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Some Aspects of the Need for Official Language/Literacy Training among Adult Immigrants in Canada

Catherine Read

A Thesis

in

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of

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ABSTRACT

Some Aspects of the Need for Official Language/Literacy Training Among Adult Immigrants in Canada

Catherine Read

The problems of adult immigrant illiterates have largely been omitted from recent Canadian studies of literacy for two basic reasons. First, it was thought that immigrants' literacy needs were adequately met by federally sponsored language courses. Second, immigrants were assumed to represent a small proportion of Canadian illiterates.

This study will show that neither of these assumptions is valid. Furthermore, the recent immigration trends necessitate greater effort being made to provide relevant literacy training for immigrants at all points on the educational spectrum, to facilitate their successful settlement in Canada.

Sections of the immigrant population experience problems accessing learning opportunities. To overcome certain social, psychological, cultural, geographical, physical and financial constraints, flexible educational delivery systems are required. Several programs, which have developed in response to the needs of immigrants in their communities, will be discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I much appreciate the encouragement, direction and time that Ron Mackay has contributed to the preparation of this thesis.

My thanks, too, to Colin and Russell Beattie for their continued support, and patience with my preoccupations and enthusiasms.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE OF CONTENTS contd.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF FIGURES contd.

INTRODUCTION

Functional illiteracy is recognized as a major problem among Canadian adults (Thomas, 1983), despite over forty years of free, universal education in Canada. Some people still emerge from the school system without sufficient skills to allow them to operate independently within our society. For immigrants the problem is compounded. Almost a half of recent immigrants claimed knowledge of neither official language on arrival (Immigration Statistics, 1979, 1980). At the same time, many could be classified as functionally illiterate in their native tongue. Such immigrants are unlikely to possess the native language reading and writing skills that could be transfered to acquiring literacy in a second language: either English or French.

Recent government policy concerning adults has centred on the provision of language training for immigrants destined for the workforce -usually male heads of household. The thrust of this language training has been to provide adult immigrants with basic oral skills. The underlying assumption of this policy is that speech is primary and that reading and writing will be "picked up" once the immigrant becomes established within the Canadian community.

This basic assumption is probably true for certain

immigrants; in particular, those who are literate in their own languages -having enjoyed several years of formal education in their own country- and those who speak and read languages employing the Roman alphabet. For adult immigrants who fall into neither of these categories, there is evidence that they not only do not "pick up" adequate literacy skills, but they often experience serious problems coping in language classes designed predominantly for literate immigrants (Haverson, 1980). Furthermore, many adult immigrants who speak neither official language are not eligible for federally-sponsored, free language training.

Adult Basic Education is provided through the Adult Education divisions of most school boards throughout the country. They offer basic literacy courses for the benefit of Canadians who, for whatever reason, have reached adulthood without acquiring adequate literacy skills. In the main these courses are aimed at native speakers, or at least fluent speakers, of English or French. In addition, literacy training is provided by a multitude of voluntary, private and public organizations, e.g. by library, community or church groups. For new immigrants and residents who speak neither English or French, opportunities for acquiring literacy in an official language are limited.

Lacking both official language and literacy skills immigrants are frequently confined to low-paying jobs among their own compatriots. For them, opportunities to acquire official language competence are rare. Without this competence, they are unlikely to be aware of their rights as workers and citizens, and are thus open to victimization and exploitation. Neither are they able to fully participate in this country and fulfill their obligations as citizens, voters, parents and members of their communities. Access to official language/literacy is essential for all Canadians and adequate training is lacking.

The purpose of this study is to examine several aspects of literacy training for adult immigrants. In particular:

1. To review the literature concerning literacy activities in Canada.

2. To define what is meant by literacy in the Canadian context and examine ways of measuring the extent of illiteracy in Canada.

3. To identify functional illiterates in the adult immigrant population and sketch their socio-economic profile.

4. To discover the problems experienced by

immigrant Canadians in accessing learning opportunities, and to analyse their needs.

5. To identify the characteristics of certain literacy programs which appear to be meeting some of the needs of the adult illiterate immigrant population.

6. To examine literacy programs in other countries in order to suggest some lessons for Canada.

CHAPTER 1 : REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The patchwork of adult literacy delivery systems in Canada has been surveyed by Audrey Thomas. In 1974, World Literacy of Canada decided to undertake an "In-Canada project" under the direction of Ms Thomas. This study sought to identify and describe both the adult population in need of literacy activities and the programs set up to meet those needs. The profile of "adults in need" was determined using data from the 1971 Census, while the range of programs resulted from questionnaires and face-to-face interviews with literacy workers all over the country. This provided the most comprehensive picture of the status of literacy activities in Canada. However, ESL classes for New Canadians were specifically excluded from the study, and the thrust was aimed at illiterate Canadians rather than immigrants in need.

In 1979, the Movement for Canadian Literacy felt the need to publish a comprehensive "kit" for both lay people and professionals interested or working in the field of literacy. Again Audrey Thomas authored this fascinating "grab bag" of information, incorporating much of the base data from the 1975-6 study, updating the statistical section with information from the 1976 interim Census, providing useful ideas and techniques used in teaching reading, as well as raising issues and problems for

contemplation and discussion. A few literacy programs for immigrants were included. This resource provided the first comprehensive, all-Canadian guide for teachers working in literacy activities.

More recently, in 1984, on World Literacy Day, the Canadian Commission for Unesco published a report Adult Illiteracy in Canada - A Challenge, again written by Audrey Thomas. This report used statistical data from the 1976 interim Census, and updated information on province-by-province literacy provision from the 1975-6 study. This time a wide-ranging discussion of definitions of illiteracy was included as well as a glimpse of literacy campaigns waged in other English-speaking countries, namely the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. Although only a paragraph was devoted to immigrants, the issue of the special need for literacy training in addition to language training, especially for immigrants illiterate in their native language, was raised. Thus, the work of Audrey Thomas has provided a comprehensive view of the literacy activities in English Canada. In line with The Movement for Canadian Literacy's policy of not specifically endorsing any one method but providing an umbrella organisation for all-comers, Audrey Thomas does not arrive at any ideological perspective. She has concentrated particularly on documenting the existing programs for native English speakers. Only the Unesco report mentioned

the provision of literacy activities in Quebec.

Literacy activities in Quebec have been written about at length by Jean-Paul Hautecoeur of the Quebec Ministry of Education. Serge Wagner and Paul Belanger of the Institut Canadien d'education des adultes in Montreal, Quebec writers and thinkers, have published a series of pamphlets, Les Dix Elements Cles (1980), which concern illiteracy in Quebec. Their writing is much more ideological in nature, and states clearly the links between illiteracy and poverty while insisting that illiteracy is a symptom and not a cause of poverty and unemployment.

Harold Alden's Master's thesis: Illiteracy and Poverty in Canada : Towards a Critical Perspective (1982) takes up this point. He stresses the contradictions of the liberal and conservative ideological perspectives of illiteracy. While insisting that literacy training is needed by millions of Canadians, he points out the fallacy of the liberal policy of using academic upgrading and literacy training as a means of reducing unemployment. He argues that, especially in times of high unemployment, training does not significantly improve the employability of the undereducated. Only an economic policy which aims at full employment can do this.

Alden, building on Harvey Graff's study of nineteenth century Canada, provides an historical analysis of illit-

eracy in Canada, and thus a viable alternative to the liberal and conservative perspectives: the critical perspective. This comprehensive work provides a framework for future studies of illiteracy in Canada.

In the United States, Carmen St.John Hunter and David Harman wrote Adult Illiteracy in the United States in 1979. While this report considers the American populace, much of the authors' thinking is relevant to the Canadian context. In particular, they help dispel two prevalent myths: first, that "literacy is the primary cause of progress" and secondly, that "illiteracy is the cause of poverty and injustice" (p. 109). Expanding on the classifications of the Appalachian Adult Education Center, Hunter and Harman identified four "focal points on the spectrum of adult illiteracy" in the United States (p. 110). These groupings, which will be discussed later, offer a possible explanation of the ability of the literacy programs in developed countries to reach a small minority of those in need of literacy training. It also helps to underline Alden's point that the majority of illiterates will not be reached by literacy training efforts alone. If literacy training is not accompanied by economic and social policy designed to improve the basic conditions of life for the illiterate section of the population, only a minute fraction of them will be reached. In the United States, functional illiterates number between 54 and 65 millions.

Regarding literacy training for immigrants, no comprehensive survey has been attempted. In Canada, Gwen Newsham and Palmer Acheson conducted a postal survey of institutional responses to immigrants' needs for ESL instruction in Canada. They concentrated on the need for oral "fluency in English" and did not concern themselves with immigrants lacking formal education who might not acquire ESL/Literacy while involved in English as a second language programs.

As far as approaches, methods and techniques for teaching reading are concerned, there appear to be almost as many methods as programs. However, in the field of ESL/Literacy specifically, Ann Ebersole Strauch (1978), finding a dearth of materials to use with immigrants in ESL/Literacy classes in California, embarked on a thesis which described a multitude of methods for teaching reading and handwriting. In addition she, like Florence Hesser in Vancouver (1979), examined the major methods used in other languages in the countries of the Third World. Both writers examined: Bhola's Functional literacy, employed in the experimental programs of UNESCO; Laubach's phonic-based method (imported almost intact and only slightly adapted for use in North America); and Paulo Freire's Psycho-Social Method, used with extraordinary success in Brazil and other parts of South and Central America. In addition, Strauch discussed the Language Experience Approach, which is used widely in English language literacy. This method was

inspired by the work of Sylvia Ashton Warner, who taught Maori children in Australia. It is the Language Experience Approach that Strauch recommends as the most "viable means of providing relevant materials for literacy instruction" (p. 175).

Jill Bell and Barbara Burnaby broadly concur with this suggestion. In their most readable Handbook for ESL Literacy (1984), they offer handy techniques and resources for the "teaching of initial reading and writing skills to adult students whose first language is not English" (p.1). While there is some discussion of methodology, guides for assessment, and hints on lesson planning and sequencing, their book is written in non-technical style that assumes no prior knowledge of the field.

Classifications of adults likely to be in need of ESL/Literacy are also provided by Bell and Burnaby. Their groupings agree with those arrived at by Haverson, Ranard and others.

Since the time of Ebersole Strauch's search for relevant published materials in the ESL/Literacy field, some excellent books and texts have appeared. Jack Wigfield's First Steps in Reading and Writing (1979) provides a contribution to teachers in continuous-intake situations, requiring a text that allows students to work in groups and independently at their own level; thereby

freeing the teacher to welcome newcomers and give individual attention. Mary Selman and Linda Mrowski's New Start Canada (1984) offers a Literacy Workbook and a Survival English course that provides useful, relevant material for classes for New Canadians. In the United States, Nina Wallerstein wrote Language and Culture in Conflict (1981) which, building on the thinking and work of Paulo Freire, offers insight into a methodology that is relevant to adult learners and to immigrants in ESL classes in particular. It takes the learner's position in his/her community and his/her life-problems as the starting point for dialogue, language learning and community action. Literacy workers in Canada have used a similar philosophical basis to reach similar ends. For example, such work in Ontario was documented and described in the publications of TV Ontario's Educational Authority.

In terms of documenting the range of ESL/Literacy programming in Canada as a whole, very little has been done. Janet MacKenzie and Alfred Reimers conducted a mail survey of provincial education deputy ministers in the spring of 1971. Their findings and conclusions would have been little different had they conducted their survey in 1984. For example, there is still a dearth of published information on the educational level of arriving immigrants; the size of the illiterate immigrant population is still unknown; no co-ordinating agency has been

established for either immigrant or native-born Canadian illiterates, and basic information is still hard to find.

CHAPTER 2 : DEFINITIONS OF LITERACY

INTRODUCTION

At present there is no single universally accepted definition of literacy. The notion of literacy is meaningful only in a specified context. Some definitions are relevant to the nations of the Third World at particular points in their development, whereas others relate to the conditions in advanced technological nations. Thus, a person who is regarded as literate in one culture or one aspect of a culture may be regarded as illiterate in another and vice versa. Any attempt to define literacy must be related to the social, economic and political conditions of a particular society and the individuals who make up that society. To search for a unique definition is to misunderstand the relative nature of literacy when considered from a world-wide perspective.

Canada is an advanced technological society grounded in democratic principles which assume a literate electorate capable of making informed decisions. It has two official languages, French and English, in which most documents are published. Although certain materials are translated into other languages, the only kinds of literacy that are directly relevant to the mainstream of society are official language literacies. Very recently there has been an increase in the literacy expectations of

society in North America. Not only is a higher standard of literacy skill expected in a changed environment but the vast majority of citizens are supposed to perform at this level (Resnick & Resnick, 1977 p.384). What definition will be suitable for mass literacy in Canada ?

A HIERARCHY OF DEFINITIONS OF LITERACY

There is an endless array of definitions of literacy. The discussion which follows will examine only five definitions which represent points on the continuum from initial to technical literacy. This continuum has been characterized in Table I. It starts with low-level skills, and proceeds to higher-level skills. The appropriateness of each definition as a goal for mass literacy in Canada will be assessed. (Each definition has been assigned a label for purposes of clarity.)

The first definition (1) is labelled INITIAL LITERACY. Recognizing one's own name and learning to write it is one of the first literacy skills that children enjoy learning, and one of the literacy tasks that immigrants unfamiliar with the Roman alphabet must accomplish. The majority of Canadians do this effortlessly. However, there are definite dangers in signing your name to a document you cannot understand. As a literacy goal, this definition is clearly inadequate in today's world.

TABLE 1: A HIERARCHY OF DEFINITIONS OF LITERACY

1. INITIAL LITERACY : "ability to write one's own name." (Resnick & Resnick, 1977 p 371).

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. Use Roman alphabet 2. Write own name 3. Recognize own name	1. An initial skill but of limited usefulness on its own.

2. BASIC LITERACY : ability to "read and write a short simple sentence on..everyday life." (Thomas, 1983 p.19).

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. Basic reading/writing. 2. Simple, familiar material.	1. Basic literacy skills 2. Starting point for literacy activities.

3. SURVIVAL LITERACY : "ability to read, write and comprehend texts on familiar subjects and to understand whatever signs, labels, instructions and directions are necessary to get along within one's environment." (Hunter & Harman, 1979 p.1).

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. Basic reading/writing. 2. Survival literacy skills. 3. Reading for vital information. 4. Familiar material.	1. Essential skills for survival. 2. Insufficient for participation in mainstream society. 3. Insufficient for independent learning and growth.

4. FUNCTIONAL LITERACY: "the possession of skills perceived as necessary by particular persons and groups to fulfill their own self-determined objectives as family and community members, citizens, consumers, job-holders, and members of social, religious, or other associations of their choosing. This includes the ability to obtain information they want and use that information for their own and others' well-being; the ability to read and write adequately to satisfy the requirements they set for themselves as being important for their own lives; the ability to deal positively with demands made on them by society; and the ability to solve the problems they face in their daily lives." (Hunter & Harman, 1979 p. 1 : their emphasis).

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. unfamiliar material 2. reading for information 3. transfer of knowledge to new contexts/applications. 4. adequate writing 5. problem solving 6. cope with demands of society. 7. reading to learn.	1. Meets most of the demands of society. 2. Allows for flexibility of individual goals. 3. An adequate foundation for independent learning and development.

5. TECHNICAL LITERACY : acquisition of a body of theoretical or technical knowledge and the development of problem-solving capacities within that specialized field..

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. Specialized technical knowledge. 2. Abstract critical capacities 3. Problem-solving abilities within field of knowledge.	1. An unrealistic goal for mass literacy. 2. Essential knowledge for specialists

BASIC LITERACY (2) is more relevant to contemporary society. The ability to read and write simple sentences in either English or French is a first step and thus an early objective of literacy training in Canada. However, this particular definition was more appropriate in a situation such as Cuba's in 1960, when 25% of the population could neither read nor write (Kozol, 1978 p.5). Cuba attempted to banish illiteracy in one year. BASIC LITERACY was its short-term goal. Instead of raising the level of literacy of a few Cubans to a very high level, the objective was to make all Cubans literate, using a fairly weak criterion of literacy. BASIC LITERACY is only a beginning goal for the demands of Canadian society in the 1980's and 1990's. Canadian society and its literacy-bound nature, demands a much stronger criterion than was appropriate to Cuba in 1961.

SURVIVAL LITERACY (3) encompasses the basic elements necessary to cope with one's environment. For immigrants who lack a knowledge of English or French and the relevant cultural clues of this society, this level of literacy is an early priority (Freitag and Weber, 1979). It is not a sufficient foundation for further growth and learning, however. One needs to be able to cope with unfamiliar material and have the strategies to attack new words and new concepts. A survival level of literacy might help you to avoid poisoning yourself or driving up the "down" ramp

on the highway, but it would not provide you with the literacy skills necessary to learn independently or participate in the life of mainstream society.

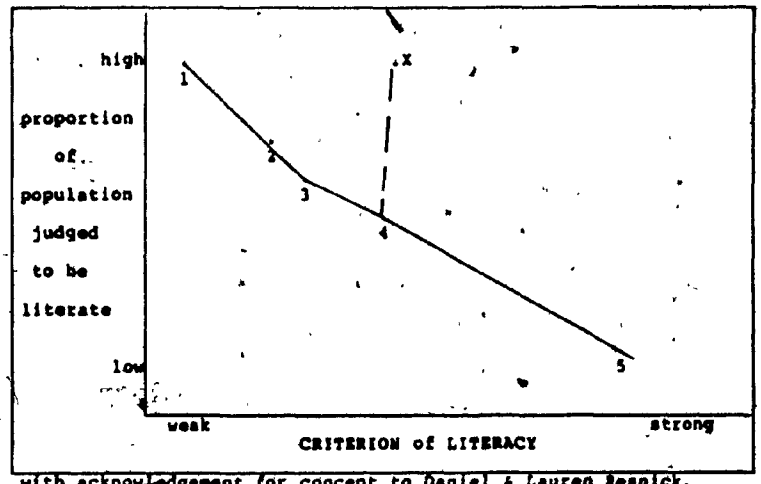
FUNCTIONAL LITERACY (4) is a more appropriate definition as a goal for mass literacy in Canada. It is a flexible definition that tries to take individual needs and differences and differing circumstances into account. As such, it represents a fairly strong criterion, going beyond mere survival to encompass the demands of society, and the requirements of individuals in all the various roles they play as adults in Canada. It is a definition which recognizes the necessity of dealing with unfamilar text; the need to read for information; to gain benefit from the application and use of that information to solve problems. It recognizes that in our current society Canadians need to be able to both read and write and that different people will experience differing standards and demands in this respect.

TECHNICAL LITERACY (5) is in a different category. This level is required by a group of specialists who are skilled in a particular field of knowledge. These skills are required to facilitate the development of the society in specific domains but are likely to remain the province of the few. To a certain extent we are all illiterate in some spheres, in that there are areas of knowledge where the specialized and technical vocabulary is unfamiliar and

incomprehensible to us. However, to acquire even these technical literacies an underlying foundation of literacy skills is needed. Functional literacy is a stepping stone to, or prerequisite for achieving technical literacy.

In order to provide a graphic representation of the probable range of levels of literacy skill manifested by Canadians, Figure 1 has been included. The vertical axis represents the proportion of the population- from low to high- judged to be literate by society. The horizontal axis represents the strength of the particular criterion of literacy under consideration, from strong criteria to weak criteria. The solid-lined graph thus indicates the probable levels of literacy possessed by different groups of Canadians. The points (1-5) denote the relative positions of the different definitions outlined above.

FIGURE 1: AN ESTIMATE OF THE PROPORTION OF CANADIANS JUDGED LITERATE ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF LITERACY



with acknowledgement for concept to Daniel & Lauren Resnick.

For example, the point 1 demonstrates that definition '1', (INITIAL LITERACY -a weak criterion of literacy), is probably possessed by a high proportion of Canadians. On the other hand, point 4 demonstrates that definition '4', (FUNCTIONAL LITERACY- a relatively strong criterion of literacy), is possessed by a much smaller number.

The definition most relevant to the mass of Canadians is definition '4' (FUNCTIONAL LITERACY). However, the graph indicates that the writer thinks that the majority of Canadians do not possess this level of literacy, and that literacy activities should aim at a goal of point X, so that a very high proportion of Canadians could operate at this level of literacy.

HOW CAN THE NUMBER OF FUNCTIONAL ILLITERATES IN CANADA BE ESTIMATED?

The problems of formulating a definition which can be used to measure the extent of functional illiteracy among a specific population has been discussed at length elsewhere (Bormuth, 1975; Dauzat & Dauzat 1977; Thomas, 1976, 1983). No one method is foolproof. All are fraught with problems. Thus, at best, a rough estimate of the extent of the literacy problem can be attempted.

In the past, several methods have been employed. These can be divided into direct measures and indirect measures. Direct measures attempt to make an assessment of what

individuals in the population can and cannot do. The specific skills deemed essential to function in a particular society are defined ; a representative sample of tasks selected and administered to a representative sample of that population, resulting in a measure of the competence level of the individuals in the society at large. Indirect measures, on the other hand, use a social indicator of trends within a society as a tool to estimate the extent of a particular problem. For example, statistics on the proportion of children enrolled in school, or the educational attainment of the population, are often considered. Both kinds of method have their particular advantages and disadvantages. The main direct measures will be considered first.

DIRECT MEASURES

Tests of Reading Achievement

Standardized tests have been designed to measure an individual's reading ability. Bormuth (1975) points out that literacy is a two-sided coin. On one side there is the reading ability of the members of a population, on the other, there is the level of difficulty of the printed material that the population must read. If the overall reading level of the population is too low with respect to the material they must cope with, two solutions are available. The first is to try to improve the reading skill of those citizens who are below the norm. The second

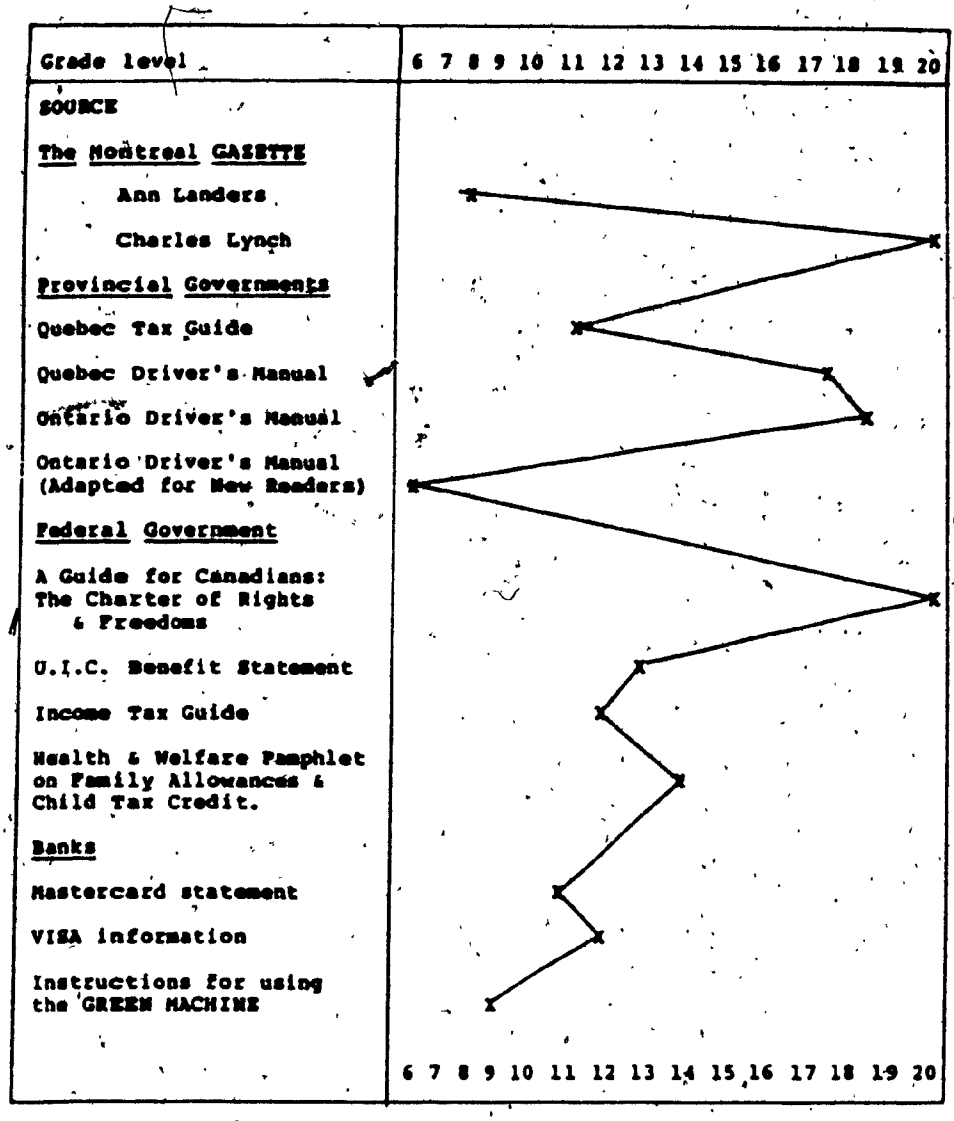
is to reduce the complexity, thus improving the readability, of material published (Bormuth, p.66). In both cases, an assessment of the level of complexity of printed matter, and a measure of the reading skills possessed by the population must be made. In order to demonstrate the current level of published materials in Canada, Figure 2 has been included. The advantages and disadvantages of using an assessment of the reading ability of the adult population as a tool to determine the extent of functional illiteracy in that population will be discussed below.

Advantages

Firstly, both reading and writing are integral parts of literacy. The level of reading skill an individual possesses is likely to be an important factor in determining his level of literacy (Bormuth p.66; Dauzat & Dauzat, p.38).

Secondly, it is desirable to focus on the relationship, mentioned above, between the readability of the print materials in a society and the reading level of members of that society. At the extremes, if all materials were written at a very simple level, a lower level of reading proficiency would be adequate. As Figure 2 shows, many common print materials are written at a very high level.

FIGURE 2: THE READABILITY OF SOME COMMON PRINT MATERIALS



Disadvantages

According to Bormuth, most standardized tests used to assess reading skill were developed and standardized on children. It seems likely that a certain reading level attained by an adult on a particular test does not have the same significance as that level achieved by a child on the same test.

Secondly, the types of reading tasks involved in reading tests are significantly different from those one is faced with in daily life. It is probably not possible to generalize from results on standardized tests to performance on everyday reading tasks -like studying the driver's manual or reading the "Help Wanted" section of the daily newspaper.

Thirdly, reading is not the only skill essential for functional literacy. Writing and problem-solving are but two aspects that a reading test would not measure.

Fourthly, although standardized tests demonstrate a deficiency, they neither specify the nature of the deficiency nor indicate a remedial course of action.

Lastly, conducting a survey of the scale necessary to provide a reliable picture of the skills of Canadians would be an expensive undertaking.

Implications

An assessment of the reading skills of the adult Canadian population would certainly add to our knowledge of their literacy capabilities. The results might sensitize writers to the idea that to communicate vital information to certain target audiences they must simplify their message. The simplification of print materials aimed at the general public has merit (as do multi-lingual messages) if it improves the comprehensibility of much of the material people have to grapple with. However, it is not economically feasible or desirable to simplify (or translate into numerous languages) all materials. Without an effort to improve the overall reading ability of the population, such simplification may, in the long-term, serve to further widen the gap between those who read proficiently and those who do not.

To conclude, the use of standardized tests as a tool to estimate the number of functional illiterates in the population would be ineffective and expensive.

A Test of Functional Competence

The United States and Great Britain have both attempted to define the skills that are necessary for functional literacy. Tasks that have been included in performance tests of adults were described by R.J. Kedney (n.d. p.21).

Some examples Kedney mentioned are listed below:

U.S.	U.K.
1. Telephone dialling instructions	1. Labels
2. Classified Advertisements	2. Newspaper articles
3. Forms for Social Security	3. Envelope reading
4. Forms for Medicare	4. Postcard writing
5. Forms for UIC benefit	5. Instructions for wiring a plug
6, Forms for driver's licence	
7. Forms for passport application	6. A knitting pattern

In 1975, the Adult Performance Level (APL) test was administered to a representative group of Americans using sophisticated sampling techniques. The results indicated that 20% of Americans could not "cope with everyday skills" and a further 34% were "functional but not proficient" (cited by Thomas, 1976 p.1). The U.S. Office of Education inferred that 57 million Americans did not have "skills adequate to perform basic tasks" such as writing a cheque, addressing an envelope, or reading a simple notice (Hunter & Harman, 1979 p.27).

The application of this approach, using functional tests, has inherent advantages and disadvantages.

Advantages

In the first place, the tasks in a test of functional competence represent real, everyday tasks taken from the spectrum of literacy demands individuals have to meet. (Refer to the examples quoted above from U.S and U.K.)

Secondly, at the level of the individual, a test of functional competence helps to give information about which reading problems are being experienced. It demonstrates directly where an individual's weaknesses lie and suggest the kinds of tasks s/he must learn to perform in order to overcome the weaknesses.

Finally, the impact on society of discovering that a high proportion of the population cannot accomplish these simple tasks is shocking and tangible, and therefore may spark political, remedial action.

Disadvantages

The main disadvantages concern the difficulty and expense of achieving a representative sample of tasks and respondents. Functional illiteracy cannot be assessed over the phone or through the mail; a face-to-face interview is the only viable means of administering such a test adequately. Illiterates are a hard-to-reach population, being overrepresented among the sick, the aged, the incarcerated, and those living in the ghettoes and the rural areas.

Secondly, as a tool for identifying functional illiterates, a performance-based test is only as good as the objectives, i.e. the tasks taken to be essential for functional literacy. Critics claim that the objectives in the APL research were set by academics and teachers and,

as such, were "value-laden". Hard-core illiterates had no input "in defining what they understood as necessary for adult life" (Hunter & Harman, 1979 p. 18).

Finally, performing a task in a test situation is substantially different from performing the same task in real life. It is likely that individuals unaccustomed to being tested might panic or alternatively pay more attention than they normally do. In neither case would the results accurately reflect reality.

Implications

A direct measure of functional competence would represent an improvement over indirect measures if sufficient care and sensitivity were applied in setting the objectives, and arriving at a representative sample. In the long run, when the currently used criterion becomes obsolete, such a study will be essential to provide a benchmark and indicate the extent of the deficiencies in the population. Its results would probably prove to be political dynamite. However, its cost, in time and money, would be substantial.

INDIRECT MEASURES

Unesco provides guidelines on methods of collecting data relevant to illiteracy. Among the indirect measures

suggested are the extent of school enrollment and educational attainment of the population. The former is a better indicator when applied to a country lacking universal, free elementary and secondary education. In the case of Canada, educational attainment is a more appropriate indicator, but not without its shortcomings.

Level of Educational Attainment

Attainment of a Grade 9 level of education is thought to be the minimal level required in Canada for functional literacy. Therefore, having less than a Grade 9 level of attainment has come to be the most acceptable and widely used tool for estimating the numbers of functional illiterates in the Canadian population. The advantages of this index far outweigh the disadvantages, but caution must be exercised in its use.

Advantages

The main reason why this criterion has been so widely used in Canada is its ease of application. Large quantities of accessible data on Canadian residents with less than a grade 9 level of education are available in the Census of Canada. It is a cheap way of estimating the proportions of the literacy problem in Canada.

Very few data are provided in the Census on individuals with only a Grade 1-5 education. However, for

Canadian residents with less than a Grade 9 level of education, the Census provides details of: sex, age, occupation, labour force participation, income, mother tongue, ethnic origin, and period of immigration, among others.

The application of this criterion tends to identify the population where functional illiterates are most likely to occur, and thus provides a credible estimate.

Lastly, reading and writing and other related skills do form the basis of the formal school curriculum. Curriculum planners include life skills as an essential component to be taught and practised at some point in elementary or secondary school.

Disadvantages

The disadvantages mainly concern ways in which the application of this criterion leads to an underestimation of the proportions of the problem, or erroneous conclusions about progress.

First, the extent of the problem among young people tends to be obscured. For example, some people manage to pass Grade 9 without becoming literate, and thus are not included in estimates of the size of the target group. On the other hand, there is evidence that acquired literacy skills atrophy if not used. Consequently, some individuals

with levels of educational attainment in excess of Grade 9 do not perform at the expected level.

In addition, people with a Grade 8 education who embark on vocational courses are usually not counted among those with less than a grade 9 education. Such people are often from the ranks of the poor, and were "diagnosed as dumb (and) placed in the bottom stream" (Gaber-Katz,1983 p.56).

Secondly, it is misleading and erroneous to equate the proportion of the population having less than a grade 9 education, with a rate of functional illiteracy. For example, the drop in the proportion of the population having less than a grade 9 education from the 1971 Census to the 1981 Census mainly reflects demographic change- a decrease in the number of people born before the advent of secondary education. If it is a demographic change that is the principal factor affecting the drop in the proportion of the functional illiterates in the population, little credit can be claimed. The measure is not sensitive enough to reflect real progress: that is, illiterate people being made literate over time.

Furthermore, people who have achieved functional literacy through informal programs, and without acquiring a Grade 9 equivalence, will not be reflected in the statistics. Some individuals achieve functional literacy

without a Grade 9 education, as is witnessed by the numbers of people with little formal schooling who appear in the "professional occupations". This true progress will never be reflected in the "literacy rate" under discussion.

Finally, the criterion for functional literacy has to be updated from time to time to reflect the increasing literacy demands of the society. In 1961, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics defined functional illiteracy as "pertaining to less than five years of schooling" (Thomas, 1976 p.2). However, the Canadian Association for Adult Education revised this to less than a Grade 9 level of education in 1975. It is likely that there will always be some kind of lag and a constant need for updating the criterion.

Theoretically, the functional illiteracy problem could be defined away if the Grade 9 criterion were maintained. Older people form a large part of the target population as a result of lower levels of educational attainment prior to World War II. Because of the mortality rate of this part of the population the number of people with less than a grade 9 level of education will tend to decline to a low level. But will the problem have disappeared?

Implications

While it is acknowledged that the level of educational attainment of an individual tends to give some indication of his/her level of literacy, the use of the Grade 9 criteria can be misleading, and result in an underestimate of the extent of the literacy problem in Canada in a variety of ways. In particular, the proportion of the population with less than a Grade 9 level of education cannot be equated with a rate for functional illiteracy: little real progress is likely to be reflected in changes in this "rate". Canada has already shown the need to redefine the criterion, and set it higher. Therefore, what is likely to happen is that the grade level criterion for literacy will have to be set at increasingly higher levels.

The availability of reliable data on aspects of the target population published in the Census of Canada make the continued cautious use of the criteria productive.

TABLE 2 : SUMMARY OF MAIN METHODS OF ESTIMATING

INDIRECT MEASURE : GRADE 9 CRITERION

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
1. Ease of application	1. Underestimates problem
2. Accessible data	2. Excludes vocational trainees
3. Credible estimate	3. Proportion not = rate
4. Reading/Writing + are part of school curriculum.	4. Progress not reflected
	5. Problem will be defined away over time.

IMPLICATION

Grade 9 criterion gives credible estimate but caution must be exercised as it tends to underestimate the proportions of the problem within a population.

2. DIRECT MEASURES : a) READING ABILITY

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
1. Reading key factor in literacy.	1. Tests standardized on children.
2. Relationship of readability and reading ability crucial.	2. Tasks not everyday type.
	3. Reading is not only skill in literacy.
	4. Expensive

IMPLICATION

This measure would add to knowledge on abilities of Canadians and would provide useful information for writers of documents aimed at the general public. However, it is expensive and not a sufficiently comprehensive measure of literacy.

b) A TEST OF FUNCTIONAL COMPETENCE

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
1. Realistic reading tasks.	1. Expensive to get sample.
2. Powerful data.	2. Difficult to establish representative objectives.
	3. Test performance not everyday performance.

IMPLICATIONS

A very expensive and time consuming method. However, if objectives and sample were truly representative politically explosive data might result. In the long-run such a measure must be attempted to establish a benchmark.

IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

The right to equal opportunity is enshrined in the Canadian Constitution (Section 36), but if this is to be achieved, access to education must be a reality for immigrants as well as native born residents of Canada. Literacy training activities in Canada are currently reaching only a fraction of those in need. To reach the mass of illiterates, the development of long-range policies is essential. Alternative approaches and adequate funding are needed to meet the literacy needs of all Canadian residents. Immigrants, for whom neither English nor French is their mother tongue, experience particular problems and need special training to overcome them prior to taking advantage of programs designed for English/French speaking residents. For FUNCTIONAL LITERACY (see definition on page 15) is to be a realistic goal for all immigrants, mastery of one of Canada's official languages is a prerequisite.

In a study of immigrant women in the Canadian labour force, Sheila Arnopoulos (1979) observed that immigrants tend to be clustered at both ends of the educational spectrum. Many are highly educated, skilled individuals. The majority are unskilled or lack formal education. Just as there are different kinds of literacy, there are different kinds of illiterates. Each individual needs training relevant to his/her language and ethnic background and level of education on arrival.

Immigrants can be divided into two groups according to their level of formal education on arrival. Those having less than a Grade 9 level of schooling will be called "undereducated"; those immigrants with a formal education above Grade 9 in their native land will be called "educated".

Educated Immigrants.

Immigrants with at least a Grade 9 level of education in their mother tongue will probably be literate in that language. They will possess reading and writing skills which they may be able to apply to the problem of acquiring literacy in one of the official languages of Canada. The extent that reading and writing skills can be transferred is partially attributable to the language background of the learner. People who speak languages employing the Roman alphabet, and who are fully literate in that language, do not tend to experience problems learning to read in English or French, and generally derive immediate benefit from language training.

Many immigrants are literate in languages which employ either non-Roman alphabets or pictograms. Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Russian are examples of languages using non-Roman alphabets, while languages such as Chinese use pictograms. Individuals from these language backgrounds may be totally unfamiliar with the Roman alphabet. If so, they need specific training, extra time, careful teaching and

plenty of practice with the alphabet before they can operate effectively as members of a language class containing learners accustomed to the Roman alphabet.

The alphabet itself takes time to master. Learning the distinctive features of unfamiliar letters is made particularly difficult when no universal form is used. Typefaces vary, and Canadian handwriting is by no means systematic in letter formation. Some examples of the letter 'G' or 'g' may illustrate this point.

Learning the appropriate alphabet is only one task, of course. There are many pre-literacy skills to be acquired before reading can be attempted. (Ebersole Strauch (1978), among others, gives numerous examples of such exercises). For example, page orientation varies from culture to culture; certain types of information are located in different places in languages with different conventions and many other aspects of reading are culture-bound. Sensitive treatment is important; provision of adequate training essential. This special training is worthwhile only if adequate time is allowed for a learner to acquire skills sufficient for him/her to be able to learn and progress independently after the in-class period is over.

Competent writing is as important as good reading abilities, especially for immigrants destined for work in professional occupations which require a sophisticated level of written communication. While literacy writers often address the problem of the mechanics of writing (for example, Ebersole Strauch (1978, Chapter IV), they rarely consider the rhetorical systems of English or French. For effective communication, simply translating from one language to another is inadequate. It will be unlikely to result in a product that is readily intelligible to mainstream readers. While grammatical accuracy, spelling, etc. contribute to the comprehensibility of a text, organisation of ideas is of paramount importance, without which the most intelligent idea may be obscured. This is something that is not often acquired unconsciously but must be learned. Teaching people frustrated with their inability to communicate their ideas is a challenging task requiring skilled teachers. Kaplan (1966) has best encapsulated the differences between the rhetorical systems of different cultures. He illustrates the systems he observed through stylized diagrams.

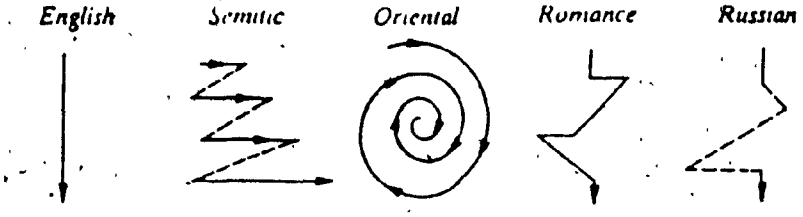


Diagram from Robert B Kaplan, "Cultural Thought Patterns in Inter-Cultural Education," *Language Learning*, 16, nos 1 and 2 15.

Undereducated Immigrants

No less a degree of skill or challenge is needed to help tackle the literacy problems of those undereducated immigrants arriving in Canada.

Immigrants to Canada need a functional knowledge of one of the official languages. To benefit from language courses, gain access to education, and to meet the demands of mainstream Canadian society -whether government, business, or community- they need literacy, irrespective of intended occupation. Those who arrive in Canada with less than a Grade 9 education are unlikely to possess the reading and writing skills of a fully literate reader. Thus, they do not have the skills to transfer to learning to read and write in English or French. Such immigrants need special help and skilled teaching, to facilitate the acquisition of skills that will allow them to cope with the activities in language classes and read independently. One common way to classify illiterates is to label three distinct groups: pre-literates, non-literates, and semi-literates.

Pre-Literates

Pre-literates are individuals who speak a language that has no written form - or no popularly written form. Consequently, they require extensive literacy orientation concurrently with language training. The arrival of the

Indochinese refugees in 1979 and 1980 highlighted the fact that special training is required to allow those with no prior exposure to literacy, to develop a functional level which allows them to cope with daily living in Canadian society.

Non-Literates

Non-literates are people who have not acquired reading and writing skills in their own language but who speak a language which has a written form. These people are often used to seeing print in their own societies, but are not capable of processing it. Their needs are slightly different from those of pre-literates in that they will probably be aware of some of the uses of literacy - although by no means all.

Semi-Literates

Semi-literate immigrants have reached only a basic level of literacy in their own language. These people are often familiar with the concept of letters and words and even sentences; they know some sight vocabulary, and perhaps understand the relationship between the written and the spoken word. However, they do not have the skills to progress, attack new words, or to glean information from unfamiliar material.

In addition to these categories, there are non-Roman alphabetics. Individuals who speak languages employing a

non-Roman alphabet, and are not literate in their native language, may fall into any of the above three categories.

CONCLUSION

Examination of the definitions of literacy has shown that a definition such as FUNCTIONAL LITERACY, which takes into account the individual's as well as the community's wants and needs, establishes a suitable goal for mass literacy training in Canada. It will be the working definition for the rest of this study.

Because the definition and measurement of functional literacy involves a complex procedure of identifying skills, and putting individuals into situations in which they can demonstrate whether or not they possess the skills being considered, there is a tendency for researchers to seek a simpler index of functional literacy, while appearing to retain the robustness of this concept. This has led researchers to select grade level completed as an assumed predictor of functional literacy. The grade level adopted is Grade 8. (i.e. Anyone having less than a Grade 9 is estimated to be functionally illiterate.) It has already been demonstrated that, as a measure of functional literacy, an indirect index, such as grade level, is too weak, too fraught with uncertainties, to be of value. There is as yet no adequate index of functional literacy to be obtained using indirect measures. The only way to measure

functional literacy is by the use of an appropriate performance test which requires the individual to perform tasks of the kind that constitute the real-life activities s/he would have to engage in successfully in real-life.

For reasons of expediency, and because no other direct index is available, the criterion of having less than a Grade 9 education will be used in other parts of the study to analyse aspects of the functionally illiterate population. It must be recognized, however, that its use tends to underestimate the scope of the problem, particularly among young Canadians and immigrants who lack official language skills. Being an indirect measure, it is insensitive to real progress, and does not take account of persons made functionally literate outside the school system. Equating the functional illiteracy rate with the percentage of people 15+, not attending school full-time who have less than a grade 9 education, has lead to erroneous conclusions. For example, a decrease in the proportion of the population with less than a Grade 9 education can hardly be called progress - especially if most had died in the intervening period.

In order to function and participate in Canadian society, all residents, irrespective of race, creed, sex, age, or immigration class (family, refugee, independent, etc.) need official language and literacy skills up to the minimal level of FUNCTIONAL LITERACY. To accomplish this,

training is required that takes into account the differing language, ethnic and educational backgrounds of different groups of people, and which responds sensitively to the strengths of each individual and capitalizes on his accumulated knowledge as an adult.

CHAPTER 3: A SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE OF ADULT IMMIGRANT ILLITERATES

The purpose of this statistical section is to identify the functionally illiterate immigrants in the Canadian population, and attempt to draw a socio-economic profile of them. The analyses of the Census of Canada (1981) and the most recent immigration statistics should shed some light on the nature of our immigrant population. Recent immigration statistics will be examined in order to assess immigration patterns of the last five years (1978-1982). The Census data will provide a more historical view, dealing with the population born outside Canada, and those immigrating in the last ten years.

To estimate the size of the functionally illiterate population, an educational criterion will be applied (the population over 15, not attending school, with less than a Grade 9 educational attainment). This is a rather rough and ready tool, since it tends to result in an underestimate of the proportions of the problem, particularly with respect to young people and immigrants lacking official language skills. However, its use facilitates access to a wealth of back-up information from the current Canadian Census.

The main aspects of immigrants' socioeconomic profile which will be covered are: place of origin; Canadian destination; immigration status; linguistic and educational background; income; and participation in the workforce.

1. WHERE DO CANADIAN IMMIGRANTS COME FROM ?

The composition of the immigrant population has changed dramatically in recent years. In the postwar period, the majority of immigrants hailed from Europe, and the largest contingent came from the British Isles; only a small minority came from Asia. This pattern is reflected in the 1981 Census data of the adult population born outside Canada: 67% had been born in Europe, 14% in Asia. Recent immigration statistics show that this trend has been reversed. In 1978-83, 32% came from Europe, over 40% came from Asian ports of origin.

This trend has implications for policy concerning official language and literacy training in Canada. In the first place, the language background of Asian immigrants is likely to be different from that of Europeans. Moreover, in terms of culture, there are likely to be substantial differences between the immigrants' home culture and that found in Canada. These characterisitics, in combination, imply that language courses designed for recent intakes of immigrants should attempt to ease the immigrants' transition to life in Canada, and facilitate their understanding of the workings of the majority culture. In many cases, more time will be needed to teach language and literacy skills that are adequate for active participation in the institutions of Canadian society.

TABLE 3: A COMPARISON OF THE PROPORTIONS OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING 1978-79 TO 1982-83 WITH THE PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE CANADA, BY CONTINENT OF ORIGIN

CONTINENT OF ORIGIN	POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE CANADA	IMMIGRANTS 1978/9-82/3
EUROPE	66.8%	32.97%
AFRICA	2.6%	3.65%
ASIA	14.0%	40.36%
AUSTRALASIA	0.3%	1.07%
N & CENT.AMERICA	8.5%	9.26%
CARIBBEAN	4.5%	6.56%
S.AMERICA	2.3%	5.19%
OCEANIA	0.5%	0.78%
OTHER/NOT STATED	0.2%	0.15%
TOTAL	100% *	100% *

Source : The data on the Population born outside Canada was summarized from the Census of Canada, 1981 Catalogue 93930, Table 8. The data on immigrants (1978-83) was extracted from the Annual Report of Employment and Immigration Canada 1982-83, Table 24.

*Figures may not add up exactly due to rounding.

TABLE 4 : ORIGINS OF IMMIGRANTS - (1978-79 to 1982-83)

CONTINENT OF ORIGIN	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
EUROPE	194,578	32.97%
AFRICA	21,528	3.65%
ASIA	238,169*	40.36%
AUSTRALASIA	6,315	1.07%
N & CENT.AMERICA	54,637	9.26%
CARIBBEAN	38,747	6.56%
S.AMERICA	30,679	5.19%
OCEANIA	4,611	0.78%
NOT STATED	828	0.15%
TOTAL	590,092	100%

*60,049 of these were Indochinese Refugees arriving in 1979 and 1980.

Source : Extracted from the Annual Report of Employment and Immigration Canada 1982-83, Table 24.

2. WHAT CLASSES OF IMMIGRANTS WERE ADMITTED TO CANADA (1979-83) ?

Canada attempts to exercise control over the immigrants she accepts through a rigorous point system, in order to admit immigrants who have a good chance of succeeding in settling in Canada. In particular, the immigration guidelines are designed to ensure that immigrants who gain entrance can support themselves and their families through finding suitable employment. However, other constraints mitigate against complete control over the kind of immigrants admitted to Canada: in particular, Canada's concern for the plight of refugees, and the need to unite families.

In the five years 1979-1983, fewer than 2% of all immigrants were admitted as Convention Refugees, but many other people were accepted on humanitarian grounds, under a relaxed point system. It is difficult to establish exact numbers since they may be counted in the "designated class", "family class" or as "assisted relatives". Just taking the designated and refugee classes together, it is evident that at least 20% of all immigrants were, in effect, refugees.

Just as refugees are admitted under a relaxed point system, so are family-class immigrants. Thus in excess of 60% of recent immigrants were admitted to Canada (1979-1982) without being assessed under the full point system.

TABLE 5 : IMMIGRATION BY CLASS (1979-1982)

CLASS/ YEAR	Family	Refugee	Designated	Assisted relative	Independ.	TOTAL
1979	38,264	2,090	25,417	6,067	24,334	96,172*
1980	49,171	952	39,396	10,018	38,093	137,630*
1981	51,017	810	14,169	17,590	45,032	128,618
1982	49,980	1,791	15,134	11,948	42,294	121,147
1983	48,538	4,059	9,848	4,986	21,415	88,846
TOTAL	236,970	9,702	103,964	50,609	171,168	572,413*
%TOTAL	41.4%	1.7%	18.2%	8.8%	29.9%	100%

Source : Immigration Monthly Statistics, 1979-1983, Immigration and Demographic Policy Group, Employment and Immigration Canada.

*The 1980 & 1979 annual totals differ from those in the next table (6) because of a change in categorization.

Thus, while one of the intentions of recent immigration policy may have been to restrict entry to Canada to those lacking relevant labour market skills, the contraints of other aspects of policy limit its effect. From Table 5, it may be observed that fewer than 30% of recent immigrants were admitted as "independents" under the full force of the point system.

Because of the relation between being destined for the workforce and eligibility for the Commission for Employment and Immigration Canada (CEIC) language courses and allowances, it is informative to discover what proportion of immigrants is designated "worker". While 29.9% of very recent immigrants were independent, many more were destined

for the workforce. At the point of immigration, officials classify immigrants into workers and non-workers. The latter group includes spouses not destined for the labour force, children, dependent students and retired persons. In the years 1978-1982, 44% of immigrants were "workers"; another 15% were "non-worker" spouses, while the remaining 41% were other accompanying family members, including students, children, retired persons or other "dependent" persons (see Table 6).

TABLE 6: WORKERS VERSUS NON-WORKERS

CLASS/ YEAR	WORKERS	NON-WORKERS child/retired immigrants	NON-WORKERS spouses	TOTAL
1978	35,211	35,276	15,826	86,313
1979	48,234	46,631	17,231	112,096
1980	63,745	60,046	19,326	143,117
1981	56,969	52,632	19,017	128,618
1982	55,472	47,867	17,808	121,147
TOTAL	259,631	242,452	89,208	591,291
%TOTAL	44%	41%	15%	100%

Source: Monthly Statistics (year end summaries) 1978-1982, Tables 12 (1978, '80, 81), 14 (1979), or 17 (1982).

3. TO WHERE IN CANADA DO THEY IMMIGRATE ?

The provinces of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, and Alberta have traditionally received the majority of immigrants to Canada. From the Census data (1981) we see

that 92% of all persons born outside Canada live in these four provinces (Catalogue 92-913, Table 1A). This pattern is followed by very recent immigrants to Canada : 90% were destined for the four most populated provinces.

The distribution of the Canadian-born population, those born outside the country, and very recent immigrants, is not even. The most significant difference is observed in the two most populated provinces, Ontario and Quebec. Ontario accounts for 35% of the total Canadian population, but 52% of the population born outside Canada. This proportion has fallen slightly in recent years with, 44% of very recent immigrants settling in Ontario.

Quebec accounts for 25% of the total population, but 13% of the population born outside Canada; the proportion of very recent immigrants choosing Quebec was nearly 17%. Looking at the Ontario and Quebec populations alone, this means that 1 in 4 Ontarians is an immigrant, in comparison with 1 in 12 Quebecois. Similarly, between 1 in 4 and 1 in 5 British Columbians was born outside Canada compared with 1 in 7 Albertans. From Table 10 it is clear that immigrants comprise a significant proportion of the population in the most populated provinces, and particularly in "English Canada".

TABLE 7 : DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS (1978-79 to 1982-83)

DESTINATION	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
NEWFOUNDLAND	2325	0.39%
NOVA SCOTIA	6491	1.09%
NEW BRUNSWICK	4667	0.79%
P.E.I.	897	0.15%
QUEBEC	99,260	16.82%
ONTARIO	262,808	44.53%
MANITOBA	26,587	4.50%
SASKATCHEWAN	12,415	2.10%
ALBERTA	78,365	13.28%
B.C.	94,564	16.02%
YUKON/N.W.T.	920	0.15%
Not stated	1,093	0.19%
TOTAL	590,392*	100%

Source : Extracted from Employment and Immigration Canada Annual Report 1982-83, Table 22.

*There appears to be a discrepancy of 270 people within Table 22 in the Annual Report 1982-83.

TABLE 8: PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE CANADA, COMPARED WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, BY PROVINCE (ALL AGES).

	% population born outside Canada	distribution of population by province
Canada	17 %	100.0 % *
Newfoundland	2 %	2.3 %
P.E.I.	3 %	0.5 %
Nova Scotia	5 %	3.5 %
New Brunswick	4 %	2.8 %
Quebec	8 %	26.4 %
Ontario	24 %	35.4 %
Manitoba	14 %	4.2 %
Saskatchewan	8 %	3.9 %
Alberta	15 %	9.2 %
British Columbia	22 %	11.3 %
Yukon	10 %	0.1 %
N.W.T.	5 %	0.2 %

Source:Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-913 Table 1A.
(*figures may not add up to exactly 100% due to rounding.)

4. WHAT OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ABILITIES DO IMMIGRANTS POSSESS ?

Information about immigrants' official language abilities has only been made available to the public in the last four issues of the Canadian Immigration Statistics (1979-1982), although the information has been gathered from immigrant landing forms for many years. Sex data have only appeared in the last three reports. Age does not figure at all.

It is interesting to note that the information provided is expressed as an absolute. Immigrants either have, or do not have, official language ability - no grey areas of having some ability, or mediocre ability, are reported. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that many more than the 41-52% with no official language ability, in Table 9, experience difficulties using the official languages. (N.B.: of the 60,000 Indochinese Refugees who arrived in 1979-1980, 92% spoke neither English nor French. Indochinese Refugees: the Canadian Response 1979/1980, p.24.)

TABLE 9 : IMMIGRANTS WITH NO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ABILITY

Year	Males with no official language ability	Females	Both Sexes	% of Total immigrants
1979	n/a	n/a	53,218	47%
1980	37,358	36,857	74,215	52%
1981	25,164	27,678	52,842	41%
1982	22,508	25,301	47,809	41%

Source: Immigration Statistics 1979, 1980, 1981 & 1982 (Tables 7 or 8, depending on the year).

4.1 WHAT IS THE LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF CANADIAN IMMIGRANTS?

The immigration statistics publish no data on the language background of immigrants. The most accessible data concerning the language background of the Canadian population is available in the Census. Data on the mother-tongue of all Canadian residents are summarized in Table 10. Here we see that 61% of the Canadian population speaks English mother-tongue; 26% has French mother-tongue; 0.5% speaks Indian languages or Inuktitut and nearly 13% speaks "other" mother-tongues. These "other" mother-tongue languages have been broken down into major language families. An estimate of the proportion of Canadians whose mother-tongue language does not use the Roman alphabet has been attempted in Table 11. (These languages are marked with an asterisk *.)

TABLE 10: MOTHER-TONGUE LANGUAGE OF CANADIAN POPULATION (ALL AGES).

Mother-Tongue	Population	% Population
ENGLISH	14,750,495	61.2%
FRENCH	6,176,215	25.6%
INDIAN & INUKTITUT	140,975	0.5%
OTHERS	3,015,815	12.5%
TOTAL POPULATION	24,083,500	100%*

Source : *Base data were provided by Barbara Burnaby from a special computer run on the Census of Canada,1981.

* figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

We see in Table 11 that 80% of those born outside Canada whose mother-tongue is neither English nor French speak other European languages as their mother-tongue. All but four of these languages employ the Roman alphabet. By contrast, 18.1% of "other" mother-tongue immigrants speak Asiatic or African languages, the majority of which do not employ the Roman alphabet. In total, about 33.5% of the immigrant population whose mother-tongue is neither English nor French uses a language with a non-Roman alphabet.

TABLE 11: PROPORTIONS OF "OTHER" MOTHER TONGUE LANGUAGE GROUPS IN THE CANADIAN POPULATION

1. European Languages			
Italian	17.6%	Spanish	2.3%
German	17.1%	Scandanavian	2.2%
*Ukranian	9.4%	Czech-Slovak	1.4%
Portuguese	5.4%	Baltic	1.3%
Netherlandic	5.3%	Other European	1.3%
Polish	4.2%	Finnish	1.1%
*Greek	4.1%	*Yiddish	1.0%
Croatian	2.9%	*Russian	1.0%
Hungarian	2.8%		
TOTAL EUROPEAN = 80.4% of all "other" languages			
2. Asiatic Languages			
*Chinese	7.4%		
*Indo-Pakistani	3.7%		
*Arabic	1.6%		
*Phillipine	1.5%		
?*Vietnamese	0.9%		
*Japanese	0.7%		
*Other Asiatic	2.2%		
TOTAL ASIATIC = 18.0% of all "other" languages			
3. *African Languages = 0.1%			
4. ?All other languages = 0.9%			
* LANGUAGES with a NON-ROMAN ALPHABET = 33.5%			

(The total does not come to exactly 100% because of rounding.) Source : Same as Table 10.

The recent immigration trend (away from immigrants from Europe, and towards immigrants from Asiatic countries) indicates that a much larger proportion of recent immigrants has mother tongues which do not use the Roman alphabet. This has important implications for official language and literacy training. To reach a functional or a survival literacy level, individuals lacking experience with the Roman alphabet may need substantially more language training than those who have this experience. In addition to problems with the alphabet itself, the rhetorical systems of the Asiatic languages are very different from the English or French systems. This factor may imply that immigrants needing to achieve a level of official language competence to work in "professional" occupations may need extensive reading and writing training to attain an appropriate level of official language literacy.

5. HOW MANY IMMIGRANTS HAVE LESS THAN A GRADE 9 LEVEL OF EDUCATION ?

With the exception of information about Indochinese refugees' education, the Immigration department does not include educational background among its published statistics. Of the Indochinese, 24.4% had "no education" and 66.3% had "secondary or less". These figures include children 0-14 years of age and say nothing about grade level, but it is clear that, with 92% speaking neither

official language, almost all were classifiable as functionally illiterate in the Canadian context (Indochinese Refugees: The Canadian Response, 1979-1980, p.24).

The 1981 Census of Canada does provide data on immigrants having less than a Grade 9 level of education. Unfortunately, not all data are comparable throughout the Census: sometimes the period of immigration cited is 1971-1981, and sometimes only 1961-1981 is supplied. An attempt to establish what proportion of the target group are immigrants will be made. (TARGET GROUP: the Canadian population, 15+ not attending school full-time, who have less than a Grade 9 education.)

5. WHAT IS THE COMPOSITION OF THE TARGET GROUP ?

The 1981 Census indicates that 3,564,755 (22.29%) of the Canadian population over 15 years of age, not attending school full-time, has less than a Grade 9 level of education. Breaking these data into birthplace groupings reveals that those born in Europe are twice as likely (39.9%) to be functionally illiterate as those born in Canada (20.9%). This information is presented in Table 12.

17% of those immigrants born in countries other than Europe, the United States and the United Kingdom had less than a Grade 9 level of education at the time of the 1981 Census. 15% of immigrants from the major English-speaking

countries (U.K. & U.S.A.) are likely to be functionally illiterate, and those who are illiterate are able to benefit from literacy programs for English-Canadians because they share the same language background.

TABLE 12: PROPORTIONS OF TARGET GROUP MEMBERS IN CERTAIN BIRTHPLACE GROUPS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION (POPULATION 15+ NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL FULL-TIME)

BIRTHPLACE	% OF EACH GROUP WITH LESS THAN GRADE 9
Canada	20.97%
U.S.+ U.K.	15.69%
Other Europe	39.93%
Other Countries	17.28%

Source: Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue : 92-914, Table 11.

The figure for "other" countries is low: 17% of immigrants born in countries other than the United States, the United Kingdom or Europe have less than a Grade 9 education. This category includes Asia, Africa, South America, the Caribbean, Oceania and Australasia. Some sectors of the "other" group have very little formal education. For example, the information provided on the Indochinese refugees indicates that 90.7% had secondary education or less; 1.6% had a university qualification (Indochinese Refugees: The Canadian Response, 1979-80, p.24). If the Indochinese are removed from the "other" category, it means that the remaining immigrants have a very low tendency towards a lack in education. Furthermore, the 1981 Census data shows that 18.5% of the "other" group

has a university qualification. By contrast, 11% of immigrants from the U.S. and U.K., and 6% of other European immigrants, have a university qualification (Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-914, Table 11).

A partial explanation of these data lies in information concerning the period of immigration. The high proportion (39%) of Europeans with less than a Grade 9 education is probably a reflection of the "open door" policy, which was in operation after the Second World War, when Canada needed a great deal of unskilled labour for the industrial expansion of the 1950's and 60's. On the other hand, the immigration of large numbers of people from outside Europe, the U.S. and the U.K. is a relatively recent phenomenon which has occurred during a period when immigration regulations have been considerably tightened. Thus, more recent immigrants, from all origins, are likely to have had more formal education than their predecessors. The information on the educational attainment of very recent immigrants is not publicly available, but the Census data indicate that 15% of immigrants arriving 1961-1981 have a university qualification.

The discussion above does not provide a completely satisfactory explanation for the low incidence of a lack of formal education amongst immigrants from "other" countries. It must be borne in mind that, according to Unesco data on illiteracy rates around the world, many Third World

countries have very high rates: for example, India: 67%, Haiti: 77%, Angola: 97%, Chad: 94%, Saudi Arabia: 84%, Pakistan: 79%. (Unesco's Statistical Yearbook 1981, pp.1-19/24). Thus, while at one end of the spectrum, some immigrants from "other" countries tend to be highly educated, at the other end, those lacking formal education will tend to need a great deal of official language and literacy training to facilitate their successful integration and adaptation to Canadian society.

5.2 BIRTHPLACE OF TARGET GROUP MEMBERS (CANADIAN POPULATION 15+ HAVING LESS THAN A GRADE 9 LEVEL OF EDUCATION.)

A look at the make-up of the target group reveals that more than 3 out of 4 illiterates are Canadian born. By comparison, only 1 in 20 is from the U.S. and the U.K. combined: nearly 1 in 5 is an immigrant from another country (Table 13). The uneven distribution of immigrants amongst the provinces results in a wide range of variance from the national picture.

TABLE 13: BIRTHPLACE OF THE TARGET GROUP

BIRTHPLACE	TARGET GROUP	% of TOTAL
Canada	2,745,770	77.0%
U.S + U.K	163,325	4.6%
Other Countries	655,660	18.4%
TOTAL	3,564,755	100%

Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue: 92-914, Table 11.

5.3 IN WHICH PROVINCES DOES THE TARGET GROUP LIVE ?

The distribution of illiteracy across the country is not even, either. The East has a much higher proportion of illiterates, and the West much lower. The variation in the proportions is shown below in Table 14.

The range of the proportions of functionally illiterate persons varies from a high of 33%, for Newfoundland, to a low of 14%, in Alberta. The major immigrant-receiving provinces, with the exception of Quebec, have the lowest proportions of functional illiterates: Ontario 19%, Alberta 14.4%, and B.C. 14%. On the other hand, Quebec has a relatively high proportion of illiterates- nearly 30%, or 1.3 million (see Table 14). A glance at Table 15 will show that, while Quebec is the second most populated province, only 8% of its population was born outside Canada. This figure compares with 22% for B.C.; 24% for Ontario; 15% for Alberta.

TABLE 14: PROPORTIONS OF TOTAL CANADIAN POPULATION (15+, NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL FULL-TIME), IN TARGET GROUP, BY PROVINCE

Canada	22.29%
Newfoundland	33.35%
P.E.I.	26.26%
Nova Scotia	22.18%
New Brunswick	30.89%
Quebec	29.56%
Ontario	19.58%
Manitoba	23.96%
Saskatchewan	25.19%
Alberta	14.01%
British Columbia	14.40%

Source: Census of Canada, 1981, Catalogue 92-914 Table 8.

TABLE 15: PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE CANADA, COMPARED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, BY PROVINCE (ALL AGES).

	population born outside Canada	distribution of population by province
Canada	17 %	100.0 % *
Newfoundland	2 %	2.3 %
P.E.I.	3 %	0.5 %
Nova Scotia	5 %	3.5 %
New Brunswick	4 %	2.8 %
Quebec	8 %	26.4 %
Ontario	24 %	35.4 %
Manitoba	14 %	4.2 %
Saskatchewan	8 %	3.9 %
Alberta	15 %	9.2 %
British Columbia	22 %	11.3 %
Yukon	10 %	0.1 %
N.W.T	5 %	0.2 %

Source: Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-913 Table 1A.
(*figures may not add up to exactly 100% due to rounding.)

TABLE 16: BIRTHPLACE OF THE TARGET POPULATION BY MAJOR IMMIGRANT RECEIVING PROVINCES (POPULATION 15+, NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL FULL-TIME).

	PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE			
	ALBERTA	B.C	ONTARIO	QUEBEC
Birthplace				
Canada	134,105	157,370	651,635	1,148,540
U.S./ U.K.	16,550	29,965	74,300	16,455
Other Countries	57,575	87,350	416,825	131,910
TOTAL	208,230	274,685	1,142,760	1,296,905
Other as % of Total	27.7%	31.8%	36.4%	10.2%

Source: Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-914, Table 11.

Unlike the picture for other provinces, the overwhelming majority (88%) of illiterates in Quebec are Canadian-born, and only 12% are immigrants. In Ontario, by contrast, less than 60% of illiterates are Canadian-born, about 40% are immigrants. These facts have a strong influence on the overall figure for Canada, as far as immigrants are concerned. By looking at the provincial breakdown in Table 16, we can see that, in fact, between 27% and 36% of the target group outside Quebec are immigrants from countries other than the U.K. and the U.S. That is, in the three most populated "English-speaking" provinces, immigrants from "other" countries (not the U.K. or the U.S.) make up approximately 1 in 3 of all illiterates, rather than 1 in 5 nationally.

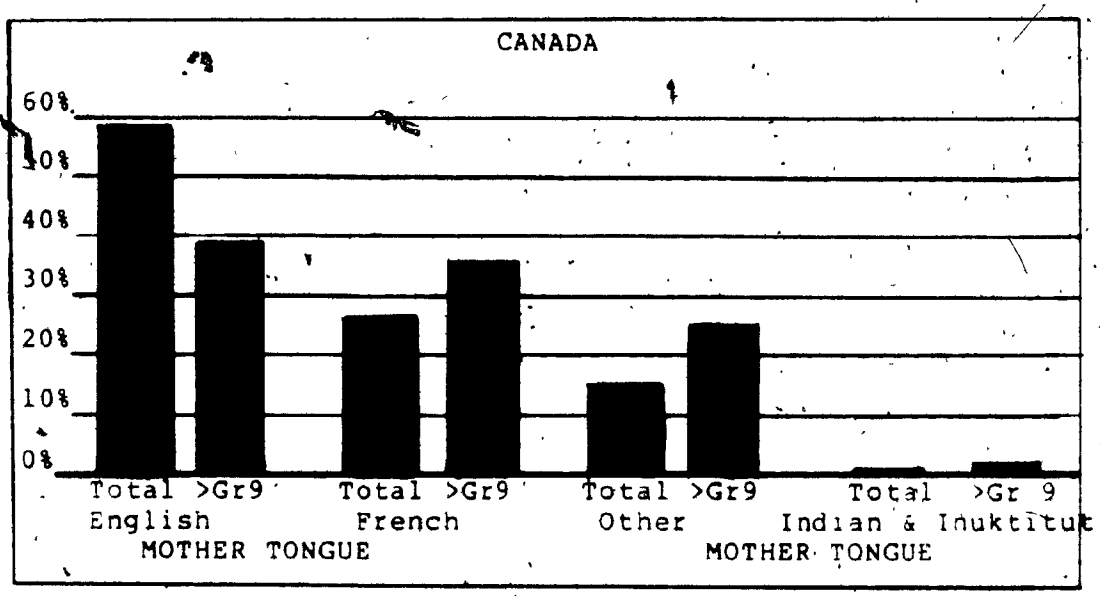
5.4 WHAT MOTHER-TONGUES DO TARGET GROUP MEMBERS SPEAK ?

In order to assess how many immigrants might experience language problems combined with literacy problems, the mother-tongue breakdowns will be investigated. Three mother-tongue groups will be considered: English, French and Other. This will not result in a precise measure, but it will give some indication of how many individuals might be in need of some official language element in addition to literacy. The proportion of "other" mother-tongue speakers in the Canadian population is only 15%, but they make up 25% of the group having less than a

grade 9 education. French mother tongue speakers are also disproportionately represented in the target group: 26% of the population speaks French as its mother-tongue, in comparison with 35% of the target group (see Figure 3).

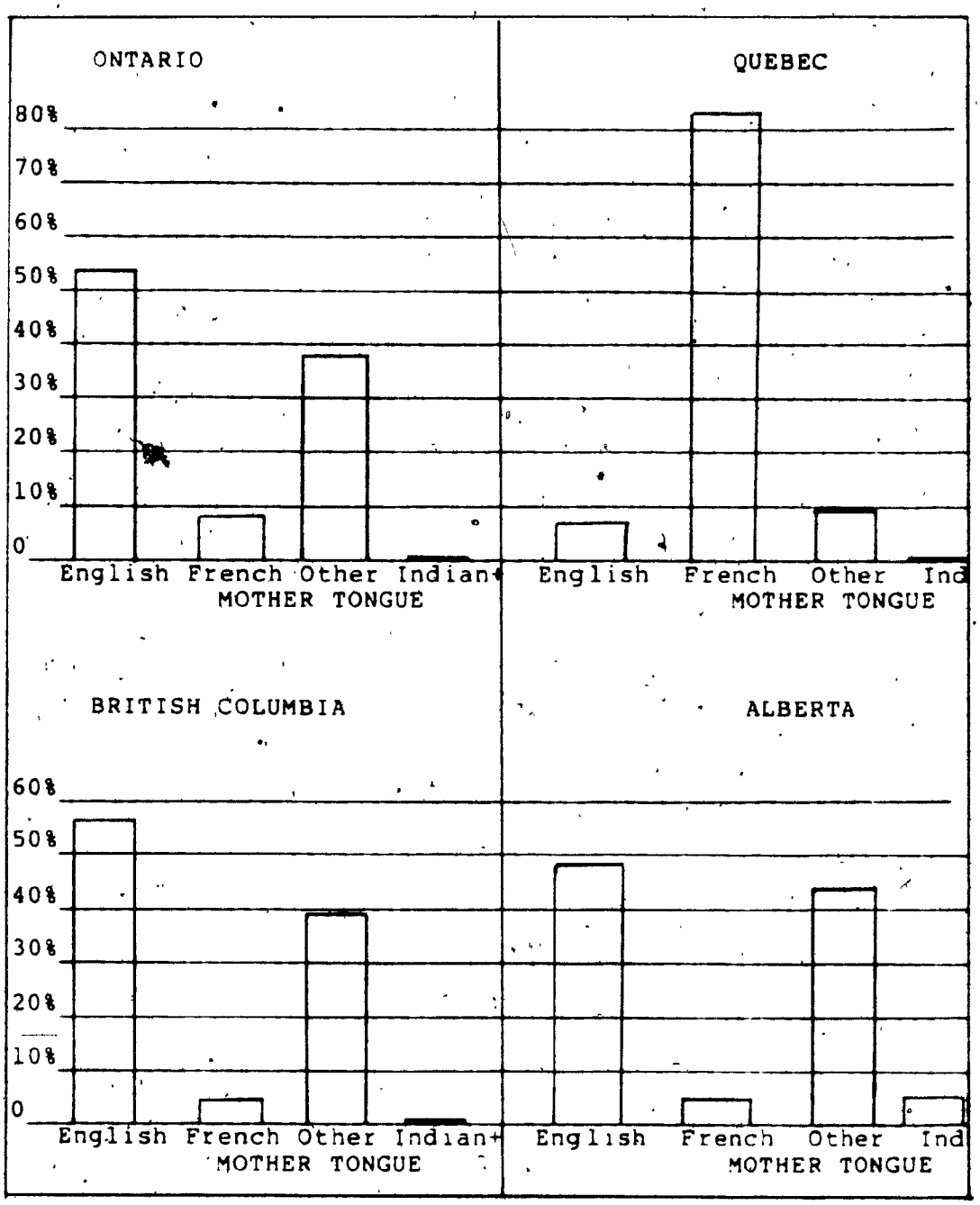
When these figures are further analysed by province, the influence of Quebec on the Canada-wide totals is clearly seen. In Figure 4, we see that 83% of Quebec's illiterates are French-speaking. This fact has the effect of making immigrants appear to be a smaller proportion of the total Canadian target group. In the other three immigrant-receiving provinces, the number of "other" mother-tongue speakers approaches the number of English mother-tongue speakers. In Ontario, B.C. and Alberta "other" mother-tongue illiterates form between 38-43% of all illiterates in each province: i.e. between 1 in 3 and 1 in 2 of all illiterates are "other" mother-tongue speakers.

FIGURE 3: CANADA: PROPORTIONS OF VARIOUS MOTHER-TONGUE SPEAKERS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, COMPARED TO PROPORTION WITH LESS THAN A GRADE 9 EDUCATION (POPULATION 15+, NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL FULL-TIME).



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-914, Table 11.

FIGURE 4 : DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHER-TONGUE GROUPS WITHIN THE TARGET GROUP, BY PROVINCE.



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92 -914 Table 11.

6. INCOME

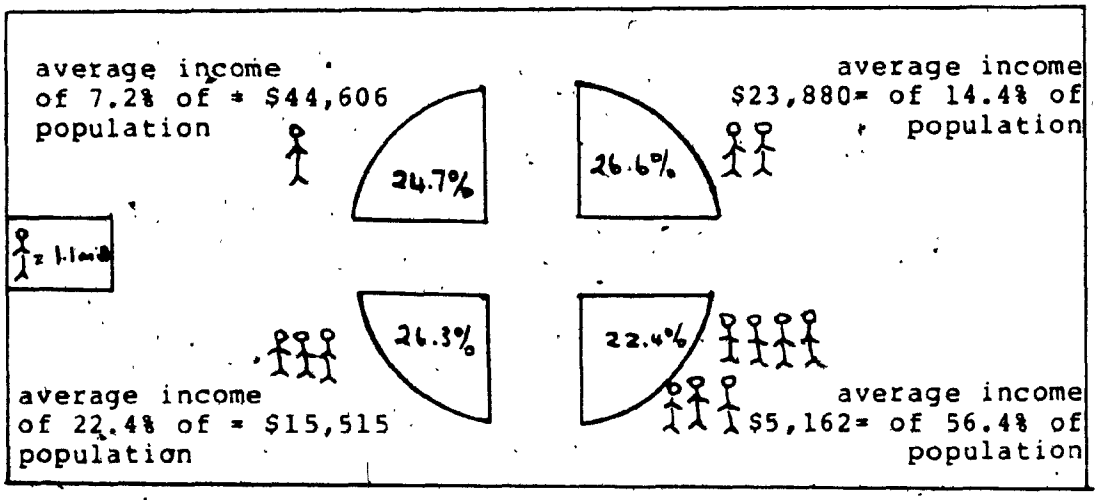
In order to situate the socio-economic profile of the immigrant population in the Canadian context, it is necessary to review briefly the latest Census data concerning other sectors of the population. These underline the deep discrepancies between rich and poor, men and women. They will help establish a framework in which the information concerning immigrants may be placed.

6.1 INCOME DISTRIBUTION

The familiar pattern of unequal income distribution is confirmed by the 1981 Census data. The aggregate income pie (which includes income from all sources e.g. wages, salaries, self-employment, pensions, dividends, U.I.C. benefits, etc) of $205,413,657,000 was divided into four roughly equal portions among the 15,8 million Canadian residents 15 years and over, with income in 1980. 7% of this population (1.1 million) received one of these quarters, and 56% (8.9 million) divided another quarter between them. Of the other two portions, one was distributed amongst 14% of the population, and the other went to the remaining 22%. Figure 5 illustrates how the pie was divided. It shows that, for the top 7% of the population who earned in excess of $30,000 p.a., their average income was $44,606 p.a. On the other hand, for the bottom 56% of the population who received less than $12,000

p.a., their average income was $5,162 p.a. (Note: The average income figures do not give much idea of the distribution of income within each sector.)

FIGURE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATE INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES AMONGST THE POPULATION OF CANADA, WITH INCOME IN 1980 (15+).

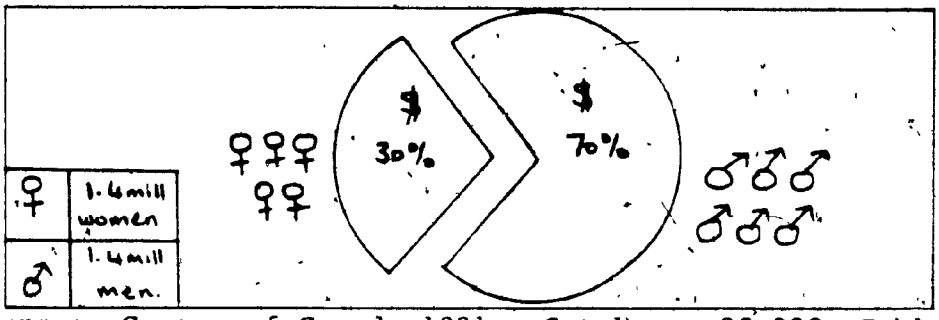


Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-928, Table 3.

6.2 INCOME AND SEX

How is aggregate income divided between the sexes? Women constituted 46% of those persons with income from all sources in 1980, and received 30% of aggregate income. Men constituted 54% of the group with income, and received 70% of aggregate income. Figure 6 shows how the sexes divided up the pie. The female population received $61,396,080,000 in aggregate income compared with $144,017,640,000 that men received. Thus, the average income for women was $8,487p.a., whereas it was $16,917 p.a. for men in 1981.

FIGURE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATE INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES BY SEX AMONG POPULATION (15+ WITH INCOME IN 1980).



Source: Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-928, Table 3.

6.3 LEVEL OF INCOME, SEX AND IMMIGRANTS

Of those Canadians with income in 1980, 80% were born inside Canada, and 20% were born outside Canada: this is true for both men and women, and reflects the relative percentages of Canadian-born to non-Canadian-born adults in the population (over 15 years, not attending school full-time).

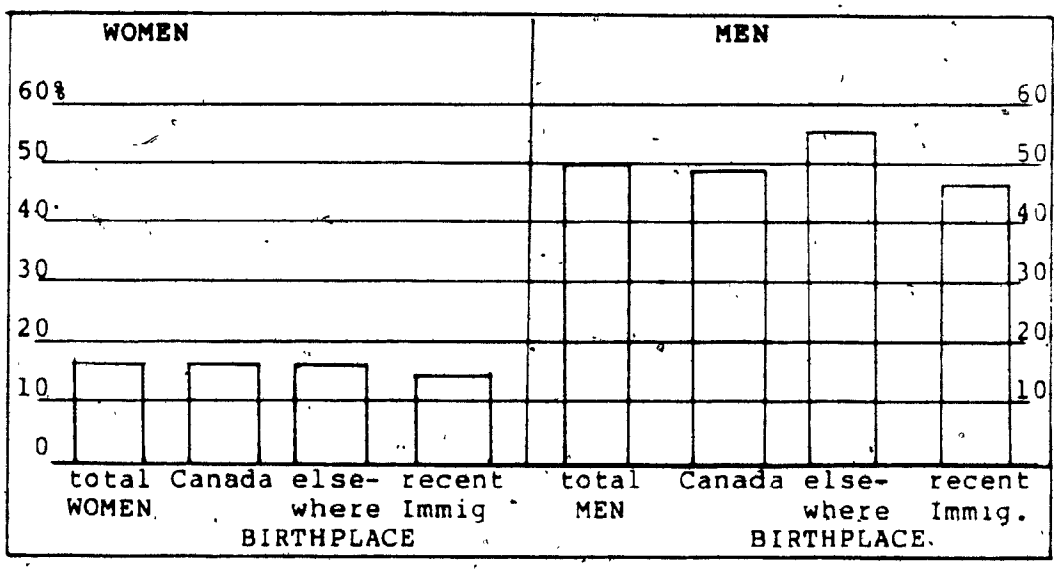
Information on level of income gives a fairly clear idea of the immigrants' economic position when compared with the Canadian-born population. Members of the same sex resemble each other much more closely than those born either inside or outside Canada. Thus, the sexes will be considered separately. Figures 7, 8 and 9 show how income patterns of recent immigrants compare with those individuals born inside or outside Canada. (The immigrant categories are not mutually exclusive since recent immigrants are included in the figure for people born outside Canada.)

In 1980, the Canadian population (15 years and over, with income) could be divided into three roughly equal parts (each is represented below in a separate figure). One third (34%) received in excess of $15,000 p.a. (Figure 7); one third (32%) between $6,000 and $14,999 (Figure 8), and the remaining third (34%) of the population earned less than $6,000 p.a. (Figure 9).

These three figures illustrate that there is a clear difference between men's incomes and women's incomes. However, if one looks at the sexes separately, there is very little variation between Canadian-born men and recent immigrant men: between Canadian-born women, and recent immigrant women.

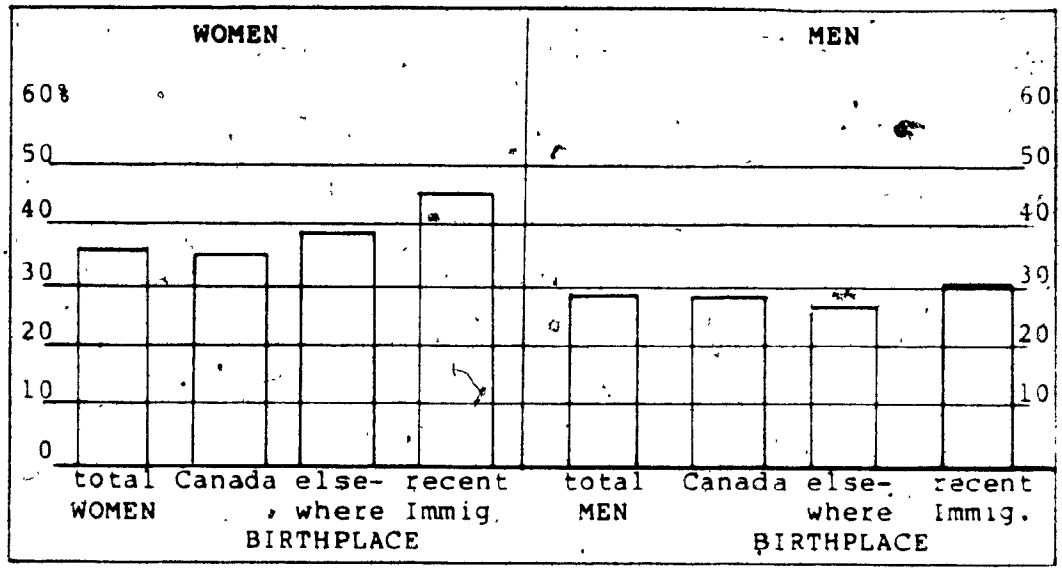
It must be remembered that the information presented here refers to aggregate income from all sources, and not earned income alone. Thus, part-time workers' wages, pensions, U.I.C. benefits, welfare, dividend incomes, etc. are included, and help to explain the low levels of income received by some individuals. This information does demonstrate the size of that section of the Canadian population whose members would be unable to survive independently on the incomes they currently receive.

FIGURE 7 : PROPORTIONS OF GROUPS OF MEN & WOMEN WITH INCOME, 1980 IN EXCESS OF $15,000 p.a.



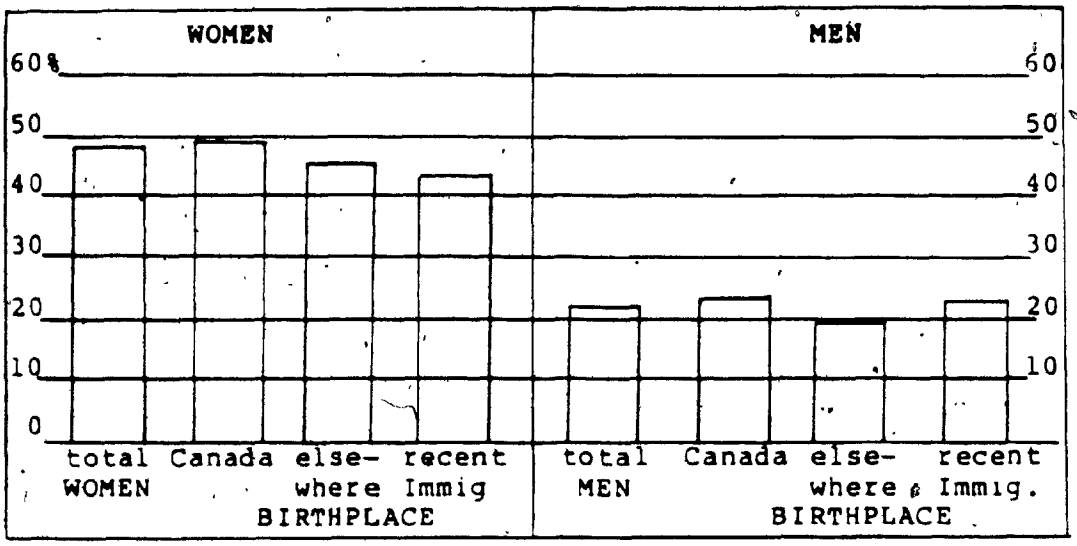
Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-928 Table 10.

FIGURE 8: PROPORTIONS OF GROUPS OF MEN & WOMEN WITH INCOME,1980 BETWEEN $6,000 AND $15,000 p.a.



Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-928 Table 10.

FIGURE 9: PROPORTIONS OF GROUPS OF MEN & WOMEN WITH INCOME, 1980 LESS THAN $6,000 p.a.



Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue.92-928 Table 10.

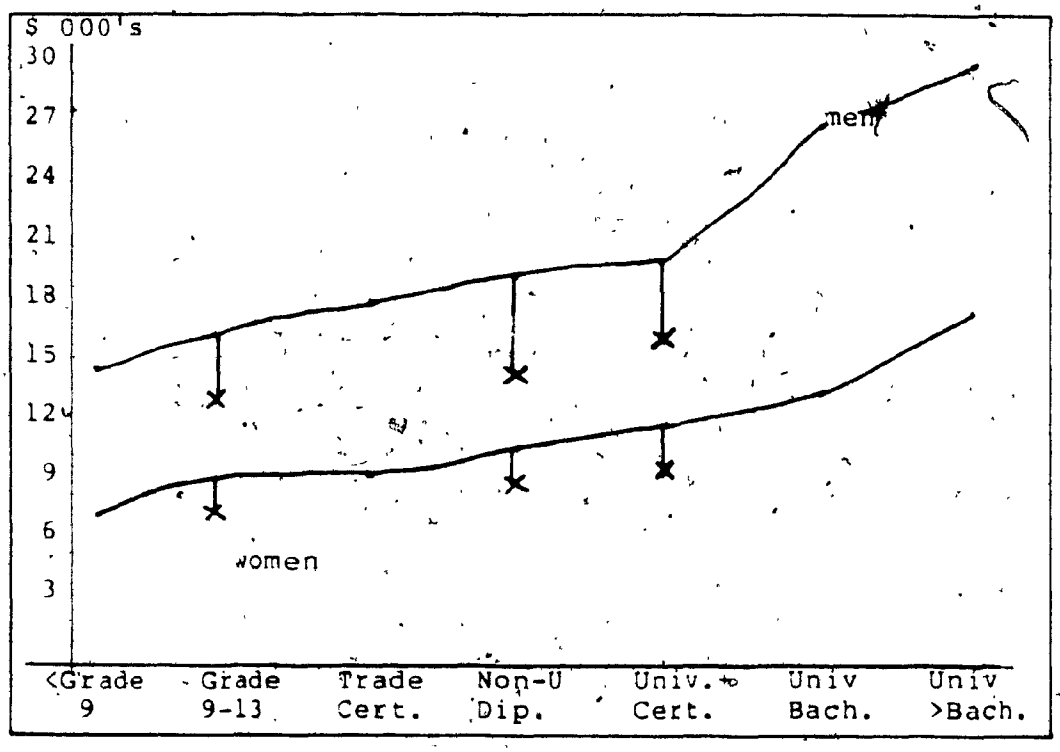
6.4 WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION & INCOME ?

The discussion above was concerned with the aggregate income of the Canadian population. Now, we will turn to income earned by Canadians who worked in 1980.

Education is considered to be a means of increasing one's personal income. The argument is usually that an increase in educational attainment increases the earning ability of the individual. Using data from 1973, Frappier-Desrochers (In Wagner 1980, p.3) demonstrated that income rises progressively as educational attainment increases. She showed that Quebecois with less than a Grade 4 education (those most likely to be illiterate) earned $8,564 p.a., whereas those with a university education earned $19,693 p.a., on average.

The situation across Canada, reflected in the 1981 Census, is broadly similar to that observed in Quebec. At the extremes, education and income correlate highly. A man with a university degree earns on average $30,000 p.a., whereas a man with less than a Grade 9 education earns about $14,000 p.a., on average. For women this tendency is also true. A woman with a university education tends to earn $14,028 p.a. on average, whereas a women with less than a Grade 9 education earns $7,022 p.a., on average. The graphs in Figure 10 show how income and education relate, according to the 1981 Census.

FIGURE 10: THE AVERAGE INCOME OF MEN COMPARED WITH WOMEN, WITH SIMILAR LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND ATTENDENCE (POPULATION WHO WORKED IN 1980).



Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-931, Table 1.

6.5 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, ATTENDANCE

The upward curve relating achieved education with income does not tell the whole story, however. This trend is distorted if those who receive education but do not attain certification at that level are taken into account - "the dropouts" and failures of the educational system. Thus it appears that it is the attainment of a higher level of education that correlates strongly with more income. Gaining more years of education without certification tends to correlate with a lower level of income.

The highest level of schooling of 64% of the 16.4 million Canadian population over 15 years, not attending school full-time, is Grade 13 or less (36% achieve higher educational levels). This 64% is composed as follows: 22% of all Canadians have not achieved a Grade 9 level of education; a further 25% left high school after Grade 9 but failed to receive a certificate; 4% received a trade certificate; and the remaining 13% did receive a certicate for grades 9-13. Thus, most of those whose highest level of schooling attended was Grade 13 or less did not graduate: they may be called "dropouts". Those who graduate with Grade 9-13 tend to earn more than those with less than a Grade 9 level of education. But "dropouts" earn less than those with less than a Grade 9 education. The X 's on the graph in Figure 11 indicate the level of income of the "dropouts" (those who do not attain a certificate in the

level of education they attend).

On average, a woman with a bachelor's degree earns $14,028 p.a, about as much as a man with a Grade 9 education. Note the relative heights of the graphs in Figure 10. The average incomes of men compared with women seem to differ by similar proportions, no matter what the level of education attained.

As earning patterns of immigrant women resemble those of all women so closely, it is reasonable to expect that the conditions outlined in Figure 10 are as relevant for immigrant women as they are for Canadian born women. Those women who are in the target group are likely to be amongst the group who earn the least. The average earnings for a working woman with less than a grade 9 level of education was $7,022p.a. in 1980 (Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-931 Table 1).

When education by birthplace is examined (Table 17), one notices that in excess of 56% of Canadians born in Europe (excluding the U.K.) have not graduated from high school with a Grade 9-13 certificate. 35% of those Canadians who had been born in "Other" countries are found in this category. (It has been noted above that immigrants from "other" countries tend to have received more formal education than immigrants from other European countries, the U.K. and U.S.A. A complete explanation for these

figures is difficult to obtain and touches on very sensitive political and moral issues.

TABLE 17 : EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND ATTENDANCE OF THE POPULATION OVER 15 YEARS, NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL FULL-TIME, BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND RECENT ADULT IMMIGRANTS (1961-1981).

Education	Place of Birth				Immig 61-81
	Canada	UK+USA	Other Europe	Other	
Elementary & Secondary					
Less than Grade 9	20.97%	15.69%	39.94%	17.19%	22.6
9-13 without cert.	26.59%	26.98	16.58	18.32	16.5
9-13 with certificate	14.%	10.68	7.53	10.88	9.3
Trade certificate	3.68%	3.95	4.72	2.16	3.6
Elem + Sec Only Total	65.53%	57.30	68.77	48.65	52.0
Non-University					
Without certificate	5.71%	5.51	4.06	5.37	4.7
with trade cert.	6.66%	7.35	9.68	7.30	9.2
with non-U cert.	7.62%	9.31	5.54	8.00	8.8
Non-University Total	19.99%	22.17	19.28	20.67	22.7
University					
without certificate	2.81%	3.6	2.20	4.30	3.5
with <Bachelors cert.	4.04%	5.42	3.61	7.80	6.6
with Bachelors +	7.61%	11.49	6.13	18.58	15.2
University Total	14.46%	20.51	11.94	30.98	25.3
GRAND TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-914, Table 11.

7. WHERE ARE IMMIGRANTS IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE?

Nearly 12 million workers were active in the labour force in 1981, according to Census data. 60% were men; 40% were women (compared with the population as a whole which was 49% men; 51% women). 81% of workers were born in Canada, 19% were born outside. Recent immigrants constituted 5.4% of the work force. In fact, each decade of post-war immigrants constituted around 5% of the total work force.

13.2% of workers, or 1.5 million, could be classified as functionally illiterate, using the Grade 9 criterion. This proportion is lower than the Canadian average of 22.9%, illustrating that people in the target group do not participate in the work force to the same extent as their more educated fellows.

The 1981 Census does not provide 3 way cross tabulations of occupation, education and immigration status; thus, no satisfactory estimate of how many immigrant workers are functionally illiterate can be attempted. Instead, the occupations which employ high concentrations of both immigrants and illiterates will be examined. First, overall participation in the workforce will be investigated, to determine to what degree immigrants and illiterates participate in the workforce.

TABLE 18: ACTIVE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE (1981), BY SEX, BIRTHPLACE, PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, TARGET GROUP.

	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	
TOTAL	7,080,095	(100%)	4,796,945	(100%)	11,877,040	(100%)
Birthplace						
IN CANADA	5,708,770	(80.6%)	3,888,110	(81%)	9,596,880	(81%)
OUTSIDE	1,371,325	(19.4%)	908,835	(19%)	2,280,160	(19%)
Recent Imm.						
61-70	388,190	(5.5%)	281,260	(5.9%)	669,450	(5.6%)
71-81	368,165	(5.2%)	275,880	(5.8%)	644,045	(5.4%)
Less than Grade 9 education	1,070,690	(15.1%)	495,530	(10.3%)	1,566,220	(13%

Source :Census of Canada, 1981, Catalogue 92-922, Table 1 & Catalogue 92-921, Table 4.

7.1 LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

One third of women are designated "worker" on entry to Canada; the others come in as "family class" or "sponsored" immigrants, who are dependent, usually on their spouses, for support. However, many of these "non-workers" subsequently seek paid employment. The statistics demonstrate that recent immigrant women are much more likely to participate in the work force than Canadian-born women. In fact, 64% of women immigrating in 1961-70 participated in the work force in comparison to about 52% of Canadian born women. The same is true of immigrant men; 88% of recent immigrant men (1960-71) participated in the work force in comparison with 78% of Canadian-born men.

7.2 LOW PARTICIPATION RATES

Two groups of women are notable for their lack of participation in the paid workforce: women with less than a Grade 9 education - women in the target group- and women who speak neither English or French (79% of whom are also in the target group). 31% of women who speak neither official language participated in the labour force in 1980. It is highly likely that this group is much larger than the Census indicates, since it is probable that some people answering "yes" to the question "Do you speak English or French?" have very restricted mastery of an official language. 26% of target group women participated in the paid labour force in 1980.

TABLE 19: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF VARIOUS GROUPS IN CANADIAN POPULATION (15 YEARS +).

	Participation Rate		
	Total	Males	Females
TOTAL POPULATION	65%	78%	52%
BORN IN CANADA	65%	78%	52%
BORN OUTSIDE CANADA	65%	78%	52%
RECENT IMMIGRANTS (1961-71)	76%	88%	64%
RECENT IMMIGRANTS (1971-81)	71%	84%	59%
LESS THAN GRADE 9 EDUCATION	43%	61%	26%
SPEAKERS OF NEITHER ENGLISH NOR FRENCH	41%	59%	31%

Source: Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-915 Table 2. (N.B. all figures rounded to nearest whole number.)

Both target-group men and those speaking neither

official language participated in the work force much less than other men, but to a greater extent than women in these categories. About 60% of target-group men worked in 1980. Since a large proportion of older people (over 65) are in the target group, one might think that age explains the low participation rate. However, this is only part of the answer. A glance at the age breakdowns in Table 20 shows that the youngest members of the target group have very low participation rates.

Young women with a university education participate to the same extent as similarly educated young men (86% participation). By comparison, 35% of young women and 56% of young men with less than a Grade 9 level of education were in the work force in 1980.

TABLE 20: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY EDUCATION, AGE AND SEX.

AGE	TOTAL	LESS GR 9	without 9-13 cert	with 9-13 cert	Trade Cert.	Some Univ. without	Univ with cert	Univ Degree
MALES								
15-24	70%	56%	57%	78%	91%	84%	88%	87%
25-44	95%	87%	94%	96%	97%	96%	98%	97%
45-64	87%	79%	86%	88%	91%	88%	92%	94%
FEMALES								
15-24	52%	35%	43%	71%	81%	77%	86%	86%
25-44	65%	46%	58%	63%	69%	70%	76%	82%
45-64	46%	32%	46%	51%	60%	56%	64%	73%

Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-915, Table 3.

Young men with Grade 9-13 education but who have not graduated do not fare better than those in the target group. These "dropouts" participate to an extent similar to target-group members. Young women "dropouts" participate slightly more (43%) than target group women (35%).

8. OCCUPATIONS

Twenty-one major occupational groupings are considered in the Census. Of these, women predominate (more than 75%) in 2 sections: medicine & health and clerical. Men predominate in 13 occupational categories, using the 75% criterion. In addition, women outnumber men in social sciences, teaching, and service occupations. The proportions of men and women in each occupational grouping are illustrated in Table 21.

Tables 22 & 23 attempt to illustrate the distribution of different groups of the population among the various occupational categories. Table 22 is confined to women workers, Table 23 to men. The groups considered are: "all" men and women workers, "recent immigrant" men and women, "other mother-tongue" speakers, and target group men and women. The column on the far right of each table indicates something of the educational requirements of specific occupational groups. In particular, the final column may be viewed as an indicator of occupations containing high proportions of workers with less than a Grade 9 level of

education. The example of women workers may clarify this point.

Overall, 10% of female workers have less than a Grade 9 education. But the distribution of these workers among the various occupational groups is informative. For example, in "professional" and "clerical" occupations 3% of the female workers have less than a Grade 9 education. By contrast, 21% of female workers in service occupations, 23% of women workers in the "Primary" sector and 30% of women working in the manufacturing sector have less than a Grade 9 education.

8.1 WHERE DO ILLITERATE IMMIGRANTS WORK ?

Women's occupations differ substantially from men's so the sexes will be considered separately. Immigrant men and women will be compared with their Canadian-born counterparts. Much of the base data is provided in Table 22 (women workers) and 23 (men workers). Because of the absence of Census data specifically on immigrant workers with less than a Grade 9 education, those occupations which employ an above-average proportion of both immigrants and people with less than a Grade 9 education will be considered. As far as women are concerned, this examination will concentrate on the "service" and "fabricating and assembly" occupations .

TABLE 21: PROPORTIONS OF THE SEXES IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

OCCUPATIONS	WOMEN	MEN
Managerial and Admin.	25%	75%
Natural Science,Eng. & Mathematics	14%	86%
Social Sciences	53%	47%
Religion	30%	70%
Teaching	60%	40%
Medicine & Health	78%	22%
Artistic,Literary & Recreational	39%	61%
TOTAL PROF + TECH	52%	48%
Clerical	78%	22%
Sales	42%	58%
Service	53%	47%
Farming, Horticult. & Animal Husbandry	22%	78%
Fishing, Hunt., Trap.	6%	94%
Forestry & Logging	6%	94%
Mining & Quarrying	2%	98%
TOTAL PRIMARY	16%	84%
Processing	22%	78%
Machining	7%	93%
Product Fabricating & Assembly	25%	75%
Construction	2%	98%
Transport	6%	94%
Materials Handling	23%	77%
Other Crafts & Equipment Operating	21%	79%
TOTAL	40%	60%

Source: Census of Canada, 1981,, Catalogue: 92-923, Table 1.

TABLE 22: DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS BY GROUPS IN THE FEMALE CANDIAN WORKFORCE.

WOMEN	All women	Imm. women (71-81)	Other Mother Tongues	% of Target Group	%<GED in Occup.
All Occupations	100%*	100%*	100%*	100%*	10%
Managerial and Admin.	5.5	4.0	4.8	2.2	4.0
Natural Science, Eng. & Mathematics	1.2	1.9	1.4	-	1.4
Social Sciences	2.1	1.3	1.5	0.3	3.2
Religion	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.7	16.1
Teaching	6.2	3.4	4.3	0.4	1.2
Medicine & Health	8.6	8.3	6.8	3.5	4.2
Artistic, Literary & Recreational	1.4	1.4	1.1	0.5	3.3
TOTAL PROF+ TECH	19.7	16.4	15.2	5.4	3.0
Clerical	36.3	29.2	27.3	12.1	3.4
Sales	9.4	6.1	8.5	8.6	9.5
Service	15.7	19.6	20.0	33.4	21.0
Farming, Horticult. & Animal Husbandry	2.2	1.7	3.7	5.1	23.6
Fishing, Hunt., Trap.	-	-	-	-	34.8
Forestry & Logging	0.1	-	-	-	17.5
Mining & Quarrying	-	-	-	-	14.3
TOTAL PRIMARY	2.3	1.7	3.7	5.1	23.5*
Processing	2.3	3.1	3.1	7.2	32.8
Machining	0.4	1.0	0.8	1.2	27.5
Product Fabricating & Assembly	4.9	14.3	12.5	17.4	36.6
Construction	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5	16.3
Transport	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.9	14.1
Materials Handling	1.2	2.2	1.9	3.2	28.1
Other Crafts & Equipment Operating	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.8	13.6
Occupations not classified elsewhere	0.5	1.1	0.9	1.2	24.3

(* Parts do not add precisely to 100% due to rounding.)

Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogues 92-917 Table 3 and 92-918, Table 1.

8.2 WOMEN WORKERS

Half of all illiterate women workers are employed in two categories: Service (33%), and Product Fabricating and Assembly (17%). Similarly, 34% of all immigrant women workers, and 32% of "other" mother-tongue speakers, are employed in these sectors.

Sheila Arnopoulos (1979) noticed that immigrant women tended to be "located on the top and bottom rungs of the labour market ladder with little representation in between" (p.3). She observed that immigrant women were "well-represented" in the professional and technical occupational groups, but "over-represented" in the low-paying service and manufacturing jobs. This meant that there was a higher proportion of immigrant women than Canadian-born women working in these sectors. Her data were taken from the 1971 Census. Since that time the Immigration Act has been changed and a stricter point system imposed on prospective immigrants. One might expect to find fewer immigrants in the low-paying occupational sectors comparing 1971 to 1981; however, the reverse is true.

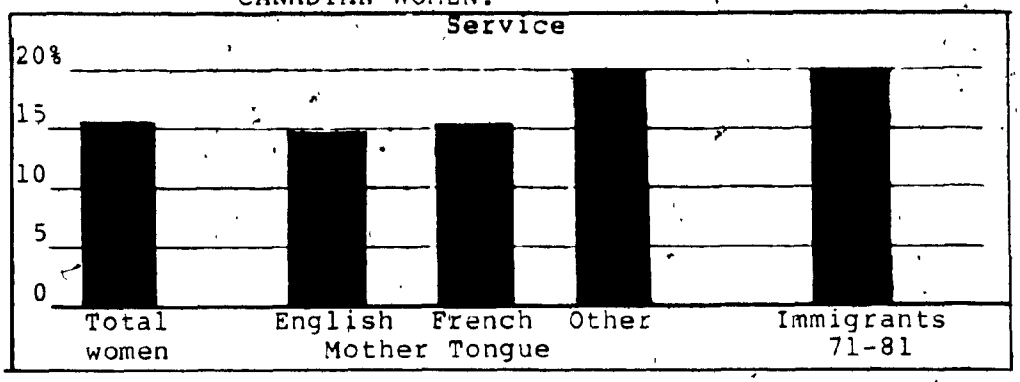
A. SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

20% of recent immigrant women (and other mother-tongue speakers) work in the very low-paid "service" occupations as babysitters, waitresses, domestic workers, dishwashers, office cleaners and hotel workers etc. In fact, women

immigrating between 1971-81, target group women, and other mother-tongue speakers are all disproportionately represented when compared with all women, and English mother-tongue speakers: 14.8% of English mother-tongue speakers work in service occupations.

No indication of racial background is offered by the Census. However, many workers in the domestic workers' union are visible minorities, as are many childcare and hotel workers. Those from the Caribbean often speak a non-standard variety of English or French. The Census data does not indicate how many of the Englisn or French mother-tongue groups in fact speak a non-standard dialect or a Creole. The inclusion of non-standard dialect speakers among French and English mother-tongue categories masks the existence of a population that may have very special literacy needs, and who experience particular problems acquiring literacy in the standard educational system.

FIGURE 11: THE DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF WOMEN IN THE SERVICE OCCUPATIONS COMPARED TO ALL CANADIAN WOMEN.



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917, Table 3; Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

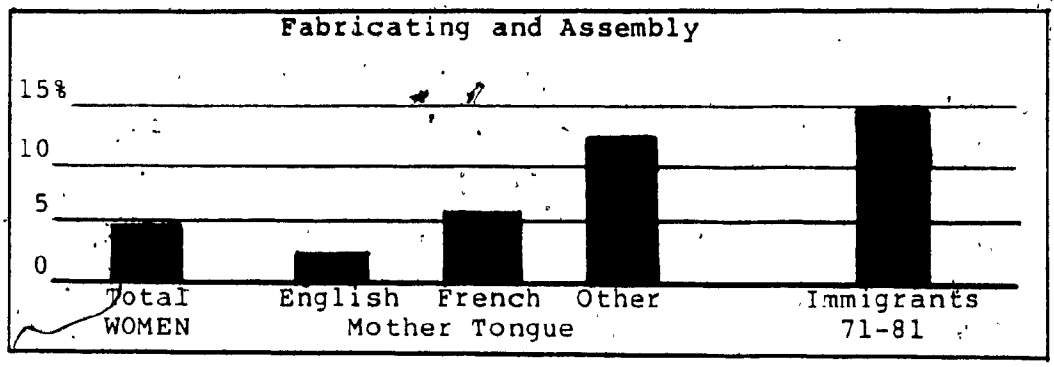
1 in 3 of the target group of working women illiterates has some kind of service job. A larger proportion of immigrants than Canadian born individuals are employed in this sector.

B. PRODUCT FABRICATING & ASSEMBLING OCCUPATIONS

4.9% of all women work in this sector - 1 in 20 of all working women. By comparison, 14.3% of recent immigrants work here. These are the garment and textile workers, the sewing machine operators and assembly-line workers. The conditions of work in this sector have been characterized as "horrendous", the speed "frantic", the pay "meager" (McGowan, 1982 p.6).

This sector is also characterized by the relatively low level of education of its employees. Fully 36.6% of all women working in this sector have less than a Grade 9 level of education; nearly 80% have less than Grade 13.

FIGURE 12: THE DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF WOMEN IN THE FABRICATING AND ASSEMBLY OCCUPATIONS.



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917, Table 3 : Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

8.3 MEN WORKERS

The male labour force expanded by 25% over the last decade, to over 7 million workers. While women workers are concentrated in a few occupations, men are spread much more evenly throughout the various occupational groups. No more than 11% of the total male workforce is employed in any one sector, even though men outnumber women in 16 of the 21 occupational groupings. 15% of the male work force could be classified as functionally illiterate: just over one million men. But these too are spread fairly evenly among the various occupational sectors. The primary sector is the occupational category with the highest proportion of target group workers: nearly 1 in 3 workers employed here falls into the target group. However, the proportion of recent immigrant men in this category is relatively small (2.6%). "Other" mother-tongue men are as likely to work in this sector as all Canadian men.

TABLE 23 : DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS BY GROUPS IN THE MALE CANADIAN WORK-FORCE.

MEN	All men	Imm. men (71-80)	Other M.T.	% of Target Group	% Grp in Occup.
All Occupations	100%*	100%*	100%*	100%*	15%
Managerial and Admin.	11.3	8.9	9.8	3.9	5.4
Natural Science, Eng. & Mathematics	4.9	8.9	5.9	0.5	1.6
Social Sciences	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.1	1.7
Religion	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.1	4.4
Teaching	2.9	2.3	2.3	0.1	0.7
Medicine & Health	1.7	2.7	1.7	0.4	3.3
Artistic, Literary & Recreational	1.5	1.5	1.1	0.5	5.0
TOTAL PROF + TECH	12.7	16.7	12.1	1.7	2.1
Clerical	7.0	6.9	5.2	3.7	6.6
Sales	8.7	6.1	6.6	4.8	8.6
Service	9.6	13.7	11.5	11.8	18.7
Farming, Horticult. & Animal Husbandry	5.3	2.1	6.6	10.8	31.2
Fishing, Hunt., Trap.	0.5	-	0.2	1.6	45.5
Forestry & Logging	1.1	0.2	0.6	2.5	35.0
Mining & Quarrying	1.1	0.3	0.6	1.5	22.4
TOTAL PRIMARY	8.0	2.6	8.0	16.4	31.5
Processing	5.3	6.1	5.8	8.3	23.8
Machining	4.1	7.8	5.9	4.2	15.7
Product Fabricating & Assembling	10.2	14.8	12.1	10.4	15.7
Construction	10.9	8.1	13.2	15.4	21.9
Transport	6.2	2.9	3.8	9.9	24.4
Materials Handling	2.7	2.1	2.4	3.9	22.3
Other Crafts & Equipment Operating	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.0	9.3
Occupations not classified elsewhere	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.9	24.6

* Parts do not add precisely to 100% due to rounding.

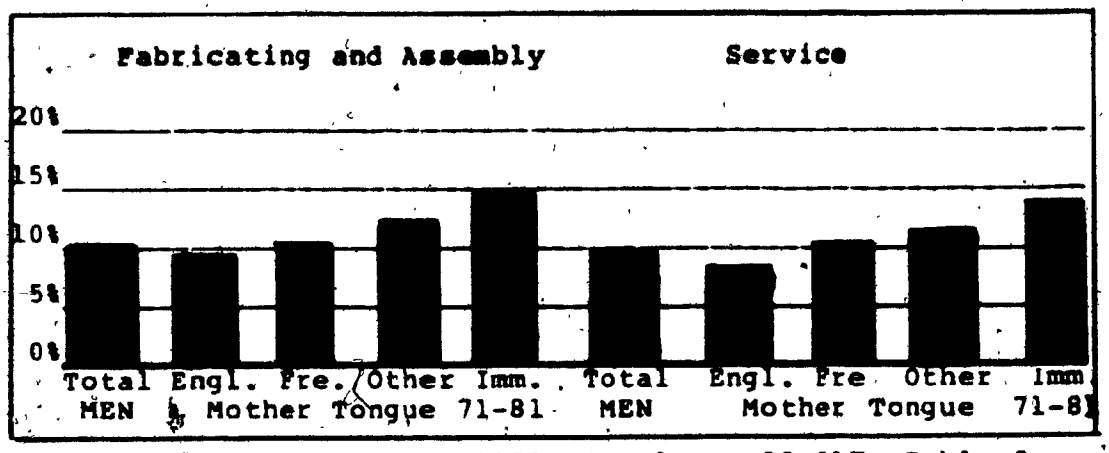
Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogues 92-917 Table 3 and 92-918 Table 1.

8.4 RECENT IMMIGRANT MEN

A. SERVICE AND PRODUCT FABRICATING & ASSEMBLY

29% of recent immigrant men, and 25% of "other" mother-tongue speakers work in these jobs. The two sectors account for 25% of the target group. By contrast, nearly 20% of all men work in these two categories.

FIGURE 13: PROPORTION OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF MEN WORKING IN SERVICE AND FABRICATING & ASSEMBLY OCCUPATIONS.

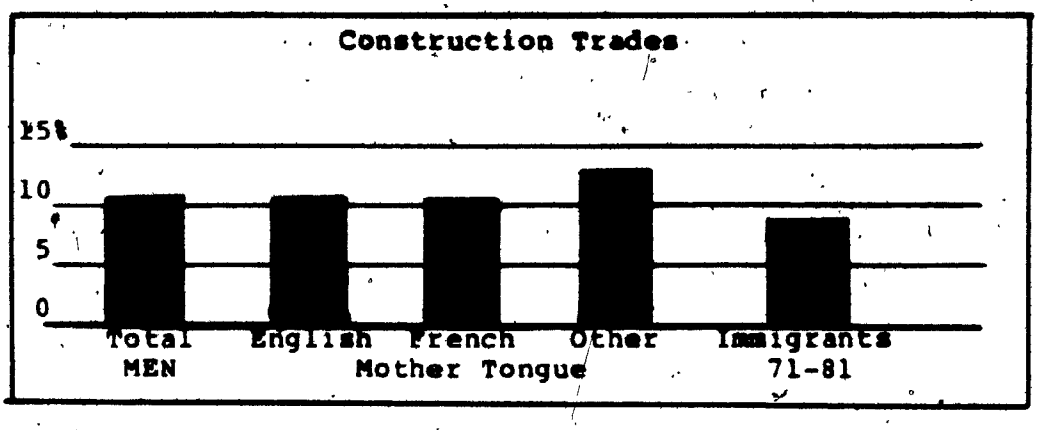


Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917, Table 3; Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

B. CONSTRUCTION

Another 15 % of the target group work in construction. Only 8% of recent immigrant men work in these jobs in comparison with 13% of "other" mother tongue speakers (see Table 23).

FIGURE 14: THE DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF MEN IN THE CONSTRUCTION TRADES.



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917, Table 3; and Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

TABLE 25: SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL DATA

1. ORIGINS OF IMMIGRANTS (1978-1983)	25% from traditional sources (U.K., U.S., & France) 40% from Asia.
2. IMMIGRATION BY CLASS (1979-83)	30% Independent 20% Refugee + Designated 41% Family 9% Assisted Relative
Workers vs Non-Workers(78-82)	44% Workers 56% Non-Workers (15%-spouse)
3. DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS (1978-1982)	90% to 4 Provinces: Ont. (44%), Que.(17%), B.C.(16%), Alberta (13%).
4. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES	
a) official language ability	41-51% immigrants 1979-82 had none on arrival.
b) Linguistic Background of Canadian Population	61% English 26% French 0.5% Indian & Inuktitut 12.5% Other
c) Alphabet of "Other" Mother-Tongue Speakers	34% Non-Roman 66% Roman Alphabetics
5. FUNCTIONAL ILLITERATES	3.5 million in Canada=22.3%
% by Province	Quebec(29.56%) Alberta(14.01%) Ontario (19.58%) B.C.(14.4%)
In Alberta, Ontario, B.C.	1) 27-36% of target group are from "other" countries. 2) 38-43% are "other" mother tongue speakers.
Quebec	1) 83% target group speak French. 2) 10% are "other" mother-tongue speakers: 7% speak English m-t.
6. INCOME	
a) Average Income of population (with income, from all sources)	7.2% of population $44,606 14.4% " " $23,880 22.4% " " $15,515 56.4% " " $ 5,162

b) A great deal of variation between mens incomes and womens incomes but, considering the sexes separately, very little variation between immigrants versus Canadian-born individuals of the same sex.

c) Income/Education: average income of workers (1980 rounded).

men +degree	$30,000 p.a.
woman +degree	$14,000 p.a.
men -Grade9	$14,000 p.a.
women -Grade9	$ 7,000 p.a.

d) Attained Education & Income correlate highly if sexes considered seperately.

BUT greater attendance does not correlate with higher income as higher attainment does.

7. LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

High:	Male/Female recent immigrants
Low :	1) All Functional illiterates 2) Population speaking neither official language

8. LABOUR FORCE: 1.5 million workers in Target Group

% in Target Group	15% of men workers 10% of women workers

8. OCCUPATIONS

Women	60% work in Clerical, Sales & Service categories.
Recent Women Immigrants	34% work in Service and Product Fabricating & Assembly.
Target Group Women	50% work in Service & Fabricating

Men are distributed more evenly amongst occupations

Recent Men Immigrants	29% work in Service & Product Fabricating & Assembly.
Target Group Men.	62% in 4 sectors: All Primary, Construction, Fabricating & Service.

CHAPTER 4: PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF ADULT IMMIGRANTS

Knowledge of the problems experienced by immigrants, their socioeconomic situation, their needs and the barriers which prevent or inhibit them from taking advantage of learning opportunities are some of the factors which have to be taken into account when setting up language and literacy courses for immigrants.

The major problems of adult immigrants have been identified and documented in various studies of immigrants, using the expertise of ethnic immigrant service groups, employment agencies, unions and community organisations. One study of particular relevance was the Canadian Association for Adult Education's research into learners and non-learners.

"Learners" were defined as individuals who, since the completion of their full-time education, have participated in a learning activity (for example, a course). "Non-learners" were those who had not participated in such an activity since finishing full-time studies. The two groups exhibited different profiles. The characteristics of "non-learners" - low educational attainment, low income, mother-tongue neither English nor French - correspond closely to those of immigrants most likely to be illiterate (ICEA, 1982 p.15). Not only did the ICEA's study identify the problems and needs of non-learners, it emphasised that

conventional delivery systems do not reach non-learners. It contended that new delivery systems, rather than extensions of the old, are needed if non-learners' needs are to be served.

A long-ignored way of finding out about illiterates' problems and needs is to ask them. In a workshop at the Literacy Conference in London, Ontario in May 1984, illiterates studied their own needs (Starting Out in July, 1984). The concerns that they raised centred around the need for a radical improvement in literacy training delivery; in terms of improved facilities, better methods and evaluation of programs, better-trained teachers, and improved communication about existing programs. Most of these demands entail the expenditure of more money, of course. In fact, the participants were keen to point out that they wanted training so that they could get work, rather than staying on welfare. "Educational funds instead of welfare funds" was one of their stated needs. In terms of improved facilities, they identified baby-sitting services as a definite need. While they felt that taxes should be redirected to fund literacy programs, they also thought that unions should play a role in providing educational opportunities in the workplace.

These very needs are echoed by agencies, workers, and teachers involved with illiterates.

From the socio-economic profile that was sketched in Chapter 3, it is evident that the immigrants most likely to be illiterate may be classified into two groups: those who work outside the home, and those who do not. On the one hand, individuals, particularly women, without a knowledge of English or French, and those with less than a Grade 9 education are least likely to be found in the workforce. On the other hand, those immigrants who lack formal education are most likely to be found in the low-paying service and manufacturing sectors.

A number of problems are common to immigrants, whether or not they are in the paid workforce. These problems are: financial constraints, lack of information, lack of child-care facilities, geographical isolation, racism, and low level of skills.

Immigrants in the workforce tend to experience an additional set of problems. The fact that an immigrant has started work in Canada does not mean that s/he no longer needs language and literacy training. Some people may have started work without any official language skills or training, while others may have quit their initial course as soon as they found a job. Another group may find that their language and literacy skills need improvement, if they are to participate actively in Canadian society, or achieve the goals they set for themselves. Because they are workers, they may encounter certain difficulties which

prevent them from seeking learning opportunities. Among these problems may be: exhaustion from strenuous work, scheduling difficulties (e.g. resulting from shift work), underemployment, and unemployment.

Safety at work is an additional topic affecting working immigrants that needs some exploration. For, on-the-job safety may hinge upon an individual's ability to understand either written or oral instructions. Consequently, safety education should play a central role in literacy or official language courses offered at the workplace.

Immigrants not in the workforce may experience a different set of problems. Many of the studies referred to mention isolation, social isolation, as a factor affecting elderly and, in particular, female immigrants who do not participate in the workforce. This isolation may be caused by various factors, and serves to exacerbate the other problems of this group. Some of these problems may be: dependence on spouse or sponsor; cultural constraints, particularly on women; shyness or fear; and disability.

The objective of this section of the study is to point to needs which have to be met, and problems to be overcome, if non-learners are to become learners. It is acknowledged that the problems themselves may be very deep-rooted and indicative of socioeconomic problems outside the scope of this study. It is useful to describe each problem briefly

and outline the type of program -literacy/language- that might be appropriate in each situation.

1. PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF IMMIGRANTS IN AND OUT OF THE PAID WORKFORCE

A. FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS

Just as level of income and education are directly linked, so are poverty and illiteracy. Once a individual recognizes his/her need for literacy training, it may be that money is a major factor determining whether s/he is able to participate in a learning course or not. The cost of taking a course, in terms of course fees and materials, loss of earnings, child-care and travel expenses, may be sufficient to bar access to education.

Several additional elements affect immgrants in particular. The first priority for many newly arrived immigrants is the establishment of the financial security of the family; in some cases, both the family in Canada and family remaining in the native country. For example, Adeline Chancy (1981), in her study of illiterate Haitian women in Montreal, noticed that no family member felt able to take part in educational activities until the breadwinner was secure in his/her job. This often meant that literacy training, although recognized as desirable for coping with the demands of Quebec society, was delayed for several years after arrival. In particular, the women put

off seeking education for themselves until they felt that their husbands and children were well settled into their lives and activities.

Immigrants who participate in full-time language training on arrival often experience problems supporting their families on the allowances they receive. As a consequence, s/he may leave a course before s/he has achieved a language or literacy competence adequate for his/her needs. Moreover, if the head of household is the only family member eligible for training, a financial constraint may limit the spouse's access to language training.

To allow the poorest and neediest members of society to benefit from learning opportunities, courses have to be offered free of charge. This is only a first step, since the course fee is only one consideration. For example, the costs incurred to free a woman to take a course may be expressed in terms of income lost, babysitting and travel expenses incurred. ESL/Literacy courses in urban centres that provide bus tickets and free daycare, while charging no fees for entry or materials, may facilitate access to training.

B. LACK OF INFORMATION

Reliable information is difficult for any illiterate

to come by. For those who do not speak or read an official language, these problems are increased. Furthermore, immigrants coming from cultures substantially different from Canada's may have no realistic expectations about what services may be available, and what benefits they may be entitled to.

In the first place, information about available services is difficult to obtain. Little networking occurs between agencies, and thus one agency may be unaware of the activities of others (Report of Joint Task Force on Immigrant Women, 1979 p.28). In the workplace, lack of knowledge about labour codes, minimum wage standards, the legality of unionizing, and worker compensation may result in a feeling of vulnerability, and a fear of complaining or organizing on the workers' part (Arnopoulos, 1979 p.12). Legal information is also hard to come by. Some immigrants live in fear of deportation because they do not know their rights as landed immigrants. Even establishing one's right to an interpreter may be difficult.

As for finding out about courses, social service agencies are often unaware of the programs offered by other organisations, as little coordination takes place. Educational institutions which operate on a "see who comes" basis, wait for students to approach them rather than making attempts to publicize their existence to the community. This policy results in "an emphasis on helping

the better educated rather than the less-well educated" (Selman, 1979 p 22).

To bridge the information gap, various approaches are needed. In the first place, more comprehensive information should be available in the native language at points of application for entry to Canada. Although this may provide a basic foundation of reliable information, it may be difficult for a prospective immigrant to assess what is relevant until actually in Canada. Thus, on or shortly after arrival, orientation within the host community is desirable : this may take place in either the native tongue, through interpreters, through first-language manuals or through official-language training programs.

Better information systems are needed in Canada. Setting up a reliable and up-to-date directory of services such as the Adult Basic Literacy : A Directory of Ontario Programs (1984) compiled by Ethel Anderson, is a beginning. Ensuring that this information is kept up-to-date, readily available, and accessible to those who need the services, is essential.

Language and literacy classes that are based on useful and relevant content will likely perform a dual function. While providing vital information to the participants to help them function better within Canadian society, they will enable immigrants to acquire the skills necessary to

find out for themselves what they need to know in the future.

C. LACK OF DAYCARE

Lack of quality, affordable child-care facilities is a problem that affects all parents to a certain extent, especially those without a large or extended family to share the responsibilities.

Every study of immigrant women points to the need for daycare provision wherever women work, live, study or socialize. It seems that these studies demand daycare for women rather than for the family. It is obvious that parents of pre-school children cannot both participate in activities outside the home without adequate provision for their children. For example, if the male head of household is supporting the family on a training allowance and no daycare facility is provided at his course, his spouse may have to be responsible for their children and this may restrict her ability to look for work, or seek part-time language training.

For immigrants who do not speak or read English or French, a strong case can be made in favour of providing official language immersion daycare for their children. Studies on the effects of the acquisition of pre-literacy skills prior to school entry indicate that children without literacy exposure are at a distinct disadvantage which may

color their school experiences and progress (Cummins, 1979).

A dramatic extension of quality daycare facilities (on all fronts- at schools, in offices, factories, hospitals and churches; wherever parents work, study and socialize) has long been a demand of the women's movement. In the short-term, the provision of daycare or playgroup facilities for pre-school children frees parents to participate in educational or employment activities. In the long term, it may be the key to satisfactory integration for second generation immigrants.

D. GEOGRAPHICAL ISOLATION

The range of services offered in urban centres is more extensive than that offered in rural or isolated regions. In some instances, no language or literacy training is locally available, and students or teachers must travel long distances to attend courses.

There is a need to increase the community services offered, and to create outreach arms of urban programs that have the flexibility to serve rural community needs too. The provision of learning opportunities via the electronic media and the telephone, in combination with community networking, may go some way to redressing the imbalance between the range of services available in rural and urban areas.

E. RACISM

Racism is a highly complex issue which cannot be adequately explored here. Some facets appear to have economic roots. The racism experienced by the Hmong in Philadelphia, U.S.A., for example, seems to have arisen in a time of high unemployment because refugees were competing with "the least skilled for low-paying jobs and public aid" (New York Times article published in the Gazette, Sept. 20, 1984). Although better intercultural understanding may ease relations between races, this economic tension is likely to be relieved only by economic security for all concerned - immigrant and native-born citizen alike.

The Hmong, coming from a non-literate culture where reading and writing were not skills that adults were expected to develop, need intensive orientation and language/literacy training, often incorporating an interpreter, if they are to settle in Canada. They need longer than even semi-literate immigrants to acquire a survival level of literacy. It is unlikely that the first generation of Hmong will ever achieve functional literacy; they will continue to need the services of interpreters in most contacts with mainstream institutions.

In a different context, racism or the fear of racial slurs inhibits immigrants' attempts to seek education. Adeline Chancy in her study of illiterate Haitian women in

Montreal observed that racism exhibited, by the francophone community, instilled fear into the immigrants to the point that they isolated themselves from the host community. Although many women in the study expressed an interest in, and a need for, courses to help them acquire French literacy skills, the fear of racial confrontations was so strong that they were unwilling to approach mainstream institutions for help.

In situations like this, it seems there is a need for the ethnic community itself to offer support and various types of training to members of their community. This will do nothing to ease racial tension in the larger community, but it may help workers to cope better with their jobs and improve the level of communication between schools, teachers and immigrant parents.

In the workplace, racial tension may be relieved if communication is improved. Observers of labour relations attending the Toronto Conference on "Workers and their Communities" noted the existence of factories where job demarcations were set on linguistic lines. All those doing one job would be from the same linguistic and ethnic background, whereas workers on a different job would share a distinctly different language and ethnicity. While communication between workers in one occupation was facilitated, there was no opportunity to change jobs or communicate between occupations if this involved crossing

linguistic borders. The observers felt that prejudices arose when workers could not communicate between sectors. Racial tension became evident. The observers mentioned that, when language courses were introduced and workers from different language backgrounds were mixed together, the provision of an opportunity and the means to discuss shared problems and experiences broke down language and ethnic barriers. Prejudices began to dissolve in the light of real information exchange.

Programs which result in greater understanding between communities may help relieve racial tensions. If language or literacy courses are based on the common needs of the participants, they may result in improved communication, both between ethnic groups, and with the host community.

F. LOW LEVEL OF SKILLS

For many unskilled immigrants, their lack of useful work skills is seen as a problem, and a limitation on their earning capacity. The combination of an inadequate command of an official language and a lack of formal education limit access to training possibilities offered by CEIC, which currently demands a minimum attainment of Grade 10 (Alden, 1982).

The grade-level limitation seems arbitrary. Workers with a functional level of literacy and oral competence may be able to acquire new job skills without benefit of formal

education. Official language and literacy courses are needed which attempt to teach relevant work skills and language and literacy skills concurrently. Non-workers who feel a need to seek paid employment may benefit from such work-related training, too. In addition, this group may need orientation to the job market -in terms of information on how to search for a job, work standards and workers' rights.

2. PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS

A. EXHAUSTION AND SCHEDULING

Workers with excessively heavy or exhausting jobs, or those who do shift work, find participation in regularly scheduled courses difficult if not impossible. Poor working conditions are prevalent in the low paying jobs in which unskilled immigrant workers are typically employed (McGowan, 1982 p.9). For example, in occupations such as seasonal farmwork and domestic work, minimum wage legislation "frequently does not apply or is not enforced". Consequently, many women work long hours in conditions characterized by poor "ventilation, heating, washroom facilities or safety equipment" (McGowan, p.9). The case of East Indian women and child farm workers in Vancouver was documented by Marguerite Cassin. She states that they work from dawn to dusk at peak harvest times, doing heavy work for low pay (Cassin, 1979 p.14). Cassin explains that

women continue to get their jobs informally, through ethnic contacts, despite the efforts of CEIC to reorganise the farm labour pool, because the women's living conditions, their position in the family, and their level of English make "the procedure of registering with the government... difficult" (Cassin, p.15).

The combination of hard physical work outside the home, and the traditional housekeeping duties inside the home, leaves little energy or free time to seek educational opportunities. Poor conditions of work, long hours, and rotating shiftwork, all prevent immigrants with such jobs from benefiting from language/literacy courses, regularly scheduled in evenings or on weekends.

Obviously, the long term solution to these immigrants' problems is to find better paying, less physically demanding jobs. In the short term, they may be able to acquire portable skills through participation in educational courses. In this respect, they require language and literacy classes that are scheduled to suit their changing needs, or on a more flexible, drop-in basis. A prerequiste for this is the strict enforcement of labour codes and wage laws, to ensure that all workers are paid a living wages, and that they work in healthy surroundings. The creation of workers' rights to day release or paid educational leave might provide the time necessary to help them acquire the skills they need, whether language, literacy or academic

upgrading.

B. UNDEREMPLOYMENT

Getting a job is the first priority after arrival in Canada of most independent immigrants. Obtaining a job that is commensurate with one's qualifications and experience is a secondary consideration. The study Three Years in Canada revealed that 31% of immigrants had not found a job in their intended occupation after 3 years' residence (p.32). The main reasons respondents cited for this were language deficiencies (16%), lack of Canadian experience (20%), and non-acceptance of qualifications by professional or trade associations (20%). (This survey was conducted among immigrants arriving in 1969 and may be considered outdated, but the 1982 study entitled Immigrant Women in Canada reiterated these particular problems.)

While the immigration authorities have developed a sophisticated mechanism for assessing an individual's employability, primarily based on education, work experience and occupational training, it seems that employers do not accept, are not in agreement with, or are not aware of this assessment. If immigration policy continues to be geared to the demands of the market place, it seems that industry and government need to more closely attuned to the demands each makes on immigrant workers.

In terms of language and literacy activities, there is a need for work-oriented training, geared to the required level of competence. For example, professional immigrant women, such as doctors, teachers, nurses and businesswomen, selected in the first place for their high academic qualifications and work skills, need to reach a level of communication, in both oral/aural and literacy skills, far in excess of the requirements for mainstream participation. If immigrants are selected with respect to labour-market demand, and the objective of initial language training is to provide skills to enable immigrants to work, it may be efficient to aim at the level of performance needed by workers in their intended occupation. This may result in more specific, longer, more functional courses which allow immigrants to fulfill their potential.

At the other end of the educational spectrum, some immigrants arrive with minimal official language and literacy skills, and need a training period long enough to allow them to attain a "functional" or even a "survival" level. In the case of non-literate immigrants, a six month training period may be insufficient for them to acquire enough skills to maintain their learning, let alone allow them to continue to learn independently. This may indicate a need to provide training until a minimum level of competence is achieved (as used to be the case in the civil service bilingualism program).

Alternatively, some immigrants who have little experience with formal schooling prior to their arrival in Canada, for example, find full-time intensive training overwhelming and stressful. In such cases, the provision of some back-up training and assistance for an immigrant once s/he was on-the-job might facilitate the gradual acquisition of an adequate level of official language/ literacy.

C. UNEMPLOYMENT

With the jobless rate at around 14%, and little prospect for long term improvement in sight, periods of unemployment among immigrants have become commonplace. In order to take part in a re-training course offered by CEIC, unemployed persons must fulfill certain requirements. In most cases, they must have adequate official language skills, have attained a minimum of a Grade 10 education, and have been referred by a CEIC cousellor. However, language training is available to the unemployed. If a cousellor authorizes training, an unemployed person may follow a language course- in an official language- offered by an approved, private institution, while continuing to collect UIC benefits. Consequently, workers in occupations which are contracting rather than expanding might be able to use periods of unemployment as opportunities for participating in language training, academic upgrading, or job

retraining. Immigrant women, especially those who had been employed in industries with high concentrations of immigrants, and had had little opportunity to acquire official language/literacy skills, could benefit from the period of unemployment by enrolling in intensive, official-language courses and acquiring necessary skills.

The provision of UIC benefits while taking a language course would free such women from some financial constraints and allow them to take the first steps towards academic upgrading, skill retraining, or acquiring the language facility which may ease their efforts to communicate with schools and other mainstream institutions. Such a program exists at this time, and many language schools are anxious to get this business. However, it is by no means clear that the courses offered are suitable. For example, the kinds of general second-language "conversation" courses that are offered to middle-class Canadians may be unsuitable for immigrants' needs. In particular, a larger literacy element and needs-based content may be required by immigrants. As more immigrants get authorization to take such courses, it is evident that more relevant, less general language courses will be needed.

D. SAFETY EDUCATION

Safety education that is offered only in the official languages, or through written materials and instructions,

may not reach many workers. Frontier College has had "80 years of grassroots' experience" in literacy education in Canada. They recall an Ontario safety campaign featuring posters on what NOT to do. The resulting 150% increase in injuries in one month was attributed to the inability of the workers to read the written message of what they SHOULD do. They also report the fact that 55% of injured workers do not speak or read English or French (Pearpoint, 1979 p.6).

This kind of evidence, reaped from many years of experience, underlines Frontier College's contention that there is a widespread inability, amongst workers, to obtain vital information via the written word. The results, demonstrated by avoidable industrial accidents, show that this is clearly a serious problem for both workers and management.

The provision of work-place classes in F/ESL and literacy is necessary to provide workers with the skills necessary to be able to follow both oral and written instructions, and improve safety on the job. In this case, work-site classes are needed in order that workers themselves can identify the hazardous situations and operations on which course content could be founded. Their teacher would need access to the written instructions (including manuals, notices, posters, etc.) and contact with supervisors, so that safety courses can be designed around

relevant and important information.

3. IMMIGRANTS OUTSIDE THE PAID WORKFORCE

A. DEPENDENCE ON SPOUSE OR SPONSOR

Family-class immigrants and assisted relatives are not assessed on the full point system, and may not have work or language skills that are demanded in Canada. At the same time, they are not eligible for language training allowances since their sponsors have undertaken to be financially responsible for their maintenance. In some provinces, sponsored immigrants are not eligible to receive some very basic social service benefits like daycare subsidies, for example (McGowan, 1982 p.9).

In the event of marital or sponsorship breakdown, sponsored immigrants may face deportation or the threat of deportation if they are unable to support themselves. Those women with least education, few work skills, and a poor command of an official language, are placed in a difficult position.

The role of official language/literacy acquisition in successful settlement of both workers and non-workers cannot be stressed enough.

B. CULTURAL CONSTRAINTS

The multicultural structure of Canadian society is

complex. Cultural backgrounds of our immigrants differ greatly from each other, and from the mainstream culture. While it is impossible to give a full picture of the complexities of our multicultural society, it is possible to give examples of constraints that inhibit some immigrants from seeking learning opportunities.

In some cultures, the woman's role is defined in terms of home and children. This may mean that women are not allowed to leave their homes unaccompanied by a man, or they may only be able to go out during the day. Other cultural constraints may require that women not be in the company of men outside of their family.

These restrictions may not eliminate these women's need or desire to learn English or French for their own requirements or to carry out their roles as mother and educator of their children. To accommodate these women, several approaches are needed. In the first place, classes for women only may be offered - with a woman teacher. In-home classes may help women or other shut-ins to benefit from educational activities. Alternatively, learning opportunities provided by her own cultural group may, in some cases, help meet her educational needs.

C. SHYNESS OR FEAR

Elderly immigrants who have recently arrived or others

who have never learned much English/French, despite a lengthy residence in Canada, may feel a need to learn, but be unwilling or unable to take part in institutionalized learning situations. This group may include retired immigrants, women who have devoted themselves to bringing up their families, those who come from culturally different societies, those who feel too old to learn, and those who have been out of the educational system for many years.

These immigrants may feel a need to begin to learn an official language in order to be able to shop alone, read unfamiliar street signs, and generally obtain increased independence. The learning difficulties and reticence of this group indicate certain needs that should be met.

In the first place, such prospective learners may benefit from bilingual classes. Classes or courses that begin in the native language and gradually introduce the second language may provide the kind of atmosphere that will encourage shy or reticent learners. Native language teachers may facilitate learning by establishing a non-threatening atmosphere in which learners can be understood both linguistically and in terms of their own cultural customs. In addition to providing a non-stressful learning atmosphere, a native-language teacher may be sufficiently in touch with the ethnic group that s/he can communicate better with his/her students, and stimulate discussions that are relevant to the particular ethnic

community.

The use of such bilingual classes can provide students with the confidence that they need to use their second-language skills. In addition, it can provide a forum for disseminating information. For example, discussions in the native language can usually take place at a much deeper level than discussions in a second language; thus important issues may be dealt with efficiently and thoroughly, dispelling or clarifying misconceptions and fear. On the other hand, in-home classes may help build the confidence needed for learners to venture out to seek group learning activities.

D. DISABILITY

Immigrants who lack official language/literacy skills, and have some disability which inhibits their leaving the home, may need or wish to take part in educational opportunities as much as any other immigrant group.

Transportation, to enable disabled persons to attend courses and maintain or establish contacts with the outside world, is one need. Alternatively, provision of in-home classes may facilitate disabled people's access to learning opportunities.

CONCLUSIONS

Various problems have been discussed and the kinds of language and literacy programs that might meet the needs of various groups of immigrants suggested. It is evident that a variety of delivery systems and language/literacy courses, in addition to those offered by the established educational institutions, is required if true access to educational oppotunities is to be assured. In order to illustrate the variety of delivery systems that is required to satisfy unmet needs, a summary table is included.

TABLE 25 : SUMMARY OF TYPES OF LITERACY TRAINING NEEDS OF ADULT IMMIGRANTS

Psychological	**Financial**
group learning situations	free courses/materials
learner/needs-centred	daycare provision
learner involvement	adequate allowances
informal/community-based/setting	
non-threatening atmosphere	
Socio-Cultural	**Information/Content**
community links for rural & urban programs.	published non-racist materials based on
bilingual teachers/ aides	relevant, useful content;
culturally sensitive teachers	e.g. workers' rights
availability of all-women classes	worker safety
efficient orientation,	social services
Time/Place	educational opportunities
scheduling to suit learners' timetables	work skills
convenient location	immigration rules,
near public transportation	tenants' rights
transportation (for disabled)	**Occupational**
drop-in flexibility	integrated on-the-job
work-place classes	/literacy training
union hall classes	competency criteria
one-to-one tuition	literacy for safety
for shut-ins, etc.	

CHAPTER 5: LANGUAGE AND LITERACY PROGRAMS FOR IMMIGRANTS

A "maze of..ingenious programs"-to use ex-Multiculturalism Minister Jim Fleming's description - designed to meet immigrants' needs has been developed across the country. However, the distribution of programs is fragmentary, and the level of service provided inequitable and inadequate. Most programs are under-staffed and underfunded: their resources stretched to the limit, their waiting lists long. Major urban areas offer a wider variety of services than rural areas, although the range of needs is no less. Negotiating the "maze" of programs to find one that fits one's needs is part of the problem (The Immigrant Woman in Canada: A Right to recognition, 1981 p23).

Institutional language training courses were surveyed by Newsham and Acheson in their study, ESL in Canada, and Audrey Thomas has reported on the state of the literacy and basic-education scene across Canada. Neither study concentrated on the programs which teach F/ESL/literacy to immigrants. Adult day-schools and evening continuing-education programs offer educational upgrading, basic literacy, and E/FSL training across the country. These programs tend to take place in institutionalized settings, with fixed-scheduled classes, and minimum-enrollment limitations (although some community colleges have outreach or home-learning programs off campus). In the case of

continuing education classes, fees to cover instructional costs are usually charged. For various groups, particularly non-learners, these factors constitute barriers which prevent or inhibit their participation (I.C.E.A. 1982, p.11).

This chapter will examine some of the programs that seek to overcome the barriers to education which prevent individuals from participating in the institutional courses. Examples of specific programs that appear to meet a need, or group of needs will be examined. Wherever possible, programs described in the literature will be featured. Inevitably, admirable programs may be omitted because literacy workers, who concentrate on the problems of the illiterates in the communities they serve, have little time to write about the programs they run.

The intention is to exemplify programs that seem to meet needs that are rarely met by programs in formal settings, rather than to provide a comprehensive directory of "innovative" programs (there are nearly 400 programs in the Ontario Directory of literacy activities alone). Some programs are not currently in operation, others totter on the brink of extinction. Programs have been chosen, not as prototypes to be duplicated across the country but as examples of the types of programs that have grown up in response to needs felt in their communities.

Three groups of programs will be considered: 1) Programs designed for individualized, one-to-one teaching for immigrants both in and out of the workforce; 2) Programs for groups of immigrants both in and out of the workforce; 3) Programs for immigrants in the workforce. Each group of programs is summarized in a chart which analyses both the program characteristics, and some of the needs met. (In some cases complete information was not available, thus in the charts n/a indicates that information was not available.)

1. PROGRAMS FOR INDIVIDUALS

Language and literacy training on a one-to-one basis is demanded by individuals with certain needs: in particular, those with scheduling or childcare problems, shut-ins of various kinds, the elderly, immigrants whose culture restricts their contacts outside the home, individuals living in isolated communities, or those who simply prefer to study in the privacy of their own home.

In many cases, immigrants are isolated from the mainstream culture. Sometimes it is their own fear, shyness or lack of confidence that causes them to limit their activities to those inside their home or ethnic community. Sometimes they are inhibited by the extent of the cultural difference between themselves and mainstream Canadians, or by negative experiences with dominant-culture members. An

inadequate command of one of the official languages tends to deepen the isolation and exacerbate misunderstandings. In such cases, an in-home learning program may provide the immigrant with a positive experience with a member of the mainstream, and help him/her develop sufficient confidence and skills to approach the mainstream culture and benefit from learning opportunities in the community.

The six programs described below all teach immigrants in an individualized mode. Their approaches, strengths and weaknesses differ. We will attempt to demonstrate the kinds of needs and problems that each program serves. This is summarized in Figure 15.

The first three programs (HAFLE, OLI English 001, and Arusha Radio) use the telephone as a medium for ESL instruction. None of these programs mentions teaching complete illiterates via the telephone and, intuitively, it seems unlikely that the use of the telephone alone would be an effective way of teaching this group. Supplementing telephone lessons with tuition from a literate bilingual aide may overcome this difficulty. However, for those with a basic grasp of the Roman alphabet and some minimal literacy skills the medium has potential- particularly as a back-up in outreach programs.

1.1 Help A Friend Learn English (HAFLE) (Butovsky, 1979 pp.30-39).

This ingenious Toronto-based program was developed by

the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture to meet the needs of elderly, shut-in, Spanish-speaking immigrants. Paired volunteers and learners use the telephone as the medium to conduct weekly English-language lessons. The volunteers, usually elderly shut-ins themselves, used a bilingual text organised around situations that centred on immigrants' needs. This method assumes first-language literacy on the part of the learner. In fact, the main drop-outs were those who lacked formal education. Often this problem was overcome by using a Spanish-speaking tutor who could explain the Spanish text, as well as the English.

The evaluation of this program confirmed that the main gain of its participants was friendship and confidence. The course provides a unique service to elderly Spanish-speaking immigrants, who might find a group class, taught entirely in English, overpowering. It also constitutes a stepping stone for shy persons, who may gain enough confidence from a period of telephone tutoring to venture out and take part in a more traditional group-learning activity.

HAFLE is very cheap to operate, requiring minimal administrative expenses. The tutors gain a great deal from their voluntary participation in the project, without incurring any expense. However, the expected rate increases of local telephone calls may affect the willingness of volunteers to participate in telephone tutoring. Long-distance tutoring would obviously be even more expensive.

Thus, while the medium lends itself to outreach tutoring, the costs in the future may inhibit tutors from volunteering.

1.2 Open Learning Institute: ESL 001 (Telephone Tutoring) (letter from Mary Selman, Project Director)

The Open Learning Institute (OLI), in British Columbia, is in the process of launching a new beginners' English course with several interesting features. Participants in this interprovincial project are Ontario, B.C., Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, & Nova Scotia.

The course is designed to provide a learning opportunity to individuals who wish to study at their own speed, on their own time, at home, to replace or supplement traditional language-learning activities. It offers a degree of flexibility not possible with institutionalized, regularly scheduled language classes. The target population is immigrants who are literate in their first language and familiar with the Roman alphabet. Individuals who are illiterate in their first language could be paired with a bilingual aide to help cope with the materials, either initially or on a continuing basis. A strong outreach element is built into the structure. This course should provide a high quality, individualized-learning opportunity for people living in rural, as well as urban areas, for senior citizens, housewives, disabled people and shut-ins.

The materials for the course include an English-language manual, and audio cassettes, which are translated into eight languages: Polish, French, Vietnamese, Italian, Punjabi, Portuguese, Spanish, Cantonese and Mandarin. (The last two languages are the same in print, but different on tape.) Speakers of other languages could use the materials with the help of an aide. In B.C., the multi-cultural agencies are cooperating in locating aides who speak and read the first language of the learner.

Unlike the HALFE program in Toronto, the course is designed to be taught by qualified, ESL instructors. They will keep in contact with each student by telephone. In B.C., these instructors will have orientation, and in-service training in distance-learning techniques. Tutors will prepare remedial exercises, assess student progress, and perform the tasks of a professional teacher. The use of qualified, paid instructors, in combination with professionally prepared and tested materials, makes English 001 a very unusual course, which incorporates a degree of flexibility and responsiveness that is unlikely to be present if volunteer tutors are used. It appears to be an attempt to offer a quality service to meet needs which were not being met before and potentially in isolated areas, which had minimal services.

1.3 The Arusha Radio Project : Alberta (Roessingh, 1983 p.6).

The Arusha Radio, multimedia project, funded by the Federal Multi-cultural program, featured a series of ten 20-minute soap operas, a photostory workbook, two exercise cassettes and a tutorial phone-in network.

The story line of the radio broadcasts focused on the romantic involvement of two main characters, while the content included such topics as unemployment, alcoholism, and immigration ; subjects chosen to be relevant to immigrants' needs.

The course involved skill development, through structured exercises, contact with a telephone tutor, and tasks that took the students out into the community to practise applying their learning.

The outreach potential of this kind of course is great. It removes a transportation problem of isolated learners, and allows them to study at their own speed in the privacy of their home. The participants in this pilot project, were intermediate-level adults from various linguistic backgrounds. The emphasis was on "oral comprehension using a functional approach", and literacy does not seem to have been a primary focus. The idea of extending such a project to teach literacy, perhaps with the use of bilingual aides and community workers, seems feasible.

Radio has been used extensively for teaching literacy in Third World countries and seems a good medium for use in serving some of Canada's isolated regions. While the Arusha pilot was aimed at intermediate learners, it seems likely that, with the aid of community workers or bilingual aides, such an approach could be used successfully with illiterate immigrants at lower levels of proficiency. The practice of teaching functional skills, in conjunction with community contact in the exercises and tasks, is likely to encourage some people to try out their skills.

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The next three programs use face-to-face rather than telephone contact, and are thus more adaptable for use with immigrants at all levels of literacy. ALY employs trained ESL teachers rather than volunteers, but all three attempt to provide a flexible service, suited to the needs expressed by the individual. The last two, EAST END LITERACY and FRONTIER COLLEGE, employ a holistic approach, not limiting their focus to literacy, but attempting to work with the individual in relation to the community. East End Literacy serves urban Torontonians, whereas Frontier College has programs that reach out to the most isolated regions of Canada.

1.4 Action for Literacy in York (ALY) (Gordon, 1984).

ALY was something of a breakthrough, in that the pro-

ject was adequately funded by a combination of provincial and federal money, to carry out a project that could employ 50 qualified teachers. An intensive training period, on-going professional development, extensive contact with community service and ethnic organizations, and a thorough evaluation and reporting process, were other note-worthy aspects of this project. As such, the needs of a previously "unidentified population" were met in an effective and sensitive manner.

The ALY project was initiated, in September 1983, to address the literacy and language needs of homebound learners: the disabled, seniors, shiftworkers, school leavers, and those with child-care constraints or cultural pressures. The Learning Enrichment Foundation -a non-profit, multi-cultural, community-service organisation - received grants from Canada Ontario Employment Development, and Employment and Immigration Canada. After the initial six month research and development project, the program was turned into a Continuing Education program, funded by the local school board.

This constitutes a change in orientation for CEIC from seeking work-oriented goals to pursuing more general language, and literacy goals. In fact, the content of each learner's course was based on his/her stated interests and needs. Some learners wanted to improve their English

writing skills, while others wanted ESL upgrading in order to qualify for a better job. Reading the weekly grocery advertisements might be the goal of another learner. Other participants might lack the confidence to participate in a classroom-learning situation, and need individual attention for a transition period.

The teachers hired for this program were fully qualified, and some had an ESL background. A three-week training and orientation course, which included local experts in ESL/literacy, and specialists in community work, sensitized the tutors to the problems of their potential students, and provided them with some guidance on ESL/literacy teaching. Each session was evaluated separately. This information provides a "future planning perspective", indicating how such a training course might be improved for subsequent projects (Gordon, p.8). Professional development was provided throughout the project in the form of conferences, workshops, and seminars on a variety of subjects.

Early in the project, the planning team contacted 500 community, ethnic, educational and social service agencies, which might refer clients to ALY. An information package, containing a letter, posters, pamphlets, bookmarks and flyers in 16 languages, was sent to these community contacts. Multilingual flyers were also distributed liberally around the York neighbourhoods. There was an intensive media and advertising campaign in local newspapers and

newsletters, on T.V. and radio. When the effectiveness of the different types of publicity was evaluated, "professional referral" had provided over 200 of the 450 learners (Gordon, p.17).

The 450 learners wished to participate in a home-based-learning situation for a variety of reasons. Physical and emotional disability accounted for 150 participants. Daycare and work schedule problems accounted for another 150. The remaining 150 learners needed extra help to cope with other courses, or had negative feelings towards school.

Information was collected and tabulated on various aspects of the participants, including language background, schooling, age and sex. The learners had diverse language backgrounds. Only 80 spoke English or an English dialect, while in excess of 30 languages were represented among the balance.

The clients were tutored in Literacy, ESL, ESL/literacy, upgrading, and numeracy. Each participant's needs were assessed during the initial contact, and a course of study planned. Subsequent adjustments were made to meet needs that arose during the tutoring. Because the teachers were well-trained, and had access to a bank of suitable materials, they could respond to the needs of their students on an on-going basis. This built-in flexibility is a central strength of the program. In a sense, it is a

quantum leap forward, in that the establishment of the program recognizes that those least able to speak for themselves are afforded the quality educational opportunity they need. The fact that the pilot project was taken over by the school board appears to point to a commitment to provide the most disadvantaged sections of the community with education from trained teachers.

The research and evaluation elements of the program provide a base of evidence that could be used to launch a similar program, taking into account the lessons learned and the strengths and weaknesses of ALY.

1.5 EAST END LITERACY

A learner-oriented approach is adopted by EAST END LITERACY, a community-based program in Toronto. Elaine Gaber-Katz, the coordinator, maintains that, while illiteracy is associated with a linked set of problems, a program that seeks to address illiteracy should recognize "the whole person in a particular social context" (Turbide, 1982 p. 31). Consequently, programs are not merely set up for learners; learners are encouraged to be active participants in their learning, not only in defining their needs and setting their own goals, but in assessing their progress with their tutor.

Although much of the literacy tutoring is done on a one-to-one basis, learners are encouraged to participate in

group activities and events at EEL. For example, a group of tutors and learners meets regularly for discussions and to plan the publication of The Writer's Voice. This is a magazine featuring the writings of learners involved in the literacy programs. Learners not only write the articles but are involved in the process of publishing - planning, editing, photography, printing and distribution. This constitutes an excellent example of active, participatory learning, where learners practise their literacy skills but learn related communications and organisational skills too.

In many other ways, EEL attempts to make the link between an individual, his learning and the community. For example, many of the learners at EEL come from a particular public housing estate. Common problems experienced by EEL learners with respect to housing may lead to a cooperative learning activity (with all those involved working together to understand a lease, for example), and result in joint action to solve the problem. Thus, literacy teaching may revolve around understanding a legal contract, making a claim to the rental board, or writing a letter of complaint. As far as is possible, learners are encouraged to share their learning with other participants.

Learners at EEL may gain confidence in knowing that they are not alone in fighting their problems. They may feel they have gained their voice, both through the opportunity to publish their stories, and in joining with others

to try to solve their problems. EEL like Frontier College appear to view literacy training as a means of improving the quality of life of their participants, rather than as an end in itself.

1.6 FRONTIER COLLEGE

Frontier College, Toronto, Canada's oldest adult education institution, is active in many fields of literacy, including work with prison inmates, the disabled and geographically isolated workers. The last is their most famous program. Frontier College coordinates labourer-teachers, who work in logging or mining camps, railway and on construction sites in the wilderness. These teacher-labourers offer a variety of services to their fellow workers between shifts, including literacy training, recreational and sports activities and counselling services.

The College has published several books and pamphlets, which are used in both tutor training and as course manuals. In particular, they have developed the S.C.I.L. program (Student Centred Individualized Learning). The published materials include: A Tutor's Handbook, a "how to" book to enable local groups to set up and organize their own literacy activities, and four videos which illustrate basic teaching techniques (Frontier College Annual Report, 1983). Like EEL, Frontier College also gives learners an

opportunity to write and publish their own thoughts and stories (for example, a booklet called What Can I Say). This not only gives learners an opportunity to tell others their stories, but provides other learners with "easy-to-read" materials that reflect their reality, their concerns.

An idea of Frontier's philosophy is provided in a booklet entitled About Teaching by Marsha Forest. The College's approach assumes that all individuals can learn and be taught. Students are believed to learn best if the learning is relevant to them, and they are involved in both the planning and the process. To workers in isolated parts of Canada (and to many other marginalized groups). Frontier College provides a learner-based educational opportunity.

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All three charts in this chapter use the same simple evaluation system. Plus and minus (+,-) signs are used to indicate the presence or absence of a particular element. Thus all the programs above have a minus sign for the 'group' factor, since all are individualized programs. EEL has both a + and a - sign on this factor since it offers participants the opportunity to become involved in group community activities too.

With respect to 'teachers', a '+' sign indicates a qualified teacher, a '-' sign indicates a volunteer. Consequently, OLI & ALY are more flexible (+) than HAFLE,

which depends on volunteer tutors. EEL and Frontier College have '+' on 'flexibilty', since their basic philosophies demand that the learners have a say in the development of their learning program. The last two programs and Arusha stress the community-linked aspect of learning, and thus have a '+' on 'community-oriented'.

OLI and HAFLE have '+' on 'bi/multilingual' because of the nature of their materials. ALY has very strong links with the various ethnic community organisation groups and prints its promotional material in numerous languages. ALY is also able to provide work skills; hence a '+' on this factor.

None of the six programs described attempts to provide intensive (full-time) instruction in official/language literacy. Their strength lies in their ability to teach necessary skills in an informal, non-threatening manner, thus building the learner's confidence. While OLI and ALY build in flexibility through the employment of qualified teachers, EEL and Frontier reduce isolation through creating strong links between literacy, the learner and the community.

FIGURE 15: PROGRAMS FOR INDIVIDUALS IN/OUT OF THE WORKFORCE

PROGRAMS	HAFLE	O.L.I. ENGLISH 001	ARUSHA RADIO	ALY	E.E.L	FRONTIER COLLEGE
CHARACTERISTICS						
teachers	-	+	-	+	-	-
intensity	-	-	-	-	-	-
group	-	-	-	-	-	-
					+	
prepared materials	+	+	+	+	+	+
				-	-	-
flexibility	-	+	-	+	+	+
bi/multilingual	+	+	-	-	-	-
				+		
community-oriented	-	-	+	+	+	+
NEEDS						
informal atmosphere	+	+	+	+	+	+
daycare	-	-	-	-	?+	-
free courses/ materials	+	-	n/a	+	+	-
work skills	-	+?	-	+	-	-
orientation/ information	+	+	+	+	+	+
confidence building	+	+	+	+	+	+
convenient location	+	+	+	+	+	+

2. PROGRAMS FOR GROUPS

2.1 Parent and Pre-school Programs (formerly Moms+Tots) Equality Now, (1984)

Parent and preschool programs are now common in many parts of Canada. Volunteers typically work in a community setting, helping to teach English while providing a non-threatening contact with the host community. In some instances, these programs are run from multi-ethnic community centres. For example, the South Vancouver Neighbourhood House employs a staff that "reflects the multicultural nature of the community", and attempts to ease the social integration of the immigrants it serves (Equality Now, p.9).

The arrival of a wave of Italian immigrants into a lower middle-class district of Toronto resulted in antagonism between the two communities. The immigrant women were ineligible for Manpower language training courses, lacked formal education, and experienced problems communicating with the local school principal. The men were predominantly shift workers, and so the women with small children were unable to go out to evening language classes.

Noting the predicament of these new arrivals, a Toronto minister's wife started ESL classes for mothers with small children. Daycare was provided for the tots. This laid the foundation for the current program, which

includes some 200 community-based classes with daycare in Metro Toronto.

Finding materials for use with these groups was a problem, due to the learners' lack of formal education. Various ad hoc measures were taken such as the simplification of "Citizenship" lessons and teacher produced mimeos.

Betty Butterworth (1974), writing on the importance of CONTENT for adult immigrant classes, recommended a series of community resources which drew attention to the various services available in the larger community. Subsequently, some of the volunteer teachers compiled a book, called Orientation Resources, organised around such themes as nutrition, women's rights, housing, schooling etc. Each thematic section [illegible]oted sub-sections to topics such as materials and res[illegible]ces (giving names and addresses of sources of free pamphlets and information), lesson plans, suggested activities, exercises and supplementary activities. This book, now out-of-print (and out-of-date as far as names and addresses go), is an example of a good resource for community-based classes: a ready reference that community teachers or volunteers may consult in order to find materials that are immediately relevant and useful to the learners they are teaching.

These programs recognize several problems that

immigrants, and particularly immigrant women, face. They meet several needs: the need for daycare provision; basic, cheap ESL/literacy classes in an informal community setting; day-time classes; a practical orientation to Canadian living; as well as reliable information concerning services in the greater community.

Most classes concentrate on oral skills, i.e. conversation. Some literacy is introduced in that some simple reading is done, and some functional writing -like form filling in -is attempted. However, linguistic progress in these programs tends to be very slow. The results can be seen more in terms of reduction of stress, building confidence, easing social integration, and creating a willingness to try other learning opportunities. Thus, these courses provide a most useful service. However, the limits to their scope must be acknowledged. In effect they are stepping stones to more ambitious goals.

2.2 International Centre : Winnipeg
(Thomas, 1979 p.69).

The International Centre is a multi-service, private agency funded by three levels of government, corporate and charitable organisations. Services include English conversation, reading and spelling, orientation and counselling, referral, welcome parties, a language bank of interpreters and translators, consumer help, babysitting, and ethno-

cultural activities.

The literacy program of the International Centre was a spinoff from the English conversation classes provided by the original welcome house for immigrants. Qualified, paid professionals teach classes, which range from beginners to pre-university, while complete illiterates and slow learners are tutored on a one-to-one basis by volunteers.

Teachers keep an open register, allowing participants allowing participants to enter or leave at any time. Four 2-hour time slots are offered on Mondays and Wednesdays, facilitating participation by shift workers. The materials and curriculum have "evolved naturally from practical experience", and are changed and adapted to meet the needs of the clientele.

The International Centre provides an informal drop-in center facility with as much flexibility as possible.

2.3 Vietnamese Refugees in Alberta
Smith & Melynk, (1978)

Some programs attempt to relieve the stress of the unknown by providing important information through the native language of the immigrants. The Alberta program for Vietnamese refugees is an example.

In Alberta in 1978, bilingual classes were set up using an English-speaking teacher, and a Chinese/Vietnamese

interpreter. The course content was determined by the needs of the particular group, but the format was invariable. During a basic orientation period of 3-6 weeks, the refugees were introduced to information on Canada and its customs, through an interpreter. Details of local services were also provided. Thus, important information was relayed to the participants in their native language. The courses were fairly informal, including field trips to libraries, markets etc. Discussion could take place at a fairly sophisticated level, important questions were quickly answered, and misunderstandings clarified.

After this initial bilingual period, simplified English instruction was gradually introduced.

One major benefit of this program was that refugees who had been through one of these orientation courses fitted into regular ESL courses much better than those who had not. For the refugees themselves, their major doubts and questions about life in Canada had been answered effectively. The removal of this major stress factor meant that they could concentrate on learning English, and would know where to go for help should they need it.

Courses like this are only held when there are sufficient immigrants of the same linguistic background to form a reception class. They provide a valuable service to a group that otherwise might be very vulnerable, especially

for individuals who are illiterate in their native language. Donna McGee, of Vancouver Community College, related the concern of teachers attempting to incorporate "preliterates" into a class of first-language literates. She observed that while there are often "a handful" of preliterates in many ESL classes, "we lose them" (personal communication).

In place of, or in addition to native language orientation classes, multlingual guides or handbooks such as the Newcomers Guide to Services in Ontario, which is published in different languages, are of great assistance to most new arrivals. Not all languages of immigrants to Ontario can be included, and immigrants who are illiterate in their own language must depend on literate compatriots for information.

2.4 St. Stephen's Community House

At St. Stephen's Community House in Toronto, a different kind of bilingual class is organized. These are courses for Portuguese, Italian, and Chinese women. In each class the learners are from one linguistic background, while the teacher is bilingual, and can explain things to the students in their own language. English language and literacy are introduced gradually in a non-threatening manner.

The objective is for the participants to learn English with the least stress, from a teacher who is sympathetic and understanding about their cultural background. This kind of course meets the needs of immigrant women who despite sometimes long residence in Canada remain isolated from the mainstream - both linguistically and culturally.

The teachers are qualified ESL teachers who are paid by the local school board. St. Stephen's provides a community setting for the learners to meet, learn and socialize. One of the objectives is to raise the women's level of confidence to the point where they can use their skills in the community and eventually benefit from courses given entirely in English.

2.5 N.E.W. -New Experience for Refugee Women (Cross Cultural Communication Centre Newsletter, 1984)

NEW -a Toronto based program- seeks to "promote the integration of refugee women into Canadian society". It recognizes that Latin American refugees have suffered emotional, psychological and physical trauma, as victims of political repression and torture (NEW flyer in CCCC Newsletter, July 1984).

Despite the stress of their experiences before arriving in Canada, the women will be expected to play their traditional role of keeping the family together. Their employment prospects will be inhibited by their lack

of English, and lack of work skills and experience relevant to Canadian society. At the same time, according to the NEW flyer, the traditional role of these women will be "challenged by Canadian customs".

Twelve Spanish-speaking refugee women will be able to participate in each 22-week intensive course (all day/five days per week), which will offer "comprehensive counselling in orientation, language skills, and employment skills" (CCCC News-letter, July 1984).

This program is very modest in size but it seeks to achieve integration in the best sense : seeking the goals of workforce readiness and Canadian orientation in an intensive effort. The unilingual background of the refugees is an interesting element. Their past in Latin America, and present experiences in Canada, and their goals are likely to be similar. This should be a cohesive force operating on the group.

2.6 Focus on Change

The YWCA offers programs for sole-support mothers who need "upgrading in math and English in order to prepare for a job search" (CCCC Newsletter, July/August 1984). The program is free; childcare for preschoolers and bus tickets are provided.

The objective of the women enrolled in these programs

is to change their lives; "to exchange a life on welfare for one of financial independence" (Pat Marshall, 1983 p,61). Pat Marshall works with groups of women to help them refine their communication skills and develop some critical consciousness. The topics discussed are those raised by the group.

In the video "Once More with Meaning", some women in Pat Marshall's group are seen discussing a pamphlet distributed by the police providing information on self-defence techniques for women. The women critically examine the information, the format, the tone and the assumptions of the pamphlet, and decide that they disagree with some of the points. Rather than leaving the discussion there, Pat encourages them to express their disapproval in terms of a letter to the police describing the opinions and suggestions of their group. Other discussions have resulted in trips to lobby the government. This is an "effective way to channel anger" and provides the women with "a public voice" (Marshall, p. 61).

This program attempts to contextualize literacy: helping powerless people to express their opinions in constructive ways. The approach recognizes the participants as reasoning beings able to analyse their lives and attempt to solve their own problems. As such, it offers an opportunity for the women in the program to reach a degree of independence that they did not think themselves capable of

before.

2.7 Working Skills Centre (WSC) (Chacon, 1982)

WSC provides an integrated program incorporating on-the-job technical training, life skills and English for "disadvantaged immigrant women" (Chacon, Forward). The program attempts to build self-confidence in the women's abilities and skills, to facilitate integration into "Canadian socioeconomic reality" and to obtain and maintain a job.

Florrie Chacon compiled a manual which forms the basic materials for all but the technical job skills part of the program. This handbook, Life Skills and English for Immigrant Women, offers practical information and exercises in personal life skills, community skills such as banking, telephoning and using transportation, medical/ health and education facilities. Both oral and literacy skills are developed. Writing skills practised are of a distinctly practical nature using realia like cheques and forms. The development of reading skills includes such activities as scanning and skimming, to obtain information from print resources like directories and newspapers.

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Unlike the individualized programs, six of the seven

group programs mentioned above employ qualified, paid teachers and four of them are offered on an intensive basis. Programs with these characteristics may pursue more ambitious goals than the part-time courses taught by volunteers. The Moms & Tots programs and the St. Stephens program in particular offer women a non-threatening learning atmosphere, and an opportunity to acquire skills and confidence that may facilitate their participation in mainstream society and more ambitious, learning experiences. Moms & Tots in Vancouver, and International Centre in Winnipeg are examples of programs that link the learners to their neighbourhoods through their community centre setting and provide possibilities for socialization. They consequently help reduce the sense of isolation that many immigrants, particularly immigrant women, feel.

Focus on Change, WSC, and NEW offer women the opportunity to develop literacy, language and life skills that they may need to enter or re-enter the paid workforce. Focus on Change is particularly notable since the women involved are encouraged to develop their critical faculties and take an active role in the planning and development of their program.

FIGURE 16: GROUP PROGRAMS FOR THOSE IN/OUT OF THE WORKFORCE

PROGRAMS	MOMS & TOTS	INT. CENTRE	ALBERTA refugee	ST. STEPHENS	M.E.W	FOCUS ON CHANGE	NSC
FACTORS							
teachers	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
intensity	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
prepared materials	+ -	-	-	-	-	-	+
flexibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
bi/multi lingual	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
community oriented	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEED							
informal atmosphere	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
daycare	+	+	n/a	n/a	+	+	n/a
free	+	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	+	+
work skills	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
orientation information	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
confidence building	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
transport. conven.loc.	+	?	+	?	+	+	+

3. WORK-PLACE CLASSES

In the descriptions of work-place classes below, several themes recur. All programs seem to have been run by teachers who were willing to expend extra effort to generate materials that would be interesting and useful to their students. The students themselves seemed to appreciate, and benefit from, the courses. For many who had been resident in Canada for long periods without having learned any English, but at the same time felt the need to learn, this was their first opportunity to take part in an educational, language-learning activity in Canada.

However, the courses were plagued by high drop-out rates due to layoffs and firings. Some courses were stopped by management who feared that learning would result in union organisation, or that workers would quit their jobs once they acquired official language and other skills. On the other hand, some workers did not participate for fear of losing their jobs. The fears on both sides are very real and point to the inevitable problem of establishing who will benefit from the courses and what will be taught.

Whenever a work-site class is contemplated, it is necessary to analyse the goals of workers and management and establish how, if at all, these goals are compatible. If it is found that workers need language/literacy courses

for purposes which management cannot support, then some alternative funding has to be found. In this case, classes held at the union hall or some neutral location are necessary. The adoption of paid educational leave as a right for all workers would go a long way to assuaging workers' fears, while providing them with real access opportunities.

3.1 Tip Top (Wright, 1978)

A planner at the City of Toronto Planning Board identified various needs in the predominantly "ethnic" Spadina area. Among the needs identified were daycare, health services and ESL classes. As a result, the Education Director of the ACTWU was approached, and classes took place at the factory after work time. The teachers were paid by the Toronto Board of Education.

The immigrant women participants, who spoke little or no English, were seamstresses in the factory. The course was organised around the work environment, including work vocabulary and functional language to cope with the city environment - survival English. In particular, the learners were taught how to ask questions and find out information on such topics as Workmen's Compensation, the union contract, UIC, etc. No texts reflected the needs and problems of these workers or covered the key topics at the

necessary level, and so ad hoc materials were developed and used as student work books.

Distinct ethnic groupings were present in the class, and the teacher tried to encourage the groups to mingle. Eventually, they felt able to talk about their homelands and background, and were able to move on to discuss their common problems and experiences in the factory setting.

The existence of ethnic ghettos in the workplace, often occupational divisions being marked along ethnic lines, leads to misunderstandings among workers, often through a lack of an effective means of communication. Sometimes job promotion to certain occupations is prevented because the individual is not of the same ethnic background as other workers in that occupation. Any measures that can break down these communication barriers and ease factory relations is probably beneficial to the workers.

3.2 Jantzen Project (Brishkai Lund, 1976)

The Jantzen project was a direct result of a joint research project (Vancouver YWCA + Status of Women) which isolated ESL training as lacking among the non-English speaking women of Vancouver, and recommended that on-the-job language training be offered.

Four organisations cooperated and provided support for this venture : Jantzen Canada Ltd., Vancouver Community College, The Department of Manpower and Immigration (CEIC), and the Social Planning Department of the City of Vancouver.

83% of the workers at Jantzen were immigrant women, and their supervisors estimated that between 65-70% could not communicate in English. (Being able to communicate was defined as not needing an interpreter to undertake the employment interview.) The research revealed that though most of the women spoke their native language at work, they found their lack of English "difficult ... inconvenient and (sometimes) frustrating."

Two thirds of the women had tried to learn English prior to their participation in the Jantzen project, but had had to stop taking classes due to work or family responsibilities - only 2 of 35 had completed a course.

Research played a key role in this project, with input and evaluations completed by participants, supervisors, management and teachers. The results of the research are reported fully in the Final Report. Despite its obvious sucess, and the reported need for a workplace language program, the pilot does not appear to have been extended or repeated.

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The two programs mentioned above took place at the workplace and relayed important job-related information to the participants. Some of the workers' needs were met by these programs, while management's ends were achieved too. Thus, in many cases it is possible for work-site language and literacy courses to cover common concerns.

Inevitably, workers have other language/literacy needs which are not met by workplace programs organized in conjunction with management. Some programs are run for and by the workers; here the participants' needs are primary. The focus of these programs is on the analysis, understanding and resolution of the learners' problems. To do this, the learners are involved in setting up the program, defining its goals and planning the course itself. Some such projects have resulted in videos, songs, or photostories, for example, which reflect the immigrant's experience. In the process of arriving at the end-product, the learners gained a great deal: they acquired knowledge, developed skills and experience in the collective process cooperating with others, listening to each other, developing understanding, etc. (Nettle, 1982 p.123).

The Cleaners' Action class is just one example. Describing the process of just one class illustrates how the learning takes place.

3.3 Cleaners' Action Project
Adult Services of St. Christopher House (Toronto)
(Nettle, TESL Talk Vol 13, No. 4, 1982)

The class for cleaners was started in fall 1979, and was later taken over by St. Christopher House (Nettle, p.121). It began with the participants looking at the slide-tape, "Fernanda" (produced by another English-at-the-Workplace group), and some books made by British workers. The discussion of these materials led to the women's decision to make a slide-tape for themselves.

The process of attempting to produce the slide-tape involved much language and literacy learning. The women discussed and analysed their difficulties at work, assessed the good and bad points of being involved in their occupation, and tried to look for solutions to their common problems. They explored ways of interacting with supervisors, and weighed the pros and cons of different approaches. They learned how to use a tape recorder and plan a roleplay, make a flowchart, analyse changes and determine who initiated the changes.

The photographs for the slide-tape project did not turn out, so the women decided to write a song instead. The song focused on the women's need for a union, and the experiences they had while cleaning massive office buildings at night.

Having written and practised the song the women visited other classes to perform and talk about it.

3.4 Montreal Experiment (d'Anglejan, 1978)

C.O.F.I courses are open to any immigrant to Quebec who wishes to learn French. They feature intensive 30-week courses taught by profesional FSL teachers. In the past, the focus was on oral skills; writing and reading were assumed to develop automatically. To a certain extent, it was true that reading skills transfered from one language to another; however, it was found that some immigrants, mainly those with little formal education, made little progress. Literacy classes were added at COFIs with large numbers of illiterate learners, and survival literacy skills were taught (Weber & Freitag, 1979 p.254). Alternatively, various innovative experiments were tried.

In the experiment to be described, immigrants who had made little progress after 30 weeks' instruction were placed in carefully chosen "occupational slots in French-speaking environments" (d'Anglejan p.230). Contact with COFI was maintained through weekly 3-hour visits with a researcher and 2 or 3 immigrants to discuss experiences and problems, and receive help where necessary.

The expectation was that language fluency would develop, but it was felt that this would be dependent on

the distance between the learner's own culture and Quebec culture.

This was an interesting pilot project, but it does not attempt to tackle the basic problems of the most needy immigrants'experience: acquiring an official language when their work and home lives are spent speaking their first language. If all immigrants could be placed in situations where they came into contact with speakers of the target language in the normal course of their work, very few would know no English/French after several years' residence in Canada. The fact is that immigrants with low educational attainment tend to find work in industries that employ mainly immigrants, where the opportunity to meet target language speakers is limited. However, the idea of providing quality language/literacy on-the-job training is promising, and would benefit many workers if such a program could be expanded.

3.5 RED LAKE
(Anderson, TESL Talk, 13, No 4, (1982)

The programs that Audrey Anderson described took place in rural Northwest Ontario among the immigrant or migrant gold-mining or logging workers. Her objective was to develop a student-centred, "problem-posing" approach based on the expressed needs and interests of the workers in her program.

At the non-unionized mine in which one course was organized, the management cooperated fully to assist in the provision of classroom space, pictures, diagrams, glossaries of mining vocabulary, and audio-visual equipment, etc. (Anderson 1982, p.95). Management realized that it had much to gain by the success of the course and its goal, both in terms of improving health and safety records and encouraging employees "to stay in order to maximize (the company's) investment in training" (p.95).

At the same time, the workers wanted to participate in the English class in order to learn the vocabulary of mining operations, to be able to communicate and understand instructions on the job; thus facilitating communications among workers, and between workers and management in the mine. Consequently, the workers were "highly motivated to learn English in order to keep their jobs" (p.95).

While the instructor had to do a great deal of preparation for this course in order to understand the basic workings of a gold mine, she did not pretend to be an expert. She turned this 'deficit' to advantage by using workers in the program as "major sources of information", and for supplying teaching materials"(p.99). At times, she would use the written work of more advanced participants as reading material for beginning English learners. By stressing the role of participant input and student-teacher cooperation, a situation was created where the learner had

the opportunity to become an "active participant in the process of his/her own education" (p.99).

Anderson pointed out the importance of using participant interests and needs as the basic curriculum themes to ensure that the course remained relevant to the participants, and that the instructor was not "guilty of imposing his/her values by exercising the power equated with a teacher's position" (p.97). For example, studying arsenic poisoning with gold miners seemed to be a good topic since it affected the health and safety of every miner. However, Anderson observed that it was only of passing interest, since it appeared that miners felt that arsenic was a fact of life in the mine, and not something over which they had any control. In general, they preferred to discuss topics of a more controllable nature. In times of high unemployment, when workers lack job security, they often fear a confrontation with their employer.

English classes at the workplace have to tread a fine line between the interests of the employer and the employees. For the interests of the participants to be fully served, they must play an active role in developing the curriculum and setting relevant goals.

FIGURE 17: GROUP PROGRAMS FOR WORKERS

PROGRAMS	TIP TOP	JANTZEN	CLEANERS ACTION	COPE exp.	RED LAKE AEBC
FACTORS					
teachers	+	+	+	+	+
intensity	-	-	-	+	-
group	+	+	+	+	+
prepared materials	-	-	-	-	-
flexibility	+	+	+	+	+
bi/multi lingual	-	-	-	-	-
community oriented	+	+	+	-	+
NEEDS					
informal atmosphere	+	+	+	+	+
daycare	-	-	-	-	-
free courses +pay	+	+	n/a	+	n/a
work skills	+	+	+	+	+
orientation information	+	+	+	+	+
safety education	+	+	+	n/a	+
confidence building	+	+	+	+	+
convenient location/ transportation	+	+	+	+	+

CONCLUSION

Learners in intensive programs employing qualified paid teachers appear to have the most chance of achieving rapid progress. Courses designed to meet and adapt to learner needs and those which encourage active learner input and involvement are likely to be most relevant and useful to the participants.

Part-time courses employing mainly volunteers tend to provide stress-free learning situations and an opportunity to build basic skills. These informal courses make a considerable contribution particularly in terms of improving confidence of the participants and establishing links within the community, thus reducing the sense of stress and isolation that many immigrants experience living in Canada. However, they should be viewed as providing a stepping stone or interim stage leading to more ambitious learning environments.

A lack of published course materials was noticed throughout. In some cases courses are built around the literacy and language used in a particular work place and much time and energy needs to be devoted to compiling these materials. However, general work-site materials for language and literacy classes are needed. Much information is common to different occupations in the same province e.g. worker compensation procedures, labour codes, minimum

wage laws, etc. The provision of good materials on subjects which are in the jurisdictions of either the provincial or federal governments may reduce the workloads of literacy teachers and prevent duplication of effort. Better networking among literacy programs would facilitate pooling or sharing materials.

The majority of the programs described are aimed at city dwellers. Programs that utilize the media of the telephone, the T.V. or the radio help to bring educational opportunities to immigrants living in more rural parts of Canada. However the importance of face-to-face contact with instructors should not be discounted. Where immigrants feel isolated from the main stream culture and its members, programs that attempt to create links between the learner and his/her host community are invaluable.

CHAPTER 6: LITERACY TRAINING IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The lessons learned from literacy campaigns waged in countries around the world may well have some relevance for Canada as she attempts to tackle the problems of her own people.

In the first place, the campaigns of Great Britain and the United States will be considered. Space does not allow a comprehensive description of the campaigns themselves so discussion will be limited to the lessons, or conclusions, that may be drawn from the findings of experts working in those countries. Aspects of the Cuban literacy campaign will be discussed where they seem to have relevance for Canada. Lastly, some conclusions of the Conseil International pour l'Education des Adultes concerning their findings on factors common to sucessful literacy campaigns around the world will be reported.

1. THE U.K. CAMPAIGN

A study of the British literacy campaign of the 1970's reported that 100,000 individuals had been given "the opportunity to learn", while half of these stayed with a tutor long enough to "improve their skills and their confidence" (Jones & Charnley, p. 112). These 50,000 individuals who persisted with their literacy training constituted 2.5% of the estimated 2 million British illiterates. Despite this statistic, this program has been

called "the most effective and successful literacy effort in any post industrial nation" (Pearpoint, Literacy, 1982).

The literacy campaign has been described in detail both by the researchers of the National Institute of Adult Education, and by David Hargreaves with respect to the contribution of the BBC. It is useful here to draw some lessons from the British experience.

A. THE NEED FOR A LONG-TERM NATIONAL POLICY

The central administrative unit of the campaign never received a long-term mandate. Its name was changed several times and, because of each unit's short-term mandate and funding, it was unable to "promote real long term development" (Annual Report for 1981/2 of National Foundation of Literacy Schemes, in Horsman n.d., p.5). Observers of the British program feel that for the campaign to be truly effective it should be part of an on-going policy (p.5).

B. THE NEED FOR A CENTRAL AGENCY TO ASSIST IN MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT AND INFORMATION DISSEMINATION

Despite the lack of a long-term mandate the ALBSU (Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit), under its various guises, did provide information, training and resources. The materials published by this central unit were in general of very high quality. They encouraged a fairly

eclectic approach to learning, insisting that the needs of the learner be central and paramount. Rather than presenting lock-step programs that illiterates were to be marched through, the materials made suggestions as to how to use and adapt authentic materials: the newspapers, local guides and directories,etc. In this respect the British materials were unusual. They allowed for a diversity of responses and consequently some excellent, thought-provoking material was developed, e.g. the materials produced by the Friends' Centre in Brighton, From Wages to Windscale. Overall, an attempt was made to provide kits and instructional material that helped show tutors with little training how to individualize a reading program, taking their students' needs and interests as a starting point.

If volunteer tutors are to be used here in Canada, they require a certain amount of guidance and training. The provision of good guidelines and materials, as well as the techniques for adapting materials to suit the needs and interests of illiterates, is likely to improve the quality of tuition offered. The combination of a good long-term national policy and a central unit mandated to provide excellent basic guidelines, materials and training suitable to the Canadian context may facilitate the provision of more equitable, quality services across this country.

C. THE EFFECTIVE USE OF A NATIONAL REFERRAL SCHEME

The national telephone referral scheme was a central feature of the British campaign. Following the T.V. broadcasts of the show "On the Move" (T.V. literacy lessons), a telephone number was announced. Viewers were encouraged to call this national number if they wished to receive tuition or volunteer to be a tutor. Thousands were referred through this national telephone line. However, communications between the national and the local levels were not always good. Often students were lost in the process, or referrals were made to local authorities that had no programs. The last point emphasises the need for a national policy. In the United Kingdom, the level of delivery was inequitable across the country. Some local councils supported literacy activities while others allocated little money and have "pared (it) down in recent years" (Horsman, n.d., p.5).

Reliable information and networking seem to be key factors. In Canada, we do not know exactly what literacy activities are available across the country. Many programs have short-term funding and fade out without anyone being aware of it, outside the immediate community. The computerization of the directory of literacy activities in Ontario is a first step towards setting up a provincial referral system. However, a telephone referral system alone is not sufficient. It is essential to foster personal contacts.

The social service or community agencies may provide the most effective kinds of referral, and thus these agencies must be linked in to an effective information system and made aware of the extent, location and type of facilities available.

D. THE NECESSITY OF SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR VOLUNTEERS

As in the case of Canada, tuition was mainly provided by volunteers. In some places these were professional teachers who volunteered in their spare time; often they were lay-persons with a few hours' training.

A crucial element in successful literacy teaching was said to be the "personal commitment" of the tutor. However, volunteer tutors cannot work alone, in a vacuum. Adequate resource people and back-up support and services must be available (Pearpoint 1982, p.35).

The British experience underlined the necessity of providing adequate support for volunteers. Resource people must be able to provide help, training, advice, information, reassurance, etc. if tutors are to work effectively. Tutors who do not receive this kind of back-up tend to drop out. Thus, while using tutors seems an inexpensive way to provide literacy training, it is by no means cheap.

E. THE DANGERS OF STRESSING SECRECY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

The emphasis on secrecy and confidentiality in this campaign tended to stress the element of shame: the sense that the individual was at fault. The predominance of one-to-one teaching reinforced this aspect. While the identities of illiterates were protected, participants rarely met each other and so missed the opportunity to provide one another with mutual support.

Where group learning situations were provided, benefits were seen. Jane Mace, in her book Working With Words (1979), documented participants' feelings about their experiences in these programs. One oft-repeated comment was that illiterates realised they were not alone: that other people had had similar experiences to them. They felt that they could help each other in the group learning situations, and by admitting their illiteracy to a group of their peers they could begin to overcome their feelings of guilt and shame.

Using actors to play the role of illiterates in the series "On the Move" tended to romanticize literacy learning, giving both illiterates and tutors an unrealistic and diminished impression of the effort needed. This contrasts with the use of illiterates themselves in the videos produced by T.V Ontario (e.g. "Once More with Meaning"). The use of actors tends to underline the aspect of shame;

whereas the fact that illiterates are willing to appear and be filmed while involved in literacy tuition is likely to encourage other illiterates to seek literacy training and remove some of the stigma.

F. THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLISHING STUDENT WRITING

Jenny Horsman (n.d.) reports that the publishing of student writing has become an important part of many programs in Britain. She sees this as a move towards the "creation of a working class literature and history", linked to the development of writing groups, oral history groups and community bookshops (p.6). While documenting the history of a previously silent class of society, student writings provide interesting materials for use in literacy activities, and help to improve the self-image of the writer. Community groups that include writers' workshops and encourage and facilitate the publication of such writings are thought to be providing an invaluable service to their communities.

2. LITERACY IN THE U.S.A.

The formal education programs which have attempted to solve the problem of adult literacy in the United States have met with very modest success...They have often failed to meet the needs of those adults who most need literacy education. (Rigg & Kazemek, 1983 p.62)

On a purely statistical basis, the American programs have had about as much "success" as the British. Hunter and Harman (1979) estimated the functionally illiterate population at 60 million; the "demand population" - those enrolled in a literacy or basic education program - at 2-4 million. Thus, in the United States, between 3-6% of the estimated illiterate population is receiving training (p.58). In 1976, 38% of those enrolled in such programs dropped out before completion, citing psychological, sociological and educational reasons. According to Rigg and Kazemek (1983), "the effects of poverty - such as lack of information, health programs, lack of transportation or of day-care- doom a program to failure" (p.63). They feel that the goals, plans and views of adults participating in literacy programs must be seriously considered by those involved in teaching.

A. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ADULT/ADULT LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Rigg and Kazemek (1983) advocate the establishment of learning environments "which reflect an interaction among adult learners (teacher and student), materials and instructional methods" (p.66). Moreover, they reject those synthetic methods (e.g. phonics-based) which are repetitive, can be boring and tend to divorce learning from meaning. Instead, they recommend structuring reading activities around a psycholinguistic model of reading - which takes account of what the reader brings to a text

during the reading process i.e. Thus, it is acknowledged that, while an illiterate may be a beginning reader, s/he is not a beginning learner, but brings a wide range of experiences to the learning process.

It is worth describing one program that was specifically designed to meet the needs of non-English-speaking immigrants in particular. This program and the resulting curriculum materials are described in articles by Pia Moriarty and Nina Wallerstein and in the latter's book, Language and Culture in Conflict (1982).

As the title of the book implies, Nina Wallerstein describes the problems of setting up ESL/Literacy programs among immigrants who, having lived in the United States for several years, were living in conflict: not knowing whether to accept or reject their own or the host's culture. The immigrants felt isolated from the host culture because of both the language barrier and the cultural difference between themselves and people of the mainstream.

The workers in this community-based project in a Spanish-speaking neighbourhood in San Jose, California, attempted to involve the members of the community in setting up an educational program that served their needs. The first step involved mingling in the community, talking to members (in Spanish), listening to their thoughts and opinions in order to establish the needs of prospective

participants. The result was that various programs were set up: a church discussion group, a women's group, community work shops and a drop-in ESL class.

The ESL class was started in a spare room in a housing project. Initially, the group analysed their needs for and feelings about learning English, and tried to establish in what situations it was required. Some of the themes for the year evolved from these discussions. The curriculum of the course, for both literacy and oracy development, was based on the expressed needs of the participants. Other community issues emerged and events occurred during the course of the year's duration of the project. For example, the tenants of the housing project called a strike in response to a substantial rent increase and lack of maintenance. These issues were discussed in class, and the co-chairman of the tenants' association addressed the group. To increase the amount of contact with the Anglo community, speakers were invited in to speak about available community resources, and services and field trips were organised.

Problem-posing was the basic approach. From addressing issues in the participants' lives they were encouraged to develop a critical view of their lives and ways of acting to improve their self-esteem and quality of life (Wallerstein, 1982 p.1). The crucial element was the creation of a link between the classroom and the community

The unfortunate aspect of projects like this is funding. The issues and problems of the participants last longer than the duration of the project. The analogy with the medical health system always springs to mind. Would we withdraw essential health care because a project grant had expired ?

3. LITERACY IN CUBA

Cuba is an example of an overwhelmingly successful literacy campaign (Kozol, 1978). In the main, volunteer teachers, known as alphabetizadores, were used to impart literacy to the masses. This was indeed one element that contributed to the success of the campaign but the accompanying conditions prevailing in Cuba in the early 1960's were instrumental in, and crucial to, the campaign. We will review the major characteristics identified by United Nations observers in order to demonstrate the context in which this campaign occurred.

The UNESCO Mission observed that the Cuban campaign had several elements in its favour which accompanied the first year of the campaign in 1961 (Lorenzetto & Neijs, 1968 p.46):

- linguistic unity : Cuba is a unilingual Spanish-speaking country. Both illiterates and alphabetizadores shared Spanish as a mother-tongue.
- density of population: Cuba is a relatively small

island, and its population is spread over a limited area - although the inhabitants of the mountainous regions are rather isolated.

- climate: Weather in Cuba does not pose a problem. Classes may be held outside in parks, yards or fields with minimal need for rooms or buildings.

- unsparing use of resources: A great deal of money was spent on the organisation and administration of the campaign. Moreover, thousands of volunteers were released from their studies or their jobs in schools, universities and factories to allow them to participate.

- strong political will: The success of the literacy campaign was seen as an integral part of the development of Cuba subsequent to the Revolution. The people were unified by the success of the Revolution and willing to make certain sacrifices for the good of the country is a whole.

- limited goal for first year: The aim of the 1961 campaign was not functional literacy - it was a first grade level of reading.

- 'horizontal organisation through 'alphabetizadores': Each alphabetizador was allotted two illiterate peasants to teach.

- use of radio & T.V. for publicity & persuasion: publicity was a key element in this campaign. These media were not used for instruction, but to carry the message that every Cuban should become literate for the good of Cuba.

By January 1, 1961, 979,207 illiterates had been identified. By December 22, 1961, 707,212 had been taught; 271,995 illiterates remained (Lorenzetto & Neijs, p.49).

It is useful to explore, in particular, the conditions which facilitated the use of volunteers. First was the sheer size of the "literacy force": 233,608 alphabetizadores guided by 34,722 professional teachers. The volunteers were made up of students- anyone with a primary school certificate-,and workers. They were trained in several camps and then sent out to the farthest reaches of the island. Decentralization was another key point. Mass organizations existed in each province: the nucleus being the literacy unit consisting of [redacted] illiterates under the guidance of 25 alphabetizadores, one professional teacher and a political adviser, all under the direction of a chief of unit (Lorenzetto & Neijs, p 49).

Several elements favoured the success of the volunteer movement. First, the volunteers worked intensively but within a limited time frame. Second, teaching literacy was the main occupation of the volunteer for the period of the campaign. Each volunteer was armed with a primer, allocated two illiterates and sent to live with them. Thus, although many of the tutors could be classified as "middle class" students from Havana, they shared the life of the peasant for the period of teaching. Third, the message that the volunteers brought with them concerned land reform,

improved food distribution, better health care and education. The primers contained an "ideological bias" and, in combination with the "militant" training given the volunteers the message was very powerful. Fourth, the level of literacy aimed at was fairly low and reasonably achievable within the time allocated. The written form of the Spanish language is relatively easy to master once the alphabet has been learned since there is a better phoneme-grapheme "fit" than is found in many other languages which have an alphabetical writing system. After tuition, each newliterate was able to write a simple letter to Castro to inform him that illiteracy had been abolished in one more case. The fact that the tutor lived with the illiterate and could tutor him/her whenever convenient, the fact that written Spanish is fairly easy to master and teach, and the fact that a very limited goal was sought, all worked in favour of the use of volunteers. But perhaps most important was the link between the revolutionary message brought by the volunteers and the fundamental changes that appeared to be taking place at the same time.

The political climate was a major aspect in the campaign. Literacy was seen as a desirable goal for the good of the country: while helping on an individual level, the volunteer was also very aware of working for the collective benefit of Cuba.

Fidel Castro's revolutionary government gave the eradication of illiteracy the highest priority, and viewed it

as an essential ingredient in economic and cultural progress. It was necessary for instructing people in ideas and the policies of revolutionary socialism, and was accompanied by action- for example, improvements in health care and food distribution. The strength of the political will involved was reflected in the quantity of resources allocated to the effort, and in the intensive publicity campaign. Diverse forms of media were used: the press, radio, T.V., celebrations, public meetings, manifestos, granting diplomas, etc. Regions competed with each other to be the first to abolish illiteracy from its boundaries. All this activity mobilized the masses behind the thrust for literacy.

David Harman summed up his feelings about programs for adult illiterates in an interview with Jonathan Kozol:

> Education of adult illiterates without some parallel form of socioeconomic transformation is unthinkable. It has to be accompanied by food and land and health care and the rest. Without these items no endeavour has ever yet achieved even a marginal success. (Kozol, 1979 p.74 his emphasis)

4. OTHER SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGNS

Cuba is not the only country which has experienced success in its campaign to eradicate illiteracy. The Conseil International pour l'Education des Adultes (1983) analysed successful campaigns arriving at five common

factors. Their conclusions will be stated briefly, since lessons may well lie therein (Conseil international pour l'éducation des adultes, 1983 p. 14).

First, national involvement and the existence of "une politique énoncée" was paramount. Certain policy aspects seemed to be lacking in over-ambitious programs which did not achieve their goals. These were: lack of clear, detailed objectives, lack of preparation, lack of definition of needs in terms of finance and personnel requirements, and lack of political will.

Second, the active participation of the people as a whole was crucial. This factor was interpreted as corresponding to a program that was in the interests of the community. It was felt that values and objectives that were imposed and not linked to the development of the country or the community had little chance of success.

Third, coordination and good communication between the central organization and the local organizations was important. While a central, national policy was necessary, it was found that flexibility to allow for local needs to be met was necessary.

Fourth, successful programs incorporated the mobilization of the people behind the issue. Widespread support for the program and acknowledgement of its role in the further development of the society or community is of

paramount importance.

Fifth, the right to literacy must be recognized. Literacy was declared a human right nearly ten years ago in the Declaration of Persepolis, but has not achieved the status of a right in most advanced western countries. It seems that in these liberal-inspired democracies illiteracy is seen as an individual choice or deficit, rather than a right denied. If literacy is accorded the status of a right and action is taken to facilitate access to this right, then success appears to be achievable.

While these factors were noted mainly in campaigns waged in the Third World, many may be translated to the Canadian socio-economic context.

CONCLUSION

The question of immigrant illiteracy has been excluded from studies of literacy activities in Canada in the past on the assumption that the literacy needs of immigrants were adequately served by the language training provided by the various levels of government. However, it appears that several factors militate against this assumption.

In the first place, of immigrants with an inadequate command of one of Canada's official languages, a minority receives federally-sponsored, intensive, language training shortly after arrival. Some immigrants do not qualify, others find work immediately, others quit their courses early - as soon as they find paid employment. A particularly vulnerable group - unskilled immigrant women - may live and work in Canada for many years, without ever acquiring basic language skills or literacy, or attaining access to educational opportunities.

Second, the objectives of official language training courses for immigrants do not always include functional literacy. Usually, the aim is to provide sufficient oral survival skills for immigrants to obtain work and to enable them to support themselves and their families. Literacy is assumed to follow.

Third, language training is usually limited to six months. This may be perfectly adequate for some immigrants, particularly those coming from cultures similar to Canada's, but for many, it is insufficient. The changes in immigration trends in the last few years have highlighted this inadequacy. In the case of immigrants with little knowledge of English or French, or those familiar with neither the Roman alphabet nor a literacy-bound culture, six months is likely to be inadequate. Likewise, immigrants needing a high level of proficiency to perform adequately in their professions often do not receive enough training to achieve this level of literacy.

In short, immigrant official language training shortly after arrival is just a beginning. For many of the immigrants Canada now receives, it is an inadequate basis on which to acquire literacy.

Oral ability in an official language is seen as essential for the successful integration of immigrants to Canada, but literacy is needed as well for full, independent participation in society. Extension of language training to all classes of immigrants, with special programs for non-Roman alphabetics, pre-literates and non-literates, would help ease the integration of many immigrants. However, the "problem" cannot be solved in a short intensive course. Literate Canadians take many years to achieve their level of literacy and illiterates, whether

immigrant or native born, will not attain such a level in a few months. Thus, some kind of long-term commitment is needed -from government, education providers and learners themselves.

The literacy demands made upon Canadians are ever-increasing, and the technological explosion is widening the gap between those who have access to sources of information, and those who do not; those who are literate, and those who are not. And what is illiteracy? The definitions are vague and elusive. The current criterion for estimating the size of the functionally illiterate population- an indirect measure - is inadequate. No suitable direct measure exists, which takes into account the skills that are necessary for independent participation in Canadian society. Until such a measure is formulated, and widely administered, the true extent of functional illiteracy in Canada will remain in question.

Income data on Canadians with less than a Grade 9 education tend to indicate that those most likely to be functionally illiterate are also poor, and consequently would experience financial constraints on their ability to participate in educational activities. For immigrants within that population, additional barriers restrict access to learning opportunities. These barriers have been identified, and must be overcome if the principle of universal access is to realizable.

To meet the whole range of educational needs, a wide variety of responses is essential; particularly, those responses which help develop links between the immigrant and his community. Literacy programs, operating in such contexts, tend to facilitate integration by helping immigrants identify and address their own problems through the means of literacy training. The philosophy of these community-based programs appears to extend beyond pure pedagogical goals. They do not see literacy as an end in itself, but as a means of improving the quality of life for the participants of their program. Consequently, they tend to result in literacy training that is relevant to the needs of the participants. Long-term planning and funding, particularly with respect to community projects that serve the neediest members of society, are essential elements of an effort to offer real access to educational opportunities.

Little core curriculum material is available that is specifically designed for the Canadian illiterate. For example, illiterate workers need access to information about such topics as worker safety, workmen's compensation, labour codes, labour contracts, unemployment insurance regulations, etc. The production of quality, flexible materials on these topic areas would provide literacy workers in Canada with a much-needed resource.

MacKenzie and Reimers studied literacy provision for illiterate immigrants nearly a decade and a half ago. They observed that illiterates were not politically organised, and had "no champion", and thus "very little (was) being done to help them in a systematic way" (1971, p.44). The same might easily be said today.

In the interim, however, literacy has been declared "a fundamental human right" by the international community (The Declaration of Persepolis, reprinted in Bataille, 1976). The concepts of life-long learning, and the right to paid, educational leave are also gaining wide acceptance in the western industrialized world. It appears that the idea of limiting education to the first twenty or so years of life is fast disappearing. To keep pace with a rapidly changing world, and specifically the constantly increasing level of literacy demanded by Canadian society, education must continue through life. Everyone, irrespective of race, creed, sex and immigration status, needs a functional level of literacy to participate in this modern era. We need to develop flexible educational systems that are capable of delivering this basic necessity to all Canadians.

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