whose father thought that his child was very bright, but he was called in twice last year because the child had said that the father was beating him up. I wasn't in on the first two meetings. The rabbi called in the father, had two meetings with him and said, "Listen, you've been hitting your child, and it's coming out in his behavior in school, and his school work, and if you continue to hit him, you're going to have big problems with him. We're not going to keep him in this school." And he didn't get to the first base, so I went and I did a home visit, and I met with the family, and I said to them, "The reason that I'm here today is because we are concerned about your child's behavior in school" and I just addressed the fact that he hit him. Then I said, "it's not permitted". So the father was kind of shy, because I confronted him with it right away, and I said, "isn't there any other way that you can manage your anger with him?"
>
> And what I did was I went back to the father's background, his childhood, and he was abused when he was a child. So I try to spend some time counseling the father, rather than the child. The child I worked with in the school, and I worked with him, giving him independent projects with an atlas, looking at the different countries in the world, which is a different knowledge from what they study. And this kid was fascinated. I gave him a book and in school he was coming to me every week. At the same time I had home visits with the father, and I would work on his background, and ask: "how did you feel when you were young?", and "let's talk about it now", and we try to learn of different strategies. The father was a very angry man, and unfortunately

> he was taking out his anger from his childhood on his son, you know, transference.
>
> If you're counseling anybody in a regular setting, you're dealing more with feelings, you're trying to get in touch with an individual's feelings and try and have them look for the reason why they're behaving the way they're behaving. Here I'm very limited. I have to watch the culture, I have to watch what I say, that I'm not talking inappropriately, and I have to approach it a lot slower than I would on a regular basis.

The outcome of this intervention can be seen on two fronts. In the case of the couple discussed before, struggling with their relationship on top of other family problems, the progress would be very slow. Perhaps, a satisfying outcome might not be seen within a short period of time. However, it can be seen that any help is better than no help. At least the community is addressing the problem. Assistance from outside (limited to help offered by the larger Jewish community) is permitted. On the one hand, the worker may be able to help the father see the matter from another perspective, staying within the borders of their beliefs and values. On the other hand, the child might receive some immediate relief from the attention of the social worker.

In other extreme cases, such as sexual abuse among siblings, cultural sensitivity may have very little impact on the outcome in that the case must be reported to Youth Protection, although the social worker may have an understanding of the context in which it happened. One social worker theorized that the rigid upbringing of children in a highly sex segregated social environment might be related to sibling sexual abuse:

> But I have to tell you that from a very early age, the boys are not permitted to look at girls. The only time a boy is permitted to look at a girl is when he has to marry her, when she goes up for marriage. [Even eye contact], nothing. The girls are supposed to be pure for their husbands when they marry. These boys are growing up in all-boys schools. They're not having any physical contact with any women, any eye contact with any women, so when they reach puberty, naturally their hormones are going crazy, they don't have anyone to practice with, so they go to their sisters. Or they go to each other, and you find a lot of

> masturbation in the boys' schools, where they go on a weekend, on a Sunday afternoon, you'll find 6 or 8 boys get together and they play with each other. The parents never know about it because it's hidden.

The hands of the social worker are tied by laws, so he or she must report the case to Youth Protection, if such abuse occurred.

> [Of 35 cases the worker is dealing with], a lot involves sexual abuse. Incest. Very surprising, amongst siblings, brothers and sisters. It is very difficult. I signal to Youth Protection. You must signal. You learn in social work and psychology, when a child is either a danger to themselves, or a danger to someone else, or their life is in danger, you must signal to Youth Protection. Youth Protection is an association in Quebec that protects youth. I would call up Youth Protection and I would say, "I have a client in my school, who may be a 12-year-old girl, who has come into my office and admitted that her brother has had sexual relations with her." Intake will take that at Youth Protection, and they will send somebody to the home, and they will do an investigation. At the same time, I would continue to see the client in the school. If the issue is really a tough issue and I find out that the child is in crisis, I might even go into the home and do home visits.

The worst scenario is when the offender is taken away from home and the case is exposed to the community. The worker said, "I signal Youth Protection, and Youth Protection takes the case. And it becomes ugly. Very ugly to this community, because this community is supposed to be based on religion and the Bible, and purity and holiness, and it's not." However, the social worker, who has a deeper understanding of the community and strong empathy toward the family, tried to explain to the judge what kinds of negative consequences the family might face in their community if the boy is removed from the home:

> When they went before the judge, I brought with me the head rabbi from the school, who is a well-known member of the community. I went myself, to plea that the family not be broken up, and the judge was very sympathetic to it at the beginning,

> because he did not rule that the son be thrown out of the house right away. He was given a three-month trial period to stay at home, with the parents in constant supervision if he was on the same floor as his sister, so he wouldn't be a threat to his sister. And the sister was never allowed to go into the basement when he was there alone. That was for three months. And then they re-evaluated the case and they said, "You know what, it appears that he's a threat to the sisters," and they had him out. But I think the fact that we all stood up strong as part of the community, made the judge look at things a little bit softer.

Although eventually the boy had to be removed from home, the social worker's empathy and intervention did soften the decision of the judge and the boy had a trial period. The worker also followed up the case by offering counseling to family members. The worker referred the victim to psychiatrists and a hospital, Allen Memorial, which is closely associated with the Jewish General Hospital. She also had conferences with other professionals and worked on how best to deal with the situation.

This detailed case illustrates the advantages of culturally sensitive social services. It shows how cultural sensitivity functions in the initial stage, how the social worker gained trust from the community, students and parents by using her high cultural competency. However, the social worker can only work within her own limitations. On the one hand, she is limited by the culture in which she is serving:

> [It is] the limitations of the culture. This is where my background knowledge, knowing what is permitted and what isn't permitted within the community, [was helpful]. I would offer different strategies for dealing with this culture than I would offer for a regular counseling client.

On the other hand, the worker must work within the laws that bind her profession. Although the decisions made and the action taken in the case above may contradict what the family may see as best for themselves, everyone in the community, including social workers, must follow the law.

The expression, "it takes two to tango" is applicable to culturally sensitive social services. If the receiving party does not welcome the services, the provider feels helpless, no matter how culturally sensitive they are. Although this study does not investigate in detail why some of these ultra-orthodox communities are willing to get help from JFS, there are some possible answers. First, as indicated in some surveys of the Hassidic and ultra-orthodox communities (Mintz, 1992; Shahar et al., 1997), including this one, some of the leading rabbis recognize that problems exist in their communities that are beyond their ability and resources to deal with. This means assistance from trusted parties is welcome. Second, there may be a domino effect. Those Orthodox schools obtaining services from JFS might put pressure on those not receiving any. A school worker observed, "What they do is they communicate with the other communities, and they are made aware that if there's a social worker coming into this school, they want to do the same thing like other schools." A final hunch is that these communities do not want to stick out in any part of Montreal, to be recognized as problematic, and to be identified, but they have to bend the rules when needs become too great to handle. Eaton's observation on the Hutterites is a good analogy for the Hassidic Jews' situation: "By bending with the wind, Hutterites have kept themselves from breaking" (Eaton, 1952: 338, cited in Boldt, 1985:97).

We have seen that, like CFS and TFS, JFS is an ethno-specific agency, which offers highly cultural and linguistically sensitive social services to its community members. We observed that linguistic and cultural competency, along with the building of trust, carry different levels of significance which vary from case to case and situation to situation. When serving a group of quite assimilated, second-generation Jews, the level of cultural sensitivity remains symbolic. In fact, these clients, who are native-born Canadians and are fluent in at least one of the official languages, can seek services outside the Jewish community. The reason that they prefer being served by a Jewish agency is more *primordial*, to use Geertz's term. Other that the fact that the quality of JFS's services satisfies its clients, the clients feel closer to their roots when they seek help

from JFS. We can also see that cultural sensitivity remains minimal when services are offered to very secular Jewish schools. However, in the other extreme, when serving Orthodox communities, the level of cultural sensitivity is at its highest. Every word the workers say and every action they take requires caution. The workers show a high degree of sensitivity toward the culture and belief of the Orthodox communities. Although immigrants are not the targeted group in JSF, some cases do involve immigrant families. The experiences in serving immigrants are similar to those found in CFS and TFS. One JFS worker stresses that being an immigrant herself is an asset when helping other immigrants, a view very similar to those of the Chinese workers. Other workers in JFS who are native-born, however, believe that their professional skills are able to help clients from any background. The workers report that they experience challenges, and the challenges are more salient when serving the Orthodox communities. Like some workers in CFS and TFS, some JFS workers also experience conflicts with gender roles, personal values and beliefs between themselves and the clients. Their methods of dealing with these conflicts are to overcome their biases, show empathy with their clients, and re-socialize them. Furthermore, developing a good relationship with the rabbi in charge of the community has proven crucial. Without his support, no services could be provided to the needy. We also recognize that JFS workers, like all workers in the profession, are ultimately bound by the law. No matter how reluctant they are, they must report cases of abuse to authorities. Finally, it seems JFS is more resourceful in terms of manpower and financial resources than CFS. Not only do they receive relatively stronger support from the community, but are also able to generate revenue from selling their services to those outside the Jewish community.

Chapter Seven

Factors Impacting on the Formation and Functioning of CFS and JFS

In the previous chapters, we have discussed how these agencies are organized and run. We also discussed what types of services are offered and how these services are delivered in each agency. It became obvious that the formation and functioning of CFS and JFS are very different from each other. In this chapter, we will analyze how internal and external factors have affected the formation and functioning of CFS and JFS, distinguishing them from each other. In the course of analysis, it will be revealed that the internal factors include the different waves of immigration, the culture and/or religious beliefs of the ethnic groups, the needs of the community, the human and financial resources of the community, and the organizational nature of the community. The external factors include the French-speaking environment, Quebec's policy on social and health services, and the lack of culturally and linguistically sensitive health and social services in the mainstream sector. We argue that all of these internal and external factors have an interactive effect on the formation and functioning of CFS and JFS.

Although both CFS and JFS identify themselves as family service agencies, the kinds of services offered by each are drastically different. The executive director of CFS once said, "Our name 'Family Service' does not reflect the actual work we do here." Our findings indicate that many services in CFS are related to immigration settlement, while the service area of JFS does not cover recent immigrants. Although it is difficult to establish an exact definition of immigration settlement services, we may follow the definition given by the Immigrant Settlement And Adaptation Program (ISAP), managed under Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), the major provider of funds to immigrant services agencies. The ISAP defines the services as reception, referral, information and orientation, interpretation and translation, para-professional counseling (in-depth social or psychological counseling, normally provided by professional

counselors, is not included), and employment-related services (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1977: 9). These services, as defined above, are very close to those offered by CFS, except that CFS does not offer employment training, at least not at the time of this study. However, this does not mean that CFS only offers immigration settlement services. Its services include programs for the elderly and children between 8-13, prevention of conjugal violence, help for problem gamblers, and other family-related services. It can be said that services in CFS are a hybrid of both settlement and family services.

The services provided by CFS could also be described as fragmented and project-based. The structure and programs of the agency are very "fluid" as described by the executive director. She observed further:

> Funding sources influence our programs a lot. Our services depend a great deal on government [funding] of policies, [and other funding sources]. Sometimes, programs are not clearly defined. Sometimes a program may cross-cut other programs and services.

A program like "Friendly Visits For Chinese Seniors At Risk" was the direct result of a grant. When the grant ended, the program was discontinued. Another example of the lack of continuity due to funding changes is that the agency was forced to merge the Intercultural Partnership Project (IPP) and the project for Individual and Family Support. The merger resulted directly from governmental budget cuts leading to the lay-off of a valuable, experienced worker.

There are three reasons why CFS services are very immigrant-focused, and why they are fragmented. The first is related to the demographic characteristics of the Chinese in the community. A great majority of the clients are recent immigrants who demand settlement-related services. CFS responds to the needs of these clients accordingly. Many services are devoted to talks on settlement-related issues, translation and

interpretation, and language training, for example. Some clients who require help from social workers and counselors also have problems related to settlement and adaptation.

The second reason is a lack of resources in the Chinese community. This includes the lack of manpower and financial resources, and the absence of a network of social services. One major reason for this shortcoming is the external factor of the French-speaking environment. This problem is also linked to the demographic characteristics of the Chinese immigrants. As discussed in Chapter 3, the percentage of Chinese Canadians who have an adequate knowledge of French, or of both English and French, is very small. It is difficult for most Chinese to interact with the mainstream French society. In addition, learning French proves to be a difficult task for many Chinese immigrants, since the great majority of them came from Hong Kong, Mainland China and Taiwan, and had almost no exposure to French in their homelands. Furthermore, the Chinese community has a very small number of Canadian-born Chinese. Racially discriminative immigration policies had obstructed family reunions for more than a century, causing "a delay of second generation", as Li (1998: 72) termed it. Literature (Isajiw, 1990; Weinfeld, 1994b) suggests that the second and third generations of immigrants tend to lose their mother tongues, and are in the process of lingual inculturation into the official languages. This clearly leads to economic and political benefits. The Chinese immigrants in Montreal have not yet benefited from the growth of the second and third generations, and continue to face a language barrier that prevents them from participating fully in the mainstream society.

Social work legislation in Quebec requires registration for all social workers and counselors. One of the criteria for registration is a high level of French proficiency. Many Chinese who have the necessary expertise in the helping profession lack the language skills to qualify for registration. This prevents them from serving their clients as recognized social workers or counselors. A worker in CFS said, "We have no social workers here." Ironically, in the course of conducting this study at CFS, it was noted that

at least four staff were trained in social work, and three of them graduated from an English-speaking university in Montreal. The worker continued, "Well, [so and so] has social work training, but he is not doing social work jobs; he is doing some community education." With the exception of the executive director, none of the social work graduates who worked in the agency had good knowledge of French. Even though expertise is available in the community, CFS cannot make good use of it. In addition to poor salary and job prospects, the turnover rate of social work graduates in the agency is high. Some of them returned to Hong Kong for further career development. Some moved to Toronto, where language is not a barrier for them. Our findings indicate that fully-qualified personnel are even more difficult for CFS to keep, because the number of Chinese workers in the mainstream social services is low, and they are in high demand. Since the salary and the prospect for advancement within CFS is not as competitive as those of mainstream agencies, CFS faces a loss of "capable" workers who have social work expertise. CFS tries to compensate by hiring workers who have the language proficiency but lack professional skills. They tend to have degrees in French Literature, but no social work training. A worker in the IPP, who is fluent in French but has not received formal social work training, recalled her experience in helping clients:

> I receive many cases on family problems. But I don't do any in-depth work [counseling]. For example, if they want a divorce, I explain to them what the procedures are, then I refer them to social workers in CLSC if there is a need.

These constraints do affect the continuity and quality of the services.

Furthermore, the social service network in the Montreal Chinese community is very small. According to the interviews with other key informants in the community outside of CFS, there are only two similar service agencies: the Chinese Neighbourhood Society and the Chinese Volunteers Association (also see Chan, 1991, 268-269). As one leader in the community said:

> CFS is the most established social service agency. There are other social service agencies [in the Chinese community], but CFS has become the most sophisticated, and it attracts support from the intellectuals, professionals, people from the business class.

Despite its reputation, however, this most sophisticated agency has to refer its clients to CLSC, because the limited services cannot meet all of their needs, especially the need for counseling. One veteran worker in CFS suddenly burst into tears during an interview, saying:

> We have to turn our clients away, because we can't give them what they want. We know that our service model [making referrals to CLSC] is not ideal, but we don't have the resources.

This statement reflects how poor the social service network in the community is. No other service agencies are available to take referrals from CFS. Therefore, referrals are made to CLSC.

Since we had an opportunity to study a Chinese family service agency in Toronto for this study, we can compare these two agencies, located in two different social settings. The resources of the Toronto Chinese community are far richer than those of Montreal's. There are specialized immigration settlement service agencies that provide settlement services to Chinese immigrants, both within the Chinese community and in the larger community. Although many clients at TFS are immigrants, TFS does not need to offer settlement services per se, and is able to focus on family services. They are also able to offer counseling to their clients. Although newly proposed legislation will require Ontario social workers to be registered, like those in Quebec, we do not foresee that such legislation will create the same difficulties for the Chinese practitioners in Toronto, since English poses much less of a barrier to these workers.

Furthermore, more than thirty service agencies that serve the Chinese community in Toronto have together formed the Chinese Interagency Network (CIN), which plays a role to facilitating inter-agency collaboration. These agencies provide services ranging from geriatric care to women's health care (see Leung, 2000). In comparison, the social service network in the Montreal Chinese community is still in the early stage of development.

It is not surprising that CFS has been making a deliberate effort to connect with the mainstream society, and the formation of the board reflects this trend. As discussed in Chapter 4, the board members deliberately invite non-Chinese members to join the board. These members may have connections with Centraide, may be journalists, or may work at a hospital. These members can bring different skills, knowledge and resources to the board, and provide a way to link CFS to the mainstream community. The simple reason for this recruitment of outside talent is that "CFS is not strong enough", as an ex-board member commented. The services offered by JFS, on the other hand, are more focused, structured and specialized. JFS does not serve recent immigrants and clients over 60. JFS offers very specific and professional services that are related to family issues. It has one of the best school services in North America, as one school worker claimed. Other concerns in the community are taken care of by specialized agencies from the well-established community network. There are 18 agencies under the Federation, which offer services for immigrants through JIAS, for the elderly through JSSE, and employment training through the Jewish Vocational Service (JVS), to name a few. There are also many other community service agencies outside the Federation, which "do phenomenal work", as a board member asserted. Elazar (1976) observes that the Jewish communal structure has become increasingly articulated, with different domains serving different specific interests within the community. The Jewish community network is far more organized and developed than that of the Chinese community, which means that JFS does not have to work alone.

As discussed earlier, many Jews in Montreal are bilingual. The great majority of them are fluent in English, and less than twenty percent of them have difficulties with French. Compared with the Chinese, Jews face far fewer language barriers in their daily lives. All of the social workers and counselors are not only proficient in both official languages, but many are knowledgeable in other languages as well. All of them have at least a bachelor's degree, and are professionally trained in social services. Unlike workers in CFS who tend to leave Montreal after a short period, JFS workers tend to stay at JFS, despite good job opportunities in the mainstream social service agencies. In addition, many clients in JFS are able to seek help from the mainstream agencies, but they prefer being served by a Jewish agency. Unfortunately, the clients in CFS have no option but to turn to a Chinese speaking service agency.

In terms of financial resources, JFS receives full support from the Federation and the community. In addition, JFS school services have not only expanded by two to three hundred percent in recent years, but are also able to generate additional money by selling services to Jewish and non-Jewish schools. In our interviews, financial difficulty has not come up as an issue at JFS, and there are two reasons for this. The first is related to the organizational characteristics of the Jewish community. The literature review and our findings suggest that the Jewish community has strong communal support. This support is the result of a long tradition embedded in the Jewish religion. A board member expressed his view on why Jews give strong support to their community:

> .. in fact charity is basically an ingrained part of Jewish culture. It's hard to explain how it gets there, but there is just no question that Jews are generous, in all walks of life.

He went on to recall his experience about a fundraising event for the community:

> I don't know exactly how much we raised last year, I'll say 30 million dollars, yet Centraide, in the non-Jewish population (which has to be a couple million people), can't even raise 20 million dollars.

Another leader in the community observed:

> The work that JFS is doing has been around for a long, long time before there were family services and social workers. We've been doing this within our community since biblical times because we understood that in our worldview, this was the social contract between a member of our community and the community. The sense of community with Jewish consciousness, within Jewish tradition, and the Jewish experience, is valued. When you pray, you can pray as one person but it's better if you pray within a community of ten or more people, so there is a certain Jewish value of community and a community has certain obligations to its members and members to their community.

A worker who explained the reason why she stayed with JFS echoed the community leader's view. She said:

> [I am staying] because I am giving back to my own community. I feel my community is giving to me and I feel I can give back to my own community.

Not only the strong sense of community, but other favorable conditions help build the Jewish community in Montreal. Unlike the early Chinese settlers who came to Canada as laborers and had never been in the leadership class, as a Chinese community leader remarked, Jews had a much more advanced and solid start when they sought better economic opportunities along with the French settlers in the late 17th century. Jews came to North America as traders and businessmen who had long been familiar with the European politics and cultures. These skills certainly were essential in building a community in a European colony.

The second reason, we argue, is that the socio-economic status of Jews in Montreal can also play a significant contribution to the financial resources in the community. Not only are Jews willing to contribute money and time to their community,

but they are more capable of doing so. We cannot deny the fact that poverty is a major concern in the community, but as one board member observed, "obviously, some Jews are very wealthy in Montreal, and give a huge amount of money to the community." Jews in Montreal, as a group, do enjoy high socio-economic status; this is supported by Census data and other surveys, discussed in Chapter 3.

Conversely, the emphasis on communal support has not been a strong part of Chinese tradition. Instead, the emphasis has been on the familial and the familiar. The clan and locality associations in the Chinese communities across Canada, which recruited members based on a common surname or home county, are good examples. The Chinese have developed a sense of self-reliance, and the welfare of the individuals is a major responsibility of the family system. Breton's study (1991) on the governance of ethnic communities, which examines seven ethnic groups in Toronto, shows that the percentage of Chinese who agree that they have a general obligation to support the needs and causes of their own group is the second lowest, while the Jews scored the highest. Furthermore, in terms of socio-economic status, the Chinese in Montreal fare poorly. With an individual annual income of $16,066, as opposed to $30,024 for the general Montreal population, the ability to make a financial contribution to the community is very limited.

The different organizational styles of these two communities also have a different impact on the communal support of the two agencies. Elazar and Waller (1990) study how the Montreal Jewish community works together to achieve consensus. They argue that the sense of ethnic identity in Canada is very strong, especially among the Jews. Since Montreal Jews are not particularly religious, a non-religious identity encompasses most people. They further argue that "Montreal's Jews are united mainly by some expression of Jewish identity rather than by an ideology" (ibid.: 118). However, this does not mean that the majority excludes the religious minority in the community. On the contrary, the authors argue that: "There appears to be some agreement, at least informally, to minimize religious disputes. Usually this has meant deference to the Orthodox

approach. For example, community institutions and buildings generally observe *kashrut* and *Shabbat*" (ibid.:119). If there are any disputes, they are quite likely to be resolved by the policy choices of the Allied Jewish Community Services (AJCS), the Canadian Jewish Congress or similar bodies. They also observe that in recent years, with the exception of issues related to Israel such as the Lebanon war, there were few issues that seriously divided the community (ibid.). Such compromising attitudes help unite the community, making mutual support and cooperation easier to achieve. Our interviews conducted in JFS did not reveal any evidence that lack of community support is ever an issue. A leader in the Federation commented, "The Federation has changed tremendously in the past 20-25 years and has become more respectful of religious practice." A good number of examples of how JFS tries to be sensitive to Orthodox clients have been given in earlier chapters. This concept of inclusion runs through all levels of the Jewish community.

However, the "difficulty to unite the Chinese community" has often been a concern to key informants in the Montreal Chinese community. Literature on the organization of the Chinese communities comes up with a similar observation. This issue has been discussed in great detail in Chapter 4. To repeat some of the important points from the interviews and the literature review, it is perceived that the leaders of the community lack a strong commitment to serving the community. Leaders from the earlier and more recent waves of immigration often run into conflict when dealing with external and internal issues, due to different ideologies and priorities, different strategies, and different socio-economic and educational backgrounds. A centrally organized Montreal Chinese community has not developed yet, having a deep impact on the functioning of CFS. In serving the community, sometimes CFS does not receive full support from some community sectors. A board member's voice best describes the atmosphere in the community at a time when CFS developed programs to deal with sensitive issues such as conjugal violence:

> There are other women's groups in different organizations such as in the Chinese Hospital, but they mainly do fundraising. They do not talk about women's issues very much, such as balance between family and work, salary inequality, lack of opportunity, sexual harassment in the work place, or racial problems. They have not advanced as much as CFS has in these areas. We are a little bit avant-garde and progressive, but at the same time we have a price to pay. Sometimes we are isolated, sometimes we feel very much alone, because we do not always succeed in getting other Chinese organizations to come on board with us. Sometimes they fear that we will mess up. We are like any community in its developmental or evolutionary process. There is always a traditional segment and a more progressive or younger segment. We are more associated with the progressive and younger one in outlook. The traditional segment does not recognize us, but criticizes us. For example [they think] we should be ashamed to talk about family violence. They say there is no violence in the Chinese family. Sometimes we feel alone and do not find the co-operation from others in the community. Sometimes the Chinese community is politically complicated. Maybe we haven't invested enough time and energy to get them on board, so that is our problem.

This quote does much to demonstrate that a lack of communal support sometimes creates frustration and difficulty where programs deal with controversial issues.

There are three external factors that have great impact on the formation and functioning of CFS and JFS. The first is the French-speaking environment, which has been discussed earlier. Here we may add that as long as French is the only official language, many Chinese in Montreal will have difficulty gaining equal access not only to health and social services, but other public services as well. They will also face barriers to their participation in Quebec society. The second factor is that services in the mainstream agencies seldom meet the specific needs of the ethnic communities. These specific needs can be linguistic, religious, or cultural. In other words, lack of cultural and linguistically sensitive health and social services in the mainstream sector leads to the

formation of ethno-specific agencies -- they are there to fill the service gaps. The findings of this study, and other studies reviewed earlier, support this argument.

The third factor is the influence of state policies. State policies can have a positive and negative impact on the lives of those in an ethnic group (see Rosenberg and Jedwab, 1992; Li, 1999: 15-16). Of the many state policies, we argue that Bill 65 in Quebec, passed in 1972, has had a unique impact on the formation and functioning of health and social service agencies. This bill reorganized all health and social services in Quebec. Before the bill was passed, the financial role of the Quebec government in the organization of the health care system was very small (Trottier, 1999: 151). Elazar and Waller (1990: 128) observe the consequence of the bill's passage: "Bill 65 allowed the government to assume financial responsibility for institutions that would be considered as 'Community Service Centres'. These would no longer necessarily be under the control of various independent groups. Thus for all intents and purposes, private health and welfare institutions were eliminated." They note that this resulted in a major impact on the functioning of JFS and other related service institutions and agencies in the community. These service institutions and agencies had to choose either to accept money with government strings attached, or to operate without financial support from the government. The authors (ibid.) find that, "...the Board of Jewish Family Services (Baron de Hirsch Institute) was quite reluctant to accept the new status. It did so only after receiving a guarantee from AJCS that if the new arrangement did not work out, AJCS would be prepared to take over all the funding." In the early 1970s, when the bill was first passed, JFS decided to become an independent and autonomous service agency (see Jewish Family Services of the Baron de Hirsch Institute Annual Report, 1992-1993). According to a former JFS board member, this move enabled the agency to serve the whole Jewish population, instead of being limited to serving only the vulnerable population. The key point here is that legislation can have great impact on the formation and functioning of a service agency. JFS is able to avoid the "strings" and have autonomy only because it

receives full support from the community. Compared with JFS, CFS relies far more on federal and provincial government funding. A board member talked about the disadvantages of being financially dependent on the government:

> The Quebec government is not in favor of parallel services, so it does not fund CFS for counseling services. We can't afford to have adequate human resources to do work in counseling, so we have to refer our clients to the mainstream agencies.

This is a good example of how government policies may have a negative impact on the functioning of a service agency. Unfortunately, in addition to other limitations, CFS is not strong enough to gain the financial independence necessary to provide all the services that its clients need. In brief, Bill 65 and the language laws of Quebec do not favor the development of CFS. On the other hand, the language laws have far less impact on JFS and the Jewish community. Bill 65 could have the same negative impact on JFS, but communal support enables JFS to survive as an autonomous service agency that can provide the whole community with high quality services.

In sum, given the differences in culture and tradition, and the disparity of manpower and financial resources between these two groups, it is not surprising to find that in comparison, CFS does not have a professional standard of operation, and cannot pursue consistent services. It has less power to negotiate with government in shaping policy, and it receives very limited support from the community. The opposite is true of JFS. As a result, JFS does not need to rely as much on assistance from outside the community, while CFS struggles to tap into any available resources to maintain its survival. This chapter has demonstrated how external and internal factors have shaped a very distinct formation and functioning of two family service agencies in Montreal.

Chapter Eight

Discussion and Conclusion

This study raises a number of issues. It has explored how culturally sensitive social services are delivered in the form of ethnic match, where ethno-specific agencies provide services to members of their own communities. We have explored this issue by studying two ethno-specific family service agencies in Montreal. What are culturally sensitive social services in this context? What we learnt from the interviews with those service providers is that culturally sensitive social services involve shared language, cultural competence, trust, and empathy. An assumed shared experience, another key component in culturally sensitive social services, has been highlighted by many of the social workers interviewed. Many of them are immigrants themselves. Moreover, the Chinese and the Jews in this study demonstrate that they are very diverse, both linguistically and culturally. Members of these two groups come from a wide range of social and cultural backgrounds. In addition to their professional training, the service providers use shared language and cultural competence as a means to tap into individual differences and needs, and provide services accordingly. These family service agencies regularly hold workshops and meetings to educate and sensitize workers to various dynamics within the communities. Workers are able to share their work experiences and discuss concerns with colleagues and supervisors. We argue that the implementation of culturally sensitive social services involves a complex process, which cannot be directed by theory alone. In this process, care providers always double-check to see whether their understanding of their clients' problems is adequate, and whether the services provided are appropriate. In other words, culturally sensitive social services are neither static nor set practice.

Another interesting question explored in this study is whether these ethno-specific agencies deliver services that differ from mainstream service agencies, namely non ethno-

specific types. The workers interviewed revealed that the ways in which they deliver services to the clients are not much different from others, except that they are delivered in an ethno-specific milieu. This question has been much pondered in particular by Jewish social work professionals for a long time. In one of the early articles addressing this question, Cornbach (1966: 213-214) argues, " 'What makes Jewish social work Jewish?' One thing which undoubtedly makes it Jewish is the fact that the group within which it functions is the Jewish group. Jewish and non-Jewish social-work techniques differ only slightly." In other words, the social work technique is not unique, but the context in which this technique is applied to is. There is no professional Jewish social work or Chinese social work as such, except in that they function in a Chinese or Jewish context. As discussed throughout the study, techniques used by the workers interviewed varied to suit the particular needs of clients.

What is the essence of ethnic match, if the technique is not unique? It seems that clients who come from cultural and social backgrounds that are very different from those of the mainstream society, and who have a low proficiency of English or French, need these types of services the most. The greater the distance between the clients' social and cultural backgrounds and the culture of the host society, the higher the demand for culturally and linguistically sensitive services. Comparatively speaking, members of the Hassidic communities are a good example of one extreme in the spectrum of cultural and social differences. These ultra-Orthodox Jews deliberately segregate themselves from the rest of the society. Most aspects of their lives are distinctly different from those of other Jews in Montreal. The Orthodox Jews have minimum contact with the outside world. Even when Jewish workers provide them with services, they have to overcome many challenges before services can be delivered. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find an outsider who is linguistically and culturally competent enough to offer services to members of these communities. Equally, outsiders would find it

extremely difficult to build trust with these clients. Ethnic match, in this case matching Jewish workers with Jewish clients, is the most effective solution.

Some of the immigrants, such as Russian Jews and Chinese who seek help from JFS, CFS and TFS, can be placed in the same part of the spectrum as the Hassidic Jews. The only difference is that, unlike ultra-Orthodox Jews, we see no signs that these immigrants intend to isolate themselves from the host society. These clients tend to have a limited ability to communicate in either official language. Their different languages, value systems and help-seeking patterns, and their lack of understanding of how the host social system functions become barriers to obtaining equitable social services from the mainstream society. Moreover, in our case study, both clients and service providers perceive that mainstream service agencies fail to offer equitable, culturally and linguistically sensitive services to these clients. As a result, turning to ethno-specific agencies in their own communities for help is the only option.

Well-assimilated Jews form the other extreme of the spectrum in cultural and social differences. These Canadian-born Jews do not seem to have any problems obtaining services from the mainstream society. They are able to choose between services from the mainstream society and those from their community. In fact, some of the clients interviewed had used services offered by non-Jewish professionals. However, they feel more connected and comfortable when they seek help from JFS because of their primordial tie to their own community. As Weinfeld (1999: 140) points out, "Some of the benefits of ethnic match cannot be replicated simply by training professionals to be culturally sensitive in general."

Our study also highlights the notion of sub-ethnic match. It is evident that ethnic groups are not homogenous. Within an ethnic group there is a wide range of sub-cultures, with members coming from different regions and social classes. They speak different dialects and languages, and there are gender and age differences. Sometimes the personality of a worker may affect the relationship between the service provider and the

client. Therefore, a "perfect" ethnic match is extremely difficult to achieve. However, we argue that perfect ethnic match should not be of great concern, because it tries to achieve an ideal standard that often cannot be met, even in a relatively homogenous culture. For example, an older Chinese male client from a lower social class background in Hong Kong might very well seek help from a younger Chinese female social worker from a middle-class background. As seen from many examples discussed in earlier chapters, the caregivers we interviewed are well aware of differences within cultural groups, and work to develop different strategies to meet this challenge.

In short, what can we say about ethnic match? Ethnic match is a concept that is used in a context where minorities seek help from professionals who come from the same ethnic background. The significance of ethnic match varies with situations, as do the outcomes with situations. However, regardless of what the outcome of ethnic match is, to many clients, ethnic match is not an option because they face many barriers when they seek help from mainstream service agencies. It is the only way in which some clients can obtain services, and in which their needs can be met. We also find that ethnic match and ethno-specific organizations are not just an immigrant phenomenon. The case of the Canadian-born Jews in our study proves that. It is the primordial tie that brings some of the second and third generations of immigrants back to their communities.

Our findings suggest that these ethno-specific organizations or service agencies are not a duplicate or parallel service system that threatens the "normal' operations of the mainstream service system, as some argue (see Beyene, Butcher, Joe and Richmond, 1996). Our findings also do not concur with the argument that community organizations inhibit participation in the institutions of the host society (Breton, 1964; Anderson and Frideres, 1981). First of all, as Rosenberg and Jedwab (1992: 284) argue: "Only when a group has special needs, such as religious, cultural or linguistic needs: when the group is excluded from full participation in the agencies offering services; or when there are significant gaps in the services made available; only then will the community try to

develop its own organizations to remedy these deficiencies." Secondly, the workers in these ethno-specific agencies re-socialize or sensitize new immigrants to familiarize them with the laws and norms of Canadian society, and help them to build a new life not only in Quebec society, but in Canadian society in general. The services are helping immigrants to adapt to their new living environment. Furthermore, these agencies also play a vital role in helping the mainstream service agencies and other government departments to have a better understanding of the Chinese and Jewish communities. As a result, discrimination and prejudice can be minimized, and equitable services can be provided. These agencies play a role in facilitating participation in the host society rather than inhibiting it.

This study explores the link between the formation and functioning of ethno-specific agencies, and the ethnic polity of the community and the larger social environment. We find that these external and internal factors have a significant impact on the formation and functioning of these ethno-specific agencies. CFS cannot function as professionally and effectively as JFS in Montreal because the resources of the Chinese community are rather limited, compared with the Jewish community. Furthermore, the French-speaking environment creates an additional challenge for CFS and the members of Montreal's Chinese community. The issue is that CFS is knowledgeable about client needs, but its limited resources hamper its ability to provide services to meet client needs. At the same time, these clients have no option to turn elsewhere for help. In other words, the clients are trapped in the service system.

This study has some implications for understanding the social service policy domain. As other studies (Henry et al., 2000: 225; Leung, 2000) indicate, ethno-specific agencies receive very limited support from government and other funding bodies. The existing funding practice is limited to time-bound projects rather than operational and long-term funding. However, if equitable and responsive social services are the right of Canadians, the government must endorse policies that assist and support these ethno-

specific agencies, which have been filling service gaps in the mainstream service delivery system. Furthermore, if a multicultural society is truly endorsed by a federal government that welcomes immigrants from all over the world, the government cannot ignore the needs of these immigrants, denying their right to equitable services.

This study also provides an opportunity to explore the link between culturally sensitive social services, culture and polity. It is evident that the formation and functioning of the agencies, and of the polities of the communities in which these two agencies operate, reflect the Chinese and Jewish cultural traditions. Not only that, but the composition of the boards, the mission statements of the agencies, the dynamics of the agencies, the degree to which they represent their communities, and the help-seeking patterns of community members also share the characteristics of the Chinese and Jewish cultures. We will briefly summarize some of the key points of these observations, after which the implications of these findings will be discussed.

The traditional Chinese welfare system has largely depended on mutual help that is based on the family. Even if Chinese community members seek outside help, the help tends to come from the clan and the local neighbourhood. This familial-familiar orientation is the core organization of their welfare system, and indeed their communities. The Chinese workers observe the same orientation. Many of their clients are not familiar with social work and counseling, in which the workers are "outsiders". It is not surprising to find that these clients focus on practical reasons for services. This contrasts sharply with the Jewish clients' help-seeking behavior, which focuses more on primordial ties, and is linked to a communal concern for cultural survival and continuity.

Some of the challenges that the agencies face reflect community dynamics. One dynamic is the issue of the degree to which an agency is representative of the community. Our findings support the evidence of the existing literature, that new elites in the Chinese community are often in conflict with older community leaders over leadership and government funding. We documented the struggle when CFS decided to develop

programs for victims of family violence. Some older community leaders did not favor the decision. Although conflicts like this do not stop CFS from delving into controversial service areas, CFS does not receive full support from the community either. Division in the Montreal Chinese community is also reflected in the composition of the CFS board. We have no evidence that the board consists of community leaders from the older cohort. Instead, the recruitment of board members focuses on the kind of human resources that CFS needs, and board members are appointed accordingly. Non-Chinese are invited also. It can be said that the CFS board does not fully represent all the interests in the community. As discussed above, unlike the case of JFS, cultural survival and continuity of the Chinese community are not emphasized in the CFS mission statement. Instead, the focus is integration, which is not necessarily an interest shared by some older leaders in the community.

The nature of the JFS board reflects otherwise. Traditional Jewish culture places much emphasis on communal representation and maintaining consensus within the community. Community care existed in the community long before formal social service agencies were developed. Channels are created for conflict resolution, which ensures that the community operates well. The representation of the JFS board shows these characteristics. Our findings suggest that the board represents diverse segments of the community. It boasts members from the Orthodox community, the Russian-speaking community, and from different religious denominations. All ages are represented. The board can ensure that services offered are able to take care of the different needs of the community, and the services help community members live a Jewish life with dignity. They even help some to die with Jewish dignity, through an indigent burial program.

Community leaders play an important role in a polity. This study indicates that the two executive directors of JFS and CFS are strong community leaders, but in different respects. The similarity is that the directors' decisions on what programs and services should be offered are highly respected by the boards. However, they are strong in other

differing areas. The JFS director plays a very active role in the Federation, since JFS is the primary recipient of funds from the Federation. In addition, her leadership seems to be confined to social services. Perhaps, as Elazar (1976) argues, the Jewish communal structure has become increasingly articulated--in other words, the division of labor is extensive. Even within the Federation, different agencies specialize in different service areas. JFS is responsible only for family services. Therefore, the JFS director is more focused on her immediate working environment. Other constituencies will take care of other community concerns.

The role of the CFS director is influential in different ways. We can see that the recent restructure of the agency suggests that the director will play an even more active role in the Chinese community and the larger Montreal community. The reason for creating a mid-level management position, which oversees all the services and programs, is to free the director from internal duties. As a result, she is able to devote more of her energy to external affairs and public relations. As we discussed before, the director can now concentrate on seeking resources by developing a better link between CFS and both the Chinese and mainstream communities. The media often identify the director as a spokesperson for the community, and seek opinions from the director on many issues concerning the Montreal Chinese community.

What we can conclude from various themes discussed in this study is that different cultures lead to different structures and functions of an ethnic polity. The very structure and function of the polity may have long-term consequences for an ethnic community. Is the Chinese community just an immigrant phenomenon? If social service agencies fulfill a role in facilitating newcomers' adaptation and integration, what will happen to the survival of the community, when newcomers stop immigrating to Canada, and older immigrants and their descents integrate well into the mainstream society? In Toronto, a Portuguese family service agency closed this past summer, for the very reason that not many Portuguese immigrants come to Canada anymore.

Will an ethnic polity weaken, if a group's ethnic identity is weak? The Jewish case in study may offer some answers to this question. Jews have a strong tradition of communal concern for cultural survival and continuity. Our study suggests that this strong tradition help to extend the culture to the descendants of immigrants. However, we do not know how long this phenomenon will last. One of the most urgent concerns in the Jewish community is the high rate of assimilation and exogamy. Our study does not provide firm answers to these questions. It would require a more extensive comparative study of different ethnic communities to discover a clearer pattern of polity development.

Although we cannot generalize our case study to other minority communities in Montreal, our findings may have relevance to them. Other minority members undergo a very similar service system, and face many similar challenges in the process of seeking help. Other service agencies may also encounter similar challenges when offering services. In particular, whether other non-European ethnic communities experience the same degree of difficulty in adapting to the French-speaking environment remains to be answered. Furthermore, the extent to which some of the issues discussed in this study are relevant to other ethnic communities outside Quebec remains to be explored. The Toronto Chinese community and the case of TFS offer subject matter for students of ethnic studies. The Chinese in Toronto and Montreal come from very similar cultural backgrounds, however, the development of the Toronto Chinese community and social service network is far more advanced than that in Montreal. Do the external factors play a more important role in shaping a polity than culture, in another social context? To answer this question, there is a need to further our research to compare our findings with other ethnic communities in Quebec, as well as those in other provinces.

In conclusion, this comparative study has examined how two ethno-specific family service agencies deliver culturally and linguistically sensitive social services to members of their own community in Montreal. We find that this form of ethnic match is essential to some clients, who have no choice but to turn to these ethno-specific agencies

for help. The question is whether ethnic match can yield desirable outcomes. Our study does not provide a definite answer to this question. Desirable outcomes of help-seeking depend on many factors: the nature of the problems, agency resources, the community in which the agency operates, the larger society in which it is situated, and many other crucial personal factors such as the personalities of clients and workers. We find that culture plays a vital role in understanding the complexity of issues in culturally sensitive social services, which involve a whole set of internal factors related to the community, and external factors related to the larger society. This study demonstrates the link between social services, culture, and ethnic polity. Social services play a role in the formation and functioning of an ethnic polity. We believe that a study of ethnicity and ethnic identity must include social services in a variety of policy domains. This will shed light on the dynamic of how a multicultural Canada works.

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