

AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY OF A VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION
SERVING CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN VANCOUVER, CANADA

by

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ABSTRACT

Community initiated voluntary associations play a valuable role in immigrant societies, such as multicultural Canada. They are, however, not always seen as benign, self-motivated, or altruistic institutions. Where immigrants are all too frequently viewed as a drain on societal resources, ethnic organizations are also viewed as threatening national unity, diluting Canadian identity, and promoting ghettoization and separatism.

This study explores, in detail, the way in which one ethnic organization, SUCCESS, was founded in 1973 for exactly the opposite reasons. The failure of the government and mainstream organizations to provide accessible social services for Chinese immigrants led to its initiation.

The central guiding question in this research is: how did a community initiated voluntary organization such as SUCCESS respond to changing needs of an ethnic community in a multicultural society? The study traces the evolution of SUCCESS in its first 25 years.

This investigation utilizes a 'collage' of literature pertaining to multiculturalism, minority group rights and democratic citizenship, research on social services for immigrants, the role of immigrant serving organizations, and their relationship with the state. Data draws on multiple sources and triangulation: document analysis; interviews with the Executive, Board members, and Program Directors; site visits; as well as participant observation as a volunteer. Since interviews with clientele were not included, this study is unable to make claims about the nature of their views of this organization.

This research has extended existing arguments regarding the roles of ethnic organizations and their relationship with the state. It demonstrates that SUCCESS plays a significant role in promoting immigrant integration. Moreover, the study challenges the view of liberal universalism and provides an alternative model to interpret citizenship, minority group rights, and democracy.

The findings from this study have important implications for both researchers and policy makers. First, it contributes to the theoretical literature on the role of ethnic organizations, to the history of Chinese immigrants in British Columbia, and to a better relationship between ethnic organizations and the state. Second, it helps policy makers in Canada reassess their past policies on immigration and ethnic organizations and plan for the future. Third, it provides guidelines for community organization in Vancouver and Canada.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated

to my wife Yan Guo, a young scholar and a loving mother and wife,

and to my son, Edmund Ji Guo, a proud young Canadian and an inspiring learner,

for their infinite love and support on this journey.

Chapter 1

Introduction

A number of questions pertaining to immigrant settlement and immigrant serving organizations drove me to study this organization. Some of these questions include: How do immigrants adapt to a society very different from their own, with a different language, culture, and tradition? How do they navigate the complex paths that citizenship (all the skills required) entails? In this regard, where do they go for assistance and what role do voluntary organizations play in this process? What is the role of ethnic specific organizations as compared to mainstream organizations? What kind of relationship do immigrant serving organizations have with the state, mainstream society, and the ethnic communities they serve? I decided to look in detail about how these questions are manifested in a frequently mentioned organization such as SUCCESS.

SUCCESS is known to the local Chinese in Vancouver as the Chinese Immigrant Mutual-Help Society. Its name is the abbreviated form for the United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society. (The first 'S' was added with no specific meaning.) It is a non-profit, non-partisan, and non-religious organization, serving Chinese immigrants in the Greater Vancouver area since it was founded in 1973. However, very little is known or written about it. This study attempts an examination of the historical development of SUCCESS during its first 25 years, from 1973 to 1998. Instead of adopting a conventional approach in documenting the history of the Society, an interpretive sociological approach will be attempted.

My interest in this research also derives from my personal experience as a newly landed immigrant from China, with a keen interest in multiculturalism, ethnic organizations, adult education, and the history of Chinese immigrants in Canada. Further, my enrollment in a graduate course in Adult Education Program Planning Practice gave me an opportunity in a class assignment to plan a program for an organization - SUCCESS - which revealed that a fuller investigation was not only possible but necessary.

Identifying the Problem

It is well known that Canada has had a disreputable racist past. As Li (1998) points out, no racial or ethnic group in Canada besides the First Nations peoples has experienced the same harsh treatment as the Chinese. Since the 1880s, the Canadian government passed a number of bills to prohibit the Chinese from entering Canada and restrict the rights of those who were already in. Their unfortunate stories in Canada have been well-documented by numerous authors

(Anderson, 1995; Li, 1998; Tan & Roy, 1985). Policies and attitudes towards the Chinese remained very much the same until the Chinese Immigration Act was repealed and enfranchisement was accorded to them in 1947.

The status of the Chinese was further ameliorated when the Trudeau government introduced the policy of Multiculturalism in 1971. Under the aegis of multiculturalism, the Chinese were encouraged to preserve and celebrate their ethnic identity while integrating into Canadian society. Furthermore, liberalized immigration policies in Canada since the late 1960s stimulated the increase of Chinese immigrants and immigrants from other non-traditional source countries, such as Africa, Asia, and South America. Consequently, the Canadian population became more ethnically diverse. However, in major Canadian cities where immigrants tended to concentrate, increased diversity has caused racial tensions and social stress (Li, 1998). With respect to the Chinese, despite their remarkable social mobility, their real and alleged differences attracted public scrutiny. The Canadian public focused their attention on the Chinese superficial foreign appearance, their linguistic profile, the alleged incompatibility of their values with Canadian traditions, the development of ethno-specific immigrant malls and concentrated ethnic businesses, and their consumer patterns (Li, 1998, 2000).

In addition, some of the criticisms focused on the existence of ethnic organizations. A group of critics of multiculturalism represented by Bissoondath (1994) and Gwyn (1995) questioned the roles of such organizations. They were concerned that ethnic organizations would threaten national unity, dilute Canadian identity, and promote 'ghettoization' and separatism. Other critics raised specific questions, such as whether the state should use taxpayers' money to fund these organizations. Still others argued that all Canadians should be treated equally, and that allocating special resources to support such organizations would undermine Canadian democratic principles.

Research related to ethnic organizations includes predictions of the disappearance of such organizations. This view manifested itself in the assimilation model. According to the Chicago School of Sociology (cited in Driedger, 1996; Hiebert, 1999; Pfeifer, 1999), immigrants would initially settle in inner-city neighbourhoods of metropolitan areas, establish their enclave businesses and institutions, gradually disperse outward to residences in suburban districts as educational and occupation achievements were realized, and finally abandon their own institutions and join those of the host society. This model may have reflected the settlement and adaptation process of some phases of Chinese settlement in Canada. However, it failed to provide a full account of the existence and development of ethnic organizations such as

SUCCESS. A second group of researchers who forecast the early demise of ethnic organizations were those who overstated the role of the state. In 1985, Tan and Roy asserted that "With the rise of the welfare state, the government now provides most of the major services the Chinese community once provided for itself" (p.18). Perhaps this statement referred to the declining roles of traditional Chinese associations such as clan associations, but the history of SUCCESS clearly challenges the legitimacy of this kind of argument regarding its role in helping Chinese immigrants.

Purpose of the Study

This study investigates the historical development of SUCCESS from 1973 to 1998, and the roles it played in responding to changing community needs in a multicultural society. First, the study will explore the original purposes for setting up this organization; its mandate, structure, finance, clientele, and leadership of the organization; features of its programs and services; and major changes over the years. Second, because the history of SUCCESS cannot be understood as if it is a closed entity, it must be analyzed in terms of its connections with the state and other organizations. The social forces which drove the major changes in the Society's evolution and the role of ethnicity in its historical development will be explored. Third, the study hopes to uncover the social contributions SUCCESS has made to Canadian society at large and the Chinese community in particular.

Theoretical Approach to the Study

Li (1998) rightfully identified a common problem pertaining to the traditional approaches in ethnic studies in Canada. He notes that primordialist views of culture usually undergirded such research. With regard to studies in the history and development of the Chinese in Canada, Li argues, the focus was primarily on the cultural adaptation of the Chinese as a racial minority coming from an ancient culture. According to him, research on Chinese voluntary associations in particular was influenced by this approach. Scholars coming from this perspective were interested in exploring how the Chinese used an ancient traditional culture as the basis for the development of various culturally unique social organizations in the receiving society. He also points out that this approach woefully ignored the social context within which the history of Chinese Canadians was constructed and the social relationship between the Chinese and the dominant majority.

Having identified the problems inherent in earlier approaches to research regarding the Chinese in Canada, this study of SUCCESS is situated in the social, historical, and political

contexts of Canada, with reference to changing community needs and relations with mainstream society. The study will adopt an interdisciplinary approach, drawing upon historical, sociological, and political perspectives.

Defining Ethnicity

Owing to the significance of the concept of ethnicity in this study, it is necessary first to define the term. According to Isajiw (1985), researchers of ethnic relations in Canada and the United States rarely defined the meaning of ethnicity, and seldom gave reasons for not including it. He also argues that studies of ethnic groups needed an explicit definition of ethnicity which was denotative rather than connotative. Accordingly, this section will begin by reviewing some of those definitions available in the field.

A broad view of ethnicity was taken by Max Weber (1978, cited in Driedger, 1996), one of the most well-known classical theorists who defined the term in five categories: inheritance, culture and consciousness of kind, the emergence of tribe and 'a People,' the notion of 'Volk' and nationality, and religion as an ideological symbol system. In Weber's view, ethnicity provided a basis for members of an ethnic group to develop closures or boundaries within which ethnic institutions, neighbourhoods, beliefs, and cultures were developed and maintained (Li, 1999). More recent theorists viewed ethnic groups as "people of the same descent and heritage who share a common and distinctive culture passed on through generations" (Jandt, 1998, p.13). To locate it in a North American context, Isajiw (1985, p.12) expanded the term further as "a group or category of persons who have common ancestral origin and the same cultural traits, who have a sense of peoplehood and *Gemeinschaft* type of relations, who are of immigrant background and have either minority or majority status within a larger society."

As can be seen clearly from the above definitions, ethnicity, for the most part, was conceived as being "ascribed or given at birth" (Li, 1999). Very often the definition of ethnicity has relied heavily on culture, or these terms were all too often treated as overlapping or coterminous. Many researchers (Li, 1999; Moodley, 1981, 1983) challenge this primordialist and essentialist emphasis of such definitions. Moodley (1983) argues against the depoliticized and static nature of ethnicity and questioned those viewing ethnicity as "having an intrinsic vitality regardless of the context" (p.321). According to Li (1999), "people of the same ethnicity do not necessarily share a common culture" (p.11). The example provided by Moodley (1996) in describing 'East Indians,' who came from four continents and represented three world religions (Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam) and various subjects (i.e., Ismailis, Sikhs, Protestants), rightly illustrated Li's point. In discussing what united members of an ethnic group, Moodley

pointed out that it was not a common culture but common exposure to manifold discrimination and common experience as 'outsiders' which united all groups. Another meaningful explanation was provided by Yancey, Ericksen, and Juliani (1976, cited in Li, 1999), who examined ethnicity in relation to structural conditions in the cities to which ethnic groups immigrated and the economic opportunities available to them there. Under such conditions, ethnicity was not fixed but constantly changing.

Furthermore, ethnic mobilization was situational (Moodley, 1983). As Moodley stated, it was always in response to specific socio-cultural contexts, and arising in unique historical constellations which in turn mediated ethnic expression dialectically. She also asserted that the understanding of the waxing and waning of ethnicity should be linked with the motivational factors and underlying interests, which were differently perceived according to constantly changing needs and their ideological interpretations.

Throughout this study, ethnicity refers to the shared experience of immigrants sometimes based on language, shared heritage, or identification with one another, and have a common goal to succeed in a new society. It represents a process of constant negotiation and construction of their adjustment and integration to a new environment. It will be treated as a dynamic concept rather than a static one. It is the social relational features rather than the primordial features of ethnic formations which form the basis of this study.

In this study, ethnic organizations are regarded as one form of voluntary organization. The two terms have considerable overlaps. Furthermore, SUCCESS falls under both categories. Therefore, these two terms are used interchangeably throughout this study.

Research Questions

The central question of this study is: How did a community initiated voluntary organization such as SUCCESS respond to changing needs of an ethnic community in a multicultural society? In order to address this overall question, a number of sub-theme questions have to be answered first. These include:

Context Question

- What were the historical, social, and political contexts within which SUCCESS was founded?

Foundation of SUCCESS

- What were the original purposes for the founding of SUCCESS?

- Whom did the organization serve?
- What kind of services and programs were provided?
- What was the source of the funding?
- Who provided the leadership?

The Role of SUCCESS

- What roles did SUCCESS assume in helping immigrants with their settlement and adaptation?

Changes of SUCCESS

- What were the major changes encountered by SUCCESS over the years?
- What were the social forces which drove these changes?

The Role of Volunteers and Members

- What roles did volunteers and members take in the development of SUCCESS?

Social Relationship

- What kind of relationship did SUCCESS have with the state and mainstream society?
- What was the relationship of SUCCESS with the ethnic Chinese community?

The Role of Ethnicity

- What roles did ethnicity play in the development of SUCCESS?

Social Contributions

- How has SUCCESS contributed socially to Canadian society in general and the Chinese community in particular?

Significance of the Study

Although this research is the study of one ethnic organization, without any doubt, its findings will contribute to a better understanding and ultimate advancement of immigrants in the Vancouver area and Canada. First, this study, it is hoped, will make a contribution to the theoretical literature on the role of ethnic organizations, to the history of Chinese immigrants in British Columbia, and to a better relationship between ethnic organizations and the state. Second,

the results from this study on the impact of immigration policy changes on immigrants and ethnic organizations will help policy makers in Canada reassess their past policies and provide guidelines for making new policies in the future. Third, the findings from this study will foster community initiatives in helping immigrants in their settlement and integration, and will also be useful to other ethnic communities in Vancouver and Canada.

Organization of the Thesis

Following an introduction to the study in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 reviews the major literature pertaining to multiculturalism, minority group rights and citizenship, social services for immigrants, and the role of immigrant serving organizations and their relationship with the state. Chapter 3 examines the historical, social, and political contexts in which SUCCESS was founded. Chapter 4 discusses the theoretical and methodological framework underpinning the design and implementation of the investigation. The findings of the study are presented in Chapters Five to Nine. In sequence, these five chapters respectively focus on the foundation of SUCCESS, historical development of SUCCESS, programs and services, finances and administration, and SUCCESS in context of other communities. Chapter 10 draws conclusions to the study.

Background Information

To set the stage for the investigation, the structure of SUCCESS as of 1998 will be discussed here. This includes its objectives, membership, annual general meeting, Board of Directors, and the general responsibilities of the Executive Director. First, it is necessary to place SUCCESS in a broader national context in Canada.

According to the Directory of Immigrant Serving Organizations compiled by Citizenship and Immigration Canada in 2000, there were 175 such organizations across Canada. Depending on the geographic location and the community they served, the size of these organizations varied. SUCCESS, the Multilingual Orientation Service Association for Immigrant Communities (MOSAIC), and the Immigrant Services Society (ISS) were the three largest in Greater Vancouver (Creese, 1998).

Objectives of SUCCESS

According to the Board of Directors' Manual (1996-1997) of SUCCESS, its objectives were:

1. To promote the well-being of Chinese Canadians, and to encourage their full participation in community affairs in the spirit of multiculturalism.

2. To assist in the settlement process of citizens and immigrants of Chinese descent in the Province of British Columbia, Canada, particularly those who have difficulties in English, by
 - a. providing adequate information on the available public services, and facilitating the delivery of such services when necessary;
 - b. providing direct social services; and,
 - c. fostering the concept of mutual assistance among the Chinese community.
3. To foster and promote social awareness and community involvement through civic education, volunteer and membership development and preventive social services.
4. To reflect the needs and issues of the Chinese Canadian community to individuals, agencies and the public media, and to advocate for positive social changes.
5. To cooperate and work with other citizens and ethnic groups sharing similar objectives.
6. To seek funds from government and/or other resources for the implementation of the aforementioned objectives.

Membership of SUCCESS

From the day SUCCESS was founded, its founders (Ip, 1974; Leong, 1976) claimed the agency to be a citizen group. They asserted that citizens, not professional workers, should assume policy and decision-making roles at SUCCESS. According to SUCCESS By-Laws and Regulations (1996b), membership was open to all who subscribed to the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society. The membership came under three categories: ordinary members, honorary members, and life members.

Ordinary members were those who attained membership by having their applications approved by the Board of Directors. Honorary members were designated by the Board of Directors. Life members were those who have made substantial contributions to the Society, or have made a cash donation in an amount not less than the minimum set by the Board of Directors. The latter two types of members did not need to apply for membership or pay for the annual membership fee. Ordinary and life members could be both individuals and corporations.

In addition to the categories mentioned above, the By-Laws and Regulations of SUCCESS also allowed the Board of Directors to appoint as patrons persons who have made significant voluntary contributions to the Society. No more than two patrons were to be appointed in any one year.

Annual General Meeting

The Constitution and By-Laws of SUCCESS were filed with the Registrar of Societies of B.C. in Victoria, British Columbia. In order to maintain its status as a society, SUCCESS had to function according to the Societies Act, which meant that it had to hold an annual general meeting once a year after notifying all members, in writing, fourteen days before this meeting.

Among the many matters which would be discussed at the meeting, the election of a Board of Directors was important.

Board of Directors

The Board of Directors was the governing body for the organization and was legally responsible for all aspects of SUCCESS's operation. It was usually made up of 20 or 21 members. All board members were elected at the annual general meeting and held office for a term of two years. All directors were volunteers and received no remuneration of any kind for their services on behalf of the Society. The Board consisted of a Chair, a Deputy-Chair, a Secretary, a Treasurer, five Vice-Chairs (responsible for Resource Development, Programs, Public Relations, Long-term Planning and Development, and Membership and Volunteer Development), and 11 or 12 other Board Members. The Board usually met every month.

General Responsibilities of the Executive Director

The Executive Director was appointed by the Board of Directors. His or her general responsibilities included: planning, participating with the Board in devising policies and procedures; developing programs and organizing services; coordinating the work of the Board and staff and acting as their liaison; employing, supervising, and training staff; preparing budgets and report; keeping the Board informed of operations and programs; working together with the Board members in preparing funding applications; and representing, interpreting and promoting the Society's services in the community.

A review of the structure of SUCCESS in 1998 reveals that the Board of Directors had the ultimate responsibility for policy formulation, overall planning, and fundraising. Professional staff under the leadership of the Executive Director were responsible for program implementation, agency liaison, and community development. Another important part of this organization was the volunteers who were recruited from the members, community leaders, professionals, citizens, and clientele. They were also actively involved in the provision of services and the operation of the organization. It is clear that the Board of Directors, staff, and volunteers formed a three-tier structure with a democratic electoral system. However, it is not clear at what point the whole organization came into being, what the driving forces behind the founding of the organization were, who the major players were, and what some of the most important changes were. These will be investigated in this study.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Chapter 2 reviews the literature related to the topic of this research. This chapter, consisting of four sections, will examine the literature in the areas of: 1) multiculturalism; 2) minority group rights and democratic citizenship; 3) barriers to the access of social services for immigrants; and 4) the role of the immigrant service organization and its relationship with the state. These four bodies of literature are reviewed here because they form the basis for the discussion. It is also hoped that the investigation of this chapter will inform us about existing studies, what the drawbacks are, and what kind of contributions this current research will make to the field.

Multiculturalism

K.C. Li, former Chair of SUCCESS, stated that "SUCCESS was the baby of Multiculturalism." His statement suggests that the official policies of Multiculturalism inspired the founding of SUCCESS. However, it is unclear if Multiculturalism can alone justify the existence of SUCCESS. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the history and policy of multiculturalism in Canada, and the discussion around it. It is hoped that this examination will set up the context within which the organization was founded and developed.

Canada was the first country to formulate an official policy for multiculturalism and to give it full legal authority (Moodley, 1995). It was formalized in 1971 by the Liberal government, in response to the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the mid-1960s, and the Official Language Act of 1969, which granted equal status to both French and English as the official languages of the Parliament and government of Canada. Thereafter, in 1972 a multicultural directorate was established within the Department of Secretary of State, and in July 1988, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was passed unanimously by both houses of Parliament. The main goal of the multicultural policy was to: 1) assist cultural groups with their cultural development; 2) help members of cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society; 3) promote creative encounters and interchange among all cultural groups in the interest of national unity; and 4) help immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages (House of Commons, 1971, p.8546).

Though multicultural policy evoked enthusiasm and attracted attention of some groups in Canada, their reactions were generally mixed (Moodley, 1983, 1995). Moodley summarizes

some of the concerns and questions people have about the policy. First, the multicultural policy neutralizes the special claims of the French and the First Nations Canadians by putting them on an equal footing with numerous others. Native people argue that Multiculturalism does nothing to help them with their land claims and forgotten treaty rights; and French Canadians view multiculturalism as a device "to deny French-speaking minorities their full recognition," or "to reduce the importance of the French fact in Canada to that of an outsized ethnic minority" (Taylor, 1993, p.162). Second, ambiguities and contradictions embedded in the policy itself have given rise to much discussion. People fear that, in sustaining their respective cultures, ethnic groups will undermine national unity. Third, as Moodley (1983) points out, the Multiculturalism policy is based on a depoliticized and static definition of culture and ethnicity. The focus of multicultural policy on expressive and instrumental aspects of cultural diversity "trivialises, neutralizes, and absorbs social and economic inequalities" (p.326). Moodley maintains that ethnic mobilization is 'situational,' and that it always responds to specific socio-structural contexts. She also states that one of the flaws of multicultural policy lies in the separation of culture and language. Canadian Bilingualism defined English and French as the official languages of Canada. This policy, by deemphasizing languages of other cultural groups, helped create a cultural and linguistic hierarchy in Canada. Multiculturalism, she argues, must presuppose multilingualism. Cultural preservation without language protection becomes ephemeral and artificial, and is bound to fail. According to Moodley, "Genuine multiculturalism would have to preclude a cultural hierarchy." She suggests the jettison of the very notion of "mainstream culture," and recommended the Anglo-conformity standards to be 'multi-culturalized.' Moodley (1996) also claims that Canadian multiculturalism constitutes more rhetoric than substance, but "it fosters public tolerance. It bestows an aura of respectability to difference" (p.9).

Moodley's views are largely based on the perspective of critical multiculturalism. Other critics of multiculturalism, including Neil Bissoondath (1994) and Richard Gwyn (1980, 1995), claim that multiculturalism has undermined our 'core values and traditions.' They blame multiculturalism for creating 'confusion' and 'uncertainty' about the definition of Canadian identity. "In eradicating the centre, in evoking uncertainty as to what and who is a Canadian, it [multiculturalism] has diminished all sense of Canadian values, of what is a Canadian" (Bissoondath, 1994, p.71). Bissoondath also argues that, instead of promoting integration, multiculturalism encourages ethnic 'ghettoization' and preserves ethnic 'exoticism.' "[P]ersonalities and ways of doing things, ways of looking at the world, can be frozen in time;

that Canadian cultural influences pale before the exoticism of the foreign." He points out that the result of multicultural policies is ethnic 'separatism' and cultural 'apartheid' around ethnic groups. It builds up 'cultural walls' and divides the country. As he states, "The walls are high, ready-made, as solid as obsession" (p.186). According to Bissoondath, Multiculturalism should not aim at preserving differences but at "blending them into a new vision of Canadianness, pursuing a Canada where inherent differences and inherent similarities meld easily and where no one is alienated with hyphenation[...] And every individual is Canadian, undiluted and undivided" (p.224). He states:

It is desperately sad, though, when after many years they see Canada as only that [a place to run to in an emergency]; and it is even sadder when their children continue to see Canada with the eyes of foreigners. Multiculturalism, with its emphasis on the importance of holding on to the former or ancestral homeland, with its insistence that *There* is more important than *Here*, serves to encourage such attitudes. (p.133)

In response to these attacks, Kymlicka (1998) argues that critics of the multiculturalism policy are 'misinformed,' and that defenders of multiculturalism, either academics or bureaucrats, have not done a good job in articulating the policy. He contends that multiculturalism is a "coherent, defensible, and indeed successful approach" to the integration of ethnic groups in Canada, and he supports his argument by the following points. First, naturalization rates have increased since the adoption of Multiculturalism in 1971, and immigrants from non-traditional source countries are most likely to be naturalized. They want to identify with Canada, formalize their membership in Canadian society, and participate in the political life of the country. Second, ethnic groups participate actively in the political life of Canada. Before 1971 ethnic groups were underrepresented in Parliament, but today the number of MPs representing ethnic groups almost reflect their percentage of the population. It is important to note that they participate within the traditional national parties instead of forming separate ethnic-based ones. There are indicators to suggest that immigrants quickly absorb and accept Canada's basic liberal-democratic values and constitutional principles even if their original societies were non-liberal or non-democratic. Third, the demand for classes in English and French as second languages (ESL, FSL) has never been higher. Kymlicka maintains that there may be a lack of accessible and appropriate ESL/FSL classes, but it is absurd to believe that there is a general decrease in the immigrants' desire to learn an official language. Fourth, intermarriage rates have consistently increased since 1971. Kymlicka points out that "it is not the business of the government either to encourage or to discourage intermarriage," the increased intermarriage rates suggest that "Canadian people are more accepting of diversity" and "more willing to accept members of other ethnic groups as co-

workers, neighbours, or friends" (p.20). Official language acquisition and intermarriage rates are two indicators of societal integration. Kymlicka believes that "Canadians do a better job of respecting ethnic diversity while promoting societal integration than citizens of any other country" (p.22). He maintains that Bissoondath's (1994) argument that multiculturalism has increased 'ghettoism' and decreased the rate of integration of immigrants is flawed and bizarre.

In commenting on Bissoondath's claim that multiculturalism encourages separatism, Kymlicka (1998) contends that it is "an immensely ambitious and arduous project" to maintain a separate societal culture in Canada. It requires "creating and sustaining a set of public institutions that will enable a minority group to participate in the modern world in its own language," as well as "the use of, and control over, a variety of political powers and institutions" (p.34). Unlike the Quebecois who have the basic conditions for sustaining a separate societal culture, it is almost impossible for immigrant groups to achieve such a goal. It is neither desirable nor feasible. Some special programs such as mother-tongue literacy programs for adult immigrants, bilingual education programs, and Black-focused schools appear to involve some degree of institutional separateness, but in fact they are transitional. They are based on a recognition that integration is a long and often painful process that may take more than one generation. These special institutions and programs are necessary to ease the process of initial integration, and facilitate greater participation in mainstream institutions.

Reviewing multiculturalism policies and programs, Kymlicka claims that in practice multiculturalism is "a response to the pressures that Canada exerts on immigrants to integrate into common institutions," and is "a framework for debating and developing the terms of integration" (p.40). With regard to integration, Kymlicka (1998) points out that it is usually a long, difficult, and often painful process, and that it does not happen overnight. Sometimes special institutions and programs are required to help immigrants ease this process. These include certain services in an immigrant's mother tongue, and special support for immigrant organizations that assist in the settlement and integration process. These institutions are not any unjust privileges for immigrants, nor do they promote ethnic separatism. They function as a transition and they are honest attempts to accommodate diversity and distinctive problems facing particular ethnocultural groups. The ultimate goal is to facilitate greater participation in and integration into mainstream society.

He continues to explain that most multiculturalism policies are integrative in both their intentions and results. These policies have proved to be "worthy, appropriate, and successful attempts" to accommodate diversity and promote fairer terms of integration in Canada (p.42).

Symbolically, multiculturalism also expresses our explicit denouncement to our historical ethnocentric practices (e.g. assimilation, racial exclusion, and cultural oppression). It is also a way to affirm that "immigrants had made a vital contribution to Canadian life, and that their distinctive identities were a defining feature of Canadian society that must be reasonably accommodated" (p.54).

Kymlicka's strong defense of Multiculturalism is not flawless. He fails to take us beyond actually existing multiculturalism as state policy (Day, 2000). "[R]ather than critically addressing the colonial remainder in the history of Canadian diversity, this brand of multiculturalism rather perversely finds pride in its reproduction" (p.216). Day accuses Kymlicka of perpetuating the status quo by reaffirming the power of 'we' as "a silent, Invisible Self group that chooses to give, or not to give, gifts of recognition and self-government to noisy, Visible Others" (p.216). Despite being 'recognized,' the Others are once again being placed in an inferior position.

In sum, the above discussion has made it clear that Multiculturalism has both proponents and opponents. For some, it can be hailed as an explicit denouncement to our ethnocentric past, as well as an alternative way to accommodate diversity and promote fairer terms of integration. For others, it can be accused of encouraging ethnic 'ghettoization,' preserving ethnic 'exoticism,' and undermining our 'core values and traditions.' People on the left (Moodley, 1983, 1995; Kymlicka, 1998; Taylor, 1993, 1994a; Day, 2000) are not satisfied with it because it trivializes, neutralizes, and absorbs social and economic inequalities, and perpetuates the status quo.

Minority Group Rights and Multicultural Citizenship

The success of contemporary Western societies has partially been attributed to their adherence to liberal principles. Liberals cherish the beliefs in universal equality. However, Canada as a multiethnic society is becoming more and more multicultural as well. Will the universal liberalism still accommodate the development of this post-modern society? This section will review works on liberalism, minority group rights, and its relationship with democratic citizenship.

Procedural and Substantive Liberalism

Taylor (1993, 1994a) summarizes Dworkin's distinction between two kinds of moral commitment: procedural and substantive. The former is about our commitment to deal fairly and equally with each other, regardless of how we conceive our ends; whereas the latter one relates to our views about the ends of life, about what constitutes a good life. Walzer (1994) labels these two kinds of liberalism Liberalism 1 and Liberalism 2 respectively. Liberalism 1 is committed to individual rights and to a rigorously neutral state, and Liberalism 2 allows for a state committed

to the survival and flourishing of a particular nation, culture, or religion as long as the basic rights of citizens are protected. For Walzer, Liberalism 2 is more democratic than Liberalism 1.

According to Tamir (1995), governments cannot be culturally neutral, and in fact all states are culturally biased. Liberalism 1, or procedural liberalism, claims that "a liberal society must remain neutral on the good life, and restrict itself to ensuring that however they see things, citizens deal fairly with each other and the state deals equally with all" (Taylor, 1994a, p.57). Taylor challenges this liberal procedural neutrality. He fears that this construal of government's role cannot accommodate certain political claims which citizens concerned to advance a common good might legitimately want to make. He argues that political neutrality prevents citizens from pursuing certain legitimate collective goals through their political institutions (Weinstock, 1994). Taylor also maintains that single-principle neutral liberalism cannot suffice, and that it has to allow space for other goods to succeed. He notes that the reality of plural societies may require us to modify procedural liberalism (Appiah, 1994). Taylor (1994b, p.253) states:

Neutral liberalism as a total principle seems to me here a formula for paralysis; or else for hypocrisy, if one tried to occlude the real reasons. It is at this point that it begins to appear more than costly; in truth, inapplicable.

Walzer (1994) contends that he would choose Liberalism 1 *from within* Liberalism 2, which means that the choice is not governed by an absolute commitment to state neutrality and individual rights, nor by the deep dislike of particularist identities. Instead, it is governed by "the social condition and the actual life choice" of people (p.103).

Taylor (1993, 1994a) used the clash between the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Quebec's collective goal as a good example to illustrate this conflict between procedural and substantive liberalism. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms, endorsed by Pierre Trudeau's Liberal government in 1982, promotes the rights of individuals in a variety of ways, and defends against discriminatory treatment of its citizens on a number of irrelevant grounds such as race or gender. The Charter also recognizes linguistic and aboriginal rights. However, it is highly suspicious of collective goals, and it promotes uniform citizenship (Taylor, 1993). For example, the Quebec language legislation (Bill 101) regulates the types of schools to which parents can send their children, and the kind of language for commercial signs. These restrictions placed on Quebecers by the Quebec government in the name of collective goal, that is the survival of French culture in Quebec, violate these basic provisions of the Charter. They also put federation in jeopardy.

For Taylor, the liberal neutrality fails to accommodate Quebeckers and First Nations Canadians of their ways of being Canadians. To build a country for everyone, Taylor proposes "deep diversity" which is capable of integrating two models of liberalism, open to multiple conceptions of citizenship, and acknowledges and accepts a "plurality of ways of belongs" (p.183).

Taylor's proposal of deep diversity sounds appealing. However, it also invites criticism. Day (2000) points out that Taylor's recognition based on the principles of non-procedural liberal pluralism is "not equal, reciprocal, and freely given, but a partial and grudgingly bestowed *gift* from a canonical Self group to a series of problematic Others" (p.217). In Taylor's text, Day detects a distinction between the 'we' who are giving the gifts of recognition, and the 'they' who are demanding them. Until the state unconditionally acknowledges the worth of its Others as such, these Others will be incapable of providing reciprocal recognition.

Minority Group Rights

There are many different kinds of ethno-cultural groups within the larger Canadian society, and these groups have different histories, needs, aspirations, and identities, and face different kinds of challenges (Kymlicka & Norman, 2000). Kymlicka and Norman group them into four categories: 1). national minorities (stateless nations and indigenous peoples); 2). immigrant minorities (with citizenship, with or without rights to become citizens, and refugees); 3). religious groups (isolationist and non-isolationist); and 4). *sui generis* groups (African Americans, Roma/Gypsies, and Russians from former Soviet states).

Kymlicka (1995, 1998) highlights the differences between national minorities and immigrant minorities, which are directly relevant to this research. He defines national minorities as "historically settled, territorially concentrated, and previously self-governing cultures whose territory has become incorporated into a large state" (p.30). He regards aboriginal peoples and French Canadians as two national minority groups in Canada, who see themselves as nations within Canada. However, they are not satisfied with their status; they are seeking various forms of self-government and demanding special recognition to maintain their status as culturally distinct and self-governing societies within the larger state.

Immigrant or ethnic minorities differ from national minorities, who were involuntarily incorporated into the Canadian state. The decision of many immigrants to leave their original homelands and settle in a new society was more or less voluntary. They wish to integrate into mainstream society. Although they want some recognition and accommodation of their ethnocultural distinctiveness, their goals differ from that of national minorities. They are not

seeking self-government; instead they want to modify the institutions and laws of mainstream society to make them more accommodating of cultural differences.

In Canada, ironically, one of the major mechanisms for accommodating cultural differences is "the protection of civil and political rights of individuals" (Kymlicka, 1995, p.26). However, as alluded to earlier, these rights are highly suspicious of collective goals. They are insufficient to meet the needs of ethnic groups. These common rights need to be supplemented by specific 'group rights' that recognize and accommodate particular ethnocultural practices and identities.

Kymlicka and Norman (2000) define rights of ethnocultural minorities or minority rights in short as "a wide range of public policies, legal rights, and constitutional provisions sought by ethnic groups for the accommodation of their cultural differences" (p.2). Minority rights are beyond the common provisions of civil and political rights of individual citizenship in a liberal democratic society, and the adoption of any minority rights is to recognize and accommodate the distinctive identities and needs of ethnocultural groups.

The heterogeneous nature of ethnocultural groups demands different kinds of special accommodation. Kymlicka (1995) puts group-specific rights into three categories: self-government, polyethnic, and special representation rights. According to Kymlicka, self-government rights demand some form of 'political autonomy' or 'territorial jurisdiction.' These rights, he declares, involve "devolving political power to a political unit substantially controlled by the members of the national minority, and substantially corresponding to their historical homeland or territory" (p.30). Polyethnic rights are intended to "help ethnic group and religious minorities express their cultural particularity and pride" (p.31). Again, Kymlicka points out that these minority groups favour promoting integration into the larger society, not for self-government. Group representation rights, he argues, are rights demanded by national minorities, ethnic groups, and non-ethnic social groups. They are regarded as "a response to some systemic disadvantage or barrier in the political process which makes it impossible for the group's views and interests to be effectively represented" (p.32). The former two kinds are not seen as temporary, but as inherent and permanent while the last one is viewed as a temporary form of 'affirmative action.'

Kymlicka further points out that, depending on the circumstances, all three group-differentiated rights could serve two purposes: 'internal restrictions' and 'external protections.' The former is the right of a group against its own members intending to defend the group from the destabilizing impact of internal dissent. The second is the right of a group against the larger

society intending to protect its distinct existence and identity by limiting the impact of the decisions of the larger society. Kymlicka (1998) maintains that internal restrictions "raise the danger of individual opposition" and are inconsistent with liberal democratic values. By contrast, external protections "limit the group's invulnerability to the political decisions and economic power of the larger society" and may actually promote justice. They are "not inconsistent with liberal-democratic values" (p.63).

Group rights have both critics and defenders. Critics tend to see group rights as restricting individual rights and threatening basic democratic values, whilst defenders of group rights typically see group rights as supplementing individual rights. Kymlicka maintains that group rights can promote liberal democratic values under two conditions: "uphold or promote equality between groups" and "respect the freedom of individuals within each group" (p.70). He stresses that for now most of the demands for group-specific rights made by ethnic and national groups in Canada are for external protections. Those few groups seeking state power to impose internal restrictions "have generally been rebuffed" (1995, p.42). Kymlicka supports the need for external protection, but cautions against the internal restriction which groups may exercise and impose on their members.

Levy (1997), on the other hand, regards Kymlicka's classification of group rights as being too broad. He classifies cultural rights-claims and special policies for accommodating ethnic and linguistic pluralism into eight categories. These are: exemptions, assistance, self-government, external rules, internal rules, recognition/enforcement, representation, and symbolic claims. He claims that this classification is not perfect, and that it is intended for usefulness. In this context, assistance rights will be described in greater detail because these are more relevant to the theme of this research.

Levy argues that "assistance rights are claims for help in overcoming obstacles to engaging in common practices" (p.29). Two common clusters of assistance rights are discussed here: language rights, and subsidies to a variety of cultural and linguistic institutions and associations.

Because of language difficulties, speakers of the minority language may not be able to interact with the state or receive state protection and benefits. They may be prevented from voting, using the courts and the schools, or having access to the bureaucracy. Therefore, they need special provision to overcome this obstacle, but special provision is costly. Supporters of assistance rights argue that the costs are less important than the injustice that takes place because

of speakers of the minority language being denied access to the activities and services to which they are entitled.

Another group of assistance rights is subsidies to a variety of cultural and linguistic institutions and associations. These could be direct subsidies or special tax credits as contributions to such associations. These special state measures are designed to help cultural groups preserve their cultural integrity and heritage to the same degree as the majority culture.

Minority groups seek these rights to allow them to do things or get access to services which members of the majority culture already enjoy. They seek special provision because of culturally specific disadvantages or because the desired common activity is out of the reach of members of nondominant groups. They are supported by the argument that members of the minority culture do not have the same privilege to participate in these activities. Clearly it is a matter of equality and access.

Minority Group Rights and Democratic Citizenship

The rights and status of ethnocultural minorities in multi-ethnic societies, and the virtues, practices, and responsibilities of democratic citizenship have been popular topics for debate among political philosophers (Kymlicka & Norman, 2000). Tamir (1995, p.6) argues that the granting of equal rights to disempowered immigrants was insufficient to ensure equal status because the ideal of a culturally neutral state cannot be achieved, and it embodies a dangerous and oppressive illusion. Strict adherence to the principle of equal treatment tends to perpetuate oppression or disadvantage. Hence, minorities usually demand special treatment in the name of equality. Therefore, the notion of a universal citizenship had to be replaced by one of 'differential citizenship.'

Before addressing the debate between minority rights and democratic citizenship, it would be pertinent to review the research done in the areas of minority rights in the past two decades. Kymlicka and Norman (2000) point out that in the mid-1980s issues of ethnicity were marginalized by political philosophers, but today the question of minority rights has moved to the forefront of political theory. This partly reveals that Western liberal democracies have not been successful in meeting the challenges posed by ethnocultural diversity.

Early publications on minority rights primarily focused on assessing the justice of minority rights claims. On one side of the debate, critics of minority rights argued that state institutions should be 'colour-blind,' and that granting rights to specific ethnic groups was discriminatory, and would create first- and second-class citizens. On the other side of the debate, however, defenders of minority rights maintain that difference-blind institutions claim to be

neutral among different ethnocultural groups, but they are in fact implicitly tilted towards "the needs, interests, and identities" of the majority group. The adoption of minority rights is intended to promote fairness and justice by correcting the disadvantages that minorities suffer within difference-blind institutions. Kymlicka and Norman (2000) boldly declare that "[m]inority rights do not constitute unfair privileges or invidious forms of discrimination, but rather compensate for unfair disadvantages, and so are consistent with, and may indeed be required by, justice" (p.4).

They insist further that the initial debate over minority rights is coming to a close with defenders of minority rights having successfully redefined the terms of public debate in two profound ways: First, many people can now accept that difference-blind rules and institutions can cause disadvantages for particular groups. Second, before the debate it was the defenders of minority rights who were on the defensive. They had to prove that their proposed reforms would not create injustices. Now this burden of proof is shared with defenders of difference-blind institutions. They have to show that the status quo does not create injustices for minority groups and their members.

Kymlicka and Norman continue. They claim that the current debate over minority rights has moved away from justice towards the issue of citizenship, and is merged with the debate over the virtues and practices of democratic citizenship. The citizenship debate was proclaimed to be out of fashion in the 1970s and revitalized in the 1990s. In the new debate it is widely accepted that the health and stability of a modern democracy depends not only on the justice of its institutions, but also on the qualities and attitudes of its citizens. However, it is unclear what kind of impact minority rights have on democratic citizenship.

At this juncture a definition of 'citizenship' is warranted. Kymlicka and Norman maintain that citizenship can be defined at two different levels. At the individual level, a person's citizenship is referred to three distinct ideas or phenomena: citizenship status, citizenship identity, and citizenship activity. At the level of the political community as a whole, citizenship can be referred to as the ideal of social cohesion, including concerns about social stability, political unity, and civil peace. Concerns about the erosion or fragmentation of citizenship can be traced to the vulnerability of one or more of these four ideas.

With regard to the relationship between the two, many critics of minority rights believe that the promotion of minority rights erodes the norms and practices of responsible citizenship, and inhibits the state's ability to promote citizenship effectively. It is bound to have a negative impact on citizenship practices. It is argued that liberal democracies must reject any minority rights or multiculturalism policies that involve the explicit public recognition of ethnic groups.

The defenders of minority rights dismiss the charges by arguing that the rhetoric of citizenship has been used as a cloak by the majority to extend its language, institutions, mobility rights, and political power at the expense of the minority, and that it is a way of advancing the interests of the dominant national group.

The above discussion has made it clear that there are tensions between minority rights and citizenship. Kymlicka and Norman (2000) point out that these fears about citizenship are legitimate concerns, but it is not clear how valid they are. Kymlicka and Norman examine how minority rights affect democratic citizenship.

In their analysis Kymlicka and Norman first highlight four different kinds of concerns people have about the erosion of citizenship caused by minority rights. These concerns are: 1) the loss of equal citizenship status; 2) the fragmentation or weakening of citizenship identities; 3) the erosion of civic virtue and participation; and 4) the weakening of bonds of social cohesion and political unity.

While acknowledging that these are legitimate concerns, and that there might be some truth in some cases, Kymlicka and Norman explain that there is no reason to believe that they are intrinsic to all minority rights claims. They believe that these concerns are 'overstated.' Some of these arguments are in fact based on false assumptions that the pre-conditions for these to happen already exist. For example, critics of minority rights claim that minority rights will crowd out common citizenship identity. This concern is based on the presumption that a common identity already exists, which is not true in many contexts. If the assumption of pre-existing common citizenship identity is false, they argue, we should not assume that the motivation, capacity, and opportunity to participate as virtuous citizen already exists.

They show further that defenders of minority rights contend that some minority rights can actually enhance citizenship. They maintain that minority rights are needed to prevent the ongoing stigmatization of ethnocultural minorities, to encourage alienated groups to come to identify with the larger society and to become full members of the community. They show that refusal to grant recognition and autonomy to such minority groups is likely to provoke even more resentment and hostility, alienating them further from their identity as citizens of the larger state. Kymlicka and Norman also emphasize that the relationship between the two is more complicated than it appears, that it requires actual empirical investigation in specific contexts, and that no conclusion should be drawn *a priori*.

Elsewhere, Kymlicka (1995) also addresses the relationship of minority rights with individual freedom. He argues that "minority rights are not only consistent with individual

freedom, but can actually promote it" (p.75). He also points out that to view demands of ethnic and national groups as "a threat to stability or solidarity is implausible, and often reflects an underlying ignorance or intolerance of these groups" (p.192).

This introductory examination of minority rights and democratic citizenship should lead directly to examining the best means of promoting responsible citizenship as was intended, but all the records examined revealed no consensus. Kymlicka and Norman (2000) present three different perspectives on this. One group of people argues that voluntary associations and organizations of civil society, including ethnic and religious groups, are the best 'schools of citizenship,' and that it is the best for the state to leave these organizations alone. A second group argues that the sort of socialization provided by ethnic and religious groups can inhibit, as well as promote responsible citizenship. They propose mandatory citizenship education in the schools to supplement and correct the lessons learned in civil society. The last group goes even further to argue that the state should actively intervene in certain ethnic and religious groups to prevent them from passing on illiberal or undemocratic attitudes and practices.

Walzer (1995) also offers his suggestions. He maintains that, when immigrants move to a new country, they also bring along their language, culture, values, and religions, and that the only thing that can accommodate these differences is a common citizenship. He insists that people vote in the same elections, obey the same laws, pay the same taxes, and participate in the same arguments about what the state should and should not do. He argues that differences found in civil society can be bridged in the political arena. He believes that political participation can create a sense of "mutual attachment," "the recognition of common interest," even some degree of "patriotic pride." This, he continues, will be achieved through the process of democratic citizenship education, where students will learn something about citizenship itself, about the 'others,' and their fellow citizens. Through democratic citizenship education they will also learn the politics of difference, and the differences it encompasses.

In sum, a conclusion can be reached from the preceding discussion that universal liberalism cannot adequately accommodate the needs of a multiethnic and multicultural society like Canada. The principles of individual rights need to be supplemented by specific 'group rights' that recognize and accommodate particular ethnocultural practices and identities. Critics of minority rights fear that promotion of minority rights erodes the norms and practices of responsible citizenship, and inhibits the state's ability to promote citizenship effectively. Defenders of minority rights argue that some minority rights can actually enhance citizenship. Refusal to grant recognition and autonomy to such minority groups is likely to provoke even

more resentment and hostility, alienating them further from their identity as citizens of the larger state.

Immigrant and Social Services

Reitz (1995) reviewed nearly 400 publications from Canada, the US, Britain, and Australia on aspects of ethno-racial access, utilization, and delivery of social services. In this review he defines ethno-racial access to social services as the extent to which minority group members receive the benefits of social services which they need and to which they are entitled, in a form appropriate to the culture of the group, and on an equitable basis. While acknowledging a general lack of attention to the issue of minority access in all these countries, Reitz notes that academic research on human service utilization in Canada is very limited. He also points out that available Canadian studies which have included the human services are based largely on surveys of service providers and service consumers. Minority access to mental health care and physical health care is far more extensively researched in all these countries reviewed. This is because these services are comparatively standardized, and better funded.

He concluded from his literature review that recent immigrant groups very often experience low rates of utilization of many important social and health services despite evidence of significant need and the fact that immigrants contribute more to the economy through taxation than they use in services. Barriers in access to services are also reported for most types of services. The barriers identified by many of these publications include those related to language, lack of information about services, cultural patterns of help seeking, lack of cultural sensitivity by service providers, financial barriers, and lack of service availability. Reitz notes that the specific barriers to service delivery vary according to types of service, the nature of service delivery itself, and minority group. Access barriers also affect social assistance (welfare) utilization. It is reported that in Canada rates of social assistance utilization are lower for ethno-racial minorities than for the general population (Reitz, 1995).

Reitz's findings are significant for this study. However, I think it is important to contextualize these findings. Some examples of the publications reviewed by Reitz will be discussed in this section in detail. There are also studies which are not included in Reitz's literature review. The focus will be on immigrant access to social services during their settlement and adaptation phase, including identifying what their needs are and what kind of barriers they face. I also try to select a sample of research conducted during different periods, at different locations, and among different ethno-racial groups. Meanwhile, some studies also revealed the functions of immigrant organizations, and will be discussed more fully in the next section.

The first study, which was not included in Reitz's literature review, was completed in 1975 by Richard Nann. This is an important study because it examines the experience of Chinese immigrants with the community social service system in Vancouver. This study was carried out with both service providers and receivers. The study revealed that language was often the major hindrance to the effective use of community services by minority persons. Other barriers besides language included problems of access to a service caused by formal intake procedures, such as the completion of application forms, and lack of knowledge and information about community services (p.75).

The survey agencies were classified into four types: community-wide, linking-buffering, mutual-help, and indigenous. Among them the community-wide agencies were the least capable of dealing with non-English speaking Chinese. Where there were Chinese speaking staff available, they were advised not to use Chinese in order to protect them from "undue pressure" (p.22). Nann also reported that services provided by the other three types of organizations play an important role in "supplementing and complementing the basic core of social services in our community" (p.28).

According to Reitz (1995), the first major study on minority access to services in Ontario was conducted by Doyle and Visano in 1987. The study was based on a sample of service providers in 135 mainstream organizations which were categorized under seven types (i.e., physical health, mental health; community/multiservice centres; information services; supportive services; developmental services; and rehabilitation services). One hundred and sixty interviews were conducted with consumers. The study also surveyed key informants from 40 ethno-specific organizations. The main focus of the analysis was to examine access to mainstream non-governmental, voluntary health and social services organizations in Metropolitan Toronto for members of diverse cultural and racial groups.

A number of barriers related to five areas were identified by service providers and confirmed by consumers. These include: lack of information about services available; the distance of geographic location of services; lack of culturally appropriate services; administrative barriers such as lengthy delays, inconvenient office hours, long and confusing forms to be filled out; and the costs related to transportation and day care.

In this study the authors also recognized that a system of ethno-specific organizations had emerged to serve the health and social services needs of specific populations in Metropolitan Toronto, and that they were more responsive to the needs of consumers. Despite their limited resources and personnel, these organizations generally placed greater emphasis on improving

access to services and policy-decisions for members of minority groups. However, they also reported that mainstream and ethno-specific service organizations exist "in a state of 'two solitudes' - existing side by side but separate, not taking account and not accounting to one another" (p.15).

Having successfully identified these barriers, Doyle and Visano were disturbed by the lack of strategies to overcome barriers. Based on suggestions from focus group discussions and by case studies of specific innovations, the authors made a few recommendations, some of which include: providing better information on available services in languages other than English; training culturally sensitive staff; hiring staff from diverse cultural groups; increasing representations from diverse groups on board and management positions; developing information systems to collect data on the characteristics of cultural and racial groups; providing specific funding to ethno-specific organizations to help their clients more effectively; and undertaking specific arrangements to increase the linkages between mainstream and ethno-specific organizations.

Doyle and Visano's study in Toronto provided a model for similar studies in Ottawa-Carleton by Betty Bergin (1988). Bergin conducted a study of minority ethnic group access to health and social services in Ottawa-Carleton with leaders of minority ethnic associations, immigrant aid workers, and senior administrations and service providers of health and social service organizations. She argues that mainstream health and social service organizations are publicly funded to serve all those in need. In theory, all citizens enjoy the same right to services. In practice, the system had not been successful in achieving its mandate to serve all groups equally.

Her study reports that health and social service organizations in Ottawa-Carleton were not responding adequately to the needs of minority ethnic group members. She maintains that lack of information about available services and language barriers were the two most serious barriers to services. Owing to language difficulties, some clients also encountered problems with respect to reception and the completing of forms, the cultural appropriateness of services, and referrals. All her respondents identified minority ethnic group seniors as special needs group.

In the same study, Bergin also investigated whether minority ethnic group members participated in the planning, development, administration, and delivery of services as board members, volunteers and employees of those organizations. She reveals that, at the organizational level, minority ethnic group access to mainstream health and social service organizations is relatively limited. Six of the 17 ethnic associations reported that, during the

preceding year, their associations had been approached for direct service volunteers, five for donations and/or the names of people willing to fundraise, and only two for the names of people interested in nomination to boards of directors or board committees.

In a qualitative survey of 209 minority community leaders respecting their perceptions of health and social services in five Ontario cities (Toronto, Ottawa, Windsor, Kitchener-Waterloo, and Thunder Bay), Masemann and Mock (1987) reports similar findings as in other studies (Boyle & Visano, 1987; Bergin, 1988): lack of information about services, language difficulties, and cultural insensitivity by service providers.

In their reports on needs assessment for the Vietnamese and Somali communities in the city of York, Nguyen (1991) and Siad (1991) reveal that both communities were motivated to integrate into Canadian society. However, they also point out that, during the integration process, they encountered difficulties in adjusting to the socio-cultural environment, and that they needed assistance in language, employment, housing, daycare, education, health care, counselling, legal, and social services. Among other things, both authors recommended that York Community Services Centre should hire a social worker or counsellor who can speak the minority groups' languages and have in-depth knowledge of their cultures in order to improve the accessibility of the services for the minority groups in York.

Similarly, Ma (1996) conducted a survey among 279 Chinese Canadians in Toronto regarding their perception of community and social services. He reported that close to 70% of the respondents had used at least one type of community and social services provided by all community agencies. One third of them had never used any such services because: 1) they did not need them; 2) they did not know where the services were available; 3) the location of community and social service agencies was not easily accessible; and 4) the waiting list was too long. The most popular services people attended were reported to be ESL classes, citizenship preparation classes, new immigrant services (e.g., information, referral, translation and interpretation services), and community workshops. Most Chinese Canadians surveyed recognized the importance of culturally-sensitive and linguistically-responsive community and social services. They asserted that the governments should not cut the funding for such services.

In a more recent study conducted by Leung (2000) exploring settlement services for Chinese Canadians in Toronto, the author reported that both service users and providers perceived employment and language barriers as the most difficult challenges. The key barriers to employment opportunities were reported as the devaluation of foreign credentials and work experience. All of Leung's respondents viewed employment as the most important key element

when settlement was discussed. Inadequate funding was perceived by service providers as the key problem which affected the quality and range of services offered. Furthermore, narrowly defined settlement services and a time-cap as a legitimate criterion for acquiring services imposed by the funders onto the service providers were also seen as problematic.

Nearly 80% of Leung's respondents recognized the important role played by the Chinese-specific agencies in helping the Chinese immigrants adjust to the Canadian society. A majority of the respondents (60%) expressed their willingness to support the Chinese-specific community and social service agencies by participating in their fundraising activities and volunteering for them.

While many commentators view barriers to social services as cultural and linguistic issues, others see it from the perspective of racism. Henry et al. (2000) report the following manifestations of racism in the human services: lack of access to appropriate programs and services; ethnocentric values and counselling practices; devaluing of the skills and credentials of minority practitioners; inadequate funding for ethno-racial community-based agencies; lack of minority representation in social agencies; and monocultural or *ad hoc* multicultural models of service delivery (p.208).

According to Henry et al., the persistence of racial inequality in social services has been influenced by the ideologies of 'democratic racism' and 'universalism.' Henry et al. refer to democratic racism as an ideology in which two sets of values "conflict but coexist" with each other. These values are: "commitments to democratic principles such as justice, equality, and fairness," and "attitudes and behaviours that include negative feelings about minority groups, differential treatment, and discrimination against them" (p.23). Democratic racism prevents the government from making any changes in the existing social, economic, and political order, and from supporting policies and practices that might ameliorate the low status of people of colour because these policies are perceived to be in conflict with and a threat to liberal democracy.

Henry et al. also argue that failure to provide immigrants with services that are "racially sensitive, culturally appropriate, and linguistically accessible" can also be attributed to the liberal universalism which assumes that "people are essentially the same." Despite the obvious differences in the cultural backgrounds and racial identities of clients, the underlying assumption is that, "all people share common needs and desires and therefore require similar modes of service and intervention" (p.223).

Some of the publications reviewed by Reitz (1995), as discussed above, also identified innovations that have been proposed and some of which have been implemented. These

innovations include improved outreach and service information; locating agencies in areas of minority concentration; provision of multi-lingual services; 'ethnic-match' (providing or referring to ethnic-appropriate minority-group service providers); multicultural training; minority service units; and support for ethno-specific agencies.

Henry et al. (2000) maintain that mainstream social service agencies continue to be "ineffective in delivering services to ethno-racial and racial communities" (p.224). Although some mainstream agencies have attempted to provide more accessible and equitable services by introducing a multicultural organizational model, the change often appears to be 'cosmetic' rather than substantive because "the needs and interest of minorities are dealt with on an *ad hoc* basis rather than being integrated into the structure, policies, programs, and practices of the organization" (p.224).

Henry et al. argue that ethno-cultural and racially specific community-based agencies have taken the role "to fill the huge service-delivery gap created by the failure of mainstream institutions to serve the needs of a multiracial, multicultural, immigrant population" (p.225). However, these agencies are generally isolated from the mainstream delivery system and are often seen by funders as a duplication of services. There has been an overwhelming lack of support from government and other funding bodies for community-based agencies. "They have undertaken the responsibility of proving more effective, responsive, and equitable services to minority communities, with little recognition or remuneration" (p.225). They suggested that ethno-specific agencies, whether they were fostered by state or local government, or arose from within the minority communities, have significant beneficial effects in boosting service utilization. The available evidence suggests in many instances that services provided by ethno-specific agencies are at least of equivalent quality, and may be more effective because they are more closely suited to client needs.

In the study by Reitz (1995) discussed above, the best research conducted on ethno-specific agencies mainly took place in New York and California. In Jenkins' (1988) book, *Ethnic Associations and the Welfare State*, one New York social worker said of the ethnic associations that "[t]his is the best-kept secret in social work" (p.275). It is recognized that government subsidies were a key to the success of these groups. However, Reitz points out that lack of resources were a problem for ethnic associations in all countries. The study in Australia noted that lack of resources may threaten the contribution of the ethno-specific associations, leading to the marginalization of immigrant communities.

In sum, the preceding section has reviewed research done primarily in the social services areas regarding immigrant access to social services during their settlement and adaptation process. It is clear that recent immigrants experienced low rates of utilization of many important social and health services despite evidence of significant need. Both service providers and receivers have identified lack of information about available services and language and cultural barriers as the most significant barriers to services. Further, more recent research reported that employment barriers, such as devaluation of foreign credentials and work experience, were another challenge facing immigrants. However, researchers found that traditional mainstream social service organizations were not responding adequately to the needs expressed by members of minority ethnic groups and the barriers they faced. As an alternative, ethno-racial organizations have undertaken the responsibility of providing more effective, responsive, and equitable services to minority communities. Many researchers suggest that these organizations were usually underfunded, and lacked support from government and other funding agencies. Some authors attributed the persistence of racial inequality in social services to the existing ideologies of democratic racism and universalism.

Having successfully identified the needs and barriers many immigrants have experienced with the social services during their settlement and adaptation process, the next section will examine the roles that immigrant service organizations play as an alternative way to help the immigrants, and their relationship with the state.

The Role of Immigrant Serving Organization and the State

Moodley (1983) argues that, with the rise of the welfare state in the 1960s, immigrant associations dealing with individual adjustment and advancement were likely to become less important. The function of these associations, she argues, will be largely assumed by a host of state-directed social agencies. Since financial and moral support was made available by the State to help immigrants whenever they needed it, immigrants would no longer rely so heavily on cultural self-help organizations for initial survival, except a handful of lower income and older individuals. Youth, professionals and unionized workers would form reference groups outside the ethnic associations. Moodley also points out that new immigrants who came under the immigration point system preferred to pursue their special concerns and upward mobility individually rather than collectively.

Moodley has made a very interesting observation here. However, it is too early to conclude that her statement reveals the true reality in a state like Canada. Luckily we have seen a significant body of literature on immigrant organizations and the state published in the last

decade, this section will review some of them. This review will include research conducted both in Canada and elsewhere in the world.

Ethnic Associations and the Welfare State edited by Jenkins (1988) reports comparative studies of ethnic associations in five countries: USA, UK, Israel, the Netherlands, and Australia. Among other things, the study examines the roles of ethnic associations and their relationship with the state.

First, Jenkins distinguished ethnic associations from ethnic agencies. She defines ethnic associations as a special type of voluntary association formed by individuals who consciously define themselves as members of an ethnic group within a larger context. Although it has a core of members, non-members may also be involved. The key elements are "the base in a self-defined ethnic group, the voluntary nature of the association, and the goal of mutual benefit" (p.10).

Jenkins claims that an ethnic agency is an established social agency with a primary commitment to members of one or more ethnic groups with both public and voluntary funding. It provides single or multi services usually with the help of professional staff under a board of directors. It may or may not have a membership base.

Further, leaders of thirty ethnic associations in New York City representing seventeen ethnic groups participated in Jenkins and Sauber's (1988) study. They reflected the range from fraternal to those that functioned as ethnic agencies. Two-thirds of the associations reported at least 95% of members to be from one ethnic group. Despite the fact that their membership might be mainly one ethnic group, clients of many groups could be served. One half received public money, and the other half did not. Seventeen had paid staff, 13 did not. The responses were almost evenly divided with regard to the question of whether or not ethnic associations were actively involved in relation to their country of origin. While some immigrant groups expressed interest, others retained political advocacy roles.

The associations had a range of programs. The pattern of service and referrals varied due to different needs of the groups. Associations tended to offer direct help when the needs related to education, job training, and family problems. Associations also provided counselling services sensitive to cultural issues through their own staff. Where public programs were accessible, the associations' role was more likely to be that of "facilitator and advocate." Service referrals were made and associations provided escorts and interpreters, helped with the application process, and advocated for members. Referrals were usually related to employment, health, financial assistance, family, and legal services. Jenkins and Sauber also report that the area that engaged

the largest number of ethnic associations was family support. The associations were playing a unique role in filling a need which the established formal human service systems were not prepared to service. The authors concluded from their study that linkages between ethnic associations and the formal service structure not only existed, but were seen by responsible persons in the public sector as "essential for appropriate access by newcomers to services" (p.103).

Jenkins and Sauber contend that most ethnic associations were in fact performing a dual role, involving the preservation of ethnic identity and the promotion of acculturation. However, they also reveal that ethnic associations were more actively involved in the former process. Here, the concept of acculturation was defined by the authors as "adaptations to the new society that enable the newcomer to function in terms of communication, self-support, and self-development" (p.57). In countries like Canada and the UK, acculturation is usually referred to as integration. Adaptive skills, especially language skills, should be developed in order to succeed in the new environment. Many associations viewed acculturation as "primarily for the young" (p.62).

Among the ethnic associations participated in this research, some of them were self-help groups, and others were mutual assistance associations (or MAAs). Jenkins and Sauber made a distinction between these two. They note that the term "self-help" indicates only that they were of the same ethnic group as their members or service recipients. MAAs, they declare, "function as liaisons between newcomers and the formal service providers" (p.103). They were important providers of services. They were used by the state governments as conduits of services for immigrants and refugees, "filling gaps in existing programs directed at promoting the successful resettlement and acculturation of refugees and entrants" (p.103). The authors also point out that "[t]his may be a model, however, that only works when there are funding programs to back it up."

Still to be determined is whether the MAAs have the cohesion and community support to function when, or if, the specialized entitlements expire. This will be the test of whether they are viable ethnic associations, or whether they are primarily extensions of federal programming. (p.103)

The New York study was replicated in the UK, Israel, and the Netherlands, and the review of the situation in Australia provided a base for testing the model. The UK study, based on interviews with 29 ethnic associations mainly in London and the Midlands, reports that "ethnic associations may now provide the only decent or nearly decent help available to some minority groups" (Cheetham, 1988, p.147). However, the author also points out that these

associations also had inevitable limitations. They were not yet recognized. "Statutory agencies," he said, "are baffled and often antagonized by the traditions of minorities which they see as repressive" (p.146). Ethnic associations did not have the power to change attitudes. Furthermore, ethnic associations lacked the resources to build on their services. Cheetham states that "[i]t was astonishing to see how many tiny associations were coping with the vicissitudes of no proper premises and no staff" (p.127). Some associations worried about the long-term isolation of 'ghettolike' services and feared that they could marginalize their members' interests. Unlike the situation in the United States, where voluntary but publicly funded agencies may well be the best equipped to provide some of the services for minorities, there is some consensus in the UK between state providers and ethnic associations that integrated services should be the goal.

Cheetham's study also highlights the dilemma between the ideology of self-help and acceptance of the public money. He states that some of the ethnic associations are "doubtful about the wisdom or propriety of receiving public money" (p.125). "[A]cceptance of the public money they needed to get going was at odds with their philosophy of economic independence and self-help" (p.126).

Turning to Israel, Korazim (1988) argues that because of the special role played by the central government in the absorption of immigrants, ethnic associations were immigrant associations with a mix of public, semi-public, and voluntary support. He describes such organizations in sociological terms as "special structures between formal public bureaucracies and primary social networks which help to absorb immigrants according to special socio-cultural characteristics" (p.155). Thus, with its strong ethnic dimensions, an immigrant association is "simultaneously bureaucratized and non-bureaucratized, using different combinations of hired personnel and volunteers, primarily of its own ethnic origins" (p.155).

Since the late 1960s, Israel has shifted from its official 'melting pot' ideology to a more 'pluralist' one which "legitimized the incorporation of linguistic, ethnic, and cultural factors into the delivery of public services" (p.192). Ethnic associations encouraged the development of pluralism, and functioned as 'supplementers' and 'improvers' of the public services. Korazim also positions ethnic associations around the middle, between formal organizations and primary groups, "trying to achieve a balance and integration between service and ethnic goals in a single delivery system" (p.195). They served an important in-between function.

In the Netherlands, public funded nongovernmental agencies are the primary service providers. De Graaf et al. (1988) argue that their activities could only have limited impact on collective emancipation in contrast to individual betterment.

Casey (1988) describes the situation in Australia, which was very much like that of Canada with extensive government involvement. Like Canada, the early assumption of easy assimilation and adequacy of universal services proved erroneous. Immigrants were marginalized owing to the inaccessibility of services expressed both in terms of the lack of information about available services and the inability of many of the services to cater to immigrant clients. With the dismantling of the 'White Australia' policy and the adoption of a Multiculturalism policy, services were being adapted to meet the needs of the Non-English Speaking (NES) communities, and grants were made available to support ethnic associations. The availability of funding prompted many associations which were previously more socially or culturally oriented to redefine their roles to coincide with the expectations of the funding bodies.

Casey reveals that many of the associations tended to be small agencies, either entirely voluntary or employing at most a small professional and administrative staff. He describes these organizations as "low on resources, understaffed, and function from inadequate premises" (p.262). Like many other non-government organizations, they were usually too small to deliver hard services. The mainstay of a typical association's work was its drop-in/casework function. They were like many Neighbourhood Centres, "providing a localized and responsive way of ensuring that a community has access to government services and the means to organize itself around the issues that affect it" (p.263).

Casey contends that ethnic associations were seen as the link between their community and mainstream services. They attempted to fill the gaps in social services. They also acted as brokers, informing their community of what was available and referring clients to appropriate services. If the client could not speak English, they often became the go-between for the clients and the appropriate non/government organizations. Some associations took a more active role in advocating for their clients who had difficulty negotiating the system.

Because of the extensive government involvement in services, large private and corporate sponsorships were limited as alternate sources of funding for social services. Support for nongovernment agencies have always been promoted as being 'nonpolitical.' A casual analysis reveals that organizations sharing the ideologies of funders usually got funded. Those who were engaged in the internal politics of immigrant communities or their home countries were less successful in receiving funding, although maintaining the semblance of being 'nonpolitical' has at times proven to be especially difficult.

As a relative new phenomenon, ethnic associations remained controversial. The question of integration into Australian society was a major issue facing ethnic associations. Casey points

out that despite the Multiculturalism policy, many associations felt they continued to face a lack of understanding and sensitivity. Ethnic associations still find themselves walking the thin line between acceptance and rejection. While policymakers were increasingly recognizing the validity of making ethnic associations partners in service delivery, "the associations and the government departments that fund them find themselves under attack for dividing Australia" (p.268).

One concern expressed by the author was the quality of services in ethnic associations. He maintains that many of the staff in the ethnic associations had only limited experience in Australian social services, and had too little time to inform themselves of the current situation or to keep up with changes. Funding was also a major concern. Casey argues that ethnic associations suffered from a lack of resources which severely curtailed the effectiveness of their services. Most available funding tended to be for a period of one year or less. The short-term nature of the funding resulted in 'insecurity' and 'inflexibility' which greatly restricted service development. The author fears that, by accepting without questioning the constraints imposed by the Anglo-Australian funding structures and by the separation of services, ethnic associations are "compartmentalizing service delivery in a way that may be denying the essential connections between culture, politics, religion, and services in the immigrant experience" (p.269). He also worries that ethnic associations were providing second-class services which may "perpetuate the marginalization of NES immigrants," "shielding mainstream services from future criticism of unresponsiveness" (p.271).

Based on the data collected in the five countries, Jenkins (1988) concludes that ethnic associations varied in these countries from those that were well organized and offered a broad spectrum of professional services, to the less organized offering hardly any services. In general, ethnic associations made important contributions in providing access to new immigrants and in helping point the way to 'ethnic-sensitive' practice. In some circumstances they may represent the only access link for the delivery of entitlements to immigrant groups. One of the New York social workers interviewed by Jenkins said it all: "[t]his is the best-kept secret in social work," and,

Not in the mainstream, not taught about in the school curriculum, not integrated into the formal social service system, and not run by established professionals, nevertheless, uncounted numbers of ethnic associations are giving support, counsel, training, referrals, and refuge to other members of their own ethnic groups. Slowly their work is being recognized, and gradually both the public and voluntary service systems are beginning to respond to the potential that exists in ethnic associations for improving service delivery, in particular for new immigrants (p.275).

Jenkins also reviews how national differences affected the role of ethnic associations in relation to social service delivery systems and their relationship with the state. In Australia and Israel, new immigrants were sought as part of a national policy to populate the countries and increase their labour supply. Therefore, ethnic associations for immigrants in these countries received formal approval, and were incorporated into the network of community supports. In the cases of Israel and Australia, Korazim has raised the question of how independent the associations really were, and Casey wonders whether the official link with the bureaucracy may stultify ethnic development and marginalize services. Thus it appears that, "the fact that the ethnic associations are part of the official policy of relating to new immigrants can truncate or at least inhibit their advocacy function" (p.277).

Ethnic associations in the Netherlands and UK appeared to be less effective as linkages in social service delivery. For ethnic associations in the Netherlands, functions are actually applicable and those wished for by the receiving society may clash. In the British case, it may be because the position of diversity represented by the associations seemed to be antithetical to the presumed national ideology of a homogeneous state.

Associations of new immigrants in New York were treated in the same way as other voluntary associations. However, the situation was different for the refugees. Supported by the rationale of helping refugees become self-supporting, a commitment to encourage the development of self-help groups was made. There were also specific provisions for the support of mutual assistance associations. Jenkins raised the questions "whether the MAAs might become so 'grant-driven' that they will veer toward a bureaucratic stance rather than their 'linkage' position" (p.278).

Some negative aspects also emerged from this comparative analysis:

[...]the varying structures of the welfare system obviate the possibility of a single model; there is the danger of cooption by the bureaucracy; there is the possibility of marginalization of services; and there are difficulties in identifying representative associations in an atmosphere of intraethnic competition (p.281).

It seems the foregoing discussion has mainly focused on the role of ethnic associations as service providers, and its role in maintaining ethnic identity and promoting integration. Canadian authors such as Beyene et al. (1996) argue that ethnic associations (or immigrant service agencies) can play an active role politically in combating and eliminating all forms of racism in social services.

Beyene et al. recognize that the denial of access to culturally appropriate programs and services is a manifestation of racism faced by immigrants during their settlement and adaptation process. More and more immigrants and refugees have increasingly turned to immigrant service agencies for help. The authors point out that these agencies were governed by boards of directors that came from or were accountable to the communities they served. Their programs were usually initiated from the community, too. Besides providing anti-racist, culturally and linguistically appropriate services, they were also involved in community education and development, and advocated for changes in the policies that perpetuate discrimination and racism. The authors conclude that "[i]t is this combination of settlement services and advocacy, the result of which is anti-racist community development, that makes the ISA [Immigrant Service Agency] a fundamental component of anti-racist social services" (p.173).

Unlike the above mentioned international and Canadian researchers, Ng (1996) is not so optimistic about the roles that immigrant service agencies were playing, especially its advocacy roles. Rather, she paints a grim picture of the state funded community services. Her book, *The Politics of Community Services*, examines the experiences of immigrant women in a voluntary, non-profit organization which provided job counselling and placement services for non-English speaking women.

Ng (1996) argues that the efforts and procedures for dismantling the welfare state began as early as the late 1970s. It is not a new phenomenon for government agencies to contract out its services to community groups. It was "a cheaper alternative to direct service provision while maintaining control over service delivery" (p.11). According to her, the involvement of the voluntary section in the welfare of immigrants is not a new phenomenon, either.

By analyzing how employment counsellors at the employment agency helped immigrant women find jobs, Ng argues that the counselling process produced "immigrant woman" as a labour market category, a social category with special characteristics (e.g., certain kinds of skills, personal qualities with a particular ethnic background, speaking little or no English). She also demonstrates how class was produced and reproduced through human activities on a daily basis. While orthodox Marxists define class primarily as an economic category, Ng insists on treating class as a social relation which is "fundamental to and permeates capitalist productive and reproductive activities" (p.84). Instead of viewing class simply as a theoretical concept which needs to be operationalized, Ng contends that class relations are embedded in the ordinary everyday life as people look for jobs and go about their daily routine of doing their work. She

also points out that "class cannot be understood as a separate phenomenon from gender and race," which are "essential constituents in the organization of people's class location" (p.10).

Ng contends that "the notion of the state as a set of apparatus, standing above and apart from community groups" is inadequate. Examining the incorporation and transformation of the employment agency, she describes how this community group became "an extension of the ruling apparatus" (p.11). Through its funding requirements and accountability procedures, the state imposed certain changes to the agency's operation and brought the agency into a collaborative relationship with the state. Therefore, the initial advocacy impetus for the agency was blunted. She views state funding to community groups as "an expensive alternative to a coercive approach and a way of defusing criticisms directed at the welfare state while meeting the growing demand for social programs" (p.28), and it is a means of social control. Although the employment agency remained an independent community agency in appearance, it became connected to the state apparatus and in fact functioned as "an extension of the coordinated activities of the state" (p.23).

Holder (1998), another Canadian researcher, introduces another perspective on the roles of immigrant service agencies and its relationship with the welfare state. She argues that conflictual relations between government and voluntary organizations may not necessarily be the order of the day. She presents a body of literature which challenges the view of state funding as a form of social control and views the alleged loss of autonomy of immigrant service agencies to be exaggerated. Some commentators argue that the relationship with government may in fact be one of mutual dependence. They regard changes in agency structure as part of the natural growth of organizations, and part of the broader social trend towards public accountability in a period of fiscal restraint. The otoh/botoh perspective (on the one hand/but on the other hand) acknowledges the state's emancipatory as well as regulatory potential.

In examining the role of the Portuguese and Spanish Speaking Women's Centre in the Canadian welfare state, Holder contends that immigrant service agencies are both actors and policy beneficiaries. Some key features of the Centre include: the underpinnings in both service provision and political representation; a commitment to the personal empowerment of clients; service accountability to and resource dependence upon funders, especially government; an allegiance to its historical origins as a service deliverer to Spanish and Portuguese women; and adaptation to community needs. The agency was successful in performing its advocacy function and its role as part of an influential policy constituency in Canada. In so far as the state is

concerned, the mobilization by ethno-racial communities to extend welfare provisions highlights the role of social movements as agents of change in social policy.

Government funding officers interviewed by Holder claim that they shared the same goals as immigrant serving organizations. An examination of the agency's relationship with government representatives indicates that variables such as ideological affinity and bureaucratic professionalism contribute to positive relations. Interpersonal relationship between agency and funding representative and satisfactory accountability requirements contributed to successful funding negotiation process.

In sum, the foregoing section has reviewed several bodies of literature on the roles of immigrant service organizations and its relationship with the state. In the first place, studies in social work tend to focus on immigrant service organizations as social service providers, and its role in maintaining ethnic identities and promoting integration in various degree. Second, community activists argue that, besides providing social services, immigrant service organizations can play an active advocacy role politically in combating and eliminating all forms of racism in the areas of social services. Third, social scientists contend that immigrant service organizations function as an extension of the coordinated activities of the state. Through funding requirements and accountability procedures, the state exercises a form of social control. It becomes an alternative way for the state to dissipate potential dissension and maintain class domination. Fourth, more recent literature challenges the social control argument. Some researchers argue that state and immigrant service organizations share the same goal, working together to serve immigrants. Some commentators maintain that the relationship with government may in fact be one of mutual dependence.

In respect to Moodley's (1983) early statement that, with the rise of welfare state, immigrant associations dealing with individual adjustment and advancement became less important, the literature has shown that this statement was premature. On the contrary, immigrant organizations are playing an important role in providing accessible and ethnic-sensitive services to help immigrants settle in and adapt to their new environments. In some circumstances they may represent the only access link for the delivery of entitlements to immigrant groups. As discussed earlier in this section, they also play a variety of other roles.

Summary

This Chapter has reviewed literature in the areas of Multiculturalism, minority group rights and democratic citizenship, social services for immigrants, and the role of immigrant service organization and its relationship with the state.

It has shown that the first body of literature reviewed the debate on Multiculturalism which can be viewed as an alternative way to accommodate diversity and promote fairer terms of integration. Or, it can be viewed as a way to encourage ethnic 'ghettoization,' or perpetuate the status quo.

The second examined writings in political philosophy on liberalism, minority rights, and democratic citizenship. It seems clear that universal liberalism cannot adequately accommodate the needs of minority groups, and that it needs to be supplemented by specific 'group rights' that recognize and accommodate particular ethno-cultural practices and identities. Refusal to grant recognition and autonomy to such minority groups is likely to provoke even more resentment and hostility, alienating them further from their identity as citizens of the larger state.

The third looked at research done primarily in the social services areas regarding immigrant access to social services during their settlement and adaptation process. It is clear that recent immigrants experienced low rates of utilization of many important social and health services. The reasons can be attributed to cultural and linguistic barriers, or to the ideologies of democratic racism and universalism existing in social services.

The fourth body of literature reviewed studies on the roles of immigrant service organizations and its relationship with the state in the social sciences and social work areas. Immigrant service organizations play a variety of roles as social service providers, as community advocate, maintaining ethnic identities, and promoting integration. While some social scientists regard immigrant service organizations as an extension of the coordinated activities of the state, others challenge the social control argument in stating that the relationship of immigrant service organizations with the state may in fact be one of mutual dependence.

This review of the literature pertaining to the thesis topic is essential for my intended analysis. The first two bodies of literature provide a theoretical framework for the research. The latter two provide more empirical evidence in terms of what has been done in this area.

All literature examined here also reveals limitations of research in these areas. The former two are more theoretical and abstract. They require actual empirical investigation in specific contexts. It is to be hoped that this analysis will contextualize these studies reported and shed light on them.

Secondly, the latter two, which are reviews of more empirical research, mainly contain reports of quantitative surveys. They lack in-depth analysis of immigrant service organizations. I am confident that the examination of the history of SUCCESS will advance knowledge in this area.

Furthermore, it seems that a major part of the empirical Canadian research reviewed here was carried out in Ontario. In a province like British Columbia, which is just as important as Ontario in terms of receiving and helping immigrants with their settlement and adaptation, there is a shortage of research to help people understand the roles played by immigrant service organizations. I am sure this research will make a great contribution to this province particularly.

Finally, for research which was more qualitative than others, they tended to focus on one fraction of immigrant settlement services such as employment services or services for special immigrant women. This analysis will investigate an organization which provides a comprehensive range of programs for different interest groups. The analysis will contribute to a more holistic understanding of an immigrant service organization.

Chapter 3

Historical, Social, and Political Context

Chapter 3 reviews the historical, social, and political context in which SUCCESS emerged and evolved over the past 25 years from 1973 to 1998. It comprises three parts. The first examines the history of the Chinese in Canada from 1858 to 1973, before the founding of SUCCESS. The second reviews the history of Canadian immigration policy from the end of the Second World War to 1998. The third surveys the history of emigration from Hong Kong since the 1950s to 1998. The purpose of this chapter is to set the context for the discussion which follows.

History of Chinese Immigrants in Canada

The Chinese immigrant group in Canada is one of the oldest, and its history is probably the uneasiest among these groups. To facilitate an understanding of the history of Chinese immigrants in Canada, from their arrival in 1850s to the founding of SUCCESS's in 1973, this section will be divided into four parts. Part one will provide an overview of the history of Chinese immigrants from 1858 to 1973. The second part will analyze the changes over time in the character of the Chinese immigrant population. The third part will examine Chinese voluntary associations in Canada. Finally, attitudes toward Chinese by the dominant society will be discussed.

Overview

In the last 15 years, considerable research has been conducted on the history of Chinese immigrants in Canada (Anderson, 1995; Chan, 1983; Con et al., 1982; Lai, 1988; Li, 1998; Tan & Roy, 1985; Yee, 1988). While each of these authors has a different focus, Con et al. have in most detail recorded the Chinese immigrants' history. A review of some of these previous works shows that the history of Chinese immigrants falls nicely into four periods: 1858-1885; 1885-1923; 1923-1947; and 1947-1973.

The Period 1858-1885

Con et al. (1982) recorded that the first group of Chinese arrived in Victoria on June 28, 1858, from California in search of gold. Originally these people came predominantly from the southern coastal provinces of Guangdong (or Kuangtung) and Fujian (or Fukien). The majority of them came from four adjacent counties in the heart of the Guangzhou (formerly Canton) Delta: Sun-wui, Hoi-ping, Toi-san, and Yin-ping. They were known collectively as Sze-yap or

Siyi ('Four Districts'). The Chinese came in search of new opportunities and to escape population pressure, political weakness and disruption, foreign intervention, and a series of natural catastrophes in China. Most of the early Chinese immigrants were single men with rural origins. They came as coolie workers and chain migrants. Their close ties to native villages through remittances and frequent trips back indicate that they were 'sojourners.'

By the early 1860s the number of Chinese immigrants had reached 6,000 to 7,000, although by the time of the first census of Canada in 1871 the number of Chinese in British Columbia had fallen to 1,548. Con et al. explained that many of them departed from Canada after the gold rush for the United States. While the vast majority traveled up the Fraser River into the gold fields, some were collecting jade. They also started businesses such as laundries and restaurants, vegetable gardens, and even a fishing company near Victoria. During this period almost all Chinese immigrant to Canada were to British Columbia.

As the gold fields petered out, Tan and Roy (1985) pointed out, the Chinese found employment as domestic servants, coal miners, and seasonal workers in the salmon canning industry. Later on Chinese workers were used extensively during the construction of the CPR - Canadian Pacific Railway. According to the 1885 Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, between 1881 and 1884, 17,000 Chinese entered Canada (Con et al., 1982). Of these, over 10,000 came directly from China.

During the railway construction, many died of sheer exhaustion from the hard work. Others perished in explosions or were buried in collapsed tunnels, or they drowned in rivers after falling from unfinished bridges. Winter in particular brought hardships to the Chinese. Coming from the subtropical climate of Guangdong, they were ill-prepared for the cold weather in Canada. Con et al. claimed that at least 600 Chinese died during railroad construction, whilst Tan and Roy (1985) argued that about 1,500 died. It seems that while nobody knows exactly how many Chinese people died during this period of time, but the number estimated is alarming.

The Period 1885-1923

With the completion of the CPR, the Chinese had to seek other work. They were to be found working as tailors, jewelers, photographers, shoemakers, and in other trades. Businesses owned by the Chinese before 1900 mainly served the Chinese community rather than white customers. By 1900, the Chinese were establishing businesses which served a large white clientele, such as laundries, vegetable gardens, and restaurants.

By 1885, after 25 years of immigration, there was a Chinese population in Canada of over 10,000 (Con et al., 1982), which was only confined to British Columbia. With the

completion of the CPR, many moved east of the Rockies. By 1911, there were Chinese living in every part of Canada, with the exception of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Most Canadian cities with a significant Chinese population had established Chinatowns. While some people defined it loosely as a Chinese quarter of a city outside China (Lai, 1988), others interpreted it as a boundary between 'their' (white) territory and 'our' (non-white) territory. Besides racism, other contributing factors to the creation and development of Chinatown were hatred, violence, cultural barriers, and economic factors (Lai, 1988). All these factors indicated that the segregation of the Chinese population was an involuntary process (Balakrishnan & Kralt, 1987).

Initially Victoria had the largest Chinese community. The completion of the railroad greatly affected the distribution of Chinese communities on the mainland of British Columbia. After it became known in 1885 that Vancouver would become the western terminus of the CPR, the city grew rapidly. Increasing numbers of Chinese provided services to the growing population. By the end of 1887, Dupont Street in Vancouver included 32 Chinese businesses (Con et al., 1982), comprising 17 Chinese laundries, 3 'general stores,' 7 'merchants,' 5 grocers, a shoemaker, and a contractor. They gradually settled down in this area which is called 'Chinatown.' By 1911, Vancouver had replaced Victoria as the largest and most dynamic Chinese community.

The Period 1923-1947

The 1923 Chinese Immigration Act, which virtually halted all Chinese immigration to Canada, effectively ended the growth of Chinese communities for the next 25 years. According to the 1921 census (cited in Con et al., 1982), there were 39,587 Chinese in Canada, almost all of them were men. In the 1920s, natural increases offset the ending of immigration, adding 7,000 members to the Chinese population. After that, deaths and departures were dominant forces, and the population dropped even below the 1921 figure to 34,627 in 1941.

Although the Chinese had been dispersing eastward across Canada during these years, the largest number still lived in British Columbia. The unbalanced ratio between males and females declined during this period due to the departure by death or retirement to China of older single men and the increasing importance of the Canadian-born Chinese population. Unlike the case in 1921, 75% of Chinese teen-agers in Canada were Canadian-born by 1931. Con et al. noted that nowhere in Canada was this trend more obvious than in British Columbia, "which had more Canadian-born Chinese, and hence more Canadian-born females, than any other place" (p.149).

The Second World War occurred during this period. Con et al. maintained that of all the periods in the history of Canada's Chinese, the decade 1937-47 was the most exciting and momentous. When the Pacific War broke out, beginning with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, when Canada and China became allies. The Canadian Chinese made their most dramatic contribution to both China and Canada. The Chinese community in Canada achieved perhaps the greatest unity they had ever known. During this time, white Canadian attitudes towards Chinese Canadians improved.

The Period 1947-1973

At the end of the war, the energies of the Chinese community were focused on two main objectives: the repeal of the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act and the granting of the franchise to Chinese citizens in British Columbia. With the struggle of the Chinese immigrants and the support of their non-Chinese friends, the 1923 Act was repealed in May 1947, bringing an end to 25 years of exclusion. In the spring of 1947, the B.C. legislature voted to amend the provincial elections act, thereby granting the vote to Chinese Canadians and East Indian Canadians.

The post-war period had great effects on the Chinese communities in British Columbia. At the war's end, as Con et al. noted, the Chinese population in Canada were declining and aging. It dropped from a high of 46,519 in 1931 to 32,528 in 1951. The repeal of the 1923 Act made it possible for Chinese to come to Canada, although the change was not immediate. Beginning in 1950, the number of Chinese immigrants increased. According to Con et al., between 1947 and 1962, over 24,000 Chinese came to Canada. Before 1962, only immigrants with close kinship ties to Chinese Canadians were allowed to immigrate to Canada. Introduction of the 'point system' in 1967 removed the restrictive rules regarding sponsorship. After 1967, not only Chinese migrated to Canada in large numbers, but there were also large numbers of Chinese immigrants who came as 'unsponsored immigrants,' entering Canada on the basis of the skills they possessed.

In the immediate post-war period Chinese communities were still demographically unbalanced. Until the late 1960s, Chinese communities were still characterized by a preponderance of men. However, compared with the pre-war composition, the post-war sex ratio had improved substantially. By 1961, the ratio was 36,075 males to 22,122 females.

The largest concentration of Chinese in Canada still remained in British Columbia, followed by Ontario, Quebec, and Alberta. Vancouver still had the largest Chinese community with other significant Chinatowns in Victoria, Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and

Calgary. There seems to have been a general movement of the Canadian Chinese population from the coast and toward the industrial and financial centres of Toronto and Montreal.

Changes in the Character of Chinese Immigrants

Con et al. (1982) argued that the Chinese population of Canada is "characterized by dualities" (p.250). The population was divided between those who came to Canada before 1923 and those who came after the great changes in regulations in the 1960s. By the 1970s, the Chinese population in Canada was substantially different from its previous counterpart. It was no longer homogeneous. To get a better understanding of the Chinese immigrants in Canada, it is advantageous to compare the changes that occurred over the years up to the early 1970s. The focus is largely on the change of origin of Chinese immigrants, their educational background, profession, regional concentration, and their organizational leaders.

The new immigration policy of 1967 favoured educated and wealthier immigrants. Under this system all applicants for admission to Canada were judged on such criteria as education, skills, age, knowledge of English or French, and friends and relatives in Canada who could assist upon arrival. The typical Chinese immigrants before 1923 were rural-born, poorly educated, and without a knowledge of English or French. After 1967 urban, well-educated, English-speaking Chinese came. Direct migration from China to Canada had ceased in 1949, not to be restored until 1974. The origin of Chinese immigrants was now Hong Kong, although a few Chinese came to Canada from Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, southern Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

In the 1970s, the Chinese population was even more concentrated in the urban centres. Ontario and Quebec became especially attractive for them. In effect, the major Chinese communities continued to be in Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal, but Toronto attracted a very large number of new Chinese immigrants. Moving eastward made the Chinese population more dispersed than before. The concentration of Chinese in British Columbia had shifted from 99% in 1981 to 37% in 1971; whilst the Chinese population in Ontario had increased from 3.8% in 1901 to 33% in 1971 (Con et al., 1982).

Different from that of an earlier generation, 'Chinatown' still played a central part in Chinese communities. It was no longer the only locus of organizational, residential, and cultural expression. The ghetto character of Chinese communities crumbled in the post-1947 period with many Chinese moving out of Chinatowns. Upwardly mobile, they preferred the middle-class lifestyles of the suburbs. However, Chinatown as a cultural focus expanded. It became a living, commercial, and revitalized centre.

For the greater part of Chinese-Canadian history the population had been predominantly male. In 1971, there was only a slight majority of males. Canadian-born second-generation Chinese also increased significantly.

By the early 1970s, the Chinese were engaged in a broad range of occupations. Con et al. (1982) pointed out that the great majority of employed Chinese were wage-earners. Many worked in the managerial, professional, technical, and clerical areas (Ramcharan, 1982). Chinese market gardeners have continued to play a significant role in the Vancouver and Victoria areas. Many are still in sales and service occupations especially restaurants, grocery stores, and, increasingly, hotel and other tourist-related activities. Hard work, long hours, diligence, and the use of established Chinese wholesaling networks helped Chinese immigrants succeed.

The sojourner Chinese was becoming a social type of the past. This was in part a consequence of changes in immigration regulations. Many Chinese immigrants now regard Canada as their home and they plan to settle here permanently. Tan and Roy (1985) argued that most of these immigrants were attracted to Canada rather than forced to leave their homelands. Canada was chosen by many people as their home "because of its political stability, high standard of living, relative lack of racial tension, and the openness of its educational system" (p.16).

Another important development in the 1970s was the emergence of new leaders in Chinese communities. In the 19th century, merchants' status and wealth were the primary characteristics of leadership in the Chinese communities. The conventional leaders were typically China-born, middle-aged men. They were more comfortable speaking Chinese, had primarily Chinese friends and business contacts. Their behaviour was likely to be traditionalist and China-oriented. Such men could assume leadership roles only as internal leaders. Their lack of fluency in English, and perhaps their unfamiliarity with the general culture of Canada, made it difficult for them to interact with the larger society. The new leaders in the Chinese communities in the 1970s acted as mediators between Chinese and non-Chinese. They were either China-born or local-born. They had both Chinese and non-Chinese friends, and their business and professional associates and clientele included both Chinese and non-Chinese. This type of leader was bilingual in Chinese and English. Beginning in the 1950s, being bilingual became increasingly important. Many of the new leaders had professional qualifications. They might participate in their clan and locality associations, but they tended to dissociate themselves from China-oriented politics. They saw themselves as mediators, familiar with the internal

characteristics of the ethnic community, yet comfortable with the dominant culture, while attempting to represent the Chinese communities to the outside world.

As Tan and Roy (1985) noted, the Canadian society to which the Chinese immigrants came was also very different. Post-war Canadian society has been much more liberal in its outlook. While isolated incidents did occur, formal discrimination had ended. Immigration of Chinese was governed by the same legislation and regulation as affected all would-be immigrants. While law and custom permitted integration, the Canadian government officially encouraged Chinese, like all other Canadians, to preserve and celebrate their distinctive ethnic identity in the overall context of multiculturalism.

Chinese Voluntary Associations

Racial discrimination and residential segregation forced the Chinese to "turn inwards for support" (Ley et al., 1994). As Willmott (1969) noted, the Chinese were unique among immigrant groups in Canada "in the extent to which they organize voluntary associations within their community" (p.30). He continued to argue that, although many other immigrant groups may have mutual-aid and cultural societies, none of them produced "as proportionately large a number of cross-cutting associations" as did the Chinese (p.30). A number of studies (Chow, 1976; Wai, 1970; Wickberg, 1979, 1981; Willmott, 1969, 1970) had been conducted pertaining to the development of Chinese voluntary associations in Canada, which divide into four groups. According to Willmott (1969, 1970), the first was the clan association, in which members were grouped under the same surname. The second was the district/locality association, in which membership was limited to Chinese from the same village or county in China. The third was the fraternal-political association, which included the Chinese Freemasons or Zhi Gong Dang and the Guo Min Dang. While the clan and district associations were mutually exclusive, the fraternal association was a cross-cutting association. The fourth was the community-wide association, such as the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA). Originally established in 1884 in Victoria to organize Chinese support for the war against the Japanese, the CBA developed into an umbrella organization to represent the entire local Chinese community. Wickberg (1979) argued that "[i]n fact, the CBA-type organization is what is most often given official or unofficial status by host governments as the sole spokesman for Chinese Community interests" (p.90).

Li (1998) summarized the various functions performed by these organizations as: "providing aid and social services, resolving the community's internal disputes, and dealing with the external pressures of discrimination and segregation" (p.77). With the CBA as an exception,

the first three types of voluntary associations "functioned largely as mutual-aid fraternal associations" (Chow, 1976, p.133). These associations played an important role in helping each other especially when immigrants could not get any help from mainstream society.

Both Chow and Willmott (1970) maintain that the traditional associations were declining in the 1960s and 1970s. Willmott (1970) stated that many of the new immigrants arriving after the 1950s came from Hong Kong and a more modern China, and that they "found the traditionalist clan and locality association of Chinatown anachronistic and refused to participate in them" (p.50). According to Chow (1976), "Both the cultural and demographic factors contributed to forming a community which is more heterogeneous, and in certain ways more integrated into Canadian society" (p.130). Instead of seeking help from the traditional associations, Chow argued, these new immigrants "are more concerned with government contributive welfares and government assistance programs" (p.132).

Attitudes Toward Chinese by the Dominant Society

This section examines the attitudes toward the Chinese by the dominant society. The analysis includes Canada's formal discrimination policies against the Chinese and the fight against discrimination by the Chinese. First, Anderson's (1995) definition of 'Chinese' and 'Chinatown' is presented.

The Definition of 'Chinese' and 'Chinatown'

In *Vancouver's Chinatown*, Anderson illustrated the history of 'Chinatown' in Vancouver from 1875 to 1980. By analyzing different phases of the history of Chinatown and the various players, Anderson examined the epistemological significance of defining 'Chinese' and 'Chinatown' in the history of racialization in Vancouver. According to Anderson, 'Chinese' as a racial category was a Western representation. From the 1880s through current times in British Columbia, 'Chinese' has signified 'non-white' in European culture. It has the connotations of 'them' as opposed to 'us,' 'outsiders' rather than 'insiders.' It is a distinction between 'West' and 'East,' civilized and barbarian, master and slave, Christian and heathen, and white and non-white. Race has been a most effective unifying concept in the making and extension of European global hegemony, and it gave white groups the power of definition in cultural and ideological terms, as well as more instrumental power. Whereas state practices institutionalized the concept of a Chinese race, it was in space that the concept became materially cemented and naturalized in everyday life. Thus, Anderson argued that 'Chinatown' was not a neutral term that referred somehow unproblematically to the physical presence of people from China in Vancouver. Rather, it was an evaluative term, ascribed by Europeans no matter how the residents of that

territory might have defined themselves. Chinatown's representers constructed in their own minds a boundary between 'their' territory and 'our' territory.

Head Tax

In 1871, British Columbia entered Confederation and its Legislative Assembly became a provincial parliament. One of the first moves of the new province was to pass an Act in 1872 to amend the Qualification of Voters Act. This Act disfranchised Chinese and Indians in provincial elections. As a consequence this also excluded them from federal elections. In 1885 the government of Canada imposed a \$50 head tax on all incoming Chinese. The head tax was increased to \$100 in 1900, and to \$500 in 1903.

1923 Chinese Immigration Act

When it was found that the head tax was not effective enough to keep the Chinese out of Canada, the federal government legislated a restrictive Chinese Immigration Act in 1923 which virtually prohibited Chinese immigration into Canada until its repeal in 1947. This policy only allowed four classes of immigrants to enter Canada and they were: university students, merchants, native-borns returning from several years of education in China, and diplomatic personnel.

Besides the head tax and the 1923 Act, the Chinese also faced other kinds of discrimination. Since they were not allowed to vote, they were prohibited from entering certain professions such as law, medicine, or accounting. Further, they were denied the opportunity to acquire Crown land.

Tan and Roy (1985) reported that antipathy to the Chinese was expressed in many different ways. It included petty insults such as the use of the derogatory term 'Chink' and the refusal of public cemeteries to accept Chinese corpses. It also expressed itself in violent incidents such as the 1887 Vancouver riot against the employment of Chinese land clearing crew, and the 1892 mob attack on Calgary's Chinese laundries after a smallpox outbreak, and the major 1907 Vancouver riot protesting all Asian immigration.

Stanley (1995) examined how schooling was an integral element in British Columbia's White supremacist society. He stated that schooling and school textbooks were used to indoctrinate young people in imperial racist ideology, link notions of difference and notions of character, and justify and glorify Western domination and control over the world. He also argued that, because racism as ideology and organization was so integrated in the forms and content of schooling, it would have been almost impossible to question it, or to conceive of British Columbia as anything other than "the White man's country."

Reasons for Racial Discrimination

Wai (1970) maintained that the grounds for discrimination against the Chinese could be generalized under economic, moral, and racial reasons. The Chinese and other Asians were regarded by many Canadians as an economic and social threat to Canadian society as they wanted it to be. Many Canadians feared that they could easily be overwhelmed by unrestricted Chinese competition. This fear was stimulated by the fact that the number of Chinese immigrants often seemed greater than it actually was. They complained about the 'unfair' competition which cheap Chinese labour brought in British Columbia.

In like manner, discrimination against Chinese was justified on moral grounds. Tan and Roy (1985) claimed that arguments for Chinese exclusion, based solely on economic considerations, had a narrow base; moral arguments had widespread appeal. The 1884 Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration reported that vice, including gambling, opium use, and prostitution, were abundant in Chinese quarters. Ontario, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and British Columbia forbade Chinese to employ white women to work in their restaurants. These laws, although they were not always enforced, fitted well with the popular conception of Chinatowns as unsanitary, crowded places of inquiry.

Another incident with moral concern was the call for school segregation from the Victoria Chamber of Commerce and the Vancouver Board of Trade in 1920. The Chamber was concerned that older Chinese students were a bad moral influence on their younger white classmates. Besides age difference, a Vancouver school trustee also expressed his anxiety about the future of a white Canada if his daughter were seated next to a Chinese boy.

Other complaints included the 'sojourning mentality' characteristic of sending home remittances and making repeated trips back to China. The usual argument was that the Chinese contributed nothing, except perhaps their labour, and thus sent money out of the country rather than spending it within the country. And having exploited the host country, they returned home.

As a racial group, the Chinese were viewed by Canadians as 'unassimilable' as well as 'undesirable,' and as an inferior race. In describing how schooling and school textbooks were used to indoctrinate young people in imperial racist ideology, Stanley (1995) explained that in Canadian textbooks the Chinese were described as the opposites of Whites. China was presented as "the land of oddities and contrarities." Everything seemed to be the exact opposite of what we had in this country. As Anderson (1995) noted, the most important thing is that the presence of the Chinese contradicted the mandate of the Canadian government to build a white Canada.

Fight Against Discrimination and Disfranchisement

Contrary to popular perceptions, the Chinese were not a docile work force. In 1907, after the Vancouver Riot, the Chinese expressed their indignation by retiring for almost a week to Chinatown, thus depriving hotels, saloons, private homes, steamers, logging camps, and lumber mills of their labour. In 1922, when the Victoria Chamber of Commerce attempted to segregate Chinese students, the reaction of the Chinese community was one of determined resistance. Chinese parents and teachers formed an association to boycott the public schools, established and run their own schools, and collected funds for agitation against the segregation policy. The dispute dragged on for over a year. Finally the city backed down to the extent of proposing that not all Chinese were to be segregated in separate classrooms. Only those who were indeed behind in their work would be put in a separate classroom. On the basis that parents and children accepted the terms, their year-long boycott came to a victorious conclusion.

Another two very important instances of resistance to discrimination should be mentioned here. One was the fight to repeal the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act; the other was the fight for the franchise. They were both well organized. As Wickberg (1981) recorded, two *ad hoc* committees were set up. In 1923, when the exclusion bill was before Parliament, the Chinese Association of Canada was formed as an *ad hoc* committee to oppose the bill. The second committee, the Committee for the Repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act, was formally established in 1946.

The Chinese were the only immigrant group in Canada for which there was complete, special legislation and regulations to limit their opportunities, to be united with their families if already here, and to proceed immediately to citizenship when eligible. The 1923 Committee vented its frustrations, in declaring that Chinese in Canada were treated as slaves, as insects, or as beasts of burden. It was the Chinese who built the railroad that united Canada; now the Canadians wished to exclude them with an inhumane law. They felt betrayed. July 1, 1923, the day the Chinese Immigration Act went into effect, was marked by the Chinese as 'Humiliation Day.' On that day, they refused to participate in Dominion Day activities and closed their businesses, as they did every year thereafter until the Act was repealed in 1947. Signs about Humiliation Day were widely posted. Several Chinese leaders lectured on the Immigration Act and the humiliation it offered to the Canadian Chinese. In Victoria, the Chinese held their own Dominion Day Parade. The Committee for the Repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act sent a delegation to Ottawa to speak to the Minister in charge of immigration matters. It also sent briefs to the government and wrote numerous letters to leaders of Chinese and white organizations.

East Meeting West

The victory of the battle against racial discrimination toward Chinese should be attributed both to the Chinese immigrants and to their white supporters. During the First World War, 300 Chinese immigrants joined the war. Chinese and whites co-operated in some ways, but not in others. The Second World War was decisive in bringing the Chinese and whites together. Beginning with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Canada and China became allies. The participation of Chinese in Canada benefited both Canada and China. They were involved in fund-raising, and 500 Canadian-born Chinese were called into military service. Chinese and white women worked together in many activities especially after 1941. In addition to the cooperation between the Chinese and whites, the Second World War was also regarded as a war against the kind of injustice and inhumanity epitomized in Nazi racist doctrines. With this kind of interpretation of the war's significance, it was difficult to maintain racist policies in Canada.

Changes among the Chinese sub-group also made for closer relationship between the Chinese and whites. As mentioned earlier, post-war Chinese immigrants were different from their predecessors. They spoke better English, were more knowledgeable about Canadian laws and customs, had acquired more of the socio-cultural values of the larger community, were less distrustful of non-Chinese, and had acquired higher education and more skilled and professional occupations. There was also a large number of younger and Canadian-born Chinese in the Canadian community.

Besides their own efforts, the Chinese fight against discrimination and for the franchise was also supported by the B.C. Trades and Labour Council, veterans organizations, the UN Society, civil liberties groups, churches, and business organizations. Wickberg (1981) noted that, in the Committee for the Repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act, the executive committee comprised 5 whites and 3 Chinese: 2 labour leaders, the white attorney, 2 churchmen, 2 Chinese professionals, and an Ottawa Chinese. He made an ironic and significant comment on this campaign. He maintained that the more successful the Chinese became, the whiter was the committee that represented them.

In sum, the history of the Chinese in Canada has been an uneasy one. To borrow Fisher's (1979) language, it was determined by both 'external' and 'internal' factors. External factors included Canadian immigration policy, situations in China, and the two world wars. Internal factors included changes of the composition of Chinese immigrants in terms of their origin, education background, skills, and profession. This should also include a growing number of Canadian-born Chinese within the Canadian community.

Canadian Immigration Policy: Postwar to 1998

An analysis of Canadian immigration policy is central to the theme of this study since the historical development of SUCCESS was mirrored in and influenced by the national immigration policy. This section focuses on changes in immigration policy from the postwar era to 1998, consultation with private sectors, and settlement services.

Changes in Immigration Policy

Postwar to the 1960s: Still Highly Restrictive

From Confederation to the 1960s, the selection of immigrants was based on racial background with the British and Western Europeans as the most 'desirable' citizens and the Asians as the 'unassimilable' and, therefore, 'undesirable.' After the Second World War, Canadian immigration policy continued to be "highly restrictive" (Knowles, 1997). Despite external and internal pressures for an open door policy in immigration, Mackenzie King's Liberal government adopted a cautious and careful selection approach for fear that mass immigration would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population (Whitaker, 1991). As stated earlier, the Chinese were brought in to Canada on a short-term basis to fulfil labour contracts, but they did not have the right to citizenship. In 1947, Mackenzie King's administration repealed the notorious Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 and accorded Chinese residents of Canada the right to apply for Canadian citizenship in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Nevertheless, King told the House of Commons that large-scale immigration from the Orient would not be permitted (Whitaker, 1991, p.14).

During 1947-57, racism in Canada's immigration policy was reduced by the Liberals, but neither Mackenzie nor Louis St. Laurent was ready to abolish it. The Conservative Government under John Diefenbaker started the process of bringing an end to overt racial discrimination in the new immigration regulations enacted in 1962. According to the new regulations, unsponsored immigrants were to be admitted based on their skills and education irrespective of race, colour, or national origin. Knowles (1997) claimed that the 1962 regulations virtually abolished the White Canada immigration policy, but she was not altogether correct for the 1962 regulations did not completely eliminate racism from Canadian immigration policy. Asian and African immigrants were the only groups who were still prohibited by the new regulations from sponsoring distant relatives to come to Canada. Whitaker (1991) contended that "the new regulations were an important step toward lowering racial barriers" because "the practice of discrimination seems to have continued to some degree" (p.18).

The Point System: A Historic Watershed

In the mid-1960s, Canada was experiencing "the greatest postwar boom" (Whitaker, p.18). Skilled labour was required to help Canada build its expansionary economy, but Europe as the traditional source of immigrants was not able to meet the needs of Canada because of the economic recovery there. The Canadian government turned its recruitment efforts to traditionally restricted areas - Asia. In 1967 a 'point system' was introduced by the Liberal government, which based the selection of immigrants on the immigrants' "education, skills and resources" rather than their racial and religious backgrounds (p.19). According to Whitaker, this new system represented "an historic watershed," and "it did establish at the level of formal principle that Canadian immigration policy is 'colour blind'" (p.19). Furthermore, the new system was "easy to understand and implement;" immigrants, ethnic groups, and immigrant officers reacted favourably to it (Knowles, 1997). However, the new selection method was criticized. Matas (1996) maintained that the system might work "in favour of some racial groups and against others" (p.100), and Whitaker (1991) was more specific in stating that the new system might have stacked the deck against poor immigrants from Third World countries.

According to Whitaker, the 'point system' was successful in reversing the pattern of immigration to Canada away from Europe toward Asia and other Third World areas. By the mid-1970s there were more immigrants arriving from the Third World than from the developed world, with the largest number from Asia, followed by the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa (p.19). This non-discrimination immigration policy was confirmed in the 1978 Immigration Act, which was claimed to be "both more liberal and more positive" than the 1952 Act (p.20).

1978 Immigration Act: A Cornerstone

As Knowles (1997) noted, "the realities of modern-day Canada had long since overtaken the Immigration Act of 1952," which had been conceived essentially as "a gatekeeper's act" (p.165). In response to the call for a radically new legislation, the 1978 Immigration Act came into effect after an unprecedented nation-wide debate on immigration policy. This new Act outlined the fundamental principles and objectives of Canadian immigration policy. They included the promotion of Canada's demographic, economic, cultural, and social goals; family reunion; the fulfillment of Canada's international obligations with regard to refugees; non-discrimination in immigration policy; and cooperation between all levels of government and the voluntary sector in settlement of immigrants in Canadian society (p.169).

According to Knowles, unlike nearly all other federal statutes, this Act imposed on the government a mandatory responsibility to plan for the future in consultation with the provinces.

Furthermore, the new Act categorized three essential groups of individuals who were eligible for landed immigrant status: family class, humanitarian class, and independent class. The new Act identified 'refugees' as a separate category from immigrants.

Both Knowles (1997) and Whitaker (1991) agreed that the 1978 Immigration Act was more positive and progressive than that of 1952. Whitaker commented that this Act was "less control-oriented and less exclusionary" (p.20). Knowles regarded the new Act as "the best legislation of its kind in the world" at that time (p.170). She also claimed the Act to be the "cornerstone of present-day immigration policy" in Canada (p.169). Despite Canada's efforts in overtly denouncing its racist immigration policies in the Act, critics such as Matas (1996) still cautioned that "the danger of racism remains". (p.98). He also maintained that "there can be racial discrimination in fact without racial discrimination in form" (p.98). In commenting on the 1978 Immigration Act, Matas argued that new forms of racism in immigration were manifested in "unlimited bureaucratic discretion, an unsympathetic or passive public, unmotivated public leaders, or racists in positions of power to make apparently neutral laws racist" (p.97-98).

The Boat People: Canada's Humanitarian Efforts

Knowles (1997) spoke highly of the inclusion of an identifiable class for refugees in the 1978 Immigration Act, which was selected and admitted separately from immigrants. She called it "an important innovation in the new act" (p.170). In the mid-1970s, following the Communist victories in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, Canada responded generously to the flight of refugees from Southeast Asia. During 1979-1980, among the 900,000 refugees who were resettled, Canada took over 60,000, increasing to about 100,000 through the 1980s (Whitaker, 1991). According to Whitaker, "This was the largest single refugee movement in Canadian history" (p.21). Among those resettled in Canada, Whitaker continued to argue, 54% were privately sponsored by community voluntary organizations.

Changes and Challenges in the 1980s

With the abolition of an overt racial immigration policy, the introduction of the point system, and the enactment of the 1978 Immigration Act, the 1980s witnessed considerable demographic changes in immigrant population. According to Knowles (1997), European-born immigrants accounted for 70% of those coming to Canada before 1978, and that number slid to fewer than 30% between 1978 and 1986. Meanwhile, an increasing number of immigrants from Asia and other non-European countries was noticeable. By 1986, Knowles reported, Asian-born immigrants formed the largest group of recent arrivals. They accounted for 40% of the immigrants who came to Canada between 1978 and 1986, in contrast to 11% before 1978. Many

of them settled in metropolitan areas such as Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal. By this time it was noticeable that "visible ethnic and racial minorities were becoming a significant part of Canada's social fabric," especially in metropolitan areas (Knowles, p.171).

Canada also faced some of the most challenging immigration issues in the 1980s (Knowles, 1997, p.179). According to Knowles, one was the spiralling numbers of individual refugee claimants within Canada, many of whom were 'economic refugees' rather than 'convention refugees.' An excessive number of claims and long delays built up a huge refugee backlog which "turned into an administrative and political nightmare" (Whitaker, 1991, p.22). The second issue was the escalating number of 'illegal' or 'undocumented' migrants. Canada's immigration system was undergoing some tough challenges and testing.

In the 1980s, the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney introduced the 'business immigrant' category, which consisted of self-employed, entrepreneurs, and investors. According to Whitaker, this program attracted immigrants predominantly from Asia and the Middle East. By 1986, Whitaker argued, 40% of all business immigrants came from Hong Kong. Both Knowles (1997) and Whitaker (1991) pointed out that this new immigrant program, especially the provision of the investor category, attracted much controversy. Critics raised the question about wealthy immigrants buying Canadian visas while "poor but deserving applicants were rejected" (Whitaker, p.24). Others assailed the government for "not establishing an adequate monitoring system to determine if promised undertakings have been honoured" (Knowles, p.188).

Issues Facing the 1990s

In the 1990s, Canada faced a declining fertility rate, an aging population, and a slowing rate of growth of the labour force. There was a general consensus that Canada needed a larger population, and increasing immigration was regarded as the only realistic option (Knowles, 1997). On the other hand, as Whitaker (1991) pointed out, the growing visibility of non-white immigration during the 1980s "produced an anti-immigration backlash which resurrected many of the earlier themes of racist nativism" (p.24). Whitaker described this new one as "a fringe movement, hedged in, as never before, by human rights code restrictions on public airing of racist views and by a pervasive liberalism in the dominant political culture" (p.24). According to Knowles (1997), the Canadian public was concerned about the implications of immigration for the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, the changing face of large urban centres, and abuse in Canada's refugee and immigration system. Furthermore, at a time when Canada was going through a recession during the early 1990s and wrestling with excessively high unemployment,

the public mysteriously believed that immigrants stole their jobs. The governments were 'uneasily suspended' between an uneasy public and the fact that Canada needed more immigrants in the long run (Whitaker, 1991, p.24).

Despite these conflicting interests, both the Conservative government during the first three years of the 1990s and the succeeding Liberal government committed themselves to maintain a high level of immigrant intake. As a result, the number of immigrants coming to Canada had increased during the 1990s. Meanwhile, there were also other changes. First, the Conservative government passed Bill C-86 in 1992 to "tighten up the immigration and refugee system by providing more stringent enforcement and control mechanisms" (p.197). Second, in immigrant selection, both the Conservative and Liberal governments intended to tilt immigration from family-class immigrants to independent immigrants (including assisted relatives, skilled workers, entrepreneurs, investors, and self-employed persons). Knowles commented that any increase in immigration from 1990 to 1995 came "at the expense of the much vaunted family reunification program" (p.194). Third, after the Liberals came to power in 1993, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada was created to replace Employment and Immigration Canada, with an emphasis on forging a Canadian citizenship and identity.

Taking these most recent issues and changes into consideration, Keley and Trebilcock (1998) contended that immigration in the 1990s had reached "broad political and public consensus" which included:

[A] widely shared commitment to a relatively high and constant level of immigration increasingly detached from transitory labour-market conditions or the state of the economic cycle; a dramatically more diverse multiethnic, multicultural immigrant intakes; a much more fragile consensus on the moral and legal imperative for a relatively generous refugee policy; a stronger consensus on the need to preserve a generous family-reunification policy; and a broad recognition that the major features of future immigration policy should be determined through open public and political debate rather than executive or administrative policy making (p.440).

Consultation with the Private Sector

Since Confederation, constitutional responsibility for immigration has been divided between the federal and provincial levels of government (Dirks, 1995). In practice, Dirks argued, the federal government dominated much of Canada's history in immigration policy. This was partly because the provinces saw "too many dangers and too few rewards" in this area. This situation did not change until the 1960s when the provinces such as Quebec and Ontario began to see the benefit of getting involved in the formulation and administration of immigration

programs. The new Immigration Act enacted in 1978 included a provision of consultation between the two levels of government.

Although legislative authority over immigration is a concurrent power, as Whitaker (1991) noted, the actual process of immigration was left to private companies (i.e., CPR and CNR) and market forces. But since the Second World War, the state had moved to the centre of the immigration process and the private sector was playing a less significant role in immigration affairs. This structure was kept in place until the mid-1970s when public input was solicited in preparation for the new immigration act. The private sector, such as ethnic associations, voluntary service organizations, and the business community participated actively in the debate over the direction Canadian immigration policy should take. The subsequent 1978 Immigration Act recognized their participation and required the federal government to work towards wider consultation with both provincial governments and the private sector on issues related to immigration policy. Since the late 1980s, this process has become "structured, rather closed," and "a little too orchestrated" (Dirks, 1995, p.40). With a proclaimed objective to promote informed discussion on immigration policy, Dirks claimed that this process was utilized by the government to disseminate information and legitimize programs and regulations. With a lack of consensus among voluntary organizations, government officials could "pick and choose, or even ignore, outside advice and suggestions" (p.42). Meanwhile, as Whitaker (1991) pointed out, the government's efforts to use non-governmental groups as a means of privatizing and legitimating its policies could be "a double-edged sword" (p.23). By the late 1980s, the same author maintained, "a permanent and highly respectable non-governmental pro-immigration lobby was well established" (p.23).

Settlement Services

It was not until the 1950s that the federal and provincial governments began to recognize that "an immigration policy entails more than simply selecting people who wish to establish themselves in the country" (Dirks, 1995, p.100), and that assistance to help immigrants with their settlement, adjustment, and integration is necessary. Before the government involved in settlement services, Dirks argued, immigrants received help only from family, friends, and their ethnic community through churches and fraternal organizations. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, federal funds devoted to immigrant settlement services remained small. After the enactment of the 1978 Immigration Act, settlement services began to receive more attention and federal financial support was made available for immigrants.

According to Dirks, settlement programs had two purposes: to help immigrants become more confident and competent in adapting to life in Canada, and to provide new contributing members to Canadian society. Although several federal agencies were involved in the settlement field, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration had acquired the broadest mandate. Usually the federal government offered a wide range of programs and services through contracting them out to community voluntary organizations on a fee-for-service basis. These programs included the Immigrant Settlement Adaptation Program (ISAP), Host Programs, the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), and the Adjustment Assistance Program (AAP) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1999). While the first three provided funds to help immigrants with their settlement and integration, the Adjustment Assistance Program provided support for government-sponsored Convention refugees. This program was replaced by the new Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) on April 1, 1998.

Settlement services operated or funded by the federal government agencies were monitored and regularly evaluated as part of an ongoing process. Dirks described the relations between the federal government funders and voluntary organizations as "cordial and businesslike." He pointed out also that paperwork related to receiving federal funds could be "time consuming and irritating" (p.103). Another researcher, Creese (1998), observed that settlement services are largely provided by people with immigrant or refugee backgrounds, and that it remains a feminized occupational sector with "high stress, low pay, limited job security," and "high staff turnover" (p.24). Dirks (1995) claimed that settlement services "have not received anything like the attention paid to refugee status claimants or business immigrants by the public or media" (p.104). He continued to argue that "social tranquility in an ethnically diverse community is more likely when adjustment services are properly publicized and easily accessible to immigrants" (p.104).

In the 1990s, Canada was wrestling with deficit reduction, and social programs were undergoing massive cuts. As part of the effort to divest itself of deficits, the federal government was restructuring the state and downloading programs and fiscal responsibility to the provincial level. One of those restructuring programs occurred in the area of employment training programs for immigrants. In 1995, the Consolidated Revenue Fund (CRF), which was aimed at the 'severely disadvantaged' in the labour market, was suddenly cancelled by Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC). As Creese (1998) noted, virtually overnight a large number of employment programs worth millions of dollars disappeared and many experienced professionals were laid off. Different funding was made available by HRDC later, but according to Creese, "it

was in quite different employment-related programs providing general employment assistance (such as job clubs), rather than skills training" (p.10). As a result of the restructuring, immigrant settlement service agencies had to serve the general public as part of the funding requirements. Furthermore, many immigrants and refugees were not eligible for such programs and were excluded from them because they were designed for the general public rather than for immigrants and refugees. Creese claimed that the restructuring process in employment programs "has widened the gap between community needs and services provided, and threatened to compromise the mandate and philosophy of the settlement agencies in order to pursue fiscal health in an increasingly uncertain funding regime" (p.12).

Another major restructuring program was the 'settlement renewal' plan initiated in 1995 by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). This was a devolution plan which would allow CIC to withdraw from the direct delivery and administration of settlement services and funds. The intent for this reorganization was "to have services more closely connected to the communities where these services are delivered" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1999). According to this plan, CIC core programs (i.e., ISAP, AAP, and LINC) would be devolved to the provinces. In May 1998, an agreement was signed with British Columbia to transfer funds and responsibility to the Ministry Responsible for Multiculturalism and Immigration (MRMI) of BC, officially from July 1, 1999. Through a similar process, Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) also devolved all employment training for immigrants to the provinces. Creese (1998) pointed out that government restructuring and downsizing had shaken the foundations of settlement work. Through the devolution process, Creese continued to argue, funding for immigrant settlement services had become "more limited, narrowly targeted, and unpredictable" (p.2).

The Future of Canadian Immigration

Despite Kelley and Trebilcock's (1998) earlier claim that Canadians have reached consensus on a number of issues related to immigration, Whitaker (1991) argued that the goals and objectives of Canadian immigration policy have never been clearly articulated and "have at no time been the object of anything approaching a consensus among the influential elements and interested parties of the Canadian community" (p.3). He also pointed out that from the beginning of Confederation, Canadian immigration policy reflected "deep divisions of interest and ideology" within the community between the public and private sectors, and between the federal and provincial levels of government (p.3). This contradiction was reflected in the debate over whether immigration was to meet the short-term needs of the labour market or to serve the

purpose of population growth and long-term development of the nation. Furthermore, Canadians are still wrestling with issues such as the demographic, economic, social, and humanitarian needs of immigration and racial tension in Canadian society; public unease about immigration and concerns of informed and articulate interest groups which are favourable to immigration; selecting and recruiting immigrants and providing assistance to help them with their settlement, adjustment, and integration. It is true that overt racial discrimination has vanished from Canadian immigration policy, but Canada has not resolved these issues satisfactorily. As long as immigration continues in Canada, it is likely that these issues will be with us for a long time to come.

Emigration from Hong Kong

As stated at the beginning, this chapter aims to provide the social and historical context for SUCCESS. However, it is also important to understand the context from which the immigrants came. Given the fact that Chinese immigrants in Canada came from so many different countries and regions, it is extremely difficult to include all of them. Since immigrants from Hong Kong accounted for over two-thirds of the total from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China between 1968 and 1994 (Li, 1998, p.99), and as this preliminary research has revealed, a large proportion of the immigrants coming to the SUCCESS's programs and services were also originally from Hong Kong, it is necessary to focus the following discussion largely on the emigration from Hong Kong since the Second World War to 1998.

According to Wong (1992), there have been three major waves of emigration from Hong Kong since the end of the Second World War. The first occurred between 1958 and 1961 owing to dramatic changes in Hong Kong agriculture. At that time, the traditional rice farming was giving way to vegetable cultivation. Many affected farmers moved to the United Kingdom. The second wave was triggered by a political crisis, the 1967 riot. It was a spill-over of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China. It began with a demonstration led by local communists, but ended with violence and terrorism. Threatened by bombs and political instability, thousands left Hong Kong for popular destinations: the United States and Canada. Many of them were Hong Kong elites. Wong noted that "the riot shook Hong Kong to its core" (p.6), and that in 1970, 4,509 emigrants landed in Canada. That number rose to 14,662 in 1973, but gradually decreased to 6,371 by 1977.

The third wave of emigration illustrated by Wong began in the 1980s. According to the Sino-British Agreement on the future of Hong Kong, the colony would become a special administrative region under the rule of China. Many of the residents who were worried about

their future began to leave Hong Kong. According to Wong, 22,400 people left Hong Kong in 1980 for residence overseas, and that number rose to 30,000 in 1987, and 62,000 in 1990. Among this new wave of emigrants, a large number found homes in Canada. According to Li (1998), Hong Kong had been the main source of Chinese immigrants to Canada since 1967. From 1968 to 1994, Li reported, no less than 355,200 Hong Kong immigrants arrived in Canada, 69% of them (243,888) coming between 1985 and 1994. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1999) recorded that 29,967 immigrants in 1996 and 22,242 in 1997 came to Canada from Hong Kong, the number one top ten source country. Immediately after 1997, this number dropped to 8,083 in 1998, while its first position among the top ten was replaced by mainland China.

Wong (1992) described this latest group of emigrants as "predominantly 'yuppies' - young, educated, middle class professionals" (p.4). Some people in Hong Kong feared that such an outflow would undermine its social stability, but Wong argued that these worries had been exaggerated. He posited that massive migration, spectacular economic growth, and internal social stability could go hand in hand in a society like Hong Kong.

Summary

In summary, this chapter examined the history of the Chinese in Canada, Canadian immigration policies, and emigration from Hong Kong. This examination has revealed that the Chinese population was one of the oldest among immigrants in Canada, and that its history was probably the uneasiest. Before the end of the Second World War, the Chinese in Canada experienced severe racial discrimination through head tax, segregation, and disfranchisement.

A review of Canadian immigration policy has shown that overt racial discrimination in immigration policy became less in the 1950s and 1960s, and that the point system enacted in 1967 signified Canada's commitment to non-discrimination in the selection of immigrants. But despite the fact that overt racism had been eliminated, Canada's immigration policy was still facing many challenges, such as lack of clear goals, public unease about immigration, and lack of stable funding in immigrant settlement services. Combined with the review of emigration from Hong Kong, Chapter 3 helps provide a more holistic account of Chinese immigrants in Canada.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

The focus of this chapter is the methodological design of the research. Examination of the methodology sheds light on the thought processes embodied in the research frameworks I selected in my approach to the study. Choices of questions, how questions are asked, of whom they are asked, and about what, are all manifestations of stances and ideologies that underlie a particular research framework. The methodology that follows provides insights into how my thinking became operationalized during the planning of the study. I present the concepts and assumptions underlying my approach, and detail the data sources, data gathering methods, procedures, data analysis, and interpretation procedures that are used to conduct the study.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the theoretical framework for the study and is followed by a analysis of the research design. Next, it describes the methods of data collection and procedures. The fourth part presents data analysis and interpretation. The fifth part discusses the criteria of trustworthiness. The chapter ends with an examination of the profile of me as the researcher and of the participants.

Discussion of Theoretical Framework

A Qualitative Study

This section examines the theoretical framework for the study. First, it is necessary to review two major methodological approaches of research: quantitative and qualitative. Following that, I will decide which approach is more appropriate for this investigation.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) claim that "both qualitative and quantitative methods may be used appropriately with any research paradigm" (p.105). However, they also point out that there is a growing dissatisfaction with the patent overemphasis on quantitative methods owing to numerous weaknesses inherent in this approach. According to these authors, some of the problems are: context stripping; exclusion of meaning and purpose; disjunction of grand theories with local contexts; inapplicability of general data to individual cases; and exclusion of the discovery dimension in inquiry. The authors also argue that qualitative data can address these issues by providing contextual information and rich insights into human behaviour, thereby uncovering emic (insider) views, and avoiding nomothetic/idiographic disjunction.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), qualitative research is "multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter" (p.2). In other words, they

continue to argue, qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. They highlight the socially constructed nature of reality, and emphasize processes and meanings rather than measurement and analysis of causal relationship between variables.

Quantitative researchers seek to uncover the truth objectively. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, are often viewed as *bricoleur*, a "jack of all trades or a kind of professional do-it-yourself person" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p.17, cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). The *bricoleur* produces a bricolage, "a pieced-together, close-knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete situation" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.2).

The above discussion makes it clear that qualitative and quantitative approaches differ in important ways. This research is a study of the history of a voluntary organization - SUCCESS, and attempts to understand people's lived experience with the organization. Qualitative approaches are more suitable for this type of research than quantitative ones.

Inquiry Paradigms

All qualitative researchers are guided by an inquiry paradigm, which, in the words of Guba and Lincoln (1994), is "the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator" (p.105). It helps researchers decide what they are about, and what is within or outside the limits of their inquiry. A research paradigm, then, contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) group major research paradigms into four categories: positivism, postpositivism, critical theory and related ideological positions, and constructivism. They argue that positivists believe that there is a reality 'out there' that can be studied, captured, and understood; and that the investigator is capable of studying the phenomenon without influencing it or being influenced by it. Positivists assume a realist ontology and an objective epistemology. They favour experimental and manipulative methodology that focuses on verification of hypotheses.

Guba and Lincoln contend that postpositivists maintain the same set of basic beliefs as positivists, except that the latter hold a realist ontology, while the former assume a critical realist ontology. Postpositivists believe that reality can only be apprehended approximately because of flawed human intellectual mechanisms and the fundamentally intractable nature of phenomena. They hold a modified objective epistemology. They deploy modified experimental and manipulative methodology focusing on critical multiplism (a refurbished version of triangulation) as a way of falsifying rather than verifying hypotheses.

Critical theory and constructivism are alternative paradigms that challenge positivism and postpositivism, and turn the focus of human inquiry to the everyday world of lived experience. According to Guba and Lincoln, critical theory and related ideological positions comprise feminism, Marxism, ethnic theory, cultural studies models, poststructuralism, and postmodernism. They state that it is a judgment call to group these traditions in a single category. Researchers utilizing the critical paradigm hold an ontology based on historical realism. They assume an apprehendable reality consisting of historically situated structures. Critical theorists hold a transactional and subjectivist epistemology. The values of the researcher inevitably influence the inquiry, and hence the findings are value mediated. Critical theorists deploy a dialogic and dialectical methodology, aiming to produce transformations in the social order and knowledge that is historical and structural.

The fourth paradigm discussed by Guba and Lincoln (1994), is constructivism. Unlike the paradigms discussed above, constructivists adopt a relativist ontology. They assume multiple, apprehendable, and sometimes conflicting social realities. The constructions are local and specific in nature, and dependent for their form and content on the individuals or groups holding the constructions. It holds a transactional and subjectivist epistemology, maintaining that the researcher and the researched are assumed to be interactively linked, and accordingly knowledge is created in interaction among researcher and respondents. They deploy a hermeneutical and dialectical methodology. Over time everyone is expected to formulate more informed and sophisticated constructions.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) point out that the basic beliefs of the paradigms are essentially contradictory and cannot coexist. These differences have significant implications at the practical level, therefore, no investigator should start their inquiry without being informed about them.

This study rejects the idea that there is a true history of SUCCESS out there waiting to be discovered and recorded objectively by the researcher. Rather, the meaning of SUCCESS is construed during the interaction between the researcher and the participants. The history of SUCCESS is part of the participants' lived experience. Its construction is a social process, situated in a specific social and historical context. It is going to be relativistic in ontology, subjectivistic in epistemology. The methodology for carrying out this research will be hermeneutical and dialectical. Therefore, the research paradigm will be constructivism.

Research Design

A research design helps investigators identify and connect to their research sites, specific persons, groups, institutions, and relevant research materials (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Janesick

(1994) views the research design process as a work of art, which parallels the warm-up, exercise, and cool-down periods of dance. The researcher needs to make a series of decisions at each stage. According to Janesick, qualitative research design has an elastic quality. As the research proceeds, it is adapted, changed, and redesigned. The following section discusses the warm-up stage, where the researcher decides on research questions, research site and participants, and timeline.

Negotiating Access to the Research Site

To reiterate, the central question of this study is: how did a community initiated voluntary organization such as SUCCESS respond to changing needs of an ethnic community in a multicultural society? In Chapter 1, I described my early encounters with SUCCESS and discussed why SUCCESS was selected as my research site. Following that I spent time reflecting on other possible reasons why I chose SUCCESS as my research site. I think it was largely due to its reputation for providing quality services to the community. I was truly impressed by the comprehensiveness of its programs and services and the extensive network the organization has built for and among immigrants. I came to believe that it would be beneficial to researchers and practitioners to know about the achievements of this organization. Furthermore, the majority of SUCCESS's clients were Chinese immigrants and I was a newly landed immigrant from China. This was very important common ground between me and the research site. SUCCESS became an ideal choice as a site to conduct my research.

Having said that, I also remember Marshall and Rossman's (1995) caution that an ideal site is more complicated than this. According to the authors, an ideal research site is one where entry is possible; there is a high probability that a rich mix of the processes, people, programs, interactions, and structures of interest are present; the researcher is likely to be able to build trusting relations with the participants in the study; and data quality and credibility of the study are reasonably assured. Marshall and Rossman's remarks prompted me to think more about my research site. My first concern was about getting permission to carry out this research at SUCCESS. Would a young organization like SUCCESS feel strong enough to be scrutinized by a researcher?

Another concern I had in terms of the site was the question whether it is a good idea to study your own cultural group. According to Bernard (1994), there is no final answer for this question. Many people have done it, and have written about what it is like to do it. On the positive side, I know the culture and I would be less likely to suffer from culture shock. On the negative side, it is harder to recognize cultural patterns that I am familiar with and I am likely to

take a lot of things for granted that an outsider might pick up. I needed to address these concerns before I settled on the research site.

The process started with a formal letter to SUCCESS explaining the nature and purposes of this study, my background as a researcher, and qualifications of the supervisory committee under which this study would take place. The initial response from SUCCESS was very positive and encouraging. They indicated that this was a meaningful project, and wanted to know more about it. Following their request, I submitted a research proposal containing a detailed explanation of the research questions, the way I expected to conduct the research, the kind of assistance I would need from SUCCESS to help me with data collection, and a preliminary timeline. Being aware of the institution's interest in knowing "What's in it for us?" (Phtiaka, 1994, p.155), the proposal stressed that this research was non-invasive. As Phtiaka notes, it is the least the researched deserve to hear that their lives are not negatively affected as a result of the research. The proposal also explained that the research might help SUCCESS carry out its mission, by allowing its message to be heard, and to promote the work of the organization. In addition, SUCCESS was offered the opportunity to ask for an abridged form of the research to add to their publication materials.

After reviewing the proposal and receiving assurances from the researcher and the research supervisor, SUCCESS approved access to the organization and agreed to provide the necessary support and cooperation for the project. This information was subsequently submitted to the UBC Ethical Review Committee for approval before the research was formally launched.

Selecting Participants

Participant selection was undertaken as a two-step process. When it became clear what kind of questions were going to be examined in this research, an initial list was developed defining who the participants should be. Since this research was on the organizational history of SUCCESS, it was important to hear from people who participated in the founding and early development of the organization. Meanwhile, this study also aimed at examining the more recent situation of SUCCESS prior to 1998, hence people who were involved in recent development should also be part of this research. The preliminary list consisted of early founders of SUCCESS, former and current Chairs, including former Board Members, former and current Executive Directors, and current Program Directors. At this stage, no clients or members of SUCCESS, or participants from outside SUCCESS were considered because the study required that participants have substantive knowledge of the development of SUCCESS. Further, the transient nature of its clients and members would make it more difficult to trace them. It was

decided that the research would be delimited to the history of SUCCESS from the perspective of the administrators and Board Members involved in its development and operation.

The next stage was to identify individuals who would participate in the study. One way of identifying potential participants was through reading historical documents such as SUCCESS Newsletters and annual reports. Most participants were identified from this channel. The second source used in recruiting participants was the 'snow balling' technique. While interviewing early founders of SUCCESS, two extra participants were recommended. During the process of identifying individual participants, three general principles were taken into consideration: (1) to find people who could represent different periods of development in order to get a chronological record of the development of SUCCESS; (2) to include both male and female participants so that gender representation could be achieved; and (3) although most people at the leadership level were of Chinese Canadian origin, opinions from non-Chinese participants involved with the organization should also be heard.

Upon completion of selection, the profile of participants looked like this: 6 founding members, past chairs, and past Board members; 2 former Executive Directors (one was also a founding member); and at the time of the interview, 1 current Chair, 1 current Executive Director, and 11 current Program Directors. Among 20 participants, 13 were male, 7 were female. Only one participant was non-Chinese.

Timeline

During the research design process, I tried to strike a balance between what Marshall and Rossman (1995) refer to as efficiency considerations and design flexibility. The doctoral program of UBC required that I complete this research within a certain period of time. I also recalled Bernard's (1994) suggestion that it was important to pace myself and spread the project out in order to guarantee the quality of the data. Furthermore, English is not my first language, therefore, doing research in English would take longer than it might have for native speakers. Besides being a researcher, there were other responsibilities and roles I had to fulfil in my daily life. Taking all these factors into consideration, and based on the amount of work this research required, the timeline I set for myself was to finish data collection within one and a half years (half a year for collecting documents and one year for conducting interviews); then use one year for data transcription and analysis; and finish up in one and a half years. It would take a total of three to four years to complete the study, which seemed a long time, but a realistic one.

Methods of Data Collection

The data collection phase parallels the exercise stage in dance (Janesick, 1994), and began once I received formal approval from the UBC Ethical Review Committee.

As discussed earlier, qualitative research is multimethod in focus. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) point out that "the use of multi methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question" (p.2). The qualitative researcher-as-*bricoleur*, they continue to argue, is adept at performing a large number of tasks, including interviewing, observing, interpreting personal and historical documents, and intensive self-reflection and introspection.

Based on the research questions this project intended to examine, the study adopted a triangulation approach consisting of four specific research methods: analysis of documents, interviews, site visits, and volunteer activities. The first two methods were the primary sources of data. The information collected from these sources was combined with data from other sources to reveal the meaning participants construct of SUCCESS as a community organization.

Document Analysis

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), historical data can be classified as primary or secondary sources. Primary sources consist of the oral testimony of eyewitnesses, documents, records, and relics. Secondary sources include the reports of persons who relate the accounts of actual eyewitnesses and summaries, as in history books and encyclopedias. There was a wide range of literature on the history of Chinese immigrants in Canada and in Vancouver, but only a few publications have more than fragmentary pieces on SUCCESS. Fortunately, there was sufficient data from the primary sources.

The organization was very helpful in locating and providing copies of earlier documents, such as annual reports, newsletters, AGM meeting minutes, speeches, and Board of Directors' Manual (1996-1997). I was able to find most of the organization's annual reports. Unfortunately, certain issues were missing (1977-1979, 1981-1983, and 1987). The SUCCESS Newsletters I was able to obtain included those published between 1994 and 1998 (1994-1996 in English, 1995-1998 in Chinese). This Newsletter ceased publication in 1998, owing to a shortage of funding. I was fortunate to have access to most of the Annual Fundraising Dinner Brochures. In addition, I located copies of the Evergreen News (SUCCESS Newspaper). These documents complemented one another, and together provided a comprehensive history of the development of SUCCESS.

To mark its 25th anniversary in 1998, SUCCESS published *Mission Possible: Celebrating 25 Years of SUCCESS*. This publication included messages from many dignitaries, including the Prime Minister, the Premier of BC, and the Mayor of Vancouver; short articles from all past Chairs and many community leaders; and contributions from Program Directors. It became an important source of information for this study. Furthermore, whenever I had a chance to attend SUCCESS events or visit its offices, I collected brochures and flyers about its programs and services. I read these documents carefully to ascertain the direction that the organization was following in its development.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) rightly point out that document analysis is unobtrusive and nonreactive. Written text, or mute evidence as Hodder (1994) calls it, endures physically and can be separated from its original producer or user. On the other hand, Hodder continues to argue, it is impossible to interact with spoken emic 'insider' as opposed to etic 'outsider' perspectives. Therefore, it poses special problems for qualitative research. As to the current study, it is fortunate that many of those who witnessed the development of SUCCESS are still available. During the document analysis stage, I made special notes about questions that needed clarification so that I could seek answers from the appropriate people during interviews.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) claim that gathering and analyzing documents is one way to supplement other qualitative methods, such as participant observation and interviewing. In this investigation, documentary analysis was more important than what was just stated. First and foremost, the information collected helped me develop an understanding of the basic structure of the organization and the programs and services it offered during its development. Some of this information was incorporated into the thesis. In addition, this was the starting point for me to identify potential interview participants, concentrating on individuals who were involved in the early development of SUCCESS.

Interviewing

Interviewing was the second method used for data collection. By using this technique, I was able to gather valuable information from early founders of SUCCESS, including past Chairs and Board of Directors, past and current Executive Directors, and current Program Directors. They shared with me their inside stories of the history of SUCCESS, some of which could not be found in any printed materials. Therefore, their voices are critically important to the interpretation of the meaning of SUCCESS.

According to Fontana and Frey (1994), interviewing is one of the most common and most powerful ways to try to understand our fellow human beings. They identify the most common

type of interviewing as individual, face-to-face interviews. However, it can also take the form of group interviewing. Furthermore, interviewing can be structured, semistructured, or unstructured. Different types of interviews are suited to different purposes. For structured interviewing, Fontana and Frey recommend that the interviewer asks the respondents a series of preestablished questions with a limited set of response categories. The interview proceeds following a stimulus-response format, assuming that if questions are phrased correctly, the respondent will answer them truthfully. There is little flexibility in the way questions are asked or answered. In this situation, the interviewer plays a neutral role, taking care to not interject his or her opinion of the respondent's answer.

On the other hand, unstructured interviewing provides a greater breadth than structured interviewing (Fontana & Frey, 1994). It allows interviewers to ask in-depth questions without imposing any *a priori* categorization that may limit the field of inquiry. The interviewer may prepare some general topics, but no formal approach is used. According to Fontana and Frey, the very essence of this technique is the establishment of a human-to-human relationship between the researcher and the respondent, with the desire to understand rather than to explain. Ethnographic interviewing often utilizes the unstructured technique (Bernard, 1994).

For this study, I chose what Bernard calls 'semistructured interviewing.' As he points out, unstructured interviewing is time consuming. It is ideal if you are doing long-term fieldwork and can interview people on many separate occasions. In the current study, most of my participants were professionals with busy schedules. It was difficult for people to allow time to be interviewed more than once. Semistructured interviews, using an interview guide, were more appropriate for this study. It was gratifying to learn from Bernard that the same skills and much of the free-wheeling quality of unstructured interviewing also apply to semistructured interviewing. The major difference between the two is that the researcher uses an interview guide in a semistructured interview.

With that decision made, I then moved on to conduct the interviews. Current literature on interviewing (Bernard, 1994; Fontana & Frey, 1994; Hertz, 1995; Phtiaka, 1994) provides useful information on how to present yourself as the researcher, starting the interview, establishing rapport, and probing for more detailed information. First, an initial letter was sent to individuals asking for their participation (see Appendix A). The letter introduced the study and explained who I was and what the research was about. In the letter I stressed the importance of their participation and assured them that any information they gave me would be kept strictly confidential. I informed them of their right to cancel the interview at any time, or withdraw from

the study before, during or after the interview. Participants were also offered anonymity or pseudonyms if they so wished. All the people contacted agreed to participate in the study.

Interviews were conducted at a time and location convenient to the participants. Appointments were made at least one week in advance. Before each interview began, two copies of the official consent form (see Appendix B) were signed by the participant. Both the researcher and the participant kept a copy. The consent form asked people to choose whether to give permission to use their real names or whether they preferred to use a pseudonym; whether they wished to review a transcript of the interview. All participants agreed to allow me the use of their real names. One reason could be that they were proud to be part of this organization and they welcomed the opportunity to make their names public. Another reason might be, as Phtiaka (1994) reminds us, that assurances of anonymity are almost totally useless when participants hold key positions in public organizations. SUCCESS is not a very large, nor a long-established organization, therefore, it would be difficult to hide participants identity even if people did not choose to use their real names. Three people did not wish to receive a copy of the interview transcript. This was probably because they had confidence in me as the researcher and/or they were simply too busy to read any extra material. However, it was important to let them know that it was their right to see a copy of the transcript.

Several authors (Bernard, 1994; Hertz, 1995; Phtiaka, 1994) discuss how to get people to open up and express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace. Bernard (1994) points out, if participants see that you are open and honest about your intentions, and if you are genuinely interested in what they have to say, many people will willingly share their experiences with you. I took these authors' advice and began my interviews with open questions that were friendly and as basic as possible. I usually tried to 'break the ice' by inviting them to talk about how they started with SUCCESS. Gradually I moved to more specific questions. Although I developed an interview guide (see Appendix C) which consisted of a list of questions and topics, I never let that get in my way. I tried to show people that I respected them as equals and let them share control of the interview. All the participants appeared to enjoy the interview and were enthusiastic in talking about their experiences. Usually I was able to develop rapport quickly with my participants, and maintain it throughout the interview.

According to Bernard, the key to successful interviewing is learning how to probe for information effectively. He explains that this involves stimulating a participant to produce more information without injecting yourself so much into the interaction that you only get a reflection of yourself in the data. Bernard also suggests a few probing techniques such as the silent probe,

echo probe, uh-huh probe, and the long question probe. Where appropriate, I used most of these probing techniques during the interviews.

Hertz (1995) discusses how to handle an interview from a different perspective. He maintains that the interview is no longer simply a tool or an object used to generate findings, but is a subject of scholarly inquiry in its own right. From the moment of initial contact, the interview becomes a socially constructed matrix of shifting multiple identities - both the researchers' and respondents'. Hertz also maintains that self-disclosure on the part of the researcher changes not only the interviewer from the neutral questioner into a participant, it also gives the subject license to ask questions of the interviewer. This makes the interview a collaborative process where experience and information are exchanged. Hertz contends that respondents help create the interview as agents rather than objects of study, and the interview becomes socially constructed by the unique interactions of each respondent with the interviewer. Although the interviewer may still guide the conversation by probing for meaning, the respondent is no longer simply answering the interviewer's questions. Instead, the interview is constructed through the interaction of both the interviewer and the respondent. This was a very important message for me to remember during the interview. I tried to develop a dialogue rather than a one-way pseudo-conversation. Both the participants and I talked. The participants were also encouraged to ask me questions during the interview. I also tried to make the process as interactive as possible.

Two groups of people were interviewed. The first group consisted of SUCCESS founding members, former Chairs and Board members, former Executive Directors, and current Chair and Executive Director. All the participants in the second group were current Program Directors. 'Current' here means they were actively serving at the time when the interviews were conducted. As mentioned earlier, SUCCESS documents helped me develop a participant list. When that list was generated, a pilot interview was conducted to test certain questions and focus on particular areas. The pilot interview took place at SUCCESS's Head Office. After the interview was completed, it was transcribed and analyzed immediately. The preliminary analysis was presented at a meeting with my supervisory committee, where minor changes were suggested.

Despite the fact that participants were encouraged to choose a place of their convenience for the interviews, in the end, most of the interviews took place at the SUCCESS offices, either its Head Office or one of the branch offices. Each interview took one to one and a half hours to complete. Most participants were interviewed once except for Lilian To, the current Executive Director, who was interviewed twice. This was because, after the interviews were completed,

there were some outstanding issues, especially those related to the recent development of SUCCESS, which needed to be clarified. Mrs. To kindly agreed to spend another hour with me.

I tape recorded the interviews. Before each interview started, I asked for people's permission to record the conversation. I explained that I did not want to miss anything they said, and that I needed my hands free to take notes. I also suggested to participants that, if they were self-conscious about the tape recorder, they could hold the machine. I made it clear to the participants that they could stop me, and the tape recorder, anytime they did not feel comfortable about being recorded. Luckily nobody had any problem with this process. Each interview was tape recorded. I understand how valuable people's time is and how important the interviews are. To make sure everything worked, I tested the tape recorder at home before every interview. I also prepared a second tape and tape recorder, just in case the first one failed. Before the interview started, I tested the tape recorder on the spot. During the interview, when it was time to turn the tape to the other side, I usually tested it again. Most interviews went smoothly. Only two incidents occurred. Even with all the testing, one interview was not recorded properly. Luckily, it was detected early during the interview. Another incident related to a lack of electricity in the interview room, causing us to move to a different room.

Bernard (1994) warns that you should "never substitute tape for note taking" because a lot of very bad things can happen to tape (p.224). I was aware that some participants may let me use a tape recorder, but may not feel comfortable if I took notes. So I explained to people why I did that and experienced no problems in gaining their cooperation. Meanwhile, I tried not to let note-taking prevent me from engaging in conversation with the participant, and actively listening to their response. I was kept busy during the interview between taking notes, probing, interacting with the participant, and checking the tape recorder.

I took Bernard's (1994) advice to plan the interviews well in advance and spread them out. The whole process took one year. I found summer was a bad time to schedule interviews because many people were away. After each interview was completed, I tried to transcribe it immediately and began analyzing it. I analyzed my data as I went along in order to adjust my interview strategies, and to discover important persons and events which might provide new lead.

Returning interview transcripts to participants for content accuracy has now become standard practice. When each interview was transcribed, a copy of the transcript was sent to the participants, with an attached letter to thanking them for their participation. People were also asked to send me any feedback within two weeks, whether there were mistakes or any parts they

wanted me to erase because they were too sensitive to be used. One person called me back in two weeks and reminded me of an important typo. Bernard (1994) points out that this process gives participants a chance to protect themselves by excluding sensitive issues. However, it does solve the problem of an unequal power relationship between the researcher and the researched.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim although I did not expect to use everything. However, I believed it was important to have the whole interview available, to make the analysis process easier. A one-hour interview took me between 4 and 8 hours to transcribe. All my tapes were clear, but language proficiency was one of the reasons for the prolonged process, i.e. my listening comprehension and the participants' accent. Although the interviews were conducted in English, when people referred to Chinese organizations, they occasionally spoke Mandarin Chinese. Usually I had no problem to identify these names. If I had any doubt, I usually checked it with the participant on the spot.

Language was one of concerns at the beginning. Since I do not speak Cantonese, the participants could only be interviewed either in English or Mandarin Chinese. However, if some people were not comfortable in either language, my alternative plan was to find an interpreter who was fluent in both English and Cantonese. I explained my plan to the participants. Everybody was happy to conduct the interviews in English, probably because they have resided in Canada for many years, and they were now more comfortable with English than with Mandarin Chinese.

To ensure confidentiality, all the disks and tapes which contained interviews were locked in a secured filing cabinet. Only the researcher had access to the data. In order to further protect their identity, no participants' names were used to name files of the data, although all the participants gave permission to use their real names. Printed materials were also locked up with the disks and tapes.

Site Visiting

Site visiting was one of the two 'unofficial' data sources. After I received the formal approval to conduct this research at SUCCESS, I made a few trips to the Society's Head Office to collect documents. The first time I went there, people at SUCCESS kindly showed me around the organization. That was before the organization moved to the new social service building. The first impression I had was that SUCCESS was a busy place providing services to many people. Meanwhile, I noticed that it was a very crowded place and the facilities were not always appropriate. Then the interviews started. Every time I went to conduct the interviews at SUCCESS branch offices, I would take the opportunity to visit other areas of that office. I

usually tried to arrive at the interview venue a few minutes earlier than the appointed time. While I was waiting for my appointment, I took the time to observe what was happening there.

As a member of SUCCESS, I was also invited to many important events such as the opening ceremony of the new social service building on 28 West Pender, public forums on child protection and immigration, annual general meetings, press conferences on violence prevention, and the open house. Whenever returned from such a trip, I would record my reflections in my field diary. The notes helped me put the information I received from the documents and interviews into context.

Volunteer Activities

SUCCESS is a community organization that relies on the help of many volunteers. I became one of them. Whenever I could, I would volunteer my time to help out with events and activities. I must confess that, as a researcher, volunteering was not only an opportunity for me to contribute to the organization, but also a chance for me to learn more about the organization. Some of the important volunteering events I attended included SUCCESS 25th Anniversary Members' Dinner, SUCCESS Fundraising Gala, and Walkathon. I rarely saw the congregation of so many Chinese people at one venue in Vancouver outside these events. I was genuinely impressed by SUCCESS's organizational skills for large scale events like this in the Chinese community. Meanwhile, it was gratifying to see how much support SUCCESS received from the community as well. While I was there, I observed who came to these events, including government officials, community leaders, and ordinary participants. I also recorded these reflections in my field diary. These volunteer activities helped me contextualize what I read and heard about the organizations role in the community.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The data analysis and interpretation process is referred to as the cool-down stage in dance (Janesick, 1994). As discussed earlier, I took Marshall and Rossman's (1995) advice to analyze the data while collecting them. In the current research, data analysis was divided into two parts. The first part focused on the analysis of historical documents, while the second concentrated on the interviews. Neither was a linear process. Interviews were built on what was learned from document analysis, and vice versa. Further, each interview was conducted after the previous one was transcribed and completed with preliminary analysis. Frequently, I needed to go back and forth between the two groups of data to verify certain viewpoints.

For the analysis of this research, a four-stage process was developed. First, through reading and rereading the documents and interview transcripts, main points were identified and

highlighted with different coloured markers. I also made notes in the margins, some of which later became 'codes.' Second, these main points were grouped and regrouped in search of salient themes and recurring patterns. During the third stage, common themes and patterns were put into related categories. The analysis started to uncover certain insights into the shape of the study that was not apparent previously. The fourth stage was to compare all the major categories with reference to the major theories in the field to form new perspectives. This four-stage process assured that there was frequent interplay between the data and theory.

The data analysis did not stop there. Writing was another important part of this process. According to Richardson (1994), writing is also a way of 'knowing' - a method of discovery and analysis. For the current research, I did not see writing as the "writing up" stage as in conventional research. I viewed it as the time for me to learn new things. During this stage, I discovered many new aspects of this research. However, I have to admit that it was not an easy process for someone like myself whose native language is not English.

In data analysis, I did not use computer-assisted data analysis programs although I was cognizant of available software programs such as NUD•IST and ATLAS/ti and their multiple text management functions such as coding, sorting categories, and creating indices (Richards & Richards, 1994). This decision was made because the size of the data was not large enough to justify investing the resources and time to learn a very technical program.

Another issue I grappled with was how to balance the amount of analysis and quotes presented in the research. Bernard (1994) points out that qualitative data analysis depends heavily on the presentations of quotes which help the reader understand the argument quickly. However, he discusses two sins pertaining to qualitative analysis. One is excessive analysis, or avoiding using plain English to say plain things; the second sin is avoiding doing any analysis. In this analysis, I tried to strike a balance between analysis and quotes. What may seem to be "avoiding doing analysis" was in fact my special efforts to create more space for the participants to voice their opinions.

In interpreting the data, I tried to be as true and fair to the data and participants as I could. However, as Phtika (1994) points out, the researcher still has ultimate power in controlling how the material is reported. The art of interpretation is also political. Denzin (1994) states that all texts are biased, and that the so-called objective interpretations are impossible. In my data analysis and interpretation, while trying to be as faithful as possible to the data, I also reminded myself of such restraints and tried to keep them to a minimum.

Criteria of Trustworthiness

As discussed above, positivism assumes a realist ontology, objectivist epistemology, and experimental/manipulative methodology. Such traditions determine this paradigm to apply four criteria to judge the quality of a disciplined inquiry: internal validity (isomorphism of findings with reality), external validity (generalizability), reliability (in the sense of stability), and objectivity (distanced and neutral observer) (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). These are traditional benchmarks of 'rigor.' However, the world is not as naive as positivists see it. The applicability of these criteria is doubtful and highly controversial. Constructivists break away from the positivist traditions and propose trustworthiness as alternative criteria to assess the quality of research. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), trustworthiness consists of four components: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. The authors state that the latter four criteria parallel the former four respectively.

To ensure trustworthiness, from the beginning of this research, participants were selected purposively, the design of the research followed advice from experienced researchers, and the entire process was well documented. Data were collected from 20 interacting individuals, who were involved in the different stages of development of SUCCESS. Multivoices were heard. Good rapport was built with participants during the data collection process. There was extensive interaction between the investigator and the participants. In addition to people's lived experiences, data also came from different printed sources such as books and numerous SUCCESS documents. Various methods were deployed to collect data: document analysis, interviews, site visits, and volunteer activities. Multiple data sources and methods indicate that this research adopted a triangulation approach. The four-step data analysis process ensured that there was sufficient interplay and great correspondence between data and theory. Attention to each of these steps ensured that the research was accurate, credible, and trustworthy.

That said, it is important to stress that this study did not aim at generalization. However, it was hoped that some of the findings would generate insights to help other immigrant serving organizations. It is safe to say that thick descriptions did provide for transferability. Since this study enacted an emic, idiographic approach to inquiry, its transferability to other similar groups must be adapted to the context of the targeted organization. Also, this study assumes that the social world we live in is always being constructed. This research cannot be replicated by future researchers in exactly the same way, nor should it be attempted. However, the whole research process was well documented for interested researchers to reanalyze the data. Third, as Denzin and Lincoln (1994) point out, the age of value-free inquiry for the human disciplines is over, any

gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity. During the study, while trying to minimize my personal 'bias,' I must admit that this research was clearly influenced by me as the researcher, which will be explicated next.

Profile of the Investigator and the Participants

Self-Portrait

As stated earlier, the product of the *bricoleur's* labour is a bricolage, which is a "complex, dense, reflexive, collagelike creation" representing the researcher's images, understandings, and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.3). Denzin and Lincoln also claim that qualitative research as an interactive process is shaped by the researcher's personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity. Therefore, it is important to understand my identity and position in society, and how I see myself as the researcher. This discussion is important because as a researcher we need to be reflexive and able to see ourselves. In this part I will answer questions such as: Who am I? What is my position in the society? How do other people see me? and How do I see myself?

I am a new Canadian citizen who was born in China. I have been a child, a husband, a father, a student, a university teacher, and member of an ethnic minority. I am proud to be Chinese. Meanwhile, I must admit that I was thrilled to become a Canadian citizen. At the present time, my identity is shifting from being a Chinese to a Canadian of Chinese origin, a shift which is a difficult on-going process. This process is more than just changing the label, it also involves a change of positionality.

Being a Chinese in China, I am one of the ordinary Chinese like millions of others. As most people there, I have dark hair and yellow skin. I am a male and a heterosexual. I wore the same kind of clothes as every man. Clearly I belonged to the dominant group in China. I was just as normal as many others. My position in Canada is different from that in China. I have shifted from belonging to the dominant group to the minority group. In this white dominated society, I am a visible minority person marked by the colour of my skin and hair. More importantly it is marked by the label 'Chinese' we were given. As Anderson (1995, p.24) states, 'Chinese' signifies 'non-white' in European culture. It connotes 'them' as opposed to 'us,' 'outsiders' rather than 'insiders.'

According to Canadian laws, I am the same as everyone else in this society. However, because of my skin and hair colour, and my accent, I am still regarded as a foreigner by some 'true' Canadians. Sometimes I even ask myself if I belong in this society, or if I will ever be

accepted by this society. All this makes me question my position, my social status, my value, and equality in this society. Sometimes I become very sensitive about such issues.

My background as an immigrant and my cross-cultural experiences have shaped my choice of research topic. I wanted to turn what some people call a 'deficit' into an asset. I wanted my research to be beneficial to the immigrant community. That was why I chose to do my research on SUCCESS. As a researcher, I brought this identity and positionality into the field. My experience as an immigrant and my common background as the 'other' definitely helped me understand the meaning of SUCCESS. My familiarity with Chinese culture also helped me build rapport with the participants quickly. On the other hand, this familiarity may have also blocked my ability to recognize patterns which were more apparent to a non-Chinese, thereby taking a lot of things for granted, or jumping to conclusions too quickly.

In terms of my positionality within SUCCESS, I would say that I was an 'outsider' among 'insiders.' To many non-Chinese Canadians, I was an 'insider' because I was of Chinese origin. However, due to historical and demographic reasons, most of SUCCESS's clients were originally from Hong Kong and south China, and they speak Cantonese. I was from north China and I do not speak Cantonese, although I can read everything and understand a little oral Cantonese. To Cantonese speakers, I was an 'outsider' because I did not speak their dialect. This 'dual' positionality as an 'outsider' within 'insiders' has provided me with a special lens through which to see and interpret things as both an 'insider' and an 'outsider.'

Profile of the Participants

Fontana and Frey (1994) point out that we can no longer treat our research participants as 'unimportant,' 'faceless' individuals, and that an understanding of their social history is important. Accordingly, a basic profile of the participants is presented here. However, this inquiry into who the participants are attempts to balance a need for transparency with respect for people's privacy.

Among the early founders, Chairs, and Board members who participated in this research, most came to Canada in the 1960s from Hong Kong as international students or immigrants. Their professional backgrounds varied. A few were social workers with bachelor's or master's degrees in social work, the rest were teachers, doctors, lawyers, and a former diplomat. Their common ground was that they all worked in human service areas, and they were once immigrants (except one participant). Their experience as immigrants and their familiarity with both Canadian and Chinese cultures were instrumental in the founding and development of SUCCESS.

Another group of participants was Program Directors at the time of the interviews. All 11 of them joined SUCCESS much later than those mentioned above. While 4 of them became involved with SUCCESS since the 1980s, the remaining 7 began their career with the organization in the 1990s. Most members of this group had master's degrees primarily in Social Work; a few had two master's degrees. While the majority of them graduated with degrees from Hong Kong, some received advanced degrees from the UK. One thing in common among this group was that they all came from Hong Kong. Again, their linguistic, cultural, and professional background would serve their Chinese members well, especially those who came from Hong Kong. However, they may have less of a common resonance with people from Taiwan, Mainland China, and other countries.

Whether founders, early Board members, or recent Program Directors, when they spoke about their experiences with SUCCESS, their experiences (either as an immigrant or a professional) were reflected in their voices, which we will hear in the next five chapters. A more detailed description of their experiences with SUCCESS is presented in Chapter 9.

Summary

This Chapter described the methodology used to conduct this study, including the theoretical framework, research design, methods of data collection, data analysis and interpretation, criteria of trustworthiness, and the profile of the researcher and participants. Based on the nature of this research, the study deployed a qualitative approach, which was framed within a paradigm of constructivism. A number of decisions were implemented in the research design, data collection, and data analysis to enhance the credibility of the study. Multiple data sources and methods indicate that this research adopted a triangulation approach. It was also clear that the positionality and experience of the investigator and the participants had an impact on the research.

Chapter 5

The Foundation of SUCCESS

This chapter examines the foundation of SUCCESS. The specific topics to be discussed include the social and political climate in Canada and in Hong Kong (where most of the Chinese immigrants came from in the 1960s and 1970s), the organization which offered Chinese immigrants programs and services before the founding of SUCCESS, the purposes for founding SUCCESS, its founding philosophy, the decision respecting its name and location, its clientele, and resistance from mainstream society. The data are gained from interviews with founding members of SUCCESS as well as SUCCESS documents. The goal of this chapter is to provide a foundation for Chapter 6, which will attempt an examination of its growth and development.

Social and Political Climate in Canada Before the Founding of SUCCESS

We have devoted the whole of Chapter 3 to examining the historical, social, and political climate in Canada and Hong Kong before the founding of SUCCESS. The data for that chapter mainly came from printed sources. The following two sections are based on the personal experiences of the founders of SUCCESS who were interviewed.

Canada was described by several of these founders as an 'open,' 'friendly,' and 'receptive' country in the 1960s. After World War II, Canada needed capital and skilled immigrants to help with the new development. Maggie Ip, the founding Chair of SUCCESS, stated that Canada was "hungry for educated people." This was said to be one of the major forces which drove the country to adopt the Immigration Point System in 1967. Ip commented:

If we look at the social and political environment of Canada, during the 50s and 60s, those were the best years of Canada in terms of political, social, and economic environment. That was after World War II, lots of resources were in demand because, as you know, Canada is a resource country. Economically, Canada at that time was very wealthy and healthy. They needed the expansion; they needed capitals; they needed people who have skills; they needed people who have education. If you look at the immigration policy, this is the policy they wanted to adopt.

It was not surprising that many immigrants were attracted by this very 'open' and 'friendly' country. An unprecedented number of them settled in Canada. They came from different parts of the world, the most visible group was from Hong Kong. Maggie Ip was one of them. She came as a graduate student in the 1960s. She described her impressions of Canada and her decision to become an immigrant.

I thought that, oh, that's a country where they look at you as an individual, not who you are, what you are, whom you know. I thought it's quite a refreshing experience for me from Hong Kong[...] I thought this is really a very open country that welcomes everybody. That really impresses me a lot. When I graduated, I had the opportunity to become an immigrant because at that time, once you had a degree from a university, you just go to apply for immigration. No questions were asked. I thought it's such a country which opens its arms to everybody.

Riots in Hong Kong in 1967: Political Uncertainty

Internationally, there was a riot in Hong Kong in 1967, which was triggered by a spill-over of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China. People there were afraid that Communist China would take over Hong Kong. It created a certain degree of political uncertainty. Many people moved to Canada for a more secure future. Ip talked about this riot and its connection with immigration in Canada. She explained that many immigrants who came during this period differed from their earlier counterparts.

In the world, what we have found out was that in 1967, there was a riot in Hong Kong[...] Because of that, up to 1967, there was a large number of people coming from Hong Kong, not for economic reasons. Before that, what we normally call the older immigrants or Lao Hua Qiao, these were actually economic immigrants. They came from poor regions. They came for economic reasons. At that time [1967], they came for political reasons. I wouldn't say they came for political reasons as refugees. No. They came because they wanted to have a better choice; they wanted to have insurance. Because of their experience with the Communist regime in 1949, they didn't want to go through that in Hong Kong. That was a very different type of immigrants that came at that time. With the point system, the Canadian government really wanted to make sure that we were getting the kind of highly educated and economically established immigrants which the Canadian government needed.

Ip added that she would probably have gone back to Hong Kong if it were not for the riot. K. C. Li, Chair of SUCCESS from 1978 to 1979, also came to Canada during this time. He was a successful physician in Hong Kong before he came here. He echoed Ip in saying that, if it were not for the riot in Hong Kong in 1967, he would not have thought about coming to Canada.

Going back to 1967, the Cultural Revolution in China affected the whole world. Hong Kong was no exception. There were upheavals in Hong Kong. The revolutionaries were planting bombs on street. Hong Kong society was quite disrupted. Many people in Hong Kong were emigrating to other countries including Canada. At that time, Canada was welcoming immigrants. They used a new system, which rated immigrants according to a point system. Those who are strong in the point system would get in easily. Before the Cultural Revolution started, it was very easy for physicians to come to Canada. If you applied, you would be granted the permission within one week. It's that fast. They welcomed people with assets, talents, and skills to come to Canada, but I didn't come at that time. At that time, if there was no Cultural Revolution, I didn't even think about Canada. I was a successful physician. I live a very good life, good income, good prestige.

As Li just described, it was easy for physicians to emigrate from Hong Kong to Canada before 1967. When the riot started, Canada became a haven, and everyone with means in Hong Kong was applying. Li stated:

In 1967, when the Cultural Revolution started, everybody who had means tried to go to one or another country. I applied. There was a huge crowd who were applying. Canada became a hot place to go. The application took several months to get processed. In the end, in late 1967, they approved my application. At that time, Hong Kong already settled down, returned to normal life. Actually I didn't want to leave. Life was good in Hong Kong. Why did I go to other place? My wife still wanted to come because you didn't know what would happen again. Eventually I landed in Canada in 1968.

Both the 'pull' and 'push' factors contributed to the increase of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver in late 1960s and early 1970s. At home, Canada was experiencing a boom which required more educated people to keep up with the expansion of its economy. Politically, the consequential new immigration policy, the Point System, cleared the way for immigrants to apply. Since Hong Kong was experiencing a political riot related to the Cultural Revolution in Mainland China, people were leaving Hong Kong for Canada to seek a more secure future. Because of these two contributing factors, many people such as Maggie Ip and K. C. Li found their home in Vancouver.

Pender YWCA: Predecessors of SUCCESS

Before the founding of SUCCESS, the YWCA at the corner of Dunlevy and Pender Street in Chinatown (people usually referred to it as Pender Y) played an important role in helping new immigrants with their settlement and adaptation. This section investigates this transitional period and the role Pender YWCA played before the founding of SUCCESS.

Coming to Pender YWCA for Help

Although the open immigration policies attracted many educated people, some did not speak good English. The group who came under the family reunion category, many of them arrived in Vancouver with little or no English at all. Even people like K.C. Li, who graduated in an English university in Hong Kong, still experienced language difficulties when they moved to Canada. Li commented:

Actually as a graduate from Hong Kong University, we were taught in English. In Hong Kong, we spoke English quite often. Even then, when I came over, I started working, and I still experienced some language difficulties. It's the difference in dialect and colloquial expressions. As a psychiatrist, I spoke English, my patients spoke English, but they said they couldn't understand me.

Owing to their language difficulties, many people had problems accessing mainstream social service agencies for help. In the Chinese community there was no organization to help them, either. The only place they could go was Pender YWCA in Chinatown. Interview with Maggie Ip revealed that they went there because there was such an organization in Hong Kong which they were familiar with.

For many years, the Lao Hua Qiao [old Chinese immigrants] had their own organizations, such as Zong Qin Hui [clan associations] and Tong Xiang Hui [district/locality associations]. They usually served their own members. Before, that was OK because most of these Lao Hua Qiao came from Taishan and they knew each other. But with the Hong Kong immigrants, they were here and they didn't know the Taishan Lao Hua Qiao community. They didn't know where to go. They saw this organization [YWCA] in Chinatown and we had YWCA in Hong Kong, so it's very familiar. They walked in and they wanted to know what this was about, what that was about, they had children and where they could send them to schools. All these questions.

Another reason the new Chinese immigrants went to Pender YWCA for help was that it had a visible presence in that community, and many of its staff were bilingual. They spoke both English and Cantonese. Linda Leong, a founding Board member of SUCCESS and a former counsellor at Pender YWCA, stated:

Well, I shouldn't say we were all Chinese. We had a number of school group leaders who were not Chinese. Whoever was manning the phone was a Chinese. The counsellor was a Chinese. There were lots of Chinese staff. We spoke the language. It was possible for them to come in without feeling stigmatized or out of place.

Programs and Services at Pender YWCA

The services provided for immigrants at Pender YWCA are also of interest. Based on interviews with early founders of SUCCESS, I learned that at the initial stage, new immigrants needed information about social services, housing, law, legal system, among others. For example, when renting a place, they needed to know the relationship between the tenant and the landlord. Did they have to sign a lease? Because of language barriers, they sought the help of Pender YWCA.

One of the programs initiated by Pender YWCA for the new Chinese immigrants was the Women in Training Project. Linda Leong explained that the project was funded by the federal government with an objective to provide immigrant women an opportunity to learn new skills. Leong noted:

We started Women in Training, I think that's the name of the program, where women who wished to learn new skills being a hotel chamber maid or waitress, learn how to sew, things like that. Manpower gave the Y some money to start that program. There were

bilingual instructors. There were on-site visits of different hotels. You know the maids wouldn't feel intimidated. There was on-site training. We thought that kind of thing would be great, but funding was usually not the thing you can count on. If there was an advocacy group which could speak on behalf of the community, it might make a difference.

In addition to the Women in Training Project, there was also a women's social group where they organized group activities. Leong explained:

We had a ladies group. We met once a week. We came to do things together. We cooked Western meals; we did handicrafts together. It's just ways to get out of the home. Sometimes there was a feeling of isolation. There wasn't any Chinese TV at that time. There weren't that many Chinese around. Now it's a whole lot different. Before, I am sure there was a sense of isolation. By coming out and doing things with other people, it made them feel happier.

According to Leong, Pender YWCA also hired a counsellor to help people with different kinds of problems.

We did hire one individual counsellor. I am not sure where she is now, Sister Fung. She was kept busy all the time. People just kept on coming in to see her. She listened to all the problems, kind of gave some advice, but she wasn't really a trained counsellor. We really needed someone with individual counselling background. We wanted that to happen. There were people with adjustment problems, people who were unhappy, depressed, people who were violent, husbands who were abusive to their wives, children feeling not only the generation gap, but also the cultural gap.

Once Pender YWCA started to provide services for immigrants, suddenly they found out that not only new immigrants needed them, but institutions needed them, too. Ip explained that institutions such as schools, health departments, and manpower departments all asked for help.

They find out that "oh, at YWCA they have all these people helping." For example, the schools at that time didn't have bilingual people. When immigrants went to register, they had difficulties to communicate. Or, the school wanted to give them some information and tell them what to do, they don't know what's going on. So, we are in high demand by immigrants. At the same time, suddenly all the other institutions, even government and social service organizations, they all come and ask for our help. This is how it led to what we call "the Chinese Connection." This is the connection we want to make, the connection between immigrants and service agencies.

Too Much to Handle

Because of the overwhelming number of Chinese immigrants coming for help, it became too much for Pender YWCA to handle. Nor was YWCA mandated and prepared to provide bilingual settlement services for new immigrants. The special demands of Chinese immigrants just could not be dealt with efficiently. People like Linda Leong argued that, with its broad

mandate, Pender YWCA would not be in any strong position to speak for the Chinese community. The Chinese should be in a better position to speak for themselves. Therefore, a separate organization with a special mandate to service Chinese new immigrants was needed. This eventually led to the founding of SUCCESS. This is how Maggie Ip and Linda Leong described it:

It was very overwhelming. YWCA was not able to cope. It's just too much. Very often we had to send immigrants to different organizations. We just thought that, well, if there was one place they could come and get all the information and services they needed, and also all the other institutions they knew where to go for advice and where to go for help, it's better than they had to phone five different places. So, as a group, we started to talk about it. (Maggie Ip)

There were other things that the YWCA was involved in, which had nothing to do with the needs of the Chinatown group. So they would be telling us to do one thing, but it's so irrelevant to that area. Whatever you do, you have to go and get permission from[...] I have to get permission from my supervisor before any programs can be implemented. It's not quite the same. If you've got your own group, you feel something is needed and your own group says yes, you should do it because your own group understands the needs a lot better. You don't have to explain yourself to a larger group to justify that. That's how come. When I started this, I started it without the blessings of my superiors. In fact, they were against it. They asked exactly the same questions that you just asked. Why can't they do things through us? But I don't feel that the Y, with the kind of setup they had at that time, would be in any strong position to speak for Chinese community. I believe that the Chinese should be in a better position to speak for themselves rather than to have someone else to speak for them. (Linda Leong)

Apparently Pender YWCA played a very important transitional role before the founding of SUCCESS. Its programs and services served a dual purpose: meeting individual needs as well as offering institutional support. The preceding discussion has shown that both the immigrant group and mainstream organizations remained in solitude. They needed the help of an organization, such as Pender YWCA to help them. However, Pender YWCA was not mandated to provide bilingual services for new immigrants. That led to the founding of SUCCESS.

Purposes for Founding SUCCESS

From discussions with my participants and by analysis of SUCCESS documents, the purposes for the founding of SUCCESS could be identified. They were: to bridge the gap in social services, to act as a united voice in the Chinese Community, to educate Chinese immigrants about their rights and responsibilities, to help immigrants become independent and productive citizens, and to promote integration.

Bridging the Gap in Social Services

The above discussion reveals that there was a gap between the new Chinese immigrants and the social service agencies in Vancouver in the 1970s. In her interview, Linda Leong pointed out that, although there were a few very active social service agencies in Vancouver at that time, these agencies usually had broader agendas. Sometimes they may have erroneous interpretation of what was actually needed by immigrants of the area. The Chinese would be lumped together with the new German, Polish, or Italian immigrants. Their needs were similar, but not quite the same. Many Chinese immigrants would not go out to the welfare office and ask for assistance because of language difficulties, or fear of red tape. Leong said: "Physically, they would not know how to get to those places. It would be quite fearful for them to approach." On the other hand, these government organizations did not have people who could speak their language, either.

Maggie Ip described this situation in SUCCESS's First Annual Report in 1974. She argued that there was a 'gap' between the social service agencies and the non-English-speaking Chinese consumers of the services. Cultural and language barriers were the two major factors which contributed to the problems of communication. These problems were compounded by having to cope with the stress of transition in settling in unfamiliar surroundings, and their less than satisfactory experiences with bureaucratic establishments which limited their willingness to approach social agencies for assistance. Furthermore, despite the steady increase of new Chinese immigrants and constant overloading of the bilingual mediating services and agencies, no significant action had been taken by either the agencies or any level of government in an attempt to tackle the roots of the problems. In her interview, Maggie Ip stated:

We found the gap. There was no bridge. There were always these two isolated groups of people and the gap was in between. The gap was really the cultural and language barriers.

It was clear at this stage that there was a need for local grassroots types of community groups that were actually helping their own people. SUCCESS was established in 1973 to meet this need. According to Linda Leong, first SUCCESS was set up to bridge the gap. Leong explained what 'bridging the gap' meant:

A lot of times the Chinese at that particular era were quite isolated. Geographically speaking, they were confined to the Chinatown area. A lot of times these limitations could be attributed to language barriers. It could be cultural barriers. There was fear that if they leave Chinatown and work for non-Chinese company employers, they would get into trouble because you wouldn't know what to say, how to act. They may be mad with discrimination, all that kind of thing. So the SUCCESS idea was to make it possible that the immigrants would feel that confidence to step out, and also to have the larger

community be aware of the smaller groups and their fears so that there could be a better understanding between the larger community and the smaller community.

Jonathan Lau, a founding Board member and former program coordinator of SUCCESS, argued that because of language barriers, getting access to mainstream social services became a major issue for many people.

In those days, I think that [language problem] was the major problem because if you don't have the language, you cannot have access to all the services available to the mainstream. So that's a big gap. We see that as a big need to have that kind of service provider. That's why we have the Chinese Connection to provide direct services to people, helping them to fill out forms, helping them to contact service agencies, educate them about mainstream society, how to be integrated, how to adjust to the local community system. That was the purpose in those days.

Lau particularly talked about the situation in the Strathcona area.

For Strathcona, the percentage was very high, over 70% of the population were Chinese. We feel that there was no agency serving this population. We feel that they should know the government agencies, or social agencies that can serve them, instead of bringing in interpreters or translators. This is why we feel that there is a need for that kind of agencies. In those days, Pender Y was doing a little bit using volunteers, but it's not enough. We feel that we need a kind of agency like that. We needed to form SUCCESS at that time with people who were working in the area.

It was evident that the use of bilingual workers, who were fluent in Chinese and English and who empathised with their clients, was the first essential step towards bridging the gap. The ultimate goal was the adaptation of the various services to the needs of the Chinese customers. In return, this would pave the way for better social adjustment and personal and economic self-sufficiency on the part of the immigrants. Eventually, Ip (1974) argued, "both the immigrant and the larger community will benefit from such an undertaking" (p.2).

Acting as a United Voice and Advocating Change

A second specific purpose for the founding of SUCCESS was for the Chinese to form a voice, a united voice, to speak up for themselves, and to press for changes for the better. In an interview with Jonathan Lau, he maintained that, although there were many Chinese organizations in Vancouver at that time, it was not a joint force. Many concerned people in the Chinese community believed if there was an advocacy group which could speak on behalf of the Chinese community, it would make a difference. Ip explained:

Any social change, social mobility, it takes time for the so-called minorities to obtain enough confidence to stand up. At the same time it takes time for the majorities to accept. We foresaw that it's time for the Chinese people in Canada to get to the status of equality

that was given to us. Of course we fought for that. Many old Chinese came and fought for that kind of equality. Through that, we must have a united voice. If not, it would make that acceptance process very long. We felt that not only we want to help each other to solve our problems, but there is a voice. The voice is saying that "We are here. This is our country. We have our rights. We have our equalities. And we want to take it. We want to enjoy it. At the same time we respect that. We will also contribute."

Educating Chinese Immigrants About Rights and Responsibilities

A third purpose was, through programs and services provided by SUCCESS, to educate Chinese immigrants about their rights and responsibilities, and prepare for democratic citizenship. Ip stated:

We feel that through our organization's services and activities, we want the new immigrants to understand the Canadian political structure, the Canadian human rights, and the equality, so that in return they will be able to enjoy. OK, we give it to you, we give you the right, but if you don't know what the right is about, you cannot exercise it. So, this is what we feel is important. We felt that the government has given us the opportunity now. We want to take it, we want to enjoy it, we want at the same time to exercise it, and also we want to make contributions back to the country. Under that kind of environment, if a country does not have that policy, it's very difficult. You are a minority. You are always oppressed. You never get the justice. You never get the rights you deserve.

Preparing for Independent and Productive Citizens

A fourth purpose was to help immigrants become independent and productive citizens. Lilian To, who joined SUCCESS as a staff member in 1973 and has been the Executive Director since 1987, noted:

The reason why we need these services was that the citizens could become more independent. They could maximize their potentials, so that they could eventually contribute to building the whole society.

Promoting Integration

A fifth purpose was to promote integration. Many participants argued that integration was the ultimate goal of SUCCESS. Ip noted:

We realized that maybe we do need an organization that promotes that kind of philosophy [Multiculturalism] in a very comprehensive way. We want to see the immigrants not just to be able to get their problems solved one day at a time, we want to see the process of immigration from the beginning to the end which is total integration. That means they eventually make Canada their home. This is their country. This is how they feel that they have the ownership of the country.

Ip continued to argue,

I also want to make sure that the final goal of every program that SUCCESS runs is eventual integration. We have a program, whether the program is welcome or not is secondary. We have to look at the program. OK, why are we offering this program, because this program will help immigrants eventually become a member of the society. This is a guiding principle. We develop the program as such that this is our eventual aim.

The foregoing investigation has shown that the founding of SUCCESS served a variety of purposes. It was established to bridge the gap in social services, advocate on behalf of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver, prepare for democratic citizenship, help immigrants become independent and productive citizens, and promote integration.

Founding Philosophy

Through interviews and document analysis, the philosophy that supported the founding of SUCCESS was identified as multiculturalism, mutual help and self-help, and voluntarism.

Multiculturalism as a State Policy

SUCCESS was founded on the philosophy of multiculturalism. As illustrated in Chapter 2, in the early 1970s, Canada had already established a mosaic of cultures whereby each culture or ethnic group was encouraged to integrate into this mosaic system without sacrificing its traditions. In her interview, Ip commented that multiculturalism enabled the Chinese to enjoy equal status with other ethnic groups in Canada.

In 1971, the government of Canada promoted Multiculturalism. Under the spirit of Multiculturalism, regardless of race and ethnicity, everybody is equal. We feel that if the country has that policy which enabled everybody to have the equal status[...], in order to enjoy and fulfill that, we want people who are in the minority, who are actually very much oppressed in the past, to be able to obtain and get the kind of understanding knowledge, to really take advantage of the equality.

K. C. Li, Chair of SUCCESS from 1978 to 1979, argued that SUCCESS was the baby of multiculturalism.

I think SUCCESS was the baby of Multiculturalism. First of all, the Government proclaimed Multiculturalism as official policy. They were putting citizens of Chinese descent on the same footing as all other races. Before that, the English, French, German, Italian, these are the dominant groups. Other races don't have much status. Multiculturalism at least proclaimed legally that Canadian Chinese were at the footing of all others. That was positive. It made Chinese very happy. Canadian citizens of Chinese ancestry were very anxious to claim that right. The government at that time was fairly well off. They gave grants to various ethnic groups to help them establish themselves. That's why SUCCESS got the grant for 3 years at the very beginning. Three hundred dollars for three years were respectful money to set up an organization.

Mutual Help and Self Help

Mutual help and self-help was another philosophy which was used to support the founding of SUCCESS. First, new immigrants would help each other; eventually they would become self-help. Philip Leong (1976), Chair of SUCCESS from 1975 to 1978, pointed out that mutual help was an important concept because SUCCESS did not wish to see or generate client dependency on the direct service that they provided. This view was supported by Ip, who believed that mutual help would eventually lead to self-help.

We started out as a group of people with mutual help. We wanted to help others. We experience ourselves. We feel that we would like to help other people who come later than we did. So it's mutual help. Then they can help us, too. They can help the community. They eventually become self-help.

Jonathan Lau also added that SUCCESS put more emphasis on self-help, helping immigrants help themselves through providing educational programs and services.

SUCCESS is more on self-help, to help them to help themselves. They need the initial education. We provide a number of workshops. In those days, we don't have enough staff to provide language training. We do provide training about Canadian life, how to be a Canadian, how Canadians live, to give them orientation about what services are available in Vancouver, what they are supposed to do, and how you can access their services. That's more educational to people, especially newcomers. Even the old timers who have been here for a long time, they don't know what's available. So we provide that kind of information.

Voluntarism

The founding of SUCCESS was also based on the philosophy of voluntarism. Philip Leong (1976) maintained that the concept of voluntarism was comparatively new to the Chinese. Traditional Chinese culture teaches helping the poor and unfortunate, but it has often been construed in the charitable sense. The modern concept, however, emphasized self-fulfilment and personal growth through community involvement. Ip pointed out that the best way to get involved in the community was through volunteer activities.

At that time we felt that for any new immigrants to adapt to the new country, first of all, they have to be involved. The best way to get involved in the larger community is through volunteer activities. We felt that we needed to have an organization to promote that, to help the new immigrants to feel comfortable to be involved.

The Founding Process

It is clear that Chinese immigrants had difficulties in accessing services from mainstream social service agencies. A group of enthusiastic and conscientious citizens and professionals in

the social and community welfare spheres responded to the problems facing immigrants. Among them were doctors, accountants, nurses, teachers, social workers, and housewives. Most of them were fluent in both Cantonese and English. This was the group who had worked together for years to organize programs and services for the new Chinese immigrants. This group included Maggie Ip, K.C. Li, Jonathan Lau, Mei-Chan Lin, Pauline To, and many others. Later they formed the first Board of Directors of SUCCESS.

When Maggie Ip and her friends started to talk about the founding of SUCCESS, the first thing they discussed was money. They found out that Health and Welfare Department of Canada funded a group of Blacks for a demonstration project in Halifax. They found some similarities between the Chinese group in Vancouver and the Blacks in Halifax, so they began to work on a proposal. Ip stated:

A group of us sat down and drafted a proposal. The proposal, we went through six, seven, or eight drafts. It took about good six, seven, or eight months to have it ready. Through the process, we got lots of help from other professionals - nurses, social workers, doctors, people around. People heard about it, and we said to them: "Oh, would you like to join us?" This was how eventually when we had the proposal ready, we were thinking of actually doing something about it. We had about 15 people who very consistently came to all the meetings and so on.

In fact, the early founders of SUCCESS were not interested in establishing an organization. They were more interested in providing services for immigrants. As Ip pointed out, at that time there were already close to 100 Chinese organizations in Chinatown, including art groups, music groups, Gong Fu (martial arts) groups, and other groups. However, to receive a grant from the government, they had to have an organization. This is what Ip had to say about this:

I must say that at that time even with the proposal, we did not really want to set up an organization. For us, we wanted services. We didn't want to have an organization. We thought that, if we had a proposal, if any of the organizations, YWCA maybe, if they said "OK, we like it, this is good and we can support it," we will say, "all right, you can take it over as long as you provide the kind of services." But at that time, none of the organizations was able or ready to take over. When we went to Ottawa to contact the government, the government said, "Oh, everything looks OK. But where is the organization?" We said, "We don't have an organization." They said, "We can't give money to you. You have to have a non-profit organization." We thought, "OK, if that is the case, and if there is nobody wanting to adopt us, maybe we had to set up one."

In the summer of 1973, the group made an application to the Department of National Health and Welfare for a three-year grant to carry out a demonstration project called "The Chinese Connection." The objective of this project was to provide the much-needed link between

the service agencies which delivered the services and the immigrants who received them. According to *SUCCESS First Annual Report*, in the Fall of 1973, Michael Keays, a Project Officer from the Department of National Health and Welfare, travelled from Ottawa to talk with the members about this project. He toured the local community with interest and was in agreement with the general principles of the project.

In November 1973 a public forum was held to find out what the consumers themselves thought of the project and how the service agencies would react to it. Close to three hundred local citizens attended this forum in support of the project and over two hundred signatures were collected, endorsing "The Chinese Connection" project. Many social service agencies which dealt with the problems of the Chinese immigrants on a day-to-day basis also came out to support this project.

In February 1974, SUCCESS was registered as a non-profit and non-political organization under the B.C. Societies Act. The fifteen founding members formed an interim Board of Directors. They worked untiringly to expedite the approval of the funding for the "The Chinese Connection" project, and to enlarge membership to include more "non-professionals" who would participate in, or actually take over policy-making responsibilities from the founding members themselves.

After the establishment of SUCCESS, its Board of Directors also submitted an application to the Department of the Secretary of State for a working grant to conduct a series of workshops or conferences on various problems confronting the non-English-speaking Chinese in the Greater Vancouver Area. The purposes of these workshops were to improve communication between service agencies and service consumers so that those who served and those who were served would have an opportunity to meet and discuss their existing problems and the role each played in attempting to arrive at a solution. A special conference committee was set up by the Board of Directors to be responsible for this project.

On May 25, 1974, the First Annual General Meeting was held at Strathcona Community Centre. A Board of Directors consisting of 15 people was elected at the meeting with Maggie Ip as the Chair, Philip Leong Vice-Chairman, Faith Lam Secretary, Sister Teresa Fung Treasurer, and 11 other members.

At the First Annual General Meeting, Ip (1974) pointed out that "[i]t [1973] has been a very exciting year" (p.4). Public and agency response had been extremely encouraging. People at SUCCESS understood and shared the doubts and uncertainties new immigrants had, as most of the members were once new Canadians themselves. Ip claimed that it was time the Chinese

people "spoke up for themselves, and pressed for changes for the better. This is best done with a united voice" (p.4).

Choosing a Name

The name for the Society in English was different from its Chinese name. In English, it was called the United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society, or SUCCESS; in Chinese, it was called Zhong Qiao Hu Zhu Hui, or Chinese Immigrant Mutual Help Society. Many local Chinese in Vancouver simply call it Zhong Qiao. During the interviews, I discussed with a few people why there are two versions of names. According to Jonathan Lau, his interpretation of its Chinese name emphasized the role of human beings as the bridge.

For the Chinese name, the reason we use the term Qiao – bridge, I thought it's a [wooden] bridge, but it's the same sound as Qiao in Hua Qiao [Chinese Immigrants]. Instead of using a wood bridge, we use people [Chinese Immigrants] as a bridge. That's the way we changed the name. Qiao is the human side. [...]In terms of the logo, we just changed one side of the character to make a kind of common, very easy for people to accept.

While SUCCESS is becoming more and more a multicultural and multiethnic organization in recent years, new explanations have been added to the name of SUCCESS. Wilfred Wan, Chair of SUCCESS from 1989 to 1990 and the current Chair at the time of the interview, explained:

To be honest, we are trying to refocus our name on SUCCESS only. Our whole name is called the United Chinese Community and Richmond Services Society, (a) it is very long, (b) it does not have an 'S' in the front, and (c) it highlights Chinese. What we try to sell to market SUCCESS's image from now on is just to say SUCCESS. In doing so, people will still know we have a Chinese heritage, but our focus and our services will cater to people of all ethnic background. For example, we are already doing that in the Tri-Cities in Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody, our services actually go across racial boundaries. In our small business development program in West Broadway and Burrard, we also cater to many different nationalities, mainly Asians including Koreans, Singaporeans, Malaysians, Filipinos, and Indonesians. And the most noticeable is our airport reception project. We are actually there to serve all landing immigrants and landing refugees, no matter what nationalities, whether they are from Europe, from Africa, or from Asia, and our staff speak those languages as well.

Choosing a Location

After SUCCESS was founded, it changed its locations several times. Its first location was on Main Street in Chinatown. Ip explained that the reason that Chinatown was selected as its first office was its central location.

It's just because that we have to find a centralized area where the new immigrants will come. The new immigrants usually come to Chinatown for many practical reasons, to

shop, at that time we didn't have Richmond Aberdeen Center for example, to get the services. We have accountants, lawyers. Travel agencies are here. In terms of transportation, it's very centralized because it's near downtown. So that was a very logical place to have an office.

Clientele

There were two groups of Chinese immigrants arriving in Canada in the 1960s and 70s. One group of people came through the point system as independent immigrants. Many of them were well educated and well off. Some of them may have come first as international students. The other group of people was here as part of the family reunion. Jonathan Lau and Angel Kan, former Executive Directors of SUCCESS, explained:

In those days, there were two extremes. One is the point system where you screen the skilled people, the knowledge people, the people who are really the cream of the top. They are well educated, well trained, with good experience. They are very productive. They come with that asset. Then you have another extreme under relationship. You sponsor them or nominate them. In terms of sponsorship, your parents, your spouse, your children, they are under sponsorship. Then the nominees are relatives, your sisters, brothers, those people. I feel in those days, it's very equitable. You are not really just selecting the best. You are allowing the family unity. We unite together in Canada, where we choose to stay. Canada needs lots of immigrants because of our slow population growth. (Jonathan Lau)

In 1967, with the new point system introduced, and also in Asia, let's say in Hong Kong, people are getting a little more educated, a little well off, they send their children to come overseas to study. In the 1960s and 1970s, there were a lot of foreign students from Asia, from Hong Kong in particular. China was still very closed up. Taiwan was closed up, too. Basically a lot of Hong Kong people as foreign students, they came and a lot of them do stay on. Immigration is very easy at that time, particularly if you are educated and speak the language. Canada needs a lot of people. In the late 1960s, there was an amnesty – in Chinese it's called "Da She," which means if you are willing to stay, you put in an application, you are accepted more or less. (Angela Kan)

When SUCCESS was founded, a large proportion of its clients was Chinese people from Hong Kong. In her interview Ip stated that only a small portion of its clients was from Mainland China or Taiwan. Many of them were women, children, and parents. She also explained that after SUCCESS's programs started, "many of these Taishan families [early immigrants from Taishan County in Guangdong Province] and so on also started to come to us because they required more professional services which they couldn't get from other organizations." Angela Kan pointed out that initially SUCCESS basically served two groups of people: older Chinese immigrants and new immigrants.

I remember in the 1970s, we were still serving basically two types, one is older Chinese immigrants. Some of them can't read Chinese. They are single with no family. They are lonely. They regard SUCCESS as their life saver. They always relied on SUCCESS no matter how long they have been here. It's unable for them to learn. You also have the newcomers. The ISAP [Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program] funding is mainly for newcomers. I think at that time they define what new immigrants are, before they become citizens, they are new immigrants. Arbitrary three years are considered as new immigrants. They don't fund any services for older immigrants.

Resistance from the Mainstream

In her interview, Ip argued that the founding of SUCCESS was a very new concept for many people at that time. Many mainstream organizations did not understand the Chinese community because it had always been isolated from mainstream society. People always thought that the Chinese were able to look after themselves. When the early founders began to talk about SUCCESS, there was much resistance from the non-Chinese community. Linda Leong recalled that they spent a large amount of time on explaining why they needed such an organization.

Half of the time we were defending why we need a different group. We met lots of resistance particularly from the larger non-Chinese community. Why did you want this? What's wrong with what you have now? Aren't you ghettoizing yourself? That sort of questions.

Leong commented that this was how they responded to these questions:

We liked to be able to provide the best services. You were not doing much. You were doing something, but it's not sufficient. Your energies were going to spread in different parts of the community. We wanted things to happen here because there were such needs. We felt that we could best serve the community if we had an agency that particularly serviced aspect of Chinatown. Oh, yeah, there were lots of criticisms.

Angela Kan, Executive Director of SUCCESS from 1977 to 1986, echoed what Leong just stated. She explained that they spent lots of time on lobbying.

Also the period in the 1970s and 1980s, we were more or less the pioneers. We spent a lot of time lobbying. People were not listening. How come my ancestors came, let's say Polish, they learn English so easily? They can mingle so easily one or two years. They don't need that service. Why do you need that kind of service, like some of the Chinese probably the older people need SUCCESS service forever and ever? They can never stand on their own feet because the language is so difficult, the culture is so different, and they came at a age that is so hard to learn.

People like Angela Kan believed that the process of adaptation among immigrants was different. She argued that there were differences between Chinese immigrants and European immigrants.

Canada has always been an immigrant country. In the early days, they had European immigrants and European refugees coming in big number. In the 1970s, people were not prepared to accept too many Asians at that time. Comparing a European immigrant with an Asian immigrant, the language is similar even though it is different. With the Latin structure, they can pick up the language really fast, because some of the written words, the meaning is the same, so it is easier for European immigrants to pick up the language. Culturally speaking, even though there are differences, there are some similarities in habits and customs. As a whole it is much easier for adaptation. In facial appearance, they don't look different, even though the way the Asians who have been here for 3-4 generations, you are still Asian. These are all factors.

The debate over the existence of an ethnic organization such as SUCCESS still continues. Many people have questioned whether the government should use taxpayers' money to fund immigrant programs. This question came up during the interviews. Wilfred Wan, Chair of SUCCESS from 1989 to 1990 and the current Chair at the time of the interview, argued that the government had not done enough to help immigrants with their settlement. He pointed out that it would save the government money in the long run if immigrants received help early from the government.

There are always criticisms, but I don't think the government of Canada has done enough to settle immigrants, and I do not say this lightly. One side of the argument can be that once you allow people to come to Canada, they should be on their own to make it work, that's fine. But in the long run, it would actually save the government money, it will be more efficient if it spends a little bit of money to try to help these people settle down. The sooner they can settle down, the sooner they can find a job, the sooner they can start up businesses, the sooner they can adapt, then they can contribute back to the economy. That is the first thing.

Wan also commented that government subsidies for immigrant settlement services were only a very small part of its overall spending, and it would be more costly if the government did it on their own instead of sponsoring ethnic organizations to do it.

The second thing is SUCCESS is using the government's grant very efficiently. If the government were to do it on its own, using the bureaucratic system to do it, they would have to do it for twice the money. And the final point I would like to make is, Canada is a socialist economy, in many ways it is subsidizing a lot of things, and I think in immigration settlement, it is just a very very small subsidy.

Summary

The preceding discussion reveals that a large number of Chinese immigrants moved to Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s because of the domestic 'pull' and the international 'push' factors and many of them settled in Vancouver. Owing to language and cultural barriers, they had difficulties in accessing social services from mainstream organizations. SUCCESS was

founded to bridge the gap in social services, advocate on behalf of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver, educate Chinese immigrants about their rights and responsibilities, help immigrants become independent and productive citizens, and promote integration. Its establishment was supported by multiculturalism, mutual help and self-help, and voluntarism.

At its initial stage, SUCCESS served two groups of Chinese immigrants who were mainly from Hong Kong. One group was those who came through the point system as independent immigrants. The other group was here as part of the family reunion plan. While most of their clients were new immigrants, a small proportion of them were long time residents of Vancouver. Although the new Society was meeting the needs of many immigrants, its birth also raised questions among many organizations especially from the mainstream. From the very beginning, people questioned the need for such a separate ethnic organization.

Chapter 6

Historical Development of SUCCESS

Chapter 6 examines the historical development of SUCCESS from 1973 to 1998. To facilitate understanding, the 25 years history of SUCCESS has been divided into three stages, based on a general review of the history of SUCCESS, its programs and services, and its organizational development. Stage One, from 1973 to 1979, is the founding and establishing stage of SUCCESS. Stage Two, from 1979 to 1989, is the developing and maturing stage. Stage Three, from 1989 to 1998, deals with its expansion and transformation. The data employed come from the analysis of SUCCESS documents and from interviews with the early founders of SUCCESS, former Board members, Chairs, and Executive Directors, and current Program Directors.

Stage One: Founding and Establishing Stage of SUCCESS, 1973 to 1979

The Chinese Connection Project: Its First Project

As noted in Chapter 5, an application for the Chinese Connection Project was submitted to the Department of National Health and Welfare in the Summer of 1973. It was a three-year demonstration project. The objective of this project was to provide the much needed link between immigrants and social service agencies. Ip (1974) explained that this project was designed to study existing gaps, and to pressure agencies to modify their policies to provide better services. Immediately after SUCCESS was registered as a non-profit and non-political organization in February 1974, the Society also submitted an application to the Department of the Secretary of State for a working grant to conduct a series of workshops or conferences on various problems confronting the non-English-speaking Chinese in the Greater Vancouver Area.

Receiving Approval from Ottawa

In late July 1974, both the conference and the Chinese Connection Project applications met approval (SUCCESS, 1975). SUCCESS was provided with the sum of \$3,900 from the Department of Secretary of State to organize a Conference on Chinese Immigrants and Public Services, which was held during the weekend of November 15, 1974. The Department of National Health and Welfare granted the Society \$50,000 to finance the first nine months of the three-year Chinese Connection Demonstration project.

Recruiting Co-ordinator and Staff

A Personnel Selection Committee was set up immediately to recruit the positions of a co-

ordinator and community workers. Unfortunately, the co-ordinator designate later resigned. Jonathan Lau from the Neighbourhood Services Association and Penelope Steward shared the responsibilities of the co-ordinator of the project. There were five full time staff members: Paul Chan, Ambrose Hsiung, Elgin Lee, and Lilian To who were all community workers, and a receptionist.

Programs and Services

At this stage, SUCCESS was opened for only half a day for referral services. The other half of the day was for the workers to do other things, such as paper work and making contacts, among other duties.

The programs provided during this stage include survival English training, orientation and information workshops, mutual help activities, out trips, and multicultural programs. Support groups were also formed for women, seniors, children, youths, and new immigrant families. Other direct services such as interpretation, information, form-filling, counselling, and referral services were provided five days a week. According to Yeung et al. (1980), unemployment insurance, old age benefits, immigration, and citizenship matters topped the list of enquiries. SUCCESS was also actively involved in the debate about the published Green Paper on Immigration and the proposed changes in the Citizenship Act.

The Third Annual Report of SUCCESS (1976) documented the three major areas in which the Chinese Connection Project was involved: 1) Direct/Information/Referral Service; 2) Community and Agency Development; and 3) Volunteer Development.

Direct information/referral service. Usually the request involved help with filling out a form. It was reported at the Third Annual General Meeting held on February 8, 1976 that 7,683 people came into the office in 1975 for assistance with matters like immigration, citizenship, unemployment insurance benefits, bus pass application, renters grant, medical coverage, and education. This service was available on weekdays and was well used. The volunteers offered the same service during the weekend.

Community and agency development. Staff members worked with many agencies in order to assist them to provide better services to non-English speaking Chinese. Some of the most encouraging work was done with the Citizenship Court, Family Service Homemakers Association, Rentalsmans Office, Downtown Community Health Society, Sexsmith School, and Strathcona Resource Board. Some community development work was done with Immigration Policy Action Committee (IMPAC, in an attempt to organize citizens to seek an equitable and liberal immigration policy), Parents Advisory Committees of some Vancouver schools, the

Taiwanese Association, and the Northeast Sector Project.

Volunteer development. Throughout the Summer and Fall of 1975, young people were hired under the Summer Student Programme and Local Initiative Project (L.I.P.) to train volunteers. This work demonstrated that Chinese people could be very capable volunteers who could work for and with non-English speaking Chinese. There were 85 volunteers working with senior citizens, information/referral, and new immigrant children and youth mutual help.

Accomplishments

Philip Leong, Chair of SUCCESS from 1975 to 1978, reported at the Third Annual General Meeting that in its first two years, the Chinese Connection Project was the prominent and most ambitious project sponsored by SUCCESS. By the third year, the project had had a tremendous impact and far-reaching effect on the local Chinese community. Leong highlighted two of the outstanding accomplishments.

First, public education and community group development were well under way in South Vancouver near the Sexsmith School area with the organization of an active parent group and a school system responsive to the needs of Chinese students. Together with the Citizenship Court, SUCCESS held a historical special ceremony in Chinatown on October 5, 1975, attended by hundreds of Chinese Canadians in addition to the ceremony candidates.

Second, in connection with the publication of the Green Paper on proposed immigration policies, SUCCESS established a special task force, consisting of Board members and staff, to pursue discussions. The Immigration Policy Action Committee (IMPAC) was established and a 3-day national conference was held on Labour Day weekend in 1975 through further co-operative effort with the Toronto-based Immigration Policy Study Committee (IMPSC). This was the first ever national Chinese conference and it was successful in carrying out discussion and passing resolutions on immigration policies. The three years Chinese Connection demonstration project was ended in 1977 with great success.

Highlights of the Chinese Connection Project

Jonathan Lau was the coordinator of the Chinese Connection Project. He recalled how popular their programs and workshops were. For every workshop they ran, they got a full house. He said:

In each workshop we have close to 100 people attending. We used the Strathcona Community Centre in those days. Each time we have a full house. I remember in one of these workshops I did on immigration, I used the Strathcona Community Centre, free space to run those kind of workshops, it's a full house. The whole building was packed, people attended about immigration, about manpower, manpower training, manpower eligibility, about UIC, about educational system. Every time it's packed. Speakers were

from government service agencies, they were impressed with what we were doing. At that time, they sent high level staff to come to talk about what kind of services they provide. People from the school board, people from the park board, talk about what kind of services they were providing. So they see so many people who want to know. They should be entitled to those services because they were paying taxes as everyone else[...] It's proved that there is a need there. We have all those statistics provided to the government. That's why in the upper level, SUCCESS can get funding all the time because there are so many people who need those services.

When asked what were the most popular programs and workshops they ran, Lau explained:

Direct services, because in those days there are no public or social service agencies who have the staff, who can speak the language. SUCCESS has been filling in that gap. That's not my purpose. That's only a demonstration to the agencies that they need to have that language provided in order to provide the services. We need to tell them that we have so many people who need the services.

Jonathan Lau also highlighted the major focus of SUCCESS during this period. He mentioned advocacy, volunteer development, and direct services.

One is advocacy, advocacy through education. We emphasize workshops, conferences. That's more a kind of training how to adapt, how to access, and know about their ways. That helps them to advocate changes. Then, the volunteer development. Even we don't have the manpower in those days to start that, that's kind of in the plan. [...]then the direct service, [...]you need to provide direct services so their immediate needs are being taken care of. You cannot cut that off.

K. C. Li, Chair of SUCCESS from 1978 to 1979, commented on how instrumental the Chinese Connection Project was to new immigrants as well as to those who had lived here for a long time.

The four workers hired by SUCCESS helped people with various difficulties. The demand for help was high, the services were well utilized. It's very popular. It's not only new Chinese immigrants who came to us, Chinese who have lived here for 10, 20, or 30 years have the same problems. They came to use SUCCESS services.

Moving from Main Street to East Pender

In 1975, SUCCESS moved from 321 Main Street to 577 East Pender Street. During the interview with Jonathan Lau, I discussed with him the reasons for the move. He commented that it was mainly because their office on Main Street was too small to accommodate their activities.

The reason we started at Main Street was because we don't have the space at 577 E. Pender yet. Main Street is a very short time. We rented Main Street office because of its location and the physicality, but it's too small. We can't accommodate[...] We have six

staff members. There is no room for interviews. It's not very good. That's why we moved to 577, and repaired that place for service.

When asked if the moving affected its services, Lau noted that it did not. This was because their clients were from the Chinatown area. SUCCESS also advertised in newspapers. People knew about the moving. In 1981, due to expansion of services, SUCCESS was relocated from 577 East Pender Street to 449 East Hastings Street.

Volunteer Development Project

One important development during this stage was the SUCCESS Volunteer Development Project, initiated in the Summer of 1975 by a group of volunteers whose aim was to help those who were non-English speaking, especially new immigrants, with language and social adjustment difficulties. The volunteers believed in the value of voluntarism. Its initiation was also in response to the need for mutual help in the Chinese community.

Rita Wong (1976), then Co-ordinator of the Volunteer Development Project, described the objectives of the Project as encouraging community participation in seeking answers to community problems; encouraging community mutual help and concern amongst people from all sectors of the community; and reducing community dependency by encouraging people in the community to volunteer in programs through which they could learn and grow and become capable of helping themselves and their families.

When the Project started in 1975, the volunteers were involved in seven projects: direct services, Youth Mutual Help Project; children concern club; senior citizen mutual help; workshop; radio project; and newsletter project. The project evolved rapidly from a summer student project in 1975 to a completely independent one under SUCCESS.

The Year 1977: A Crucial and Difficult One

The year 1977 was a crucial and difficult one in the history of SUCCESS. When the grant for the Chinese Connection Project ended in 1977, the Board of Directors had many discussions about the future of SUCCESS. Because their services were well utilized and because they foresaw the need for such a society, they decided to continue to provide services. K. C. Li, Chair of SUCCESS from 1978 to 1979, explained:

As I said, the Project was an instant success. Everybody liked it. When the Project ended, we felt that the services were well utilized. This was only a demonstration project. It was only a research project, it was not regular service, but the services were popular, the demand for such services was high. The Board felt very strongly that we could not stop. When they stopped, where would all these people go? So we went to the Settlement Branch of Immigration Department. We got some money from the Immigration Department, but it was not enough. We started fundraising.

Maggie Ip, founding Chair of SUCCESS, confirmed that 1977 was "a crucial year" in the history of SUCCESS.

From 1974 to 1977, we had three years funding from the federal government. When that funding ended, [...]the Board had many discussions about the future of the Society. How were we going to sustain? How were we going to continue? Yes, we could do some fundraising, but the amount of money required to sustain the office at that time was really beyond what the Society was able to fundraise. So that was a very crucial time. But the Board at that time decided to continue and reorganize it. [...]1977 I think was a very crucial year.

Since the government was not prepared to give out more money, the Society had to let some of their staff go. Ip said:

In 1977, I remember that from five staff we cut down to only one, one and a half actually, one Executive Director and one half time secretary for about three to four months.

Working Together to Get Through the Difficult Time

Despite difficulties, the SUCCESS Board members and staff did not disappoint their clients. They all worked together to get through this difficult period. Maggie Ip and Angela Kan talked about how they did it. Ip pointed out that they overcame the difficulties by getting everyone involved.

We overcame by getting everybody involved. This is also the spirit of SUCCESS that we all work, board members, staff, volunteers, or members. We come down. We are all equal. We all work for SUCCESS. At that time, lots of Board members, I was on the Board, I was the Vice-Chair, we came down to help because there were people coming and we opened our door for three years, people knew that. They were still coming. That was a very difficult time. One very important ingredient to overcome is that everyone put aside their own personal interest. We want to make this Society develop and strong.

Angela Kan, Executive Director of SUCCESS from 1977 to 1986, stressed the special contribution of volunteers and Board members who helped SUCCESS during this period. She also commented on its modest start.

It was not easy. I think at that time we were trying to make ends meet. For a lot of times we were counting on volunteers. I think SUCCESS was very blessed at that period of time to have good volunteers and have good board members who are very considerate, who really roll up their sleeves to do things like a working board. Probably if you take a look at it now, it has changed a little bit because they are more financially well off and everything has to be done professionally. In the early days SUCCESS was really started as a down-to-earth, very modest, humble starting.

Rebuilding the Society

Angela Kan became the Executive Director in 1977. Under the leadership of the Board of Directors, Angela and her colleagues started to rebuild the Society. In her interview, Kan highlighted four major actions taken in the rebuilding process: They were: to have a long term plan; fundraising; membership development; and joining the United Way to win recognition.

First, Kan described the situation when the Chinese Connection Project grant ran out. At one point they were down to one staff member and the Executive Director. The availability of funding from the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program became a turning point for the Society. She stated:

SUCCESS was left with only one staff member, to keep the door open, one secretary, and I was unemployed for two months. The Board felt we need an Executive Director, somebody to oversee the whole society, so I applied for the job and I got hired, and so that's why I was the executive director from 1977 to 1986, ten years exactly. I started to build up the society. Fortunately, in 1977 there was a new funding called ISAP. ISAP stands for Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program[...] I had two staff, including myself three staff altogether. We helped to build up from then on. Each year we get a little bit more from ISAP.

Then Kan discussed what they did to rebuild the society. On the one hand, they were providing services to meet the needs of their clients. On the other hand, they were looking into strategies such as membership development and fundraising. Kan explained:

On the one hand, we try to provide service. In fact if you look at SUCCESS services, they are to meet very basic needs[...] SUCCESS organizes services around the need of immigrants, the need of the Chinese community. We started looking into more permanent things. Service is one. On the other hand, if there is no government funding, can we go to the community to look for funding, or fundraising, looking into strengthening the membership? If you have people supporting you, your clients use your services, they become our members, they pay \$10 a year, or \$12. If you get 1,000 members, you get \$12,000. You have to rationalize it.

They began to talk about joining the United Way to win support from mainstream society. She commented:

If you need recognition, all our staff members from Hong Kong have social work degrees, they have to be recognized. So we consider joining United Way, which is a recognized umbrella group of Social Service Organizations. If you join them, you get accepted as an organizing social service member, you are being treated equally as a social service organization just as good as the Family Service of Great Vancouver, just as good as Neighbourhood House, just as good as YWCA, that sort of thing. You get recognized. You have to diversify. That is administratively speaking. Also service wide, the number has grown.

Obviously financial difficulty during this period of time held back the development of SUCCESS. Kan also pointed out that changing people's attitude was the most difficult of all.

I think the difficult period was in the early days. You know there is a need. You tried very hard to interpret it to the government, to tell them there is a need, and to ask them to give us more support. It's very hard to change people's attitude. Changing people's attitudes was the hardest. Also we don't have enough resources. We hired staff, and we didn't pay the staff well. There was high staff turnover. On the other hand, when I left, more people knew about us. My appointment to Citizenship Court was also because SUCCESS was getting more reputable, more recognized. We are providing very valuable services for the community. That's why I got appointed. I think the most difficult part was really changing of attitude. I believe that period of time has gone and we are enjoying very high status in the community.

Hosting Vietnamese Refugees

Another important development during the Founding Stage was the arrival of a large number of Vietnamese refugees in 1979 under the Federal Government's assistance program. According to Pfeifer (1999), the first wave of Vietnamese refugees arrived in Canada in the immediate period following the Fall of Saigon in 1975. This group of people was mainly army officers, middle-level bureaucrats, students, and professionals associated with the former South Vietnamese government. Many of them were well-educated and from middle to upper economic backgrounds.

In 1978, natural disasters and political persecution drove more Vietnamese out of the country. Many of the 'boat people' escaped by sea, often in dangerously unfit vessels. They sought asylum in refugee camps located in neighbouring nations such as Thailand, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Malaysia. In light of the Geneva conference, Canada agreed to step up its intake of Vietnamese refugees. Nguyen (1991) reported that 4,528 Vietnamese refugees arrived on Canadian soil from 1975 to 1976. In 1979, the Canadian government offered refugee status to 50,000 of them. Pfeifer (1999) maintained that the second wave of Vietnamese migrants were a far more diverse group compared with the first group. A large number of the latter arrivals came from rural areas and many from Central and North Vietnam. In general, they possessed limited educational backgrounds and English speaking skills. Their socioeconomic backgrounds were more diverse than those of the early group. Among them, a substantial number was of Chinese origin (Nguyen, 1991).

SUCCESS stood out, among other organizations, and met the challenge to provide a whole new branch of services for the refugees. In an agreement with the Vietnamese Refugees Assistance Association (VRAA), a citizen group was formed to sponsor 50 Vietnamese families to Canada. The Society undertook to perform all re-settlement services for these newcomers. In

an interview, Angela Kan, then Executive Director of SUCCESS, discussed the reasons for SUCCESS to participate in hosting the Vietnamese refugees.

I think mainly this group of "boat people" were of Chinese origin, because they speak our language, and they were discriminated against in Vietnam[...] Basically it's because we felt we belong to the same race, same culture, Chinese culture.

The unexpected arrival of Vietnamese refugees made SUCCESS realize the importance of reacting to different situations quickly. Ip stated:

Then the early 1980s, that was the time when the Vietnamese refugees came. Suddenly, that made SUCCESS realize that not only we are just seeing normal immigrants come in, there is also time when a large number of people who came in very desperate situation. These people came with nothing. So it's a different kind of service. It's not that I want to know this or that. It's like I don't have anything. We started to look at the importance of having an organization like SUCCESS that was able not only to provide services, but also to provide the kind of services that will suit them.

This was also the time when the spirit of voluntarism, mutual help, and self-help manifested themselves. Ip continued,

This is what I'd say that SUCCESS is an organization that has a philosophy, but a large philosophy. That philosophy of mutual help and self-help, voluntarism, that can be adjusted and modified for any situation, that's our ultimate goal for all immigrants, for everybody who comes to Canada. Under that, we can adjust that to wherever the needs arise. We are not afraid to react to anything new coming up. We react very fast. We don't just wait for anybody. Under that kind of situation, we sometimes provide services even without funding. We knew that there was no money, but we said it's important. We must provide the services. We provide the services and then we go out to find money. The early 80s was very important stage that we suddenly realize that the needs for the Society to provide the services and so on will continue. Also we must react very fast.

K.C. Li, Chair of the Vancouver Community Vietnamese Refugee Assistance Association, argued that assisting the Vietnamese refugees was a collaborative effort of SUCCESS with other ethnic Chinese organizations. It compelled the Chinese community to be a united front. He noted:

Another thing I was proud of was assisting the Vietnamese refugees. I was the Chair of the Vancouver Community Vietnamese Refugee Assistance Association. Basically it's an ad hoc group formed in 1979 to help Vietnamese refugees. At that time, 100,000 boat people came to Canada, 1/10 came to BC, all these people needed help. These are desperate people, and they came with nothing. Many of them are Chinese descent. SUCCESS, CBA [Chinese Benevolent Association], Chinese Cultural Centre, Chinese Physicians and Dentists, these five big groups came together and formed the Association. I was the Chair. SUCCESS managed to work with the Chinese Cultural Centre, CBA, there was a new CBA at that time. With the support of the media, doctors, and Hong Kong University Alumni, any of those groups from Hong Kong I have connections with,

SUCCESS was able to unite these groups and work with them. We raised funds. We collected money to settle 50 refugees in BC, which means we have enough money to support for one year. Actually I raised \$150,000 with the help of the group. Again this helped SUCCESS's image, and also it helped SUCCESS relate smoothly with other organizations. The Chinese community put a united front. We are working together.

Joining the United Way of Lower Mainland

In 1979, SUCCESS was accepted as a member organization of the United Way of the Lower Mainland. The acceptance implied that the organization had, for the first time, city-wide recognition. With core funding now being provided by the United Way, SUCCESS turned its attention to its Task Force on Long Term Planning. K. C. Li, then Chair of SUCCESS, commented on the importance of joining the United Way: He argued that joining the United Way would help SUCCESS financially. It also meant prestige.

When we become a member of the United Way, we will receive an annual grant, which is sufficient to hire one staff member. It's very important to have that regular money to hire staff. In fact, that's the only reliable funding for hiring staff members. The United Way is also a very respected and prestigious organization in the community. It represents 100 agencies in the Lower Mainland. It's a major fundraising organization for all charity organizations. To be accepted by the United Way is a very respectful organization. SUCCESS was the first Chinese organization which joined the United Way. Again it's good for the prestige of SUCCESS. It put SUCCESS on the map.

Angela Kan also stressed that the significance of joining the United Way lay in the winning of recognition from mainstream social service organizations. As she put it, "Once you are in, you are at par with other social service organizations." Kan explained:

United Way is not so much with money, I think United Way gave a very small sum of money to SUCCESS, that's why they have guilty feeling, and that's why they lend United Way's name to SUCCESS to do the Walk with the Dragon. Joining the United Way is not to do with the money, but more to do with the status as a recognized social service organization. SUCCESS is a social service agency, the same as other social service agency, such as neighbourhood housing, family services. We have a lot of qualified social workers at that time with MBA, MSW degrees. They all got training from the United States and Canada. How come our status is not the same as other social service? Becoming a member of the United Way is very significant for SUCCESS, and for the status of the social workers at SUCCESS. Once you are in, you are at par with other social service organizations. I think when SUCCESS joined in, there are about 80 or 90 social service organization memberships. So we are equal with them.

Summary of Stage One

The foregoing discussion has described major events and activities which took place from 1973 to 1979 at SUCCESS. Following its establishment, the Society successfully sponsored its

first project, the Chinese Connection Project. During this period, SUCCESS provided direct and referral services to meet the needs of individual immigrants. Meanwhile, they worked with mainstream organizations to help them provide better services to non-English speaking Chinese clients. In addition, SUCCESS also participated in advocacy activities, such as forming a special task force to pursue discussions on the publication of the Green Paper which contained proposed new immigration policies in the Citizenship Act. Volunteer development also started during this stage. The spirit of voluntarism, mutual help, and self-help was manifested through sponsoring refugees from Vietnam in collaboration with other Chinese ethnic organizations. As indicated earlier, all their programs and services were very popular.

Despite high popularity of the Society, SUCCESS encountered financial difficulty when the Chinese Connection Project came to an end in 1977. However, the Society did not disappoint their clients and decided to continue with their services. Board members, staff, and volunteers all worked together to overcome the difficulties and rebuild the Society. The rebuilding process ended by winning recognition from mainstream organizations in joining the United Way. This also marked the end of the Founding and Establishing Stage and the beginning of the Developing and Maturing Stage.

Stage Two: Developing and Maturing Stage of SUCCESS, 1979 to 1989

Unavailability of SUCCESS annual reports from 1980 to 1984 made it impossible to illustrate activities and events that took place during this period. Interviews with SUCCESS's past Chairs, Board members, and executive directors reveal that a steady increase of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong came to Vancouver. Also during the second stage, many early Chinese immigrants moved out of Chinatown and settled in South Vancouver areas. These demographic changes more than anything else had an impact on the general development of SUCCESS during this period.

Restructuring Program and Services

In the 1984-1985 SUCCESS Annual Report, Angela Kan, Executive Director of SUCCESS from 1977 to 1986, highlighted two important decisions made in 1984 that had a long-range impact on the growth of SUCCESS. The first was the introduction of a Policy and Procedural Manual for the Society; the second was the change of staff structure. Kan claimed that a Policy and Procedural Manual would help the Society function more effectively and efficiently and lighten the burden of the increasing demand for orientating new Board, staff, volunteers, and active members of the Society. Kan also pointed out that "the change of staff structure is both necessary and timely for the Society" (p.6). However, it was a painful and slow

process because human working relationships were very delicate. It took almost a year from the time when the idea was conceived to the final implementation and new job descriptions.

Under the new structure, program and services were coordinated under four major program areas: 1) Settlement/Public Education and Citizenship; 2) Family and Youth Services; 3) Volunteer and Membership Development; and 4) Language and Vocational Training. Kan assured people that SUCCESS would continue to serve the community more fruitfully and effectively. She stated that "there will be new outlook, vigour, dedication and new leadership emerging from staff members" (p.6).

According to Kan (1985) the common theme in 1985 for all program areas was 'public relations' and 'networking.' She claimed that "[w]e will strengthen our working relationship with government departments and service organizations. With the Chinese community, we will initiate more contacts with clan associations, Chinese churches and other groups" (p.7). She also highlighted plans for a few programs in 1985. She noted that in 1985 there would be more activities run for and by youth. The Youth Committee would organize 4 major activities in celebrating the International Youth Year - a leadership training workshop, a youth Festival, a youth conference, and a newsletter on youth. Subject to the approval of funding, they would increase their programs for immigrant women which was greatly needed, but somewhat neglected in the past. With the alarming rate of unemployment and underemployment among immigrants, she felt an urgent need to explore the feasibility of an expanded language and vocational training program at SUCCESS.

The Kingsway Community Outreach Project: First Outreach Project of SUCCESS

Andrew Lai, Chair of SUCCESS from 1984 to 1985, pointed out in the 1984-1985 SUCCESS Annual Report that, besides providing information and referral services, SUCCESS also offered help and advice on crime prevention and health, manpower and legal information, and numerous other social services. The new steps taken by SUCCESS in 1984 included the new program for youth at risk, the Kingsway Community Outreach Project, the Friendly Visit Program, among others. The Kingsway Community Outreach Project was the first of its kind in SUCCESS. It marked a very important step for the development of SUCCESS outside Chinatown. Lai called the Society "a real necessary social service in our Chinese community," and "the conscience of our community" (p.5).

Purpose of Kingsway Community Outreach Project

Kingsway Community Project was an outreach project that aimed at developing a sense of community and encouraging community participation among Chinese-Canadians in the

Kingsway neighbourhood. Nicholas Lo, current Program Director of Finance and Asset Management at the time of this interview, started to work on the Project in 1984 as a staff member and later became the program manager. He stated that in the 1980s the Kingsway and South Vancouver areas became the second largest Chinese community outside Vancouver Chinatown. They felt the need to reach out to this group of people. Lo explained:

According to government statistics, we found out that lots of Chinese speaking people choose to move out of Chinatown area and live in another part of Vancouver. And according to statistics, around 18 to 23% of local residents are Chinese speaking in the Kingsway area. That is why we want to start some services in that area to see whether it is necessary to have a branch office so that people don't need to take a long trip to Chinatown office to get the service they needed.

I also explored the creation of the Kingsway Community Project with Angel Kan. She explained that this Community Project was one way to diversify their services.

Our office was pretty well used up. We felt that Chinese no longer just lived in Chinatown, we had to diversify, to move away. Another location we saw at that time was South Vancouver. We didn't have much money, so we started out one in Joyce-Kingsway area because it's cheaper, then moved to Fraser [Street]. It's also partly because there was some federal money that went by political ridings.

Kan also commented that the Kingsway Project was not a unanimous decision. She discussed the debate over this project among two groups of people. One group of people argued that the Society should extend its services to where people were. Kan contended that clients should take some efforts to get the services. They should not be 'spoon' fed.

We debated quite a bit about moving out. Depending how you see it, it took us quite a number of years before we decided to move. There are 2 schools of thoughts, one group of people think we will go wherever they[clients] are, maybe even another street. Among the staff we debate quite a bit even about opening hours. I remember we were having direct service confined to office hours, and then we open one Saturday afternoon. Some people felt, "Oh no, we have to open. Whenever people come by, we provide the service; whenever people call us, we just answer the phone, answer what they need." I personally feel the clients have to be responsible somehow as well. If they want the service, they have to pay certain price. It cannot be that convenient. That's why again I say that we help them to help themselves. It's not when they need something, we just immediately give, we immediately spoon feed.

Programs and Services

According to the 1984-1985 SUCCESS Annual Report, the activities of Kingsway Community Outreach Project included: publication of a monthly Community Calendar in Chinese introducing community events that took place in the neighbourhood; publication of a

Community Resources Directory in Chinese introducing service agencies and their programs that operated for residents of Kingsway; organizing community events and workshops; and organizing classes and interest groups such as pre-citizenship classes, survival English classes, women's group etc. Lo noted:

The first thing is settlement service. We provide direct information and referral services. We provide some information on community resources to our clients, we help them to fill out forms, write letters to government. We also provide some interpretation services to local government agencies. We provide interpretation for our clients for applying UI or SIN no. in the employment centre, and we also conduct some community events such as workshops, seminars, and we also organize some interest groups, some mutual support groups for women and some new immigrants.

According to Lo, most of the funding for this Project came from the federal government although they had to raise money for some programs by themselves.

Most of the funding came from the government, but we also have our own classes. We conduct some English classes, some interest classes to generate some funds to support our services.

The Project Became Its First Branch Office

Having served the community in neighbourhood houses and community centres for one year, the Project moved to Fraser Office in 1985 and developed into SUCCESS's first branch office in 1986. The Project continued to provide settlement services, direct information, and referral services. Lo recalled that in 1989 Fraser Office got funding to offer employment programs and job training. It opened a new area for SUCCESS. Lo commented:

The major change is in 1989, we got a chance to start some employment programs. We got funding from the federal government for the job finding program. We started a youth at risk employment program. We started the women's employment training program. After that, we focused our employment training and settlement service in Fraser Office.

Lo also talked in detail about the employment program, which consisted of specific skills training as well as general orientation for job seekers.

We have the job finding club, orientation for job seekers. We have some skill training programs, computerized accounting, office skills training. We also have a program called floor covering installation training program. We teach some people how to lay carpet and install hardwood floor, or ceramic tile, very practical job training program. And we also have a computer assembling program, alarm system installation program, travel agent program, medical office assistant and hotel front desk reception training program, etc.

Change of Executive Director

In 1986, SUCCESS experienced a major change. In June 1986, Angela Kan, the

Executive Director of SUCCESS, was appointed Citizenship Court Judge for the British Columbia/Yukon region. Sandra Wilking (1986), Chair of SUCCESS from 1985 to 1987, stated that "With this appointment, Canada in particular British Columbia and the Yukon, was to gain the tremendous experience and expertise of an individual who has devoted herself to ten years of active community work" (p.2). Unfortunately, Wilking continues, the Society lost "a committed, innovative and hardworking executive director" (p.2).

The search for a new Executive Director for SUCCESS was a difficult and lengthy process. They searched for a replacement not only in Vancouver, but across Canada, the United States, and Hong Kong. Since this was a crucial position for the organization, the Board of Directors believed that they needed an individual "who has management skills, social work experience and a person who could meet the future challenges facing our society" (Wilking, 1986, p.2). In the interim, the Society was well serviced by the acting Executive Directors: Sharon Boyce, Rita Kwan, and Shirley Leung; the Coordinators: Nicolas Lo, Roger Tsui, K.C. Ng, Margaret Carmo; and all the program staff.

In the 1988 Annual Report, Eugene Lee, Chair of SUCCESS from 1987 to 1989, had this to say about the new Executive Director, Lilian To. Lee reported that To had performed remarkably in the first few months of her work in leading the staff and the Society. Her dedication and perseverance were unparalleled and the rapport that she had with the staff and the Board of Directors created stronger morale and a sense of unity. The Executive Director Search Committee had high expectations when interviewing for this position, Lee said, and "we most certainly are satisfied with the results" (p.4).

Advisory Council

The Advisory Council was formed in 1975. Its function was to advise the Board and to make connections. The Council usually met four times a year. Many Council members came from mainstream society. K. C. Li was the Chair from 1975 to 1981. He explained that the Advisory Council helped the Society join the United Way and the Vancouver Foundation.

In the third year, we formed an Advisory Council. I was chairing it. The Council members are from the major society, representing different groups. There are 10 people in the Council: a judge from Citizen's Court, an Alderman from the City, high profile people from the Chinese community, a professor from UBC. The function was to advise the Board, but the true function was to get the connections. They helped SUCCESS in negotiating with other agencies. These people are well known. They have the prestige. It's the Advisory Council who got us into the United Way, into Vancouver Foundation. These are very historical breaking things. Those are the two major achievements I am really proud of.

According to Li, the Advisory Council was folded in 1987 because SUCCESS had attracted strong Board members and the Advisory Council was not needed. Furthermore, the Board did not want anyone to look over their shoulders. He commented:

The Advisory Council stopped functioning in 1986, but it was officially folded in 1987. It folded because gradually the Society was able to attract strong members on the Board. People felt there wasn't any need for the Advisory Council. The year before it's officially folded, there was some negative feeling about the Advisory Council being interfering with the Board. What happened was that at that time we have some trouble, disagreement between the Chair and Board members, threatening the security of our Society. The Advisory Board had a meeting and tried to resolve the conflict. The conflict was eventually resolved, but the Board felt unhappy. They don't want anyone to look over their shoulders. So it's folded.

Financial Difficulty

SUCCESS faced a financial challenge in 1986. In the 1986 SUCCESS Annual Report, Sandra Wilking, Chair of SUCCESS from 1985 to 1987, stated that the Board was forced to make the very difficult decision of cutting back their administrative staff and one program staff person, and to commit themselves to raise approximately \$100,000 through their own fundraising activities, such as fundraising dinner, raffle, donations, new members, and Walkathon. Wilking appealed to all quarters in the Society to help them meet this goal. She argued that "this challenge is coming at a time when the demand for our services are increasing and government funding at all levels are not expanding" (p.3).

Walk With the Dragon: Walkathon

In 1985, SUCCESS was successful in hosting its first Walk with the Dragon Walkathon event. It was jointly sponsored by SUCCESS and the United Way of the Lower Mainland. SUCCESS was thankful to Hong Kong T.V.B. (Television Broadcasting) and Hong Kong A.T.V. for having their stars come and support this special event. The Walkathon later became an annual event at Stanley Park, and one of the two major fundraising activities. Wilking thanked the Chinese Media for their continual support. She thanked the editors, reporters, producers, and management of *Chinese Times*, *Chinatown News*, *Sing Tao Daily*, CJUP, CJVB, COOP Radio, and Cathy Television. In her interview, Kan described how this event started. She also commented that the original purpose was to involve all the people in Vancouver, but in the end mainly Chinese participated.

In fact, Walk with the Dragon is very popular in Hong Kong. They do it once a year. They raise all the money to support all the social service organizations in Hong Kong. The governor goes out to walk with all the film stars. It's a very popular event among Hong Kong Chinese. I remember in 1984 or 1985, somebody from United Way

International came from the United State. He is a Chinese. He came as a consultant for the United Way of Lower Mainland, he said "Why don't we use some of the ways used in Hong Kong to raise money." That's how Walkathon started. In 1985, we had the first Walkathon. The United Way felt they didn't give SUCCESS lots of funding. They wanted to do a joint event. The original purpose of the event is to encourage not only Chinese to come out to walk, but everybody in Vancouver. The result is that only Chinese came out to walk. This is a little different from the original purpose, although Walkathon is one of the two major fundraising events.

In July 1988, the SUCCESS/United Way Walk With the Dragon Walkathon exceeded its fundraising goal of \$88,888, a record amount. The 4th annual "Walk With the Dragon" held in July 1989 at Stanley Park was attended by over 4,000 participants, and more than \$120,000 were raised. In order to express its appreciation for the United Way's involvement over the past 4 years in organizing this event, a donation was made to the United Way as a small contribution. Wilfred Wan, Chair of SUCCESS from 1989 to 1990, noted in the 1989 Annual Report that "[m]ore important is the cooperation which has existed between United Way and SUCCESS, which can set an example of an ethnic Chinese organization working with other organizations in the community" (p.7).

Unprecedented Organizational Growth

In 1984, the Board of Directors was increased to 20 members. Andrew Lai, Chair of SUCCESS from 1984 to 1985, reported that SUCCESS had made great progress in public relations, fundraising, and membership. For the first time, from the City of Vancouver, SUCCESS received a community services grant to address the serious personal and social problems facing the Chinese youth. At the annual fundraising dinner, they were happy to have the Minister of State Multiculturalism, the Honorable Jack Murta, who addressed the goals and issues of Multiculturalism.

In the 1988 SUCCESS Annual Report Lilian To, the Executive Director of SUCCESS, pointed out that "[t]he number of Chinese immigrants entering Vancouver has nearly doubled over the past year. Such changes were reflected both in the volume of our services and also in the demands for new approaches and direction" (p.8). In 1988 and 1989, SUCCESS saw unprecedented organizational growth. Meanwhile, the Society also faced challenges calling for "renewed vision, united commitment and flexibility to accommodate changes" (To, 1988, p.8). Engene Lee (1988), Chair of SUCCESS from 1987 to 1989, claimed that expanded programs and the demand for more services contributed to an annual budget which increased 50% over the last three years. In the 1989 Annual Report, Lilian To reported that with an influx of immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and students from China, SUCCESS provided more than 90,000

service contacts for over 40,000 clients in 1989, reflecting an increase of almost 50% in service demand. Lee projected further controlled growth as individuals, community groups, and the government asked the Society to respond to the ever changing needs and demographics of the Chinese community.

Lee stated that SUCCESS was proud to play a major role in helping these people become a living part of the larger Canadian community through settlement, adaptation, and integration services. While many of these may be repeating clients or ongoing services, this was truly impressive when the Chinese community itself was only approximately 150,000 that time.

In the areas of programs, the emphasis in 1988 and 1989 was on strengthening and improving the quality of its programs and services. Lilian To was studying how its slate of programs could be further enhanced through professional development of its staff and increasing the efficiency of the delivery of its programs.

In 1988, SUCCESS sponsored a Meet Your MP Candidates meeting and co-sponsored a Civic All Candidates meeting prior to their respective elections. People at SUCCESS and the Chinese community as a whole were especially proud with the election to Alderman for the City of Vancouver of past SUCCESS Chairperson, Sandra Wilking. As the first female Chinese Alderman in Canada, the community visibly demonstrated its support for her principles and ideas.

Responding to Changing Needs: Expansion of Programs and Services

In late 1980s, SUCCESS continued to strengthen its programs and services in the four major sectors: Direct Services and Public Education; Volunteer and Membership Development; Language and Vocational Training; and Family and Youth Services. SUCCESS also sponsored or co-sponsored a number of community conferences and workshops including Parenting Workshop, 'One Step Forward' Youth Conference, Career and Community Conference, and Human Right Workshops. To respond to the changing needs of Chinese immigrants, SUCCESS also expanded its programs and services to the following areas.

Family and Youth Counselling Services

Detecting that professional family and youth counselling services were urgently needed to address family adjustment difficulties and youth versus parenting problems in the Chinese community in Vancouver, SUCCESS developed new Family and Youth Counselling services in 1988. The funding for this program came from the Vancouver Foundation. Efforts were made to ensure quality assurance and service effectiveness, and all the three counsellors employed had master's degrees in social work, counselling, or psychology together with extensive experiences

in the field. The spectrum of service provision included individual and family counselling, parenting groups and workshops, family life education programs, and lay counselling training. In the area of youth services, school outreach programs and youth counselling services augmented the street youth work approach. To stated in the 1988 Annual Report that "we have witnessed strong positive responses from the community, schools and other service agencies concerned" (p.8).

Angela Kan commented on the importance of providing direct counselling in Chinese versus counselling in English through an interpreter.

Counselling is different from translation. Translation is needed when a social worker is counselling a person, the interpreter translate what the counsellor said. It's so hard because you talk about emotions. Sometimes the client may cry. That was something MOSAIC could not supply. We had tried pairing up with Family Services, but still SUCCESS's role was doing interpretation. We said we cannot do it that way, we have to have direct counselling. Among the Chinese community, there are a lot of social workers, a lot of qualified people with master's degree in social work and counselling. Why can't you provide some money to us to start a service that is more direct and effective rather than Caucasian counselling a Chinese? There are a lot of things lost when you talk about emotions, talk about family relations. That's the time we start to have the listening ear of the provincial government and it depends on the political party. We can sometimes play games with the government, too.

Employment Programs

According to To (1988, p.8), another challenge in the area of service accessibility was problems of employment. Many immigrants had difficulties securing employment as they lacked local experience and adequate job searching skills. Many of them often ended up unemployed or underemployed, thus wasting their trained job skills and experiences and aggravating their family and adjustment difficulties. In 1988, with funding support from the Federal Government Employment Centre, SUCCESS developed an employment counselling and job finding club program aimed at encouraging employment accessibility and assisting the immigrants to integrate into the existing job market.

Thomas Yeung, Program Director of SUCCESS Employment Training Services, stressed the significance of employment training programs in assisting immigrants with their adaptation and integration. He also described the variety of programs they offered.

SUCCESS's mission is committed to help new immigrants to settle here. Without getting a job won't be able to help immigrants to settle here in Canada. Our service starts off by helping clients to upgrade their English, and then help them to find a job. A lot of clients do not know how to prepare their resumes and how to perform in a job interview. Our employment services start in that particular area, so job searching skill, English upgrading, and resume writing are our initial services in the old days.

Angela Kan commented that other immigrant service agencies such as MOSAIC and Immigrant Service Society also started such programs during this time. She was pleased to see support finally come from the federal government to help immigrants in this area. She stated:

When I left SUCCESS, there were two things I told SUCCESS to pursue. That was in 1986. One is to pursue some money to go into family counselling[...] The second thing was, MOSAIC and Immigration Services Society (ISS) already had some money to go into employment training, I said this is going to be a trend. I remember ISS was doing hospitality training, like a course of six months. People learn English in the morning and in the afternoon go into a hotel to be chamber maid, to do practicum, that sort of thing. I said these are the two new directions you have to work on. When I left, SUCCESS had about 20-30 staff members. MOSAIC and Immigration Services were the same, 20-30 staff members. MOSAIC was really the first one to get money for employment. They had started another branch, mainly for training because employment money is a big chunk of money. It's a very rich program. They called job creation and training. That means after 10-20 years of lobbying, the government finally agreed, that in the long run, if they train these people, give them the chance to learn the language to learn the skill, then you don't need to care for them forever. It was the beginning when I left.

The Establishment of the Richmond Office

In response to increasing demands for services, SUCCESS took two new initiatives in 1989. In an attempt to further service accessibility and improve service delivery, the hours of direct service operation were extended to cover the whole day and lunch time starting from January 1989. In the Summer of 1989, SUCCESS opened its third office in Richmond. According to Wilfred Wan (1989), Chair of SUCCESS from 1989 to 1990, this new office immediately attracted over 150 volunteers and quickly became an important part of the rapidly expanding new immigrant Chinese community in Richmond, offering, among other things, career consultation and job referral services. To (1989) reported that in 1989 "this newly established Richmond service centre succeeded not only in meeting service needs of local residents but also in establishing bridges and linkages for Chinese immigrants in Richmond area" (p.8).

During the interview, Wan explained that the reasons for establishing the Richmond Office were twofold: to meet the needs of immigrants in Richmond and to satisfy funding requirements.

I think it was twofold. First, there was demand, and there were more and more Asian immigrants coming into the Vancouver area and a lot of them settled in Richmond. Another reason was that SUCCESS is basically a sub-contractor of the federal government in immigration settlement. When we received grants from the federal government, they have some locational requirements. I believe at that time, these locational requirements insisted that we open up offices in Richmond and in South Vancouver.

Assisting Chinese Students

In June 1989, the students' movement in China necessitated abrupt involvement of SUCCESS. After consultation with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the Canadian International Development Agency, SUCCESS quickly set up emergency services to assist Chinese nationals in British Columbia in dialogues with Employment and Immigration Canada for temporary work and residency privileges. A hot line was set up, emergency financial assistance applications were processed, classes in English language and job finding skills were held. SUCCESS also assisted several of them in finding accommodation with host families. A first child was actually born to a Chinese couple in the custody of their host family. All in all, SUCCESS assisted over 1,500 Chinese nationals and students while assuring them of complete confidentiality, and they were grateful for the trust that they bestowed on the Society. SUCCESS took pride in playing a meaningful role in assisting these fellow Chinese residents in need, in a non-political and non-partisan spirit.

Wan explained further about this involvement in the interview. He commented that SUCCESS never looked back at the "vocal, visible and strong position" they took on the Tian'anmen Square issue. According to Wan, their action was "on humanitarian basis," "totally non-political."

Tian'anmen Square, before that time, before 1989, SUCCESS always had an image of lying very low and not wanting to say anything and to take a position on any issues, because it tried very hard to restrict itself to be non-political and non-partisan and in a nutshell, very neutral organization. But Tian'anmen Square was such an issue that we felt that no Chinese, whether overseas or in Asia or any Canadians of Chinese descent and Chinese heritage, could ignore what happened at Tian'anmen Square. That is why we actually came out and took a very vocal, visible and strong position on Tian'anmen Square. But our position was very well warranted in that we took the same position as the Canadian government on humanitarian basis. It was totally non-political. Since then SUCCESS has never looked back.

Two Big Projects

As a result of its expanded services and new undertakings, the number of staff and volunteers at SUCCESS increased substantially. One of the most important priorities ahead would be to identify and move into more permanent and more functional premises. Eugene Lee (1988), Chair of SUCCESS from 1987 to 1989, reported that in 1988 the Board of Directors approved in principle the go ahead for studies and negotiation for a permanent SUCCESS Social Services Complex and Extended Care Facility. According to Lee, this project was expected to take about 3 years in the planning and another 1.5 years to design and build. Lee noted that "[i]t

is with great optimism that we see this project becoming a reality and fulfill the dreams of the many members and patrons of SUCCESS" (p.6).

In the Summer of 1989, a unanimous resolution was passed at Vancouver City Council to agree in principle that the City would grant a long term lease on its land at Boundary Road and William Street in East Vancouver for the construction of a 75-bed extended care facility. The Board of Directors specially thanked the Mayor and Council for this commitment and assured them that they would try their best to make the project a reality within a few years. Public funding and substantial private fund-raising would be required.

Advocacy and Fighting for Social Justice

During this period, besides aforementioned programs and services, SUCCESS also spent large amount of time on advocacy and fighting for social justice. Angela Kan explained how difficult it was to change people's attitude in these days.

In the early days, it was very difficult because the community was not prepared. The host country is not prepared. We have to really convince them, change them, from the government, the laws, police laws, citizenship laws, driving laws, and also convince them it is important that in your own organization, you hire people who know the culture, who speak the language, not just always come to use SUCCESS. I also talked to the media, that's where we fight for civil justice. The media was not very sympathetic, a lot of time when they talk about Chinese community it was just drugs and gangs.

Angela Kan also discussed two incidents in which SUCCESS participated. One was the W5 incident, the other one was the Dim Sum Diary incident.

We were talking about W5 incident. The CTV, because of Campus Giveaway that particular incident has spread across the country, and they were portraying these foreign Chinese taking over the campus of Canadian universities. In fact, all those who were interviewed were local borns, second or third generations. CTV didn't do their homework well. They had to apologize. I remember there were many conferences, workshops dealing with racism in the media. We had to speak out.

There were a few others like W5. There was a Dim Sum Diary. In fact, it was written by a local born Chinese who got the information. It was also stereotyping Chinese like playing Mahjong. In the mid 1980s, there were a lot of talks about monster houses, cutting down trees by Chinese, there were quite a bit of write-ups. I think at that time the host country is gradually moving from discrimination in a sense looking down on Chinese to jealousy. They were threatened because everywhere is Chinese, they are buying big houses, they are driving nice cars. In the 1950s and 1960s, in the older days Chinese were only working in the kitchen, restaurant, laundry, labour jobs, but now you start seeing all these Chinese really wealthy and occupying nice house, good positions – engineers, bankers, and all this. The sentiment is really from looking down, despising your yellow race to jealousy. Jealousy is being really threatened, being intimidated. "Wow, these people are taking over." That sort of mentality.

According to Kan, it was against Chinese culture to speak out and fight. She also stated that to live and grow in this society, they had to learn to do so.

I was saying that it was not my nature and culture to speak out. When I came in 1975, I had to learn all the skills, how to speak out, how to confront others, how to fight and lobby for changes. It was really against our nature. The Chinese were brought up in old girls' school. We are not supposed to speak to the back of your elders. It's a whole process that we who work in the social service have to grow in order to have those skills to fit into this community. We were not used to it.

Reward and Recognition from the Community

SUCCESS's dedication and compassion to help immigrants, and its commitment to community development, began to win recognition from the Chinese community and society at large. During this stage, SUCCESS received a number of awards from the Chinese community. It also became a member of the Vancouver Foundation.

Recognition from the Chinese Community

Community Service Award. On Canada Day 1980, in recognition of its distinguished services to the Chinese community, SUCCESS was presented the year's community-service award by the Chinese Benevolent Association. Yeung et al. (1980) called it "the most significant moment for the Society" (p.4). They continued to argue that "no other recognition gives an organisation a greater pleasure than that offered by the community to whom it owes its existence." This clearly demonstrated the importance of this award and recognition of the excellent work done by SUCCESS.

A Certificate of Merit. SUCCESS was distinguished as a citizen organization not only due to its broad community roots, but also by the active participation and high calibre of its volunteers who constituted the core of the organization. In the year of 1989, volunteers contributed over 30,000 hours of service and helped raise funds to cover 60% of its total budget, not to mention their other invaluable contributions of the Board, committees and programs servicing the larger community. To (1989) ensured people that "SUCCESS service provision will not be synonymous with bureaucracy and that professionalism seeks to support but not displace the strategic key role of volunteerism" (p.8).

SUCCESS's role as a leading agency in social services in the Chinese community in Vancouver was well established. In 1986, the Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver bestowed a great honour to SUCCESS by awarding it a Certificate of Merit in recognition of the work SUCCESS had done. Wilking (1986) stated that "we are grateful for their vote of confidence and will continue to do our best for the community" (p.4). She also said: "We also

look forward to continued cooperation between the two organizations. We also welcomed the support and opportunity to work with the Chinese Cultural Centre and other community organizations and agencies" (p.4).

Becoming a Full Voting Member of the Chinese Canadian National Council. It was a significant achievement that during 1989 SUCCESS became a full voting member of the Chinese Canadian National Council, a national Chinese Canadian organization with 28 member chapters across Canada. Periodic exchanges were made with other chapters to enhance a close working relationship on matters affecting all Chinese Canadians.

Joining the Vancouver Foundation

In 1985, SUCCESS joined the Vancouver Foundation. SUCCESS's fund with the Vancouver Foundation reached a capital base of \$60,000 in 1986. Its first year's commitment of \$25,000 was matched equally by the Vancouver Foundation in December 1986. In October 1989, the Vancouver Foundation SUCCESS Endowment Fund reached a balance of \$160,000. K. C. Li and Angela Kan discussed the significance of this new development. Li was very proud of SUCCESS becoming a member of the Vancouver Foundation. He claimed that this was "another landmark for SUCCESS."

Vancouver Foundation was another project I completed while I was the Chair [of the Advisory Council] with the help of Tim Lee and John Campbell, two advisors. The Vancouver Foundation is the most prestigious charity organization in BC. To get into there is another landmark for SUCCESS. To get into the Foundation, what we do is we set up a SUCCESS endowment fund in the Foundation. We put money into the Foundation and the money will be there forever. We get interest from the fund which is a regular income forever. To SUCCESS, that's another regular income, another staff.

According to Kan, SUCCESS never thought of becoming a permanent organization before joining the Vancouver Foundation. She commented that this event indicated that SUCCESS would commit to serving immigrants permanently.

Vancouver Foundation, when you join a foundation or set up a foundation, you don't use the money, you only use the interest. If you only have \$1 million fund, you probably only get \$10,000 a year. You use money to make money. You don't use up the principal. By joining Vancouver Foundation it means, that was in 1985, compared with 1975, 10 years before then, SUCCESS has never thought of becoming a permanent organization. When we have a SUCCESS endowment fund under Vancouver Foundation, that means there is a commitment there, that SUCCESS will never go out of sight. It will be a permanent organization. That means financially, SUCCESS is counting on the fund to grow.

Positive Review by the United Way

In August 1988, SUCCESS was the subject of an On Site Review by the United Way of the Lower Mainland. This intensive week long examination of the operations of the Society which involved all staff members and some Board members was conducted at the request of SUCCESS to determine its weaknesses and strengths. The United Way Review Committee completed their Review and presented a report indicating that in virtually all areas there were no weaknesses, and in fact highlighted particular strengths in programs and private fundraising.

A Mature and Well Recognized Organization

In the 1989 Annual Report, Wilfred Wan (1989) reported that "SUCCESS is now a mature and well recognized establishment after 16 years of operation" (p.7). He attributed this to the hard work put in by previous advisors, directors, life members, volunteers, and staff. Although the demand for its services was growing and became more complex, the staff members at SUCCESS along with its volunteers had quite capably proved themselves in serving their needs in the areas of settlement, adaptation, and integration services. Wan also stated that, after working with the staff of SUCCESS for 4 years, he came to realize that Lilian To and her staff were "social workers in the true meaning of the profession." They had always "tried their best, sacrificing their personal and family lives, to ensure that whatever task demanded of them will be dutifully fulfilled" (p.7).

Highlights of Stage Two

In her interview, Angela Kan highlighted some of the major development in SUCCESS when she was the Executive Director from 1977 to 1986. She identified some of the major events and achievements as joining the United Way and Vancouver Foundation, starting Walk with the Dragon Walkathon, and sponsoring Vietnamese refugees. She claimed that the most important was that the Society was "moving into the mainstream."

I think joining the United Way, joining the Vancouver Foundation, I forgot the dates, but those were the significant milestones, also starting the Walkathon, Walk with the Dragon. What still sticks in my mind is the scene that I am walking down Chinatown with another staff trying to figure out how much a family of Vietnamese refugees coming landed in Vancouver tomorrow, what are the things they need to set up a family. These are the things I still remember. I think the milestone as an organization is moving into the mainstream, which is important.

SUCCESS's Impact on Mainstream Society in the 1980s

In the interview with Maurice Copithorne, a Board member of SUCCESS from 1987 to 1988, I discussed the impact of SUCCESS on Canadian society at large in the 1980s. He

commented that it was not very obvious during this time, but he pointed out that he was impressed by the professional approach they adopted.

At least in those days it wasn't that obvious. Of course it has become a tremendous influential organization. In those days, they weren't doing things like organizing meetings for the Prime Minister to meet, which they have done in more recent years. As I recall, completely concerned with social welfare. Secondly, they had a number of professional social workers involved. It was a very professional approach and I was always impressed. We were being presented with plans which were well thought out, and which were carefully structured for the point of view of social welfare for their particular constituency. So I was impressed with their professionalism.

Summary of Stage Two

Demographic changes of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver in the 1980s contributed to the branching out of SUCCESS programs and services to Vancouver South and Richmond. It also restructured its programs and services under four areas: Settlement/Public Education and Citizenship; Family and Youth Services; Volunteer and Membership Development; and Language and Vocational Training. In late 1980s, there was a big increase of Chinese immigrants primarily from Hong Kong. Such changes were reflected both in the volume of its services and budget.

During this stage, SUCCESS held its first Walk With the Dragon Walkathon event in 1985, jointly with the United Way of Lower Mainland. Also in 1985, SUCCESS became a member of the Vancouver Foundation. The Society took pride in playing a meaningful role in assisting Chinese students in 1989 in a non-political and non-partisan spirit. Also during this time, the Board of Directors approved in principle the proposal to build a permanent SUCCESS Social Services Complex and Extended Care Facility for seniors.

Besides providing programs and services, SUCCESS did not forget its roles in advocacy and fighting for social justice. It participated in the debate over W5 Campus Give Away and the Dim Sum Diary incidents. The Society also strengthened its public relations, fundraising, membership, and volunteer development. As a result of its dedicated hard work and compassion, it won a number of awards and recognition from the Chinese community and community at large. Although its influence on mainstream society was not obvious at this time, it had become a well established organization by the end of Stage Two.

That being said, the development of SUCCESS during Stage Two was not without any difficulty. In June 1986, Angela Kan, the Executive Director of SUCCESS, was appointed Citizenship Court Judge for the British Columbia/Yukon region. After a difficult and lengthy search, the Society was pleased with the appointment of Lilian To as the new Executive Director

of SUCCESS. Also in 1986, SUCCESS faced financial challenge. The Society had to let some of its staff members go.

In sum, during Stage Two, SUCCESS experienced exciting developments. It well established itself as a social service agency with Chinese immigrants as its major clientele. It also started with reaching out to communities outside Chinatown. Stage Two marked the beginning of moving from the periphery to the centre. As Wilfred Wan (1989) put it, "SUCCESS is now a mature and well recognized establishment after 16 years of operation" (p.7).

Stage Three: Expansion and Transformation of SUCCESS, 1989 to 1998

As a result of the accomplishments of these past years and the strong support for the Society shown by the membership and the community, SUCCESS was in a position to strive for greater goals as well as further strengthen its base of programs and services. In the 1990s, SUCCESS strove to be well recognized within its community and beyond as an agency that guaranteed the provision of high quality professional social services with both variety and selective areas of specialization, that was managed well, and that retained the flexibility to respond to changing community needs.

During Stage Three, with 1997 approaching, Hong Kong people were worried about the returning of Hong Kong to China. Some of them found their homes in Canada, many of them residing in the Lower Mainland. The 1990s also saw many Mandarin speaking Chinese emigrating from Taiwan and Mainland China to Vancouver. They came from different linguistic backgrounds and their needs for services were different from immigrants from Hong Kong. The new demographic changes created more opportunities for SUCCESS to grow and expand on a much larger scale than the previous years. SUCCESS's branch offices expanded to ten from the original two in 1989 with many new services and programs. The Society made efforts in adjusting its nature of services to meet the changing community needs. In the 1990s, the whole Society was also involved in the construction of the New Social Service Building and the Multi-Care Centre for seniors.

Reorganization of Programs and Services

The Society started the decade with a quality assurance project, which was completed in August 1990 by a consultant with support from the Immigration Settlement Branch. Program standards were established, a built-in internal monitoring system was developed, and a staff performance evaluation system was also formulated. The implementation process took two years with a revised staff salary scale to reflect equity and accountability. Office automation was also initiated to develop a comprehensive management information system, which was crucial for

evaluation and planning purposes.

To achieve service relevance, effectiveness, and accessibility for the community, programs were re-organized into five major divisions: Settlement and Public Education; Group and Community Development; Family and Youth Counselling; Employment and Job Finding; and Community Relations and Resource Development.

Both the Fraser and Richmond Offices expanded with the addition of more office space to meet the growing demand for services. The Fraser Office was relocated to accommodate not only immigrant services, but also employment counselling, women's job training, and Youth Employment Training to provide at-risk youths with alternate employment opportunities. The Richmond Office added English classes and other group programs for new immigrants.

SUCCESS Advanced Training Institute

In the Settlement Services Division, increasing demands for English language training became apparent. With updated and revised curricula material and monitoring of instruction standards, ESL enrolment exceeded 250 encompassing both settlement language programs for women and other English training provisions in 1990. The Board approved an application in 1990 for SUCCESS to register as an advanced training institute with anticipated further developments in the training area. In June 1991, the Ministry of Advanced Training and Technology approved this application and registered SUCCESS as a Private Training Institute.

Moving from East Hastings to East Pender

The relocation of its Head Office in March 1991 from 449 East Hastings Street to 87 East Pender Street provided improved venue and facilities to ensure effectiveness of service delivery. A review of the relevance of existing programs showed apparent needs for expansion of its family and youth counselling services. The new provincial government initiative to fund direct immigrant settlement programs enabled the Society to develop additional counselling services in the Burnaby-Coquitlam and Richmond areas, and the Mandarin-speaking communities.

Endowment Fund Campaign

As part of the long term strategy to achieve financial stability, the Board of Directors passed the resolution in 1991 to renew the Endowment Fund by directing Life Members' donation to the Fund. An Endowment Fund Campaign Committee was immediately established, and the Campaign was greeted with much enthusiasm. In less than a year, over 100 joined as Life Members, bringing the total number to 260. Furthermore, the Society was greatly encouraged by the Vancouver Foundation for their generous matching grant of a \$150,000 over the next three years. This certainly was a greater contribution towards the realization of its goal

of \$1 million.

Immigrant Empowerment through Public Education

During the 1993 federal and municipal elections, SUCCESS hosted all-candidates meetings and educated the public on electoral procedures, especially for the many clients who had never experienced the right to vote. Other efforts to encourage citizens' participation included the coordination of community input in the Citizens' Forums regarding immigration and citizenship policy changes, provision of voters' registration services, organization of civic education workshops, and encouragement of community participation in the Vancouver City plans and forums.

Meeting Community Needs: Expansion of Programs and Services

Opening Burnaby-Coquitlam Office

According to Ip (1991), founding Chair and Chair of SUCCESS from 1990 to 1992, many new immigrants arriving in Vancouver made the outlying areas such as Burnaby, Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, Port Moody, and New Westminster their new homes. In order to better serve these new immigrants, SUCCESS opened a new service centre in Burnaby-Coquitlam in November 1991. This added to two other outreach offices SUCCESS opened in Vancouver South and Richmond areas in 1986 and 1989 respectively. It was a demonstration of its community-based approaches to ensure accessibility and establish bridges for Chinese immigrants in their local communities. Among other things, the new Burnaby-Coquitlam Office offered family and youth counselling, immigrant orientation programs, and English language training.

Ip (1991) called 1991 "indeed one of the best years in the history of SUCCESS" (p.7), with record-breaking results in fundraising, a 'localizing' approach of its services, new homes for its Offices, and the continual expansion of its programs. It had much to celebrate.

Host Programs

The Host Program was initiated in Coquitlam and Burnaby areas in 1991, with funding support from Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP). This program involved local Canadian families in the settlement process of new immigrants, sharing each other's cultures. Wai-Fu Mak, Program Director of SUCCESS's Tri-City Office, commented on how it worked:

We have a host program coordinator to identify new immigrants, and also identify local Canadians. They may not be just Caucasians. They may be from multicultural backgrounds. They have enough understanding of Canadian society, and they are kind enough to share their friendship, time and warmth. We match them up so that they can

make friends. Local Canadian families can help the new immigrants to familiarize with the community resources, make friends, visit employment centres so that they can find jobs, share with each other's cultures.

SUCCESS Annual Report (1991) recorded that in its first year, the program helped over 500 immigrants connect with Canadian hosts. The program proved to be a very effective vehicle in assisting new immigrants' settlement and facilitating constructive interaction between immigrants and citizens of diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Evergreen News for Seniors

Evergreen News started its publication in 1985. It was a well-accepted monthly seniors' newsletter that published 5,000 copies per month with free circulation in the Lower Mainland and overseas. In October 1991, the Evergreen News Club was formed by a group of energetic volunteers to work on membership recruitment/benefits and fundraising. More than 400 members had been recruited by the end of 1991, and \$40,000 were raised through membership dues.

Community Airport Newcomers Network - CANN

With the localized approach, SUCCESS launched the Community Airport Newcomers Network (CANN) on October 15, 1992 to receive landing immigrants at the airport. The original idea came from Employment and Immigration Canada (now called Citizenship and Immigration Canada). Extensive research and consultation showed a great need for a comprehensive post-landing/pre-settlement orientation and referral service for the sake of effective and efficient settlement. There was a call for proposal. A number of agencies submitted proposals and SUCCESS was selected. The project received funding from the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) of Employment and Immigration Canada as part of the 1991-95 Canadian Immigration Plan. This program was set up shortly after a similar program started at Toronto Pearson Airport. The purpose was to help new immigrants go through the landing procedures and provide them with basic information and referral services upon landing. Francis Chan, Program Director of CANN, explained:

There are 2 programs in the whole of Canada funded by the federal government. Around 1992, a program was started at the Toronto Pearson Airport, it was called the Immigrant Reception and Information Services - IRIS in short. The purpose of that program was to receive all landing immigrants and to help them go through the landing procedures. One year after the establishment of IRIS, the federal government also established a similar program in Vancouver, that was CANN.

CANN set up a multi-lingual kiosk at the Vancouver International Airport. With group and individual orientations granted in 14 different languages (the 14 languages are: English, French, Filipino, Mandarin, Cantonese, Fukienese, Taiwanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Persian, Turkish, Punjabi, Hindi, and Urdu), the kiosk provided direct services and referrals for general enquiries on site at the airport. The project provided a bridge for immigrants of many backgrounds to Canadian society. It provided newcomers with an opportunity for their crucial first point of contact before subsequent referral. The kiosk helped relieve the frustration and confusion of many newcomers arriving in Canada. As new immigrants awaited their landing papers to be processed by Immigration Officers, the airport reception team briefed them on Customs and Immigration procedures. Reception officers also assessed their needs and provided appropriate referrals. This program targeted as many internal flights as possible seven days a week passing through Vancouver. It roughly received and serviced 2,500 arrivals and immigrants in transit a month. According to the SUCCESS Annual Report (1992), the kiosk serviced 5,440 new immigrants from October to the end of December 1992.

Small Business Training and Development

With added duties and new immigrant needs, expansion at SUCCESS did not cease. As government policies had shifted its emphasis to business and skills oriented immigration, Greater Vancouver increased its intake of business and independent immigrants. A growing number of them required settlement services in business information and training to facilitate their economic contributions and integration. In response, SUCCESS conducted a feasibility study for a Small Business Training and Development Centre in 1993, and developed training programs to meet their needs. In 1995, SUCCESS formally launched this Centre located on West Broadway. Thomas Tam, Program Director of this Centre, discussed briefly the founding of this Centre. He commented that the purpose was to prepare immigrants to start a business and become self employed.

I was not here when the centre was formed. About five years ago, 1994-95, we have been running employment training services for a while. There is a need for people who want to start a business to become self employed. In 1993-94, the number of business immigrants increased significantly, and that is why the need arose. We have been checking the changing immigration trend and changing community needs. That is why at that time both the board and management have done a very brief study on the feasibility of setting a centre like this. We talk to the government, fortunately we got some support from both the federal and provincial governments at that time, so right away we started the centre.

Employment Training Programs

Furthermore, an immigration policy with an emphasis on independent immigrants required expanded Employment Training Programs, which aimed at integrating newcomers into the Canadian work environment. Along with programs for those with unemployment insurance, SUCCESS also set up Steps to Success, an employment program open to all newcomers needing Canadian work experience. A successful job placement rate of 80% to over 90% for its trainees testified to the effectiveness of service delivery.

Newcomers Integration Network for Tri-City: NINT

The Newcomers Integration Network for Tri-City (Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, and Port Moody) (NINT) began its operation on September 2, 1993. At that time, many immigrants from Korea and Iran settled in this area, and they had difficulties accessing programs and services from the mainstream. Their own ethnic communities could only provide them with limited support. SUCCESS got funding from the federal government to provide services for them. Wai-Fu Mak, Program Director of SUCCESS Tri-City Office, explained:

We start NINT program in 1993. The reason is very simple. At that time, we can see a lot of immigrants from Korea and Iran, they move to live in the Tri-City area. We set up a new program, and we apply funding from the government. They are very supportive, and they gave us funding so we can start the program. At that time, we recruit Korean workers, workers who can speak Korean and Farsi to serve this group of clients. We start providing new immigrant orientation classes. We provide direct services to them, translation and interpretation service. It is a new project, a very innovative one.

The NINT program was expanded later to service Polish immigrants and people from South America. Mak said:

Later on we can identify a lot of Polish speaking clients so we recruit a Polish worker to help them. We then identify a lot of immigrants from Central and South American countries so we hire a Spanish worker to help them. It just keep on growing.

Hence, this was a multicultural immigrant service program. According to Mak, this program was to meet the changing needs of the immigrant community in this area.

When the needs of the community change, we change our programs accordingly to meet the changing needs. That is the key. As I mentioned, they can't get the service from government or non-government sectors because of the language and cultural barriers. They come to us because we can provide bicultural and bilingual services to them.

The areas of services offered included: new immigrant orientations, public education programs, direct information and referral services, mutual help groups, multicultural volunteer training, translation and interpretation, settlement counselling, communication between

home/school and between home/agencies, and networks for parents. It had a language bank of 20 languages. Its service providers included a Korean settlement counsellor and a Farsi settlement counsellor. Over the first three months after the program started, NINT served more than 750 people from over 30 different countries. In the future, SUCCESS would develop more multicultural programs that could serve all language groups in the lower mainland.

Opening the Second Office in Richmond

As more Chinese immigrants settled in Richmond, a second office in Richmond at the Caring Place commenced operation in June 1994 as an integral service delivery network in coordination with 20 other local agencies.

Mandarin Service Centre

The early 1990s brought a considerable influx of Mandarin speaking immigrants mostly from Taiwan and Mainland China to the Lower Mainland. They called for increased services in Mandarin at the Society, particularly in the area of settlement services. In response, the Society hired and placed six Mandarin-speaking staff members in 1992 to provide Mandarin services and programs at each branch office. In addition, an Advisory Committee was established to address needs as well as program development for this group. As the population of Mandarin speaking residents in the Lower Mainland continued to grow, SUCCESS opened a Mandarin Service Centre in the Oakridge area in Vancouver in 1994. A second Mandarin Service Centre in Chinatown was established in July 1996 with support from the Hongkong Bank of Canada. This was a manifestation of a community based approach to ensure accessibility and establish bridges for Mandarin speaking clients in their local communities.

According to Mason Loh, Chair of SUCCESS from 1994 to 1998, the establishment of Mandarin service centres was not a unanimous decision. First, he commented on the debate over the necessity of singling out one language group and giving them preferential treatment. He argued that it was important to create space to make them feel comfortable and have a sense of belonging.

It wasn't easy to set up the Mandarin Centre. There was a lot of debate. The issues are: why do we need to single out one language group? We want to give them preferential treatment. On the other hand, there is an issue like, if we are serious about serving a particular group, we should try to make them feel comfortable, feel a sense of belonging. So, if the pragmatic way of doing it is to give them the sense of belonging, then do it. Back and forth there is a debate, and it is not easy. There are different points of views, eventually it was set up, and I am glad to see that. The second one wasn't as hard as the first one.

Loh also maintained that, although SUCCESS was originally set up by and for Cantonese speaking people primarily from Hong Kong, it should not restrict its programs and services to this group only.

Now I have a belief, and I share this with Lilian a lot of times, and with other board members and people in SUCCESS. Although SUCCESS was set up 25 years ago by people from Hong Kong, mainly Cantonese speaking people, and for the first 20 years mainly Cantonese speaking people – clients, staff, and volunteers, but I never believe SUCCESS should be restricted to Cantonese speakers or Hong Kong people, because our name is "Zhong Qiao Hu Zhu Hui [Chinese Immigrant Mutual Help Society]. "Zhong," we are talking about Chinese, Chinese from anywhere who speak different dialect. I never thought SUCCESS should be restricted in its scope. If we can go out and service the Polish, the Iranians, and Koreans, why can't we service people who speak different Chinese dialect? We should be able to do that even better, we should make an effort to try to reach out to whoever need the service.

Furthermore, Loh claimed that this would gain more support for SUCCESS and benefit its own development.

When we saw the immigration trend with increasing number of people from Taiwan and Hong Kong being levelling out, and China starting to happen, I just felt that, for its own development and also for the needs in the community, it is necessary for SUCCESS to branch out and to provide more and more Mandarin services. That's just my personal belief. I had always hoped, and I still hope, SUCCESS will develop towards that direction, and will not restrict its scope to one group of people geographically, or linguistically to one area. I hope SUCCESS encompass people, not just servicing the people who need the services, no matter where they come from, but also get support from people coming from different places.

That being said, Loh pointed out that having a separate centre for a special language group was only temporary and transitional. He hoped that in the long run everyone would be able to speak English, and that it would not be necessary to have such a centre.

Although I took the position all along it had to be set up, I believe in it, I don't have any disagreement with the people who were not supporting that idea initially, in the long run it should not be necessary. Altogether we don't need to have Polish centre, Mandarin centre, or Cantonese centre, and all that. In the long run, we should be able to work together, we are all able to speak English, so the language should not be hindrance to working together.

Loh predicted continuing growth of Mandarin services in the next ten years at SUCCESS. Eventually it may even grow stronger than services in Cantonese. Loh noted:

I personally see Mandarin services are going to be the biggest thing for SUCCESS in the next five to ten years. If the only people who speak Cantonese come from Hong Kong, even people from Guangdong Province speak Mandarin, we don't necessarily need Cantonese. If the Hong Kong immigration numbers start to really drop, then we don't

really need a lot of Cantonese abilities. We really need to have stronger Mandarin language capability to service the next wave of immigrants.

Loh admitted that he had not done enough in reaching out to the Mandarin speaking group when he was the Chair. He hoped the new Board and staff members would do more.

I haven't done enough myself when I was chair. I hope whatever I didn't do, the new board and staff will do more and better because the next wave of immigrants would mainly be Mandarin speakers. Unless SUCCESS can provide the services and make them feel a sense of belonging, a lot of them may not get the services that they need.

Loh also discussed specifically what could be done next to accommodate this special group. First, he commented that more Mandarin speaking staff members, volunteers, and Board members should be recruited.

Many things can be done, and many things need to be done. I just haven't been able to do it when I was the Chair. We need to have more staff members who can speak Mandarin, not just Hong Kong people. If you speak it with a heavy Cantonese accent, it turns off some people. We need to have not just staff members but volunteers from the Mandarin speaking community involving in SUCCESS at different levels, from simple volunteers to staff, to the Board, maybe community members as well.

Secondly, there should be increased collaboration with Mainland Chinese organizations and the media. Loh stated:

And also we need to work closer with some of the Mainland Chinese organizations here that are just starting to grow. At some point they will get bigger. SUCCESS needs to work together with them. SUCCESS does have the expertise, working together with these organizations can service the community better. And the media, SUCCESS needs to work closer with the media, and to make a conscious effort to reach out to those communities. olunteers.

1995-1996: A Challenging Year

During 1995-1996, SUCCESS was faced with tremendous challenges arising from shifts in community demographics, changes in government funding policies, and new dynamics in fundraising endeavours. The Society was required to raise major capital for the construction of the new Social Service Centre while also keeping a healthy operating budget in the face of government cutbacks and growing competition for community fundraising. The community was particularly enthusiastic in raising \$2.8 million for the new Social Service Centre through lottery, GM Place concert, and direct donations.

The greatest challenge during 1995-1996 was changes in government policies on employment training which resulted in the termination of almost all of government funded

employment and job-training programs for immigrants across the country. Consequently, funding for most of the highly successful employment training programs at SUCCESS was terminated by the end of March 1996, although these projects had achieved over 90% success rate for gainful employment. The Society initiated negotiations with the federal and provincial governments in collaborating with other immigrant service organizations to reinstate resources to ensure immigrants' access to labour market training and gainful employment.

Completion of the New Social Service Building

As alluded to earlier, in 1988 the Board of Directors approved in principle the proposal to build a permanent SUCCESS Social Services Complex. In 1992, Block 17 between the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Garden and International Village was slated by the City of Vancouver for possible development, and the Society hoped to acquire permission to build its new headquarters there. In the 1994-1995 Annual Report, Mason Loh, then Chair of SUCCESS, reported that the City of Vancouver had approved the construction of this \$5 million 26,000 square-foot Social Service Centre. With a large central facility, the agency expected to increase services with greater stability and efficiency.

The New Social Service Building was completed in the Fall of 1998. In his interview, Mason Loh talked about the construction of this building. He pointed out that the New Social Service Building took a lot of work, time, and planning. Many volunteers and Board members helped out, especially the current Chair, Wilfred Wan, who actually oversaw the construction of the building. It also involved a lot of fundraising, in total 5.4 million dollars within a period of three years. Loh explained:

You have to understand that the fundraising part was particularly demanding, because to raise 5.4 million dollars over three years was in addition to the normal fundraising requirements of the society. Normally, we have to raise about one million dollars net a year. Raising five and a half million dollars in addition to whatever else we were doing, that took a lot time and effort.

However, the construction of the new social service building was not a unanimous decision among Board members. Wilfred Wan, then Vice Chair of Long Term Planning and Development, who was overseeing the construction of the building, talked about the debate among the Board of Directors over this project. He commented that some people opposed the project because they were concerned about financial commitment.

Ten years ago, even the Board of Directors was divided right down the middle. Half of the Board wanted a permanent premise for ourselves, and the other half really did not because they were really afraid of SUCCESS having financial commitment. We are talking quite a few million dollars. On the opposition side, they also felt that SUCCESS

was a social service agency, and that its entire existence is contingent upon delivery of services, not owning real estate.

According to Wan, people who supported the project argued that SUCCESS needed the extra space for its expanded services. Furthermore, they were hoping that the new space would improve their working environment and create stability. Wan noted:

The other half who were in support of having our own building felt that we had no consistency, like we were renting space, we are almost like fly-by-night operations. SUCCESS's needs are ever changing, At that time, it was growing rather rapidly, we constantly grew out of the space we leased. And also because of funding issues, the entire operation of SUCCESS is based on government funding, which is renewed on a year to year basis. Most of our leases were matched with those government funding, we would not enter into any long term leases. We have a program for one year, and we lease the space for one year. Even for longer term leases, we have a provision that if any time government funding stops, we can get out of the lease. That being the case, landlords typically were not prepared to spend a lot of money on improving the space to make it nice. Most of our offices at that time were below the standard that we are in today. That is one thing. The other thing is to do with the traditional Chinese mentality of owning your own real estate to give it some permanence.

Having said that, Wan claimed that they were most grateful to the support of many Board members who participated actively in the fundraising, and to the City of Vancouver for leasing the land.

There were valid arguments on both sides. But the biggest undertaking was, could we actually raise that kind of money? I was more encouraged when certain members of the Board came forward and undertook to raise the money. These were like Linda Wong, Allen Lai, Denny Gor. We were very lucky to have the support of several directors, past Board members, and past Chairs who came forward and undertook the fundraising. I believe fundraising was actually more important than building the building. Without money, this would not have happened[...] [A]t the early stage, one of the things we got very lucky was that the City of Vancouver agreed to give us the land on a 60 year lease for nothing. That could easily be three quarters of a million dollars of land value already. We got that. It became an easier sell to the opposing Board members. Since we got free land, why not take a good look at it and make a serious attempt? And that's what we did, they finally came around.

Loh also highlighted the significance of the completion of the new building. He pointed out that the new building was the first home for SUCCESS.

There are two significance to that building. First, this is the first home. I said that at the opening ceremony, this is the first home for SUCCESS after 25 years. When I said home, it's a home to the people who work at SUCCESS and the volunteers.

Secondly, the completion of the new building signified permanence and long-term

stability for the Society. Loh stressed that SUCCESS had changed from providing settlement services to a full range of services.

Further significance is that this organization is here to stay for a long time. In the past 25 years, there have always been questions about SUCCESS's mandate and its permanence[...] I think that building signifies something more than that. SUCCESS is no longer just an immigrant service organization, it is a full service, social service, it provides a full range of social services. Whether immigration numbers are up or down, the many facets of the services are still needed. For example, we were talking about family counselling, employment training, advocacy, and community development, now we are talking about health care and education. Those are needed no matter what[...] I think it is high time that we do have the facilities to enable the organization to do the work it is doing, and will most probably branch out to do even more.

The Society could now benefit more from this new building. Wilfred Wan argued that in the long run, the new building would save the organization rental money and property taxes, and that the money saved could go to their general operating fund.

The federal government typically in its program funding gives us money, and part of it goes to space. In the previous situation, we have to pay rent to outside landlords. In this case, we do the program, we keep the rental portion of the grant, and it goes towards our general operating fund. I believe we saved money. And the other thing is as a charity organization which owns its own real estate, we are exempt from property taxes. If we rent space, we have to pay property taxes. If we own space, we don't. That is a huge saving as well.

Wan also pointed out that the completion of the new building meant a symbol of pride and a sense of belonging. Seniors and youth would gain the most from this new building by having their own space.

It is also a symbol of pride, and it gives people a sense of belongings. One of the biggest gains is the creation of the senior's centre. In the past, we had no space for seniors. They were running from one space to another, depending on availability. In this building, we gave them their own space and kitchen. In our next project, we may even have additional space for them. That was one of our best gains in this new building. The same goes for a centre for the youth, which we dedicated the space to as well.

Progress with the Multi-Level Care Facility Project

The Multi-Level Care Facility Project in Chinatown was approved by the Board at the same time with the New Service Building. At the time when this research was being conducted in 1999, it was still in the planning and preparation process. However, the Society had made progress with it. In the 1994-1995 Annual Report, Mason Loh, then Chair of SUCCESS, reported that the Provincial Government had approved the construction of the \$12.2 million, 108-bed Multi-Level Care Facility to serve a growing population of seniors. Both Loh (1995)

and To (1995) projected further organizational expansion with the completion of this project and the New Social Service Building.

Wan commented on some of the hurdles they encountered in constructing the Multi-level Care Facility. He claimed that the biggest one was to secure provincial funding.

A lot of hurdles, but I believe we've overcome most of them. The biggest hurdle was trying to pin down the provincial funding. When the project was conceptualized almost 10 years ago, the original budget was \$11.2 million. The province decided to give us the money instead of the other organizations because we committed to put \$1 million towards the cost. But so many years have passed, the budget has now increased to \$16.5 million with the province putting out \$15 million and we put out \$1.5 million. But this \$1.5 million already includes 3000 sq. ft. adult day care centre and all of our underground parking, some infrastructure costs that we had to go into. I think we got a good deal.

Driving Forces Behind the Expansion

The above discussion has made it clear that Stage Three was characterized by the expansion of programs and services at SUCCESS. Special efforts were made to explore the forces which drove its expansion during this period. Mason Loh attributed the driving forces to increasing service demands from newly arrived immigrants, trust and support from the government, plus professional expertise of its staff members. First, he commented on the demographic changes, which created more service demands.

I think the expansion came about as you said external environment changes and also internal conditions. The external environment, socially politically we have influx of immigrants. The peak year we had immigrants coming to Canada was in 1995-96, and it has been dropping since 1998. Just around that time, we had the largest number of immigrants arriving in Canada who require our services. So it was necessary to meet that service demands to expand.

Secondly, the government bestowed its trust and support on SUCCESS, and invited them to expand its programs and services. Loh stated:

And politically, we enjoyed significant support from government. One of the examples was government coming to us and says: "SUCCESS, can you service non Chinese programs?" That is a trust from the government. That is just one indication, and there are many other indications wanting SUCCESS to take on a bigger role and give us the funding, or gave us suggestions for the things we can do. Socially and politically, it was the right environment, and there was a need to do it.

Thirdly, within the organization itself, its dedicated and capable staff members and CEO made the expansion possible. Loh commented:

When the service needs are there and when the government wants us to help out, we have the talents, we have the professional expertise. If we have the resources, we should meet

the needs, if the needs are there. Everything sort of came together. Internally, we have the talents, we have the professional expertise. Lilian is an excellent CEO, totally committed to SUCCESS and community services. She leads an excellent team. When you put those elements together, it is natural we grew during that time period.

A Holistic Multi-Service Agency

After serving the community for 25 years, SUCCESS had developed into a holistic multi-service agency providing a comprehensive array of programs and services based on community needs. By the end of Stage Three, its programs and services came into six groups: Community Airport Newcomers Network; Settlement and Public Education; Group and Community Services; Family and Youth Counselling; Employment and Job Finding; and Community Relations and Development.

All these programs and services were delivered through its headquarters in Chinatown and eight other branch offices in Greater Vancouver: Vancouver International Airport Reception Services, Chinatown Mandarin Service Centre, Fraser Office, Cambie Mandarin Service Centre, Small Business Development and Training Services, Richmond Office, Burnaby-Coquitlam Office, and Tri-City Office.

According to Mason Loh, SUCCESS was no longer just a community group. It had become one of the institutions of Vancouver. He commented:

Today it [SUCCESS] is no longer just a community group. I think you can safely say that it's part of the institutions of Vancouver. SUCCESS is large enough. When it does something, it is noticeable not just in the Chinese community, but in the mainstream as well.

Building Bridges on Both Sides

During the past years, SUCCESS had continued to build bridges on both sides. Regular consultations and presentations were made to schools, and parents and community groups to promote social awareness and inter-group relations. The Society had taken the initiative to cooperate with other agencies in joint workshops, conferences, and programs. Job Development staff were placed in 8 community centres and neighborhood houses in Richmond and Vancouver to develop 'bridging' services. The Board of Directors, staff, and volunteers continued to work with other organizations such as the Police, AMSSA (Affiliation of Multicultural Societies & Service Agencies of BC), the Multicultural Health Coalition, Canadian Ethnocultural Council, and other ethnic and community groups to address issues of multiculturalism, racism, employment equity, and media relations. The Society had also taken an active role in advocacy in the areas of immigration and social policies, health care policies, education policies, and the

family and child protection regulations. It was imperative for SUCCESS to continue the pursuit of community cooperation and advocacy to ensure the promotion of meaningful relationship between Chinese immigrants and Canadian system at large.

SUCCESS has maintained a very positive relationship with government and service agencies, and community groups. The Board of Directors of SUCCESS and staff members had been invited to serve on over 20 committees of the City Council, the School Board, government departments, and social service organizations.

Fighting for Social Justice

Mason Loh explained in detail some of the projects they did on advocacy and social justice. He commented that immigration was the major area in which they did advocacy. The main issues were related to Chinese immigrants from Taiwan and Mainland China. He stated:

The biggest area is partly to do with immigration, too. We noticed there were some inequities in immigration policies and procedures, so we speak out on that[...] We noticed unfair treatment for immigrants coming from China and Taiwan. For example, in Taiwan's case, Taiwan provides Canada with the second largest number of immigrants, but our Canadian office in Taiwan doesn't deal with immigration. However, all Taiwan applicants have to go somewhere else outside Taiwan to apply. It doesn't make sense. There are no political reasons for that, there is no justification, no diplomatic reasons, but it is done that way. We have been speaking up on that. We are not the only one. There are lot of Taiwanese organizations which have been speaking up with us[...] It's a question of fairness. If this is happening in England, I am sure the Canadian embassy in London will enlarge very quickly to deal with the flow, but why isn't it done in Taiwan? China is another problem. There is huge backlog, and there are lots of stories about unfair treatments of qualified immigrants coming to Canada. Those are immigration policies, but they also tie in with human rights and fairness issues.

Other areas in which they did advocacy work were police brutality and Chinese students' admittance to Canada. Loh explained:

Other human rights issues we have been dealing with are something like police brutality. The cases we have taken on are mainly ethnic Chinese who have been victimized by police brutality, and we have been trying to help out on that[...] The Chinese students issue is a really sticky one. We have been very upset with that, too. Canada accepts students from all over the world. Officially the government always says we welcome them, but this is not happening in China. We are putting up our road blocks to prevent Chinese students from coming to Canada to study, that is something I can't understand. We have argued with the immigration program manager in Beijing, and then in Hong Kong, and then the minister in Ottawa. They have fought us all the way, but we are pleased to see that although they won't admit it, but this year [1999] the numbers are gradually improving. They are starting to issue more visas to students from China.

Highlights of Stage Three

Mason Loh highlighted three areas which they spent lots of time in when he was the Chair of SUCCESS from 1994 to 1998. The first thing he mentioned was the planning and construction of the new social service building.

The building of the Social Service Centre which is our headquarter building, it's quite a major project. It involved a lot of fundraising. We raised about \$5.4 million to finish the building. We had to do it within a period of three years. That took a lot of work, a lot of time and planning, and a lot of effort from many volunteers.

The second area was the planning of the multi-level care facility for seniors. Loh explained:

The second thing was the planning for the multilevel care facility. We haven't started constructing yet, but there is a lot of groundwork that needed to be done. We have been negotiating with the provincial and municipal governments for that particular project, the province mainly. It looks like we should be able to break ground next year [2000] in the Spring. It's a very much needed project in the community because there are not enough facilities for Chinese seniors that are culturally sensitive.

The third area which they spent lots of time in was advocacy on government policies.

Loh stated:

The third thing that took a lot of time was advocacy, public affairs advocacy, on government policies, immigration policies, citizenship policies, also education policies, health issues, human rights.

Summary of Stage Three

The 1990s witnessed an influx of immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China. Among this most recent group, there were more business and independent immigrants than before. Their needs for services were different from their early counterparts. To respond to the new demographic changes, SUCCESS expanded its programs and services to business and employment training. They also set up special centres to accommodate the needs of Mandarin speaking immigrants. Furthermore, the Society extended its program and services to other ethnic groups.

Following the opening of its first two branch offices, Fraser and Richmond Offices during Stage Two, SUCCESS set up another 6 branch offices in Stage Three in order to meet the changing needs. By the end of Stage Three, it had developed into a holistic, multi-service agency providing a comprehensive array of programs and services based on community needs from airport reception to employment training. Its programs and services were categorized into six groups: Community Airport Newcomers Network; Settlement and Public Education; Group and

Community Services; Family and Youth Counselling; Employment and Job Finding; and Community Relations and Development.

Stage Three also witnessed the completion of the New Social Service Centre, home to its Head Office. To many people, this meant permanence and stability, a symbol of pride, and a sense of belonging. The Society had also made progress with the planning of the Multi-Level Care Facility for Seniors.

SUCCESS participated actively in community development, policy advocacy, and fighting for social justice. Its Board of Directors and staff members sat on over 20 committees of the City Council, the School Board, government departments, and social service organizations.

Stage Three was characterized by expansion and transformation. Its operation was no longer just confined to Chinatown areas and Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, and its programs and services were no longer just restricted to immigrant settlement services. It had developed into a multicultural and multi-level service agency.

Summary of Chapter 6

SUCCESS was founded in 1973 to help newly arrived Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong to overcome language and cultural barriers. Following its establishment, the Society successfully sponsored its first project, the Chinese Connection Project. Chapter 6 investigated the development of SUCCESS over the 25 year since its founding in 1973 to 1998. The investigation drew on document analysis and interviews with early founders of SUCCESS, former Board members, Chairs, and Executive Directors, and current Program Directors.

Its 25 years history was periodized in three stages: Stage One, from 1973 to 1979, was the founding and establishing stage of SUCCESS; Stage Two, from 1979 to 1989, was the developing and maturing stage; Stage Three, from 1989 to 1998, was the expanding and transforming stage. The examination of its 25 years history has demonstrated that during Stage One, SUCCESS established itself, and developed into a well-recognized immigrant service organization by the end of Stage Two. During Stage Three, the Society had transformed itself into one of the institutions of Vancouver and a multicultural, multi-level service agency.

SUCCESS was founded to bridge the gap between immigrants and mainstream social service agencies. Over the next 25 years, it had expanded from providing immigrant settlement assistance to include a whole range of programs and services, such as immigrant airport reception, language training, employment programs, small business development, family and youth counselling, public education, community development, and advocacy. Originally set up to service immigrants from Hong Kong, it extended its services to Mandarin speaking immigrants

from Taiwan and Mainland China, and furthermore to people from other ethnic groups. The Society also strengthened its public relations, fundraising, membership, and volunteer development. The investigation ended with the completion of the new Social Service Centre, a permanent home for SUCCESS, which signified a sense of pride and belonging for many people.

Chapter 6 has illustrated the historical development and transformation of SUCCESS over its first 25 years. It set the historical background for the discussion of Chapter 7, which focuses on the analysis of programs and services at SUCCESS.

Chapter 7

Programs and Services

Chapter 7 focuses mainly on the programs and services of the organization up to the time when this research began. During this period, the programs fell into six categories: Community Airport Newcomers Network (CANN), Language Training and Settlement Services, Family and Youth Counselling, Small Business Development and Training, Employment Training and Services, and Group and Community Services. In addition, two parallel offices, the Richmond Office and the Tri-City (Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, and Port Moody) Office are included in this chapter because they administered most of these six programs and services. The two parallel offices also had their own programs and services based on local needs. The investigation of these two offices also focuses on the programs and services they provided.

Eight Program Directors, each in charge of one of the program areas or parallel offices, were interviewed. The data of this chapter rely on the insights they shared with me at the interviews. The objective of Chapter 7 is to illustrate the programs and services provided by SUCCESS in more recent years.

The analysis focuses on many topics, including the purposes of the programs, the scope of services, major events and achievements, clientele, communal needs, social contributions, staff and qualifications, funding, issues, and the future. Since each area or office has its own uniqueness, the discussion will allow variations.

Community Airport Newcomers Network – CANN

Francis Chan was the Program Director of the Community Airport Newcomers Network (CANN). He came to Canada in 1993 as an immigrant, and joined SUCCESS in 1995. He became the Program Director of CANN in 1997. The following analysis was based on the interview with him.

Its Purpose

Community Airport Newcomers Network (CANN) was formally launched in October 1992. The purpose for setting up this program was to help new immigrants with the landing procedures, and provide information and referral services to them upon landing. Chan stated:

CANN was more or less patterned after IRIS [Immigrant Reception and Information Services] in Toronto. It was officially started in October 1992, and the purpose was to help all the landing immigrants to go through the landing procedures. Starting in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the number of immigrants from Asia increased by very tremendous rate. Therefore, the government thought it would be helpful to offer some

kind of reception, information, and referral services to the landing immigrants. What we do at the airport is to give some orientation to all the landing immigrants, help them through the landing procedures with the Immigration Department and the Customs, and give them all the necessary information that they need for their settlement. We also refer them to some immigrant service agencies once they get out of the airport. Since October 1992, we began the service at the Vancouver International Airport, this is now the 7th year of our service.

As mentioned, the original mandate of CANN was to receive landing immigrants. Since 1997, CANN was given the mandate to receive government or privately sponsored refugees.

Chan explained:

But since 1997, we took up another program of receiving refugees. When CANN was first established in 1992, we were given the mandate to receive as many landing immigrants as possible. Starting in 1997, we were also given the task to receive refugees who have been screened abroad and given the proper status and entry visas to come to Canada. There are 2 categories basically, one is government assisted, one is privately sponsored, that is sponsored by private citizens, by church groups, and by charitable organizations.

CANN Services

Receiving Immigrants

CANN has a kiosk at the Airport, right in the Immigration Landing Room. It was used for their reception and orientation activities. They usually targeted flights which carried immigrants.

Chan said:

What we do now as a kind of routine is, we know from experience that there are certain flights which would normally carry immigrants, flights particularly coming from Hong Kong, Taiwan, now China, flights also coming from India and London, England. We would particularly pay attention to those flights. We go to what's called the primary inspection within the restricted area of the airport to receive those landing immigrants by holding out a sign. All the landing immigrants, when they see the sign, they will come to us. The sign is written in 6 different languages, Chinese, English, Punjabi, various languages[...]

While newly arrived immigrants were waiting to be interviewed by immigrant officers, CANN staff members would distribute materials which contained useful settlement information.

Chan commented:

[A]nd then we lead them into the immigration landing room, line them up for interviews by the immigration officer. While they are waiting, we give them the settlement information brochures consisting of different types of information, also brochures that different organizations/agencies give us. We distribute these brochures on their behalf.

During the waiting time, they would also provide orientation to the new immigrants, and answer any questions that they may have, in the immigrants' native languages if they found it helpful. Chan noted:

While they are waiting, we also explain to them what they are expected to do when they are landed, the application of social insurance number, the application of medical service plan, all the necessary procedures that they need to take. Then we would refer them to the immigrant service agencies. Let's say if they are from India, we would refer them to agencies where there are Punjabi or Hindu speaking workers; if they are from Hong Kong, then probably we will refer them to SUCCESS or other agencies where some Chinese speaking workers are found. Basically depending on where they go, if they settle in Vancouver, if they settle in Surrey, then we will find the necessary agencies suitable for their language and culture in that area.

Chan commented that the whole process usually took more than one hour, depending on how many people were waiting. The last thing they would help them with was to go through the customs inspection.

Depending on the number of immigrants waiting at that time, it takes about 1-2 hours for them to go through those processes. Then we will lead them to the customs office for them to be interviewed by the customs officer. Once these are all done, they will pick up their luggage and then leave.

In terms of the language used at the orientation, Chan explained that the orientation was usually conducted first in English, and then followed by another language that most of the immigrants of that particular group spoke.

The orientation is conducted in English, then followed by another language that most of the immigrants of that particular group speak. Let's say if there are 30 immigrants at that particular moment, and let's say if most of them are from Hong Kong, we will conduct the orientation first of all in English, followed by Cantonese. Let's say if the majority is from India, it will be followed by either Punjabi or Hindu.

When I asked if immigrants had known the services provided by CANN before they came, Chan noted that some of them may have heard it from Canadian embassies or consulates, but he was not sure how many of them had known and how much they would know.

Overseas embassies or Canadian consulates may have told immigrants that there is such a service at the Vancouver and Toronto airports, but I doubt how many actually know. For people coming from Hong Kong and Taiwan, they probably have heard something about CANN through their friends and relatives. They are not totally unexpected about the service of CANN.

Talking about the number of immigrants they received regularly, Chan said that in June 1999, 3,883 immigrants passed through their kiosk at the Airport. This was about 70% of all immigrants coming to BC.

I've just got the latest information. In June [1999], we have got 3,883 clients passing through our kiosk. That is people we have served. You have to remember that we operate between 8 am and 8 pm, 7 days a week. But there are immigrants who come before 8 or after 8, and there are also immigrants who do not come through airport, they may come through the border from the States. So for all immigrants who come to B.C., we are more or less able to serve 70%. Within the service hours that we operate, we are able to receive roughly about 75% of those who come through the airport.

Among those immigrants CANN received daily, the biggest group came from Mainland China during the time of this interview. Chan noted:

For a number of years in the past, Hong Kong and Taiwan have been the no. 1 and no. 2 source countries. Now PRC has become the top. On each day, roughly there are about 30-40 immigrants from Mainland China[...] Mostly two different classes, one is family class to be re-united with their families here, the other is independent class, who come because of their skills.

Receiving Refugees

As alluded to earlier, CANN was given the mandate to receive government or privately sponsored refugees since 1997. Similar to assisting landing immigrants, CANN staff would help refugees go through landing procedures. Chan explained how this supposed to work in detail:

What we do is we are giving information at the arrival of these refugees. Let's say this family will be coming from Yugoslavia, let's say on August 14 on a particular flight, we will wait at the airport to meet this family, also take them through the landing procedures, and then if they are government assisted refugees, we will send them to the reception house which is in downtown Vancouver. That reception house is operated by Immigrant Service Society (ISS), there they will take up the settlement services with these families. And for the privately sponsored refugees, we will also lead them through the landing procedure, take them out to meet their sponsors, and then they will be taken care of by their sponsors.

Unlike receiving regular landing immigrants, they had to receive all refugees arriving at Vancouver Airport. Hence, the operating hours for this part of the service had to be flexible.

Chan said:

Because we are funded to receive all the refugees, unlike all the other regular landing immigrants, we try to receive as many as possible within our service hours. But with the reception of refugees, there is no limit. We have to receive all, it doesn't matter if they come in the morning, 7 or 8 o'clock, or late at night 10 o'clock, 12 midnight, we will have to receive them. Therefore, we have 1 part-time staff member whose job is specifically for the reception of refugees, and there are no fixed hours. She is from former

Yugoslavia, and she will come to the airport according to the arrival schedule. In the last 2 years, this has been the case, over 50% of the government-sponsored refugees are from former Yugoslavia. That's why we have to hire a person from Yugoslavia.

Immigrant Service Agencies in Vancouver and CANN

The above discussion has made it clear that CANN, as a division of SUCCESS, was contracted by a federal government organization, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, to provide services to landing immigrants and refugees. They also had to work with a number of immigrant service agencies. During the interview, I explored with Chan the differences between CANN services and services provided by these agencies, the relationship between CANN and the agencies involved, and how CANN staff would decide which agencies they should refer the immigrants and refugees to.

First, Chan revealed that they usually worked together with 10 immigrant service agencies. SUCCESS was one of them.

There are quite a lot, more than 10, quite a large number of agencies. Actually I can give you one of their brochures. The main target group of SUCCESS is Chinese, but gradually we are now expanding our services to other ethnic groups as well, particularly in the employment service. But for the initial settlement services, SUCCESS is still serving basically in the large number of cases Chinese, whether they are from Hong Kong, Taiwan, or Mainland China. Other agencies, the major ones include MOSAIC, ISS (Immigrant Services Society), the Burnaby Multicultural Society, Richmond Multicultural Concerns Society, Surrey/Delta Immigrant Service Society. There are a lot of such service agencies at various cities.

Because of limited time, at the Airport, CANN staff members could only provide basic introduction to the services available to the landing immigrants and refugees. They had to go to these specific agencies to seek for the services they needed. Chan explained:

We have to make a distinction between the service of CANN and other immigrant service agencies, such as SUCCESS, MOSAIC, or ISS. The distinction is, at the airport, because of the limited time and because of the large number of people, we are not able to go into detailed settlement issues. What we do is to explain to them the number of areas, the number of questions and issues that they must tackle, such as application for all the necessary documents, the procedures of getting registered for language training classes, the procedures of getting their children enrolled in schools. We explain to them all these various concerns, but the detail of going about tackling them, they would have to seek advice from the service agencies once they get out of the airport. There is a kind of division of labour between us and the immigrant settlement service agencies.

I probed Chan how they would decide which agencies they should refer the clients to. Since CANN was a part of SUCCESS, would they refer the client exclusively to SUCCESS?

Chan commented:

We don't refer the immigrants exclusively to SUCCESS, even though CANN is part of SUCCESS. We are funded to serve all immigrants, and we are funded to refer the immigrants to all suitable agencies for the immigrants. Basically it depends on, first of all, where they will live, e.g., in Vancouver, Richmond, Surrey, or Burnaby, and then depending on what language they speak, we will recommend them to certain agencies that would best serve them. Throughout this past 7 years, we have had very good relationship with all the service agencies. They sent us their brochures, all their updated information, and we will distribute them on their behalf. We have got feedback from SUCCESS as well as from all these various agencies, they tell us they have been seeing clients that are referred to them by us. They go to these agencies for additional services.

Staff and Qualifications

Ten people were working at CANN at the time of this interview. Eight of them were in the kiosk at the airport, and the other two were providing office support. In terms of previous training, Chan himself received a master's degree in sociology. Half of his staff members have got university education, and the other half have post-secondary college education. One or two have secondary education with some additional training. Chan explained:

Right now we have 10 people, 2 are basically working in the office providing basic needs and program assistant. We take care of the administrative and all the office work. Working basically at the kiosk are 8 people. Among them, 5 are part-time, 3 are full-time. Among these 8 staff members, 2 are supervisors. They supervise the day to day operation at the kiosk. Since we operate 7 days a week, from 8am to 8pm, people have to take shifts. For the 3 full-time staff members, they work 7 days a week, they will have to take turns to work on week-ends as well. For the other 5 part-time members, some work 3 days a week, some work 4[...] [W]e have got 1 part-time staff member whose job is specifically for the reception of refugees, and there is no fixed hours.

Funding

CANN services were fully founded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. During the time of this interview, while the federal government was transferring settlement services to the provincial government, airport reception services were still retained by the federal government.

Chan explained why:

The federal government is gradually trying to shift settlement service to the provincial government. B.C. is one of the two provinces that have signed agreement with the federal government to take up settlement services. And airport reception for immigrants and also the airport reception for refugees are the only two programs that are still retained by the federal government, that are still funded by the federal government. I think these two programs will continue to show that the federal government is still involved in the

reception of immigrants, even though the post-landing services will be provided by the provincial government in B.C.

The Reason for Getting Involved in this Project

SUCCESS was originally set up as an immigrant social service agency. During the interview, I discussed with Chan why SUCCESS decided to get involved in the Airport Reception Project. Chan commented that it was important to provide immigrants with proper information at the earliest time possible to help them with the settlement process either by SUCCESS or other agencies.

SUCCESS being a social and immigrant service agency providing services to immigrants, it's just natural that if the service is extended to the very first day when immigrants arrive, whether the service is provided by SUCCESS or other agencies, I think the basic rationale is the same, that if ever possible, immigrants should be given the proper information and referral at the earliest time so that they can settle as quickly as possible. Therefore, SUCCESS finds that it is a reasonable step to take.

I also pointed out that the original mandate of SUCCESS was to help immigrants overcome language and cultural barriers. Did this part of the service provided by CANN under SUCCESS contradict the original mandate of SUCCESS? Chan explained that this part of the service fit very well into the mandate of SUCCESS.

I think the service provided by CANN fits perfectly well into the mandate. The mandate is for SUCCESS to serve, to help immigrants overcome these barriers, and therefore services provided at the airport certainly helps achieve that. At the very first moment when they come, we provide all the necessary orientation and all the basic information that they need to know, and also the service agencies that they need to go to for follow-up services, that certainly would be helpful to them. If you think of a situation for a newcomer who has got no friends or relatives here, and who doesn't know which agencies to go to, and what procedures that he/she has to take once here, then if you compare the situation to what it is now, then certainly one will appreciate how the airport services help them to overcome all those barriers.

Significance of CANN Services

CANN conducted a survey in 1995 among immigrants and refugees who received their services. Eighty to ninety percent expressed their gratitude for services provided by CANN. Many new immigrants found that it was a big help to have people who spoke their own languages help them go through the landing procedures upon arrival. Chan commented:

The survey that CANN did in 1995, I think 80-90% of those interviewed said that the service was helpful, and that they are very appreciative of the services given to them. One can easily imagine that, for people who have been on a flight for 10-12 hours with the kind of mental state that they are in, being in a new country – lot of excitement, lot of

anxiety as well, coming down to people who speak their languages; explaining to them what the procedures that they had to go through, definitely to most of them this must be helpful.

Social Contributions

According to Chan, CANN had made a great contribution by helping landing immigrants and refugees settle smoothly and quickly.

We believe that for a landing immigrant, if he/she is given the proper information about settlement, and then given the proper referral to agencies, that would help them in their settlement, then certainly CANN will make a contribution to help the settlement process. That is what CANN is funded to do, that is to say to help the landing immigrants to settle as smoothly and as quickly as possible. Therefore, we believe the information we give and the referral that we provide would help in this process.

Challenges

With the frequent change of source countries, one challenge faced by CANN was that they had to adjust the language capability of its staff members in order to meet the needs of clients. Secondly, they had to build a team consisting of people from different cultural backgrounds. Chan commented:

One of the challenges is we try to provide services in the language of the immigrants as much as possible. Now with the source country changing, as I said previously, Hong Kong and Taiwan were the no. 1 and no. 2 source countries, now PRC being the first one, and then Hong Kong and Taiwan dropping to the 5th or 6th place, other countries are becoming more prominent, e.g., India, and some other countries. Therefore, the challenge is that we will have to adjust the language capability of our staff members to the needs of the clients. That means we will have to change the staff in order to adjust to the needs of the clients. That may be a problem in the sense there may be staff turnover. The other challenge of course is building a team made up of staff members from different ethnic groups so that we can work together as a team.

Future

Talking about the future of CANN, as long as there are new immigrants coming in, Chan maintained that CANN would be there for immigrants in the future.

I think as long as there are immigrants, as long as the government feels that there is a need to help immigrants in the settlement, then I think there will be a need for the services provided by CANN. We understand that actually the government is thinking of expanding such part of entry reception services to other cities as well. I understand that for the reception of refugees, this is already being done in Calgary. So in the near future, CANN should still be here for the provision of such services.

The preceding investigation has revealed that the Community Airport Newcomers Network (CANN) was set up in 1992 to help newly arrived immigrants and refugees with their

pre-settlement and integration through the provision of welcome reception, resource orientation, and referral services. It was fully funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Many immigrants who received their services found that it was useful to have people who spoke their own languages greet them and help them go through the landing procedures and get necessary settlement information upon arrival.

Language Training and Settlement Services

Ansar Cheung, originally from Hong Kong, had studied in BC for five years before she became an immigrant. She joined SUCCESS in 1986. She had worked as a settlement service frontline worker and a coordinator before she became the Program Director of Language Training and Settlement Services. In her interview, Cheung discussed with me the programs and services her division provided.

Purpose for Settlement Services

Language Training and Settlement Services have always been the core of SUCCESS programs and services. Cheung highlighted some of the major purposes for settlement services as: to bridge the gap between new immigrants and mainstream society, to help new immigrants overcome language and cultural barriers, to assist immigrants with familiarization with the new society, and to facilitate adjustment and integration. For people with no language barriers, SUCCESS was there to facilitate independence and to provide them with the resources they needed. Cheung commented:

The whole purpose of providing settlement services, regardless whether it's workshop orientation or direct information referral services, it's mainly to help immigrants to have a better understanding of Canadian society so that they are able to adjust and integrate well into the society. Very often people may have friends and friends give them their own experience and tell them the information, but that may not be correct or applicable to their own case. Our whole objective is to help people to gain a better understanding of what the society is about, and also to be more independent, and to reduce the language barrier, because some people cannot speak fluent English. There are two types of clients. One type is they can't really communicate in English, or they feel more comfortable to communicate in their own mother tongues. We act as a bridge between the society and new immigrants. There are other types of immigrants. They have no language barriers, but they just don't have the local resources. We are there just to provide them with the resources so they can be really independent very fast. Because once they know where to get the information, they are on their own, they don't have to come back and rely on our services again.

Cheung stressed that the purposes for Settlement Services were to help people with integration, not to ghettoize them.

Some people feel, "are you trying to ghettoize all the new immigrants?" We are not trying to keep them under one roof. When they first come, they feel more comfortable to come to their own ethnic groups for help. When the comfort zone is there, they feel much at ease to express their own feelings, they get their problem solved or get their questions answered (not necessarily problems but the question answered), when they are more independent, they feel well, they will make use of other services, and also try to participate into the society as well.

Cheung commented that Settlement Services were the first step toward achieving integration, and that they were the base for immigrants, not barriers to integration.

I feel the settlement services are very important. I would say that this is the initial steps. Some people may ask, "how long does it take for an immigrant to settle?" That really varies, depending on the individual, depending on how motivated the person is, and also depending on a lot of social issues. We found there are some immigrants who get stuck there, they have been here for half a year and they just sit at home, they can't find a job, and they feel so depressed. In Chinese they feel they "lose face" because they look at their friends back in their own country, probably they are more up in the career ladder, but now in Canada they are still staying there, they are not going anywhere, and they feel so ashamed. There are some people who can't get through the barriers, they just stay in their own room, not going outside. This creates lots of problems as well. They just can't adjust, they almost want to commit suicide, or they always say "I want to go back, I don't want to stay here anymore." So it depends on the individual and also on the social factors. Some people are luckier than others. That's why we feel the settlement service is so important, I would say as an initial step, a base for the immigrants. When they have questions, or problems, they can come to us. As soon as their questions are answered, they can go elsewhere. They don't necessarily have to stay with us for a long time.

Scope of Services

According to Cheung, Language Training and Settlement Services mainly helped immigrants in the following areas: direct information and referral services, workshops, new immigrant orientation, language training, and Mandarin services.

Direct Information and Referral Services

Five branch offices of SUCCESS provided settlements services, and these were Mandarin Service Centre on Cambie Street (later moved to Granville Street), Fraser Street Office, Head Office, Richmond Office, and Tri-City Office. The first three were located in Vancouver. They provided direct information referral services. There were drop-in services as well as phone-in services. Cheung explained

The ones on Granville, Fraser, and also on Pender, we do have our settlement services. I supervise the staff members in all these three locations, and I help the staff members to plan and to design the programs in Vancouver. We also have another service in Richmond and in Tri-City. One of my roles is to coordinate all the settlement services across all the different locations. I call meetings, bi-monthly meeting with all the

settlement staff. For settlement programs, we have direct information/referral services where people can drop in or they can call for services.

Cheung also pointed out that immigrants usually came to them with different kinds of questions, so their staff members had to be well informed. If they did not have the right answer for any of their questions, they would refer them to other organizations for help.

People come with different kinds of questions. Even though we say we serve new immigrants, we also have immigrants who have been here for a while. I would say we help immigrants in general, adjusting and adapting to the new society. After the first few years, maybe they are more independent. Sometimes they may come back, they ask anything about immigration, about medical services plan, about the social benefits, about education, about custom, citizenship, anything. That's why our staff members have to be equipped with a lot of information. Settlement staff is like a walking dictionary. HRDC, its focus is only on employment. When you have questions about employment, you would go to HRDC. But when clients come to SUCCESS, they have a variety of questions and expect our staff to answer all of them. We will try our best, but we can't solve all the problems. If we don't know the answer, we will try to liaise with other organizations or make a right referral to other organizations. That's direct information/referral services.

Workshops

Besides direct information/referral services, the Language Training and Settlement Services Division also organized workshops on a wide range of topics such as law, child custody, customs, citizenship and immigration, health, and education. Cheung stated:

Then we have workshops. We organize monthly workshops, either twice a month or at least once a month. Anyone who is interested can come to the workshops. We have workshop related to law, regarding child custody, customs, citizenship and immigration, all these are law related. We also have health related workshops. We have education. We have a variety of topics.

New Immigrant Orientation

The third type of services was new immigrant orientation class. Again, this covered a variety of topics. Cheung said:

Besides workshops, we also have new immigrant orientation classes, which are held weekly. Then we have a series, about 4-6 sessions, on different topics that are of interest to new immigrants. Say the first one will usually talk about transportation in B.C., how to access public transit, sky train, and sea bus. People don't even know how to look at the map. We tell them the basic orientation they need to know.

Cheung also mentioned that they tried to use immigrants' native languages where possible at new immigrant orientation classes.

We provide new immigrant orientation in Mandarin and Cantonese. In Tri-City, because they do have a Korean speaking settlement staff member, they also provide their orientation in Korean. We try to provide new immigrant orientation class in their own mother tongues. For example, in the past we usually only offer orientation classes in Cantonese at our Head Office, but we see there are fewer and fewer people attending the Cantonese sections. Since last September, as soon as we move into this building, we kind of change to alternative months, one month in Cantonese and one month in Mandarin. We see there are more and more Mandarin speaking new immigrants coming in. That's why we have to change our programs.

Language Training

Language training used to be part of the Settlement Services. After SUCCESS's recent reorganization, it came under the Training Institute together with Employment Training and Business Training. Ansar Cheung, who continued to manage the language training part, said:

In the past, language training was also under settlement services. Last year we call the SUCCESS Training Institute, which consists of language training, employment training, and also small business training. I only look after the arm of language training. This is still in our developing stage, and we try to coordinate because we have different locations. We feel that for ESL classes level 1-3, each office may have a different definition of the levels. We find it is important to consolidate and try to streamline all the classes, and also have to develop curriculum[.]. Right now all the curriculum are not the same. We try to put everything under one roof so that it's easier for us to manage. Also, we are trying to get accreditation because we are registered with the private post-secondary education commission. In order to be accredited, there are still a lot of things that need to be done. That's why we try to reorganize things.

Government Funded Language Training Program There were two kinds of language training programs: one was sponsored by the government, and the other one was fee charging. Cheung commented on the first kind:

Language training, we have government funded programs, which are called the LINC program, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada. Now they changed the name. The program used to be funded by the federal government, because of the devolution of funding from the federal government to the province, now it's under the management of MRMI, Ministry Responsible for Multiculturalism and Immigration. So they changed the name to Language Training Program for Adults. The reason why the name is changed is that in the past, the LINC class is for new immigrants. If they are Canadian citizens, they cannot take the program. For the new program after they changed the name, it is opened up to immigrants more, Even if they are Canadian citizens, they can still take the classes, and also open up to refugee claimants as well. This is a government funded training program, and right now we have 28 classes in 7 locations.

Fee Charging Language Training Program The second kind of language training program was on fee charging for those who are not eligible for government funded programs,

and for those who wish to continue improving their English after they have taken the government-sponsored program. Cheung explained:

Besides the government-sponsored language training, we also have fee-charging programs, because there are people who may not be eligible for the government-funded programs. Also for language training, the government funded one has up to 3 levels. Post LINC, they can't go on, they will have to look for some fee charging programs. We do have fee-charging programs from literacy to intermediate levels, and we also try to develop more workplace English as more people are looking for jobs. There is a need for people to learn more about workplace English, and also the language that can help them enhance their relationship with their colleagues. It's like professional development at their own jobs so they are able to communicate better with customers or with colleagues.

Mandarin Service Centre

The Program Director of Language Training and Settlement Service also coordinated the Mandarin Service Centre. With an increasing number of Mandarin speaking immigrants moving to Vancouver, every SUCCESS branch office now had Mandarin speaking staff members to help this group of clients. Cheung commented:

We also have Mandarin service centre. Before we have our centre, we have a staff who is Mandarin speaking, who used to work at our head office. About five years ago, we know there is increasing number of immigrants who speak Mandarin. They are from Taiwan, and recently also from Mainland China. We feel there is a need to set up a Mandarin service centre, and this centre is more like a settlement program, and that's why I am also in charge of the centre. Mandarin service centre basically runs similar programs, except all the staff's native language is Mandarin. Also we feel when the client come in, they feel more comfortable if they can communicate in their own native tongue. Since we start our Mandarin service centre, we feel immigrants don't necessarily live in Vancouver. There are also lots of Mandarin speaking immigrants who move to Burnaby, Coquitlam or even Richmond. Our policy is to set up Mandarin service in each of the locations. Right now in each of our locations, we do have our Mandarin service already, so it's not just Mandarin service centre. Since we have started the centre, we still keep that centre and we feel it is useful to our clients. But if people want to access our Mandarin services, all our locations are able to provide support to them. This is more like settlement.

Cheung further explained that 98% of Chinese speaking staff members at SUCCESS could speak Mandarin, even though their native tongue may not be Mandarin.

Well, I would say for all the Chinese speaking staff, at least over 98% can speak Mandarin, although their native language maybe Cantonese speaking. Since Mandarin is not their mother tongue, it is not as fluent as other staff whose mother tongue is Mandarin. But still they can provide the services, and they can communicate. We want to hire staff whose speak Mandarin as their mother tongue. The main reason is, let's say there are two applicants with the same qualifications, one applicant has additional dialect, of course we will hire that person. Throughout the last few years, we are able to hire some staff members who can speak fluent Cantonese and Mandarin.

The Mandarin Service Centre moved from Cambie Street to Granville Street recently.

Cheung explained why the Office was moved:

The whole reason of moving our Cambie office is because our lease has come up, five years lease, and the landlord has to increase our rent. We can't afford to pay for higher rent, so happen the landlord of the current Granville location gave us a very reasonable rent and the space is bigger. Cambie office is quite old, and there have been problems with ventilation. When we negotiate with our old landlord at that time, the landlord was reluctant to improve the conditions in the office. That's why we have to move.

Other Programs and Services

Besides the above mentioned, there were also other programs and services, such as language translation and interpretation, projects with the media, health fair, and immigrant fair. Occasionally, this division organized public forums. Cheung stated:

We also have a translation and interpretation service for immigrants. We have our weekly articles at the Chinese newspapers, such as *Ming Pao*, *Sing Tao*, and also *World Journal*. We also have radio programs. It's all settlement related information. These are our regular programs. And then once a year we have a health fair, immigrant fair, and sometimes we also organize forums. Two months ago, we have a forum on customs, people have lots of concerns about not being treated fairly by the customs officers when they go through the customs. We put on the forum to let people voice their concerns. We also collect all the information, and we put forward our position paper to the minister. Hopefully they can make some changes to some of the regulations, or even the local operations.

Cheung discussed further about the language translation and interpretation, especially with reference to provisions at the Tri-City Office. While the Tri-City had 25 languages, its Pender Office could only handle translation between Chinese and English. She stated:

In our Tri-City office, we have the NINT program (Newcomers Integration Network for Tri-City). They do have multi language translation services. But at our Pender office, it's only Chinese. For translation, it's just Chinese, for interpretation we have Cantonese and Mandarin. Many of our clients when they go to see a specialist, they need to get an interpreter, or if they go to HRDC, because there is problem and misunderstanding there, they also need to get an interpreter to go them.

In terms of charging policies for language translation and interpretation, Cheung explained:

We don't use volunteers. We pay our translators and interpreters. Because we don't charge our clients high rates, we are unable to hire professional interpreters. Although our interpreters are not court interpreters, they are proficient in their languages. If people say they need to go to court, we may have to find another court interpreter, a more professional one. I would say we pay the interpreter honorarium, not really at the professional rate.

Client

Clients coming to the Settlement Services were mainly people from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China. Traditionally, the dominant group was from Hong Kong. However, there have been changes in the last few years in terms of the composition of their clients. Cheung explained:

SUCCESS has been viewed by the public as a Cantonese speaking organization. I guess the main reason, as you said, in the past immigrants are mainly from Hong Kong, that's why its more Cantonese speaking. We set up our Mandarin Service Centre was in response to an increasing number of immigrants from Taiwan. For the last 12 months, we see a sharp increase of immigrants from Mainland China, especially from Beijing, Shanghai, and northern part of China. Most of them come under the independent category. They are more professional immigrants. That is reflected in our client base as well.

Staff and Qualifications

Cheung revealed that there were about 10 to 12 staff members with Settlement and Language Services in Vancouver. Most of them had post-secondary degrees in social sciences.

The basic requirement for our settlement staff is that they have post-secondary degrees in social services. All of them have bachelor's degrees. Some of them are teachers or social workers before. The basic qualification is post-secondary degree. They are knowledgeable about the local resources, and are able to facilitate support groups and maintain good relationship with people. Settlement services are human related services. You have to see clients everyday. It's very important that the staff members are patient, and able to establish good relationships and handle problems independently.

In terms of English language instructors, Cheung maintained that they had two different kinds of requirements depending on if it was government funded or fee charging program. It was interesting to note here that SUCCESS was more flexible and willing to recognize foreign credentials and work experiences than government sponsored English programs. Cheung said:

For language training, we have two different requirements. If they are applying for our government funded language training program, they must have TESOL or teaching certificate from Canada. They have to be recognized in Canada as a teacher. Those are our basic requirements. For our fee charging program, some people have teaching certificates from outside of Canada, we recognized that. If they have at least 3-5 years of teaching experience from their own country, we would also hire them as our instructors.

Because of language difficulties of their clients, staff members in the Settlement Services Division were required to be fluent in both English and other languages. Cheung commented:

Of course they have to speak fluent English and a second language. It's either Cantonese or Mandarin. In our Tri-City office, for the NINT there are people that speak Spanish or Korean. If they work at the airport or our CANN program, people there can speak

Spanish, Punjabi, Cantonese, Mandarin, Taiwanese, and so on. It really depends on which location, which program.

Ways to Approach the Organization

Cheung explained that their clients approached the organization through various means: CANN at the Airport, Web, and words of mouth.

When they go through CANN, our airport reception service, of course they receive our pamphlets. They don't necessarily just receive SUCCESS pamphlets. They also receive pamphlets about Immigrant Service Society (ISS), about MOSAIC, or Surrey/Delta Immigrant Settlement Services. It really depends on where they live; they have a choice. If they want to come to SUCCESS, they can make use of our services. Another way is through word of mouth from their friends or relatives. It's also through Internet they get to know SUCCESS. I do receive e-mails from people from Mainland China and from Taiwan. Before they come, they have a lot of questions. Of course it is very difficult. Sometimes they ask what is the education system like in B.C. or how is the taxation in Canada works. This is such a big topic, hard to answer through the Internet. Often they want to find accommodations, or to know about the medical plan in B.C. Some people have no friends or any connections in B.C. They do it through the Internet. We do have our website, where can look at our services, and e-mail us. Through various channels, they come to get to know SUCCESS and come to make use of our services.

Comparison with the Past

I also compared SUCCESS now with what it was like ten years ago. Cheung commented that 10 years ago, SUCCESS's services were mainly in the settlement areas, but now all SUCCESS branch offices were providing employment services.

I have been with SUCCESS for over 10 years now. I can see the major difference is in employment. Our Fraser Office first started to provide employment training for immigrants, and we also have job finding club there. Right now all the locations provide employment services because there is a big need there. More and more people are looking for jobs. They just don't know the skills. Some people may need to change their whole career. People feel they need the skill to look for a job, and also they need some re-training. Also as society changes, people can't stick to their old occupation. They may have to change their career, too. Lots of employment re-training programs. I would say the major difference is employment.

According to Cheung, the second difference was that the origins of Chinese immigrants were not so homogeneous as before. SUCCESS used to serve mainly Cantonese speaking Chinese immigrants from Canton, Taishan, and Hong Kong. There were few Mandarin speakers. Now with the increasing numbers of immigrants from Taiwan and Mainland China, the background of Chinese immigrants was really mixed.

The third difference was that there were more and more entrepreneurs and investors among the newly arrived immigrants, who were interested in setting up businesses. That was why SUCCESS set up the small business development programs. Cheung pointed out:

Also in the past, not too many people asked about how to set up a small business, but now more and more people ask about that. They just don't come to us and ask about medical plans and education system. They also want to know how to remove their conditions, because they are entrepreneurs and they have to start their business within 3 years. They want to know more about employment standard and regulations, Canadian taxes, and how to do payroll. We are also dealing with a lot of potential employers. That's why we have a small business development program. The whole purpose for setting up that service is mainly because we now have another group of immigrants.

Another difference was the growing number of immigrants coming under independent category. Cheung described who they were:

They are more like professionals – young professionals, I would say 30-50 age ranges. This group of people did well in their country of origin, and now they are here. Some have to start from the beginning, some can still keep their own professions, and some have to change to other career. Lots of changes there.

Special Efforts to Help Professional Immigrants

In the last decade, many of the newly arrived professional immigrants came from Mainland China. They were highly educated people with doctoral or master degrees. They were very successful professionals in their own countries of origin. However, when they came to Canada, they encountered a series of barriers. Cheung listed a few of them: such as language and financial difficulty.

There are lots of barriers. Some of them still have their language barriers. The major difference is that lots of them don't have support here. A lot of them are couples with young kids. They find it very difficult because child care is very expensive. If they hire a baby sitter, they can't afford it. Some people may have brought lot of money with them. Many of them say that "I can only support myself for six months. My urgent need is to get a job."

To help this group of young professional immigrants, SUCCESS set up a support group called "Rooting in Canada." The purpose of this support group was to create a network for them, to provide resources, and to act as a facilitator. Cheung explained how it worked:

We meet bi-monthly on Tuesday nights. Every time there are about 60-80 people coming. We just start the group in April. It's not really formalized into a group with executive committee members, but we do have a group of volunteers who are very dedicated. They feel the need to form a group, so we invite speakers from different places to talk about employment. What are the employment opportunities in B.C.? How to look for jobs? The few stages that new immigrants have to go through. What we are trying to do is to

provide them with support and more resources, and also refer them to different places. SUCCESS alone cannot give them the answer, we can't. This is the reality. What we can do is to facilitate, and to see what we can do for them.

Since the needs of immigrants from China were different from people from Taiwan or Hong Kong, SUCCESS was also planning to set up another Mandarin service centre to help the recent Mandarin speaking immigrants. She explained:

We are still trying, we are trying to set up another Mandarin service centre here in this building, not necessarily a centre, we want to use one of the rooms as a drop-in room for all the Mandarin speaking immigrants. They feel more at home because there are people who can speak their own language, and there are newspapers. We heard people don't want to use the money to buy newspapers, they don't have a computer at home, they want to use Internet. We are still planning. We feel the needs of immigrants from China are different from people from Taiwan or from Hong Kong. That's why we also have a group of volunteers who kind of act as our consultants or advisors. Basically they are telling us what the major needs are, what the major barriers are, some of the problems that people are facing, we are trying our best to help.

Defining Communal Needs

The Division of Language Training and Settlement Services relied on several channels of information to help them define communal needs when they designed programs. One was clients' feedback. Cheung commented:

This is also based on the feedback from our clients. We don't just sit in our room and do our planning. This is not practical. We usually collect information from our clients. That's why when we set up our support group "Rooting in Canada." We also have a group of volunteers. They are from Mainland China, they are also new immigrants. I cannot say they represent all new immigrants from Mainland China, but at least they can represent some of their opinions. They can tell us what the major needs are.

They also gathered information through their front line workers, through their contacts, and through focus group. Cheung said:

Our front line workers see clients everyday. It's through clients, through our staff, through our contacts, that we gather all the information for designing our programs. We spend time meeting with people. We ask them for their opinions, ask them what is more feasible, ask them if we set up a Mandarin drop-in centre here, will people come in. Why do they want to come in? What do you think the centre can offer them? This is one of the ways.

Because the needs of immigrants kept changing, Cheung said they had to constantly review their programs and make changes accordingly.

Of course we have to constantly look at our own programs. If we always stay with the same model, it is not going to help. The immigrant profiles change, the society changes,

the needs change, our programs have to reflect on the changes. If our program is not designed based on the changes, that means people are not going to benefit from our programs. That's why we always have to keep looking at our programs and to see whether they are still useful or not. One example, as I mentioned before, we used to have to run orientation classes in Cantonese. As we feel it is not necessary to run it every week, we change it to bi-monthly. We have to add in the Mandarin speaking orientation. In the past, we don't have Mandarin support group here, and we don't have Mandarin support group mainly for the Mainland Chinese immigrants. In fact, we don't say this group is for Mainland Chinese immigrants, we only say this is for Mandarin speaking immigrants. But so happens that the majority of them came from China, and there are a few from Taiwan as well. This is one example to show that we try to change our programs to meet the needs of the immigrants.

Funding

Funding for Language Training and Settlement Services used to be from Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Starting from 1999, that responsibility was being transferred to the Province. In British Columbia, the Ministry Responsible for Multiculturalism and Immigration (MRMI) was in charge of that. Cheung explained:

In the past, I would say a lot of funding comes from the federal government. Since this year, in June the funding has been transferred from federal government to the province. I'm talking about funding for the settlement and language training. The large sum of the funding comes from the province right now, even for employment. Employment programs used to be funded by HRDC. Our employment programs actually receive less money from HRDC, but more from the province. I would say for most of our programs, the majority of the funding now comes from the province, not from the federal government.

Cheung revealed that before the devolution of responsibilities from the federal to the provincial governments, about 90% of their funding came from the federal government, and that right now 100% of the funding for settlement and language training was from the Ministry Responsible for Multiculturalism and Immigration (MRMI) of BC. Their programs were usually funded for one year, usually from June to May of the following year. Cheung stated that they were pushing the government for long term funding, preferably at least for three years.

Issues

One major issue facing the Division of Language Training and Settlement Services was lack of secure funding which prohibited them from making long-term plans. Cheung noted:

One issue is related to funding. Settlement Services are not money making services because they are free. We have to hire staff to deliver our professional services. Funding is not really that stable. We have to apply for funding every year. Right now we don't really know what the picture is like next year. We have concerns about our funding. Also we feel there is a tendency that the funder is more interested in diversifying the funding.

They may also want to give it to neighbourhood houses, community centres, or even school board. We are not really secure about our funding. If we don't have very stable funding, staff members feel they don't have the security because we have to renew contracts year after year. They don't really know what their future will be. They feel it is difficult to do long term planning. This is one of the issues.

Secondly, to meet diversified needs of immigrants, they had to change their programs and prepare their staff members to adapt to new changes. Because of insecure funding, they could not plan programs where needed. Cheung stated:

Another issue is we now have immigrants coming from different places, and the needs are so diversified. We feel we also have to adjust our programs. Sometimes the staff may not feel very comfortable because we keep having to change the programs and staff have to adapt to the new changes. So if there is a new program area, they also have to learn how to deliver the program. People have the fear that, if there is change, stability is very important in terms of the position and the program. Our programs also depend on our funding as well. If we don't have enough funding, we can't really plan as many programs as we want. Those are the two major concerns.

Lack of funding and short-term funding caused tremendous frustrations among staff members at SUCCESS. They also inhibited implementing successful programs. Cheung noted:

We try to pressure the government for more long-term funding. I feel really tired. Year after year, we have to apply for funding and negotiate contract with our funders. We feel that if there can be at least 3 years funding, we can secure the funding and plan our programs better. After you plan a program, even if you have implemented a new program, it runs so well after a year, because there is no funding, you cannot continue the program, you have to stop the program right away. What happens to the clients? Who is going to suffer? It is the clients who suffer. Long term planning is more useful. I heard the government is trying to see if there can be long term funding or not.

Future

The provision for language training was still important. Meanwhile, Cheung argued for more advanced and professional English training because more and more professional immigrants were coming in.

For language training, there is a very important need there. But we see if there are more professionals coming in, maybe there is a need for more higher level language training. People don't need the literacy or beginners class, they need more advanced English or maybe workplace English to help them to do better on their jobs. With more professionals coming in, we can still see the language training program still has its importance. Now you have the professional here, and then they may bring in their own family. They may want to sponsor their parents or other people to come to Canada, so we can see there is still a need there. English is the official language here. If people want to live here, even for seniors we always feel that they must learn the language, at least some survival English that is important for them to pick up the skills.

Since Canada is an immigrant country, very likely there will be new immigrants coming to settle in Canada. Settlement services are still needed to help them overcome language and cultural barriers. SUCCESS will continue to act as a bridge between new immigrants and Canadian society. Cheung stated:

As for settlement services, we feel there is still a need there, but it really depends on the immigration trend. If there are fewer immigrants coming into Canada, we may have to redesign our programs. Settlement programs are more for new immigrants. If immigrants are not there, what's the point of providing the service. We anticipate immigrants will still be coming, I think there is still a big need there. If people don't have the language barrier, they still need the local resources. For settlement service, we are serving two different types of client. People who don't have the language barrier still need the cultural orientation, and they still need to know the local resources. We are still trying to bridge immigrants with Canadian society.

In sum, Language Training and Settlement Services have always been the core of SUCCESS programs and services. The division provided direct information and referral services, workshops, new immigrant orientation, language training, and Mandarin services. It also organized special programs to help recent independent immigrants. These programs and services are aiming to bridge the gap between immigrants and mainstream society, to help new immigrants overcome language and cultural barriers, and to facilitate adjustment and integration.

The foregoing analysis also identified some of the most recent changes at SUCCESS, such as expansion of employment training, diversified background of Chinese immigrants, and proliferation of entrepreneurial and investment immigrants. Citizenship and Immigration Canada used to be their sponsor. In 1999, the federal responsibility was being transferred to the Ministry Responsible for Multiculturalism and Immigration of BC. Major issues facing this division included lack of secure funding and preparation of staff to meet diversified needs of immigrants.

Family and Youth Counselling

Kelly Ng moved to Vancouver in 1991 from Hong Kong. After completing his Master of Social Work at the University of British Columbia, he joined SUCCESS as a summer youth worker. In September 1992, he became the Program Director of Family and Youth Counselling. The following analysis was based on my interview with him.

History of the Program

According to Ng, Family and Youth Counselling first started as a family program. Then it expanded to include counselling services and begin to offer such services in SUCCESS satellite offices.

Started as a Family Program

Family and Youth Counselling Program started in early 1980s as a family program dealing specifically with family issues and helping schools with communication problems. Ng explained:

I learned from my colleagues that it started off as a kind of family program. It's not even called family division. Some 17 or 18 years ago, when we were really small and most of our staff were integrated, they do everything, but settlement was the core. Everybody has to provide some settlement support, information, family counselling, then there was gradually a need for some family element because people come here, they may have emotional issues. There are also requests from schools because newcomers coming here, they have communication difficulties. But there is something beyond just pure communication, beyond just bridging. If a person has emotional issues, that has to be dealt with, relational issue that has to be dealt with. They [immigrants] can go nowhere because at that time mainstream program were purely or mostly for English speaking clients. Then the Board decided to hire someone so that the person can work on setting up a part of the program. But when they talk about family counselling, they are just family support[...] That was the start, just one person doing part time on the family program.

Expanded to Include Counselling Services

With the increase of Chinese immigrants, more and more people needed family and youth counselling services. Therefore, SUCCESS decided to expand the Family Program to include counselling services. Ng commented:

The demand was huge. We have requests for youth programs. For example, we have requests for programs for dropping out ESL kids. What are you going to do with that? Or kids with behavioural problems. These are beyond the scope of settlement. Then our Executive Director decided that probably she would have to struggle for funding. She spoke with the ministry, spoke to different sources, and we ultimately got funding from the City of Vancouver to start the At-Risk Youth Program, which was an outreaching component. The worker would go out to street to work with street youth or dropping out ESL youth. That was a start.

Expanded to Satellite Offices

Started with one person, the Program had grown to a full team. It also expanded to its satellite offices in Richmond and Burnaby-Coquitlam. Ng stated:

She [the Executive Director] also talked to the Ministry. After much struggle we finally managed to get a community service grant, very small funding, just enough to support 1 person. Gradually we got more people apart from the original 1 person, now it is 2 or 3. Then they changed the system, appointed a family service coordinator. Everything happened around Hastings [1981-1991], that means Vancouver East. Then there was a need to expand the program to satellite offices. We have got the Richmond office, we have the Burnaby-Coquitlam Office. These are satellite offices that means they would use the space of the school or use outside space to test out and see how things are going,

Ng regarded the provision of the Family and Youth Counselling Program at SUCCESS as a strategy for the government to reach out to immigrants, who had been excluded by the mainstream service providers because of language and cultural barriers.

People talk about multiculturalism, talk about cross cultural counselling, cultural sensitivity, but these are all empty words because some of them thought they hire just one person that speak Cantonese, they can solve the whole problem. They never thought of the strategy of reaching out. There are issues like in the mental health system, in the Ministry of Social Services or schools, because the person does not speak English, when s/he arrives at the reception or phones, there is a disconnection there. The government and service providers all see that. They were willing to negotiate with SUCCESS and see whether there could be some funding opportunities. All these came just year by year contract, some of them are pilot projects.

Purpose for the Program

Family and Relational Issues

Family and Youth Counselling Program served two major purposes. One was to help immigrants with family and relational issues. Ng explained in detail:

Here we have a strong belief that every family or person, for certain reasons they have relational problems, but these are transitional. They need someone to help in sort of figuring out the situation, to help them tie through the situation, to resolve their unfinished business so that they could move to the next stage. That is our belief. That is why our mandate is to help these people so they can lead a happy family life.

Advocate for the Benefits of Immigrants

The second purpose of the Program was to advocate on behalf of immigrant in the areas of family services. Ng commented:

The second mandate, because of language and cultural barrier, when they receive family related services, most clients experience difficulties. Our mandate is to advocate for their interest so that they could receive services as a counterpart in Canada. Recently we did a lot of advocacy in terms of mistreated children, act as a bridge so that the Ministry understands the sentiment in the Chinese community, how they think about child apprehension and all that. There are many cases in which parents feel helpless. They are also mis-diagnosed from their point of view. We would have to advocate for them. Apart from that, we also advocate for their interests in the hospital. We achieve that through participating in some of the planning process, influencing policy, and sometimes even mobilizing people, the grass roots to reflect their own view.

Scope of Services

Family Counselling as the Core

The Division of Family and Youth Counselling offered a range of programs with family counselling as the core. Ng explained:

We have got a number of programs. If you study the annual report and pamphlet, we have the core service which would be family counselling. We have 600 case intake per year, huge. At all one time, we have more than 15 cases on the waiting list, now the waiting time is 1 to 2 months. But we try to connect the case first and the first interview in about 2 months. Emergency cases (e.g., family violence) will be dealt with immediately.

Public Education

They also had family violence prevention programs and programs for special interest groups. They provided public education through workshops, library resources, and the media. Ng described:

Then we have family violence program, groups for battered women, men's program, providing anger management, and do a lot of public education in terms of the family violence. There is a family life education centre. We believe prevention is better than cure. We organize a lot of workshops, have a centre here like a library, so parents can come here to study some of the materials. We also have radio and TV programs to make use of these media. This is an advantage we have. The population is big enough to support all these media. We produce a lot of workshops and some radio shows. I personally have regular programs with one of the radios so that we would have some family life education, like marriage, how to prevent them family issues.

Group Programs

This Division adopted an effective and innovative approach to provide group programs. Ng said:

We have a group program. It is a cutting edge social work approach. You work with a group of people, let them talk about the issues, use theatrical technique, so they vocalize their concern. Then they identify solutions, much better way especially working with people who find it difficult to vocalize. This is a very effective means, we have many group programs. I just mentioned parenting groups, we have youth programs.

In Partnerships with the School

Family and Youth Counselling Division was in partnerships with schools frequently to bridge the gap between students, parents, and the school. Ng noted:

We are the major outlet for schools. In the school system, we have an ESL population that don't speak English at the beginning. Even if the students can, the parents can't. Then you have nearly no counsellor who can speak Cantonese or Mandarin, now there are a few. They make use of the home school workers to help them bridge the gap in translation. It is difficult because when the students have problems, they need to talk to a counsellor. When the counsellor wants to talk to the families, s/he finds it difficult to communicate with them. Then they refer to SUCCESS.

Highlights of Issues

To facilitate a better understanding of the scope of programs and services, it is necessary to highlight some of the cases they handled. Immigrant families usually encountered three kinds of issues in their daily life. Thirty percent of their cases were related to material issues. Ng explained:

[P]rimary concern definitely is marital issues, couples on the verge of breakup or they are undecided whether to go for divorce or they sense "there are third party relationship," "something wrong with our communication," "we can't communicate," "how to get along," newly wed having adjustment problem, people lived together for some 50 years, they can't get along well, they really want to have someone to help them. Marital issues form about 30% of our case load[...]

The second major kind of issue was parent-child relationships. Ng commented:

Twenty percent would be parent child relationship. It is quite natural. It ties in with another category which is about 10%, and it's emotional and behavioral problem. They interact with each other, usually it's the parents who come or the school refers, rebellious youth, children having problems getting on with the kids. Parents come here and yell, "What could I do?" It's natural because they are still using the way in their countries of origin to teach their kids, things like sleepover or kids asking for some resources, too assertive in setting their own rights, parents said it is impolite.

Family violence, such as spousal assault and child abuse, made up 18% of their cases.

Some of the cases came from the Ministry for Children and Families. Ng noted:

The third is family violence. About 18% of our cases comprise spousal assault and child abuse. Because of the change of child protection law, we have upsurge of cases directly referred from the Ministry. Last year we have 62 referrals from the Ministry alone for child apprehension and related issues. They were not actually apprehending the kid. After investigation they found something wrong with parenting method. They want them to follow some parenting programs.

Major Events

Some of the major events organized by the Family and Youth Counselling Division in the last few years included workshops on emotional intelligence (EQ), a forum on child issues, and 13 episodes TV program on family life education. Ng first described the EQ workshops:

For example, we organize the EQ [emotional intelligence] workshop. It is important for parents to know that kids have emotional aspects. In Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan, people emphasize academic skills. The emotional aspect is ignored. We organized the EQ movement. We involved 400 women in lower Mainland to participate in this workshop.

The forum on child issues was a successful event. Ng explained:

Another big event is the Forum. Because of the fear of child apprehension, some half a year ago, there were rumours that once social workers knock on your door, you are in trouble and your kids will be taken away. The whole community and the media are talking about that. So we organize a large scale forum in which we invited the Ministry people to listen. Some 250 people attended. After that we formulate a paper recommendation to the ministry. They held press conference in responding to our recommendations. We are doing the follow-up. These are the major events. Others I would say big events like we collaborate with TV to produce 13 episodes of family life education talking about different problem issues.

In fact I personally attended the Forum on child issues as an observer. Ng pointed out that the response they received from the Ministry was positive, and that they were glad to see immediate action taken by the Ministry.

I would say the Ministry was quite responsive this time because of all the pressure. We videotaped the whole forum and sent to the Ministry. They recognized all the problems, some were solved immediately, and some need more time. They are producing a video in Cantonese and Mandarin. The other one is we are doing some pilot workshops. Unlike the forum which is so emotional, we use three attempts of going to different small groups, having social workers collaborating with SUCCESS counsellors to talk about how to avoid being apprehended. The Ministry agreed that they should have better communication policies. The Chinese advisory committee watches how they carry out the project. The forum was organized to people's outcry. Some of them may not be Chinese parents. There was lots of anger, People from Williams Lake came to talk about their concerns.

Client

Clients coming to the Family and Youth Counselling Program were from a diverse background, but the majority were Chinese speaking immigrants originally from Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan. Ng explained in detail:

When I first started here, 60% of our clients came from Hong Kong, 18% from Mainland China, 10% from Taiwan. Then there is a shift. There are people from South-East Asia, Vietnam, cross cultural counselling with Caucasians. I am talking about 7-8 years ago. Then four years ago, more people came from Taiwan, and the number of people from Hong Kong is dropping. I just did a recent analysis (not published) of intake from last year, some 40% came from Hong Kong, 34% from Mainland China, then those from Taiwan about 10-12%, the rest from South-East Asia. This is basically for counselling. But for youth program, it varies, a lot of ESL students. We are doing a lot more local borns and people who have lived here for a long time.

Unlike the Settlement Services where most of its clients were new immigrants, many clients coming to the Counselling Services had lived here for a long time, and some were citizens. Ng stated:

Back to the counselling mode, more and more people have been here for over 5 years. This becomes the major portion instead of serving primarily new immigrants because it is our belief that people have different phases. During their settlement stage, their energy would be focusing more on settlement, finding a job, health issues, and school. Once they are settled down, the relational issue surfaced. That is why we have more and more people who have been staying here long enough, and these problems arise. They approach us. Many of them are not new immigrants.

Staff and Qualifications

The number of staff members in the Family and Youth Counselling Program had been changing all the time, depending on the funding available. However, it had increased enormously in the last 10 years. At the time of this interview, this division had 11 staff members who were all under Ng's supervision. Ng said:

Four of them are half time, and seven people were full time. Some of them have limited funding mandate, sometimes serving a three year program. We have a family violence program funded by an insurance company for three years. This is the third year, and it is going to end soon. I will have three people less from the list.

On top of the 11 staff members just mentioned, two more were located in the Tri-City Office under the supervision of Wai-Fu Mak, Program Director of the Tri-City Office; and another one was in Richmond under T.N Foo, Program Director of the Richmond Office. Altogether there were 14 of them. Ng explained more:

Most of the counsellors are stationed here [in SUCCESS Headquarters]. I serve as figure head to oversee the operation in terms of policy, direction, and training. We organize regular training. Most staff are under my direct supervision[...] There is one counsellor in Richmond who is under T.N. Foo. Another two counsellors are under Wai Foo Mak. They are doing the direct planning supervision, but in terms of training policy support, even when they deal with daily difficult situations, they ask for my advice.

The 11 people located in SUCCESS Headquarters would serve Vancouver areas and beyond, but the Richmond counsellor would serve Richmond only. The Tri-City counsellor was operating like a counselling clinic focusing on family support and counselling. Ng noted:

I have my whole team serving primarily Vancouver and also areas beyond their district. It is a mix mode, difficult also. People in Richmond serve only Richmond, even if they don't serve marital counselling, they would serve just say students, student's parents that would affect the students, things like that. Beyond that they won't serve. Coquitlam is more comprehensive. Here it is like clinical mode, and it is different. The setup is more specialized in terms of clinical counselling, whereas they have more family support and also some counselling aspect as well.

Regarding background of the staff members, over half of them had master's degrees in Social Work or Clinical Psychology. Professionalism was weighed heavily in this Division. Ng commented:

We are very pleased with the situation because once I joined the organization, I emphasized very much on professionalism. At the very beginning, the mix of the staff members varies. Some of them have social work degrees coming from Hong Kong, or there are some people who don't have related background. But later on we got more and more people who have Master of Social Work, Clinical Psychology joining us. Right now over half of our staff members have master's degrees in the discipline, a few of them having Bachelors degree in social work or counselling, but they have a long history working in the field. We also have one staff who is about to finish AMFT (American Association of Marriage and Family Therapy) requirement internship, and then she becomes a fully licensed counsellor. She can practice all through North America.

Among the staff members, some of them spoke Cantonese and some spoke Mandarin Chinese. Ng explained:

In the past we have a mix of local born and Cantonese speakers. Basically the local borns can speak Cantonese, and we have got a group of Cantonese speakers who speak English. Some of them like myself speak Mandarin as well because of the background and training. Gradually we see the importance of Mandarin speaking services so we specially hire Mandarin speaking people mostly from Taiwan. Right now we have two who are from Taiwan. They understand Cantonese as well.

Funding

The sources of funding kept changing every year. At the time of this interview, the funding mainly came from the municipal and provincial governments. Ng noted:

The primary funder this year is the City of Vancouver, and Ministry for Children and Families. That's it. Then there was a formation of the Multiculturalism Branch that became a major funder as well.

Counselling in the Client's Native Language

The existence of ethno-cultural organizations is a controversial topic. While some people may argue that such organizations form ghettoization, Ng maintained that in counselling the existence of ethno-cultural organizations was important because that was the place where clients can express themselves in their own native languages and where counsellors were likely to understand their cultures.

It is always a philosophical debate whether we should have a multicultural organization or a mainstream organization hiring just one person. I think they should co-exist. That's my view. But the trend is that more and more people are saying there is no need for ethno cultural organization like SUCCESS because they are forming a ghetto. I don't know about all the other field, but in family services, ethno cultural mode is definitely

important because we are talking about emotion. When the clients come to the services, they feel frustrated. If they can't express themselves in your own languages, they find that person doesn't understand their culture, how can they do family counselling? I got many inquiries from my counterparts in the counselling field. They don't understand why an adult, married with kids, still stay with their family members, grandma and grandpa, and it is ridiculous why is the person so powerless, being controlled. They don't understand why parents are so upset when the kid is being rebellious. These are all cultural. When one is frustrated, you need to express yourself in your own language, otherwise you can't express your needs fully. That's why I see family counselling very important. But some people don't want to come to SUCCESS because "too many people know me," "it's a shame," "I will take it to other organization," then that's fine. In terms of expertise, in terms of family counselling, it is linked to culture. When you do a family assessment, conducting a counselling piece, really applying a purely white west middle class frame, it is difficult for the counsellors to succeed because they don't understand the people.

Social Contributions

There were three areas where the Family and Youth Counselling Program had made contributions. Ng commented that first, this Division had contributed as a consultant between the mainstream and the Chinese community.

Because of our experience and wide recognition as key service provider in counselling and youth service for the Chinese community, people know SUCCESS and many people know me. We got many invitations from organization to participate in policy planning, implementation, and program planning. When they want to reach out to the Chinese community, we got a lot of requests for consultation. Some of these are materialize in collaboration with us. Some of them seek consultation from us so that we help them where the Chinese are located[...] That is the first level.

Ng further explained that his Division had also contributed in meeting the changing needs of the community, and helping the client voice their concerns.

The second level is more at the service providing level. We provide direct services to the community, very much based on the changing needs every year from large caseload, from group contact, and from workshop contact. People are giving feedback to us regarding our need, and also we watch very closely the demographic changes and the cultural change. We are very responsive to some of the social issues. For example, school shooting creates a lot of fear among parents, so we quickly organize two large workshops. This is emotional aspect of youth. If we don't deal with it, it is suicidal and spreads out. We change all the time accordingly. It is useless if we have your own mindset and don't listen to the grassroots, so this is another way of contributing. This is well recognized by all service providers, this is one of the most important source in terms of referral. At least they would consult us whether we can accept the case or not. The third level is to help the clientele to express their concerns, the advocacy part.

Issues

One major problem facing the Family and Youth Counselling Program was the shortage of funding. Despite long waiting list, this division could not do much without proper funding. Ng explained:

We have been trying to look for money every day, every month. I think the government is shedding their responsibility. Like the Anger Management Program that we provide, if it is not for the insurance company, it is non existent, because we are already very tight in our funding, we have a waiting list and a mandate to serve. We found more and more people assaulted their wives and referred by judges to come to SUCCESS, but we didn't have a program. Then we squeeze from our resources. I personally took up many cases. I reflect the situation to the Attorney General and personally went to see him. He promised to do a review, but up to now there was no answer, no funding. They have to cut their court houses, but they are still referring people to SUCCESS, so I wrote to all probation officers, "Don't refer, there is no more program." We have a group of angry men hanging around the street because of restraining order, so we have them informal minimal support. The dilemma is that even we squeeze our resources and lower all the other services, but it doesn't help. The government would just have say their hands are tied, or we can't do anything. Fortunately we were able to write a proposal and the insurance company fund us for the program, that is history.

One issue related to funding was the difficulty to make long-term planning. Ng explained:

One frustration I must share is at the start I tried to do long term planning, because of so much instability I don't even know how to maintain sort of division. We have a big plan, the frustration is when you want to materialize it, there are so many forces coming in place, and we find that if we can achieve half of the goals we set, that is very ideal. There is no support in terms of funding. Even in our aspects as well, we have good facilities, but then what and how about the people and how about the programs itself?

There were other issues facing this Division besides funding. This includes overwork, lack of job security, and low pay. Ng said:

One of the things is the situation of burn-out. People are overworked. We can't help the situation. Everybody is using their commitment. The need is huge and we are under pressure to fulfil. The other is unstable working environment. They are not sure when they will be without a job. The other one is salary. We are below market price, comparing to the major therapy organizations. We are about 1/3 below them.

Future

In terms of the future for this Division, its general direction would not change. Ng argued that they would watch closely for the demographic and social changes of immigrants.

We would never change the direction, watch closely for the demographic and social changes. It's more like one hand it is reactive and the other is proactive. We have been

talking about stabilization of funding, boost up morale, making sure people are more stable, but these are more like dreams which can never be materialized. We have been lucky with collaboration because of social trend. We will do more of this.

In sum, Family and Youth Counselling first started in early 1980s as a family program and later expanded to include counselling services. Starting from the 1990s, they began to offer such services in its branch offices. Family counselling was the core program of this division. In the last few years, they organized workshops on emotional intelligence (EQ), a forum on child issues, and 13 episodes TV programs on family life education. Its programs and services served two major purposes: help immigrants with family and relational issues and advocate on behalf of immigrant in the areas of family services.

Their clients came from diverse backgrounds, but the majority were Chinese speaking immigrants originally from Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan. Some of them were new immigrants while many others had lived here for a long time. Their programs were sponsored by the municipal and provincial governments.

There were altogether 14 people working for the Family and Youth Counselling Program in all SUCCESS locations. Over half of them had master's degrees in Social Work or Clinical Psychology. All of them spoke Cantonese or Mandarin Chinese besides English because of the significance of providing counselling in the clients' native languages. Shortage of funding inhibited them from making long term plans. Other issues facing them included overwork, lack of job security, and low pay.

Small Business Development and Training

Thomas Tam emigrated to Vancouver in 1991 from Hong Kong. He joined SUCCESS upon his arrival. He had worked as the Director of Administration before he became the Program Director of Small Business Development and Training in 1997. The following analysis was based on the talk with him.

Scope of Services

The Small Business Development and Training Centre was formally launched in 1995 to meet the needs of business immigrants. This Division offered three major groups of programs and services, including federally funded programs, daily information and referral services, and business venture with corporations. Programs sponsored by federal government agencies were to help everyone, not just immigrants, start small business. Tam commented:

Our program can be divided into three major components. Federal funded program, we have two contracts with HRDC. One is the Youth Entrepreneurial Development Program

which started in 1996. This is already the fourth year. Each year we train about 30-32 young Canadians to start businesses. The other contract is Self-Employment Assistant Program. We started this contract last year [1998], this program is solely for people who are receiving employment insurance. Again this is to help people to become self employed or to start small businesses. This is the first category.

Information and referral services were to provide business specific information. People who came to this type of services were usually immigrants from Hong Kong, Mainland China, Taiwan, Korea, and other parts of the world. This division also worked with business corporations. Tam explained:

The second aspect is the day to day information and referral services for business immigrants, or immigrants who want to start business in Vancouver. In addition, occasionally we also offer some short-term business start-up training, so that is the second part. The last one is our business venture with the business corporations. We have developed close relationship with big corporations like IBM Canada, Royal Bank, AIC, and some smaller companies to work together in the Chinese market.

During the interview with Tam, I probed him for in-depth understanding of one of their programs, the Youth Entrepreneurial Development Program. This program began in 1996, and it was for everyone within the age of eighteen to thirty, free of charge. The program lasted for four months. It was full time study. There were two intakes every year and 16 participants per intake. However, the priorities were for newcomers and Canadian youth because they were in a more disadvantaged situation. Some of them may have been unemployed for a long time. The objective of this program was to help participants set up their own businesses during the training. Tam stated:

What they have is they will start a business afterward. This is not an academic course. It is a program that help them to start businesses. During the program, they will be assisted to start a business, not after the program. This is part of the program design.

Major Achievements

In recent years the Small Business Development and Training Program won a number of awards. Tam claimed that this kind of recognition was probably the best reward for an ethno-racial organization. He also highlighted the success of the Youth Entrepreneurial Development Program.

We have a couple of initiatives which got good community response, very positive feedback. One is our Youth Entrepreneurial Development Program. It has been operating for three years, and we have received very positive recognition from the government and professionals. Two years ago one of our members was chosen by the Canadian

government to go on a business trip to China with Team Canada led by our Prime Minister, Jean Chretien.

Their Youth Entrepreneurial Development Program was assessed by HRDC as one of the four successful stories for national media. Tam said:

Last year a team of consultants hired by the federal government studied our program and gave us very good feedback. As a consequence our program was chosen as one of the four successful stories for national media production by HRDC. It was broadcast early this year.

Recently, the Youth Entrepreneurial Development Program was also regarded as one of the three best practices in Canada. Tam noted:

Recently in May 1999, a national conference on entrepreneurship training and support, our program was awarded as one of the three best practices in Canada. We have been receiving a lot of positive feedback from the outside agencies and from the government. We just started our I-BOSS e-mail network, this is the first ever e-mail network for the Asian business community. We are very pleased to work with IBM Canada and Royal Bank to launch this e-mail network. This is a free support system for small business people.

Criteria of Assessment

In the previous discussion we learned that the Youth Entrepreneurial Development Program had been assessed as one of four successful stories for national media production by HRDC, and one of the three best practices in Canada at a national conference on entrepreneurship training and support. It was impressive to gain such achievement within a five-year existence. During the interview with Tam, I also explored what were the general criteria used to assess the program. From the following passage I understand that high success rate was an important criterion among many others. This was also an important criterion used by the government to consider renewing their contract. Tam explained:

That award is offered by the National Conference on Youth Entrepreneurship Training and Support. HRDC is one of the partners. HRDC, Royal Bank and UVic form a panel. They have a complicated point system. They evaluate the result, the program design, the objectives, and how to achieve the program. They assess the quality of the staff. It is very complicated thing. For our funding contract, in order to fulfill the requirement of the government, we have achieved a certain percentage of success. In our current contract, success rate must be 70%. Government accepts starting a business or getting a full time employment as success cases, that means we must have 70% of our graduates who either start a small business or have got a full time employment. This is the funding requirement.

Client

The foregoing discussion has made it clear that this Centre basically served three different groups of clients: ordinary citizens from the community, employment insurance recipients, and newly arrived immigrants. Tam commented on clients enrolled in the HRDC sponsored programs.

For the government programs, because they are open for everybody, we have local people, we have new immigrants from Asia, Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan. We have people from India, the Middle East, and recently we have people from Europe - Eastern Europe, and we have people from the United States. In terms of the number of new immigrants, Chinese are still the no. 1, the largest group, and then Koreans.

Staff and Qualifications

At the time of this interview, the Centre had eight staff members and five instructors. Some of their staff and instructors had higher degrees. Tam commented on their background:

Among the programmers, they either have a business degree or social science degree. A couple of them have master's degrees in Business Administration (MBA). For clerical staff, they have their own administrative skills and accounting skills.

They had different requirements for their instructors depending on the subject they were teaching. Tam explained:

It depends on what subject we ask them to teach. For business subject, we are looking for MBA with some kind of practical experience in small businesses; for accountant, we hire chartered accountant or CGA; for business communication, we need people with strong background in business communication, marketing, and networking.

Coming to SUCCESS for Services

For different reasons people came to the Small Business Development and Training Centre to attend their programs. One reason could be its easy accessibility and convenient location. Tam made the following remarks:

I think for some people they find SUCCESS more accessible and more comfortable, but for others they just choose the right location. They just treat SUCCESS as one of the service providers. They may choose us because of the convenient location, because our programs are more suitable to them, or they may have friends who have been in our program. Nowadays, SUCCESS in the eyes of the clients is only one of the major service providers in Vancouver[...] I think so especially among the Asian immigrants, they have a lot of knowledge about SUCCESS. Even before they came to Canada, they learnt about SUCCESS through friends or relatives.

Defining Communal Needs

When they designed programs, this Centre used information from a variety of channels to define the needs of their clients. This could be government statistics, or feedback from clients, businesses and government officials. Tam explained:

Hand in hand with the current programs, we are always searching for the changing needs of our clients and the community through various means. We look at the statistics regularly, both the new immigrant statistics and the demographic change in B.C. We also get feedback from our clients, both the clients who are admitted in our program or clients who were rejected by us before. We use different criteria. We also talk to business people, business associations, and the government officials. We collect their comments and opinion, and that is the major source of information.

Social Contribution

This Centre had contributed to Canadian society by helping both new immigrants and local Canadians get self-sufficiency through starting a business. Tam stated:

When we talk about contribution, we can divide into two major areas. One is how we help new immigrants and local Canadians to get self sufficiency or to get a sustainable life through starting a business or through becoming self-employed. For new immigrants, we call it Economic Integration, we help them to integrate into the economy in one way or the other, either getting a job or starting a business. For the Canadian community at large, we help to develop the economy because we train people to start businesses and we help the new immigrants to speed up their process of getting into the work force or getting faster to start a business.

Social and Economic Integration of Immigrants

I explored the meaning of and differences between social integration and economic integration with Thomas Tam. First, we talked about social integration. Tam stated:

In fact, different people have different definition about social integration. At operational level, people in the immigrant services field are focusing on how people learn the culture, get into the social system like Education, like Health System, like the other government services and family etc.

Then we discussed economic integration. Tam argued that more efforts should go to develop economic integration and the Small Business Development Training Centre was one step towards that goal.

Employment or business is regarded as economic aspect of integration. Little attention has been paid to this kind of assistance in the past. I think 7-8 years ago SUCCESS has started quite substantially employment training. And this is the first sign for us to help immigrants with economic integration, and the opening of this centre is further development of economic integration. We help people to start businesses, we help to develop our economy, we help people to have a sustainable economic life. In a broad sense, economic integration should be part of the social integration, but in the past we

emphasize social aspects and social support more. Nowadays, more and more emphasis is on employment, self-employment, and businesses.

Contradiction with the Original Mandate

Going back to the original mandate of SUCCESS, which was to help Chinese immigrants overcome language and cultural barriers, it seems that this new step taken by SUCCESS to provide small business training was in contradiction with its original mandate. Tam's response was "no." He explained:

I would like to say it as an extension of our service base on the same mandate. For new immigrants, we also help them to overcome cultural and language barriers in doing businesses or in getting employment. For the Canadian community at large, we help to bridge newcomers and local people, and eventually for the well being of everybody. I think this is an extension of our services based on the old mandate.

Funding

Major funding for the Centre came from federal government agencies like Human Resource Development of Canada. It also received funding from private sectors. I asked Tam why HRDC and private sectors decided to fund SUCCESS for such programs and services. Tam stated:

The operation of the funding is that the government has a budget for some employment or self-employment training programs. Everybody can go to bid on the contract. That means the funding is not specifically granted to SUCCESS. SUCCESS is only one of the contractors to go to the government. We compete with other agencies or private firms for the contract. Of course what the government is looking for is quality services, reputation, track record, and some kind of organizational strength.

For private sectors, they benefited from penetrating into the Chinese market through SUCCESS's network. Tam said:

We have a very strong network and infrastructure working with them [private sectors] to penetrate into the Chinese market, and also we have good people to work with them so that they can get what they want. We have a very good communication channel so that they can develop some kind of effective joint venture.

Issues

The Centre was facing two kinds of challenges. One was lack of experience and resources to develop this kind of programs. Tam stated:

I think the most challenging area is that we don't have enough experience, or we don't have enough human resources to develop the business side because SUCCESS is a social service agency and a non-profit organization. So we don't have much experience that way, and we are very new in this field. We have to learn.

Secondly, the nature of SUCCESS as a non-profit organization created a barrier for the potential growth and development of this kind of program. Tam commented:

And the second challenge is the non-profit nature of our organization. There are a lot of possible business ventures which may help us to generate revenue for the whole society. Because of our non-profit nature, we have to take a very conservative approach. We cannot seek for capital investment from outside businesses. That's a challenge for us facing new opportunities.

Future

Owing to unstable funding and lack of experience and infrastructure in this area, the future of Small Business Development and Training was uncertain. Tam explained:

Personally I think it is very uncertain. We don't have a very strong infrastructure in terms of business development and training. We are very young and fragile. That's why I cannot tell what would be the future like. But what we are doing is just to broaden our services and to develop more self sufficient services or business ventures like I-BOSS project so that we can develop a broader base of revenue. And the government funding is not stable. It is very reactive because we cannot change the government funding policies by ourselves. Also, we depend on how the needs from the immigrant community, how is the trend of immigration. That is what we have been doing for the past 27 years and we are also flexible, reactive, and responsive to the changing community needs.

In sum, Small Business Development and Training was formally launched in 1995 in response to the needs of proliferating business immigrants. Their programs included the Youth Entrepreneurial Development Program, business information and referral services, and business venture with corporations. The objective of these programs was to help participants become self-sufficient through setting up their own businesses during the training. The long-term benefits of these programs were to help immigrants with their economic integration. Expanding its programs and services to small business training was regarded as an extension of SUCCESS's original mandate, not a contradiction. In recent years, the Small Business Development and Training Program won a number of awards.

This Division basically served three different groups of clients: ordinary citizens from the local community, employment insurance recipients, and newly arrived immigrants. The Centre employed eight staff members and five instructors. Some of them had master's degrees in Business Administration. Its funding mainly came from the Human Resource Development of Canada. The examination has also revealed that SUCCESS had been contracted by federal government agencies to provide small business training. Accountability elements such as quality services, high success rate, reputation, and organizational strength were important factors in

winning the contract. Meanwhile, private sectors also benefited from penetrating into the Chinese market through SUCCESS's network.

The Centre was facing two kinds of challenges: lack of experience and resources and the nature of SUCCESS as a non-profit organization. They inhibited the potential growth and development of such program.

Employment Training and Services

Thomas Yeung, Program Director of Employment Training and Services, moved to Vancouver from Hong Kong in 1988. He joined SUCCESS upon his arrival as a youth outreach worker. Yeung discussed with me the programs and services under his Division.

Purpose for the Program

The purpose for setting up SUCCESS Employment Training and Services was to help immigrants find jobs and settle in Canada. This included helping immigrants upgrade their English, learn job searching skills, and prepare for resumes and job interviews. Yeung explained:

SUCCESS's is committed to help new immigrants to settle here in Vancouver. Without getting a job we won't be able to help immigrants to settle here in Canada. Our services start off by helping clients to upgrade their English, and then help them to find a job. A lot of clients do not know how to prepare for their resume and how to perform in a job interview. Our employment services start in that particular area, so job searching skills, English upgrading, resume writing are our initial services in the old days.

History of the Program: Reflecting Changes of Government Policies

Language and Job Searching Skills Training

The development of Employment Training and Services have gone through several stages. At the early stages, the Program mainly focused on language training and preparing people for job search. Yeung stated:

[A]t the very beginning, it's very piecemeal task oriented. Because in the old days there are still a lot of jobs around, all you need is to get your resume and upgrade your English, you will be able to get a job. At that time we are much focused on job finding and English upgrading.

Skills Training

When resource based industries were closing down, the focus was on skills training in order to equip people with specific skills to find other jobs. Yeung commented:

The economy is changing. Big industries like mining, forestry, and fishery are closing down, so a lot of people from those industries get laid off and couldn't find themselves a job because they don't have the necessary skills. That's the time the government gives out money to empower or equip people with necessary skills. This is what they call job base

training or project base training (PBT). At that time SUCCESS actually get some of that money to set up project base training and to help them get jobs.

Individual Development

When there were not many jobs available, employment training had moved away from specific skills training to learning broader skills in order to empower people with flexible skills for the rest of their lives. Yeung said:

Moving on, the economy changes again, and there are inadequate jobs. Even if you get the necessary skills, you won't be able to find a job. So the Human Resource Canada changes again. Starting from 1995, they call themselves Human Resource Development Canada. By judging their name, you know they change the philosophy as well. In the past, they call themselves Canadian Job Strategies, using strategic plans equipping and empowering people with specific skills. They are now calling themselves Human Resource Investment Canada, saying they are investing on people. So they throw a lot of money to help you to develop themselves instead of giving skills to them because if those particular skills are no longer valid, then they will be out of job again. They are empowering individual development so that they can be on their own for the rest of their life[...] [T]his is the philosophical change.

Employment training programs used to be free based on the needs of individuals. Now people had to pay. This created dilemmas for non-profit organizations such as SUCCESS, which was not used to charging for their services. Yeung noted:

[...]and now they are again changing to another mode emphasizing on fee for service, ask clients to contribute as well. We have to reorganize our services from a totally non-profit operation into a community college, private training institute mode of operation. This is the reason why we have been consolidating our Employment and Business Development as well as English Language Training services together, and come to a big organization called SUCCESS Training Institute.

Without any doubt, the restructuring of government funding policies had a great impact on the programs and services at SUCCESS. Yeung pointed out that they had to make adjustment accordingly.

Again we still rely on a lot of support from government funding, so we have to be very adaptable to their funding pattern. This is the reason why our staff have to work extremely hard to adapt to changes and to accommodate their funding requirement. Because training services are very costly, I don't believe that SUCCESS or even any community organizations can do it all by itself. What we have to do is to adapt to their funding criteria, but on top of what they expect us to do, we put in our own philosophy to make it work. We get the money complying with their requirement, but at the same time we are using all the resources to help realizing our organizational objectives as well.

SUCCESS Training Institute

SUCCESS Training Institute was formed to consolidate employment related training programs and services. Under the umbrella of SUCCESS Training Institute were three major groups of training services: language training, employment services, and small business development. Yeung argued that the impact of this consolidation on the operation of its programs was immense and positive.

The services are more coordinated because in the past, we have different offices and each office operated independently and works in isolated manner. Now the things are coming under one central administration. Things are more organized with a centralized standard. It is more cost effective and more professional like. We work out together with all branch offices and come up with operating procedures. We have a better way to assure the quality, the outcome of our services. Right now we are undergoing an accreditation, accrediting our services so we are hoping we can strive as much as possible a professional standard.

Client

Employment training programs were not just for immigrants. In fact, they were for everyone without targeting any particular ethnic group. The rationale of opening up the program to everyone was to provide a safe multicultural environment for people from different ethnic backgrounds to learn together. Yeung explained:

The program is for everybody. We don't have any particular pattern to serve any particular ethnic group. There is one rationale behind. We purposefully open up our services because we believe that if we work in the community, then we have to work with everybody[...] A lot of new immigrants are not that comfortable in exposing themselves to other cultures, but here they have a chance to have a little bit of those experience under a guided and protected environment. So after they complete their training, it will be easier for them to go out and be able to practice in a multicultural environment

I probed Yeung on how easy it was to draw people from the mainstream into their programs, he explained that it was not at all difficult.

You can see it is almost half and half here. We actually have been working very diligently on that, and I am glad to say this has been accepted by the mainstream community. You can see people coming, and they are using our services.

Staff and Qualifications

Including contract staff, there were about 100 people working for the Employment Training and Services in 7 branch offices in the Greater Vancouver areas. I believe this number overlapped with the number of staff members I reported in other divisions. Yeung explained that his staff came from diverse cultural backgrounds.

There is another key element that lead to our successful change in terms of multicultural service, that is we hire people from other ethnic groups as well. Our staff members can also reflect the cultural mix as well. We have staff speaking Punjabi, a lot of other languages. They are from other ethnic groups, they help us in build bridges through their own communities and bring clients to us as well.

Funding

Several SUCCESS divisions were funded to help new immigrants settle. Funding for the Employment Training Programs worked differently. They were funded to help Canadians, not just immigrants, get jobs. Yeung explained:

Not only new immigrants are eligible for the funding. We are funded not because we are helping immigrants. They fund us because we are helping people to get jobs. We don't want to say that we only help immigrants, we help people who need the services.

The funding for this division used to be from the federal government. With the devolution of federal responsibilities to the provincial government, funding of such programs would become provincial responsibilities from July 1999. Yeung commented:

The funding pattern keeps changing. In the past, the employment services rely 100% on government funding especially on the federal government, Human Resource Development Canada. But now the policy has changed. From July 1st 1999, all the federal money will stop supporting specific skills training. If you want to become a technician in computer, in the past you can join one of the programs in our office and the government will pay all the costs. But now they are withholding all this money. They pass it to the provincial government, and the provincial government will take up the responsibilities of supporting such training. It will be in another pattern or funding mode. We are now in a transitional period, and we are actually adapting to it, the whole field is adapting to this change. We are also moving from 100% government funded mode to a fee for service mode, so clients have to pay for part of the costs instead of government looking after everything[...]

Since they were changing from offering free services to fee charging, I asked Yeung how students with financial difficulties would cope with that change. Yeung commented that participants could apply for student loan if they were eligible.

If they do have problems, they might have to look for student loan or grants or scholarships[...] Again it depends on individual's eligibility. For example, if you are an EI recipient, then you are eligible for applying for government support. But again they will be doing an assessment of your financial situation. If you are pretty well off, then you probably don't get that much. If you can demonstrate that you havr financial problems, then the government can give you full support. It is a little bit different from the practice in the past because in the past, once you are on employment insurance, once you have that status, they will be giving you support 100%.

I probed Yeung if SUCCESS itself offered any kind of financial support to their needed participants. He said:

SUCCESS does come up with some scholarships and bursaries, so we do a little bit of assessment ourselves for those who cannot financially afford to join those courses. We will be able to provide them with some financial support as well. This is something we are well aware of because SUCCESS is a social service organization. We do want to help those who are unable to help themselves.

Regarding applying for government funding, I asked Yeung what criteria were used to judge successful application. He told me that organizational strength and credibility were important.

That is easy, results speak for credibility. If you were a funder, what you worry about is, after you pass out the money, you would like to have results back. If you don't get the results expected, no matter how persuasive you are, they won't give you the money. I think SUCCESS has a good reputation, and our services have good track record. This helps a lot for us to get money.

Yeung also told me that because of SUCCESS's high reputation, sometimes they were invited by the government to participate in government sponsored projects. Working with community partners successfully also helped them get funding as well. Yeung commented:

In fact, in some occasions we are asked to do something for the government instead of trying to fight or bid for funding. And at the same time, we have a lot of community partners. As I said, it is important to be working together with community partners. In many programs, we work together with other organizations to get funding such as this operation as well. We work closely with HRDC, and we work together with school boards. In many of my programs, we actually have community partners, which help us get funding as well.

Relationship Between Employment Training Services and Integration

According to Yeung, employment training alone could not help immigrants achieve total integration. To help them realize the goal of integration, an immigrant service organization needed to provide a range of programs, including language training, counselling services, and employment programs. Yeung stated:

As I point out, this is my philosophy and belief that employment is not an isolated issue. Integration, adaptation, settlement are holistic. You can't just accomplish one particular area of adaptation. Adaptation is total adaptation. You learn the language, you find yourself a house, you put your kids to school. But at the same time, you have to find yourself a job. Any breakdown of this system will be affecting your family. This is a system theory, every system and every part has to work together[...] That is why we have to bring in all these other sectoral services to make the ultimate goal as job finding. It is not just a job, it is a job that people feel happy and comfortable to work with. It will

ultimately affect the family life, children, and then their whole settlement and adaptation. Everything is inter-related. That is why SUCCESS has been so successful [in promoting integration] because SUCCESS is an organization providing a wide range of services rather than just one particular sector of service.

A Barrier to Integration

Because SUCCESS had developed so fully and provided such a comprehensive range of programs, some people may feel comfortable to stay with the organization instead of going to other organizations to seek for services and help. Yeung pointed out that certainly it was not their intention to keep their clients within SUCCESS.

That depends on how people understand our operation. As I have just mentioned to you, our operation encourages our clients to go out instead of keeping them here. We encourage them to participate, and to get involved in the community so that they could perform a function more properly and be able to have more opportunities to get jobs. We don't have the intention to keep them here.

Yeung also argued that in some service areas, because mainstream organizations could not provide culturally appropriate services, some Chinese immigrants had to stay with the organization in order to get what they needed.

There are services that confined clients to stay in the Chinese community, and those services are probably due to language or cultural constraints. For example, there is one particular service that is very limited and that is family counselling. I don't believe that any mainstream services can accommodate the counselling needs that the Chinese immigrants are having. You have to use first language to do the counselling, you have to have the first hand understanding of the cultural background. If people say we are ghettolizing them, I don't argue because there is a need to provide services in the more cultural sensitive manner, but not for employment, not for our volunteer services, and not for our language services.

In addition, Yeung stated that some of their programs had participants from other ethnic communities, and that they also referred their volunteers to other organizations.

You see our language training also has other ethnic group participants as well, and so do our small business development, employment. Our volunteer services work together with other volunteer groups, and referring a lot of Chinese volunteers out to the mainstream. If that is a criticism, I would say that the one who is criticizing has not come to know our services that well, giving that comment without really understanding what we are doing.

Holistic Approach in Employment Training

Thomas Yeung and his colleagues learned that to help immigrants find jobs, it was not enough to teach them English or writing good resumes only. In fact, it needed a variety of programs working together to get them ready for the job market. Over the past few years, this

particular philosophy and practice had been characterized as 'holistic approach.' Yeung explained:

Looking back, we start off with very piecemeal task like English upgrading and resume writing or preparation services, but we find that's not enough. We end up adopting a holistic approach in helping our clients to get jobs[...] As I said, employment issue shouldn't be owned by anybody. Everybody has a part to play. This is the basic spirit and philosophy. We believe that if you want to address this particular issue, one particular service wouldn't be able to solve the problem all by itself. You have to bring in other services. So this is the reason why our employment service is not just focusing on job finding. If they have a family problem, for instance, you can't help people to get a job and work satisfactorily. If they have family problem unsolved, we have to address that as well. We work closely with family counsellors, and work closely with the families and the parents so as to ensure people it is not only getting a job, but also getting the job they want, they need, and they are happy to work with. At the same time, even after getting a job they need to be able to maintain and keep their jobs as well.

The 'holistic approach' also required working collaboratively with employers, community organizations, and government agencies. Yeung said:

We adopt an approach that bring in community partners to help the clients in their job searching process because we strongly believe that unemployment is not a problem of that particular kind only, it is a problem and responsibility of the government, as well as all sectors in the community. Base on this particular belief, our service is trying to mobilize all sectors and get them involved in the job finding process[...] We formed an advisory committee, bringing in Chamber of Commerce representatives, bringing in government representatives to sit as advisor, and through the connections we will be able to reach out to the community. In our program, from time to time we also bring in employers from different fields to speak to our clients. Their support and help is indispensable too.

Furthermore, volunteer groups also contributed to this approach. Yeung noted:

We also work closely with volunteer groups because they can serve as mentors, and pass on their experience to job seekers. They can be the guide as well. We use volunteers to help our clients to not only get job, but to know how to work in the communities or work in a particular work place.

By using this approach, they encouraged clients to lend support to each other. Yeung explained:

At the same time, we emphasize a lot on client self-involvement and participation as well. We form with them a mutual aid group, what we call is 'student alumni.' We use that as a mechanism to empower themselves to share information among themselves, and through that mechanism get them involve in the community as well.

More importantly, this approach encouraged participants to participate in community activities. Yeung said:

Apart from job seeking, we encourage them to take an active role in the community as well. So they join in a lot of community events, and they get themselves involve in the city plan. There is a lot of mainstream activities that our clients are involving in as well. The reason behind that is that it will make them feel not only that they are taking services from the community, but they are also contributing. This will help them to rebuild their self-confidence and self-image so that when they are walking into an interview, they probably will demonstrate confidence as well as high self-image rather than being seen as somebody who is helpless, who can't do anything.

Yeung was proud to point out that this approach was regarded as one of the best practices across Canada.

Basically I come from social work background. All these actually are incorporated with social work philosophy and theory. This is what we call holistic approach applying some sort of system theory in our practice. Many of our colleagues are also with social work background so the staff team actually comes together and finds this very effective model. Recently this particular model has been regarded as one of the best practices across Canada. We are invited to Quebec to present our case in international case conference. It has been proven as very effective practice model. This is the holistic model.

The above discussion has demonstrated that the holistic approach was a collaborative approach with sophisticated philosophy built in. It required collaboration with other section of services, such as language training and counselling. It also involved people from outside SUCCESS, such as the business partners and government agencies.

Mutual Help

As just mentioned, mutual support was an important component of the 'holistic approach.' Yeung discussed further the importance of forming mutual help groups among the job trainees themselves.

This is a very important part because getting clients involved in the process will work even better than having just a counselling worker do all the job. Because job seeking is a very long and time-consuming task, if you are working alone, how many times can you spend on going out and searching for jobs? But if you are doing in a group, emotionally you get support, and you get a wider exposure, and people can share information together. While we got lots of information and job needs through the alumni, I can run into a job which is not applicable to me, but can be a very good opportunity for you. For graduates who have been able to find themselves a job, they are already working in the field, and they have the first hand information on where the jobs are in the field, they bring the information back to the alumni activity group and share this with those who haven't yet get a job, this is a very important networking function. At the same time, we got a lot of tips and support from that operation.

Trainee Alumni

It was not rare to see alumni in universities and colleges. At SUCCESS, graduates from the Employment Training Program also formed alumni groups. As discussed above, they often helped each with information. Yeung explained how trainee alumni groups worked:

Usually they meet at social events. This is some extra work for us, this is not a mandatory sort of task. But we find this is a very effective way to practice so our staff voluntarily take up this extra responsibility and assignment. Usually, the activity takes place in the evenings, Saturdays, or Sundays because that is usually the time when our graduates are available. We may have Karaoke, tea, or picnic together. It usually happens once a month or once every two months, depending whether the graduates are having interest in special activities or whether they are interested in coming back. In other words, there are no very regular intervals. Sometimes they come back and help our programs a little bit. For example, if we have a new class, very often we invite some graduates from the alumni to come back and do a little bit of testimonial for us, sharing their experience with the new students about our programs. Sometimes they come back and talk to the new class about the experience they get in the specific trades. Even for some events that SUCCESS is holding such as GM show or the Walkathon, they come to help. When there is a new office, the alumni usually donate a cake to help celebrate the new office. This is a very strong and key support to our services. As long as the clients keep coming back, we know we are doing a good job. Otherwise, probably they don't like us.

Social Contribution

Yeung highlighted the social contribution of the employment training programs mainly in the areas of building bridges and promoting integration.

I don't want to single out SUCCESS's employment services, it is part of the operation as well. SUCCESS is still playing a very major role in bridging, which is still SUCCESS's function as well as service mandate. It is working. As you can see, after going through our service a lot of our clients are totally integrated into the community, and they are playing a bridging role. I believe SUCCESS is still achieving its role very effectively in terms of bridge building and helping new immigrants in adapting and integrating into the community.

Issues

Some challenges facing Employment Training Programs were to assure quality while expanding services, and to train more professional staff members for the future. Yeung stated:

We have been expanding so fast, this is the time we have to look at quality assurance. We actually have issues about human resources, staff members are getting old, sooner or later there are some very capable staff who are going to retire. We need to develop a second tier of staff, and it takes time and good planning as well as strategies. This is one thing I see as most crucial to the continuation of SUCCESS services. We need to first of all be professional, and to ensure quality of services; at the same time, we should be looking at human resource investment as well.

Future

Yeung maintained that universities and community colleges were not successful in accommodating minority students. He saw the gap there. He predicted that the future for the SUCCESS Training Institute would be a community college for immigrant students.

I don't believe I will be staying long enough to see this happen, it would take a lot time to achieve. I see the SUCCESS Training Institute can easily have high chances to become a community college for the visible minority groups. The reason is there is a service gap there. There are community colleges like VCC, but those colleges have their own eligibility criteria, admission criteria, whereas the visible minorities can hardly get in. SUCCESS Training Institute can definitely play this role. We have seven campuses, we are dynamic, we are flexible. In the future, I can gradually foresee that it can consolidate, and be able to come up in a more organized way to become a community college for the visible minorities.

In sum, SUCCESS Employment Training and Services was originally set up to assist immigrants to find jobs and settle in Canada, including helping immigrants upgrade their English, learning job searching skills, and preparing for resumes and job interviews. Their change of focus over time reflected the restructuring of government policies which usually had great impact on the programs and services at SUCCESS. As a contractor of government agencies, the Society had to adjust to the changing funding pattern of the government.

In more recent years, Employment Training Programs have shifted to be open for everyone without targeting any particular ethnic group. The staff members were formed by people from diverse cultural backgrounds. With the devolution of federal responsibilities to the provincial government, funding for such programs became a provincial responsibility from July 1999. Organizational strength and credibility, and successful collaboration with community organizations were important components in winning government sponsorship. Because of SUCCESS's high reputation, sometimes they were invited by the government to participate in government sponsored projects.

From its past experience, SUCCESS Employment Training and Services has developed its own approach. The holistic approach was a collaborative endeavour with other sections of SUCCESS services, such as language training and counselling. It also involved people from outside SUCCESS, such as business partners and government agencies. This approach was regarded as one of the best practices across Canada by people in the field.

SUCCESS Training Institute was formed to consolidate employment related training programs and services. Under the umbrella of SUCCESS Training Institute, it now encompassed three major groups of training services: language training, employment services, and small

business development. The impact of this consolidation on the operation of its programs was positive. The future for the SUCCESS Training Institute could be a community college for immigrant students.

Group and Community Services

Shirley Leung, Program Director of Group and Community Services, joined SUCCESS in 1980 as the Volunteer Program Coordinator. Later she became the Coordinator of Membership Program. As the Membership Program Coordinator, she also looked after senior's programs, women's programs, radio and TV production programs, a membership newspaper, and the SUCCESS Newsletter. In an interview with her, she shared her insights with me about programs and services under this division.

Scope of Services

The Division of Group and Community Services looked after senior's programs, women's programs, and community development. Leung explained:

Gradually with the growing of the organization, group and community services have changed several times. The component up to today is including senior services, women services, as well as community development. We do community outreach for seven different communities in Vancouver, reaching out to neighbourhood and mainstream services to encourage them to participate, and also to build up their access – how to access the mainstream services, this linkage.

This division also organized community education, liaised with the media and the Chinese community, and promoted volunteer and membership program. Leung said:

We also look after community education. We just produce two radio programs in two radio stations as well as a column, to write up weekly news in the newspaper, coordinate SUCCESS promotion, publicity, and liaison with the media and relationship with community at large. In Chinatown itself, we also liaise with all the organizations in the Chinese community, as well as volunteer and membership programs. We now have 7,000 volunteers, 16,000 members is also under our coordination.

Next, Leung described in detail some of the programs they organized, such as the Summer Program, Youth Leadership Program, and the Community Orientation Program.

Summer Program is a special package, and it is catered for everybody from childhood to seniors. We have a Youth Leadership Program for 120 people, and Youth Development program for 40 people, 160 youth from ages 11 to 23. For the Summer Bridging Project, it is catered from childhood (1-3 years old) to seniors. The Community Orientation Program helps people get familiar with the resources in the community and build up the network. From these programs, people also learn about the transportation network or communication network with the community, know more about the function of facilities and policies among the government and the structure of the different cities and

government, organize field trips, and communicate with politicians. The one that just looks after transit knows more about how to make access to single transfer, the better use of transfer. We visit post offices know, learn about the function of them, and what kind of relationships with the community. Library, people are not aware there are so many good publications for adults, seniors or children. We bring them to access this kind of services.

Collaboration within the Chinese Community

Group and Community Services organized many events in collaboration with other organizations within the Chinese community, including clan organizations, the Chinese Cultural Centre, the Chinese Benevolent Association, and the Chinese Merchants' Association. Leung first described how a clan association helped them with Walk With the Dragon event.

We have a long supporter like Shaun Yee Association. In 1986, when we start Walk With the Dragon, they are the team that helps us out to start up the dragon dance. We never know the dragon dance, we are not well trained. We don't have this kind of contact and connection. Since 1986 until today, 14 years already, it's ongoing support and ongoing contact with them. This group of people voluntarily helps us out. We don't pay them a penny. We have good relationship with them.

Another example Leung referred to was how Jin Wah Sing, a Chinese opera group, lent them costumes and musical instruments for membership gatherings.

When we have our membership gatherings in 1981-83, we got support from Jin Wah Sing, a Chinese opera group. They just lend us their costumes, musical instruments, their musical instructors to help us with our performances[...] We have worked with these people for more than 20 years.

This division also organized a number of community events, such as the Chinese New Year celebration, the Mid-Autumn Festival, and China Flood Relief campaigns collaboratively with the Chinatown Merchants Association, the Chinese Benevolent Association, and Chinese Cultural Centre. Leung stated:

There is joint effort and collaboration during every Chinese New Year. That is the event our division looks after. We plan for 5-6 months to prepare for this kind of event. The China flood relief, the Chinatown Merchants Association, the Chinese Benevolent Association, and also the Chinese Cultural Centre, we work hand in hand to coordinate that. The year 2000 celebration, we work closely with all these organizations, so-called leaders to work together and plan some community effort.

Collaboration with the Chinese Media

Liaising with the Chinese media was another important responsibility of this Division. This included working with 4 Chinese newspapers, 3 radio stations, and 2 TV stations. Leung commented:

I deal with four Chinese newspapers, 3 radio stations, and 2 TV. The 3 radio stations are 1320, FM96.1, and AM1470. TV stations include Fairchild TV and City Television. We send them press release when there are events. I am also responsible for day-to-day promotion of programs. We negotiate with them to allocate some spot for promotion. We produce one hour weekly radio program with 1470. We have volunteers looking after the radio production. We have around ten big events every year, including two major fundraising events. What we do is to write up the script and also to produce the interview script. We have close contact with them.

Reaching Out to Mainstream Society

SUCCESS has built partnerships with 150 mainstream organizations, such as community centres, hospitals, health boards, police, school boards, and the media. Leung illustrated in detail two collaborative programs: the Meals on Wheels Program and the Health Fair.

We have 150 partners in the community, like hospitals. The Meals on Wheels Program is one example. We work together with the Mount St. Joseph Hospital, the Strathcona community centre, and the health board. We serve residents in Vancouver East, also the Cross-Cultural Seniors Network. We have so many members from different senior group.

We organize the Health Fair. We work with the Trans Canadian Medical Society, the Dental Society, and the Health Board. They are all mainstream organizations. The Cancer Society is also mainstream. We invite 50-60 organizations to set up booths at the Health Fair. In the coming September, we are going to a Crime Prevent Fair. We are working on this in our division. Police is mainstream and school boards as well. We are close with the Chinese media, and the mainstream media is very helpful as well.

Volunteer Program

Volunteers played a very instrumental role in the daily operation of SUCCESS. They helped SUCCESS with different tasks in various areas. The number of volunteers have increased from 150 in 1980 to over 7,000 in 1998. Leung illustrated the kind of help SUCCESS received from volunteers in the 1980s:

I remember when I started, there were 150 people. It's a lot. I have to mingle with them, and work with them to identify the strength, weakness, needs, and priority. Remember at that time, most of the volunteers involved in the interpretation services, that is very important service, great demand. You have to remember in 1980, the timing, the majority of the immigrants came from China, the family members came from China. There are a lot of problems e.g, going to see the doctor, applying for UI. By the time there was a strong team of volunteers as well as publication committee, they formed the radio and production team, and they also provide clerical support for the society doing reception work[...] There are 150, and we always meet together, and we know everybody. Whenever we have emergency to deal with, with one phone call they will come. They totally contribute and dedicate to meaningful society. Like a family, they serve the needy person.

Besides helping immigrant from China in the 1980s, volunteers also contributed to helping Vietnamese refugees settle in Vancouver. The following quote from Leung described how volunteers helped with a SUCCESS open house event.

When I join SUCCESS in January [1980], there was an open house in February. The volunteers were very new to SUCCESS, and they help us to get 200 black and white prints (very expensive), and to print pictures for the services. Another volunteer team does captions, and develops flyers of what SUCCESS is about. We spent almost 4 weeks, and everybody stayed late until 12 o'clock. Fifth worked together in a very small office. Something like that is good team work.

The Board members were also part of the dedicated volunteers' team. Leung stated:

We have 12 board members at that time, who were very dedicated. They come here just like staff. They come almost every night and help with projectss. We don't have clear roles as you are the staff, board or volunteers. We treat ourselves as a whole and we work for projects.

Leung also pointed out that, with the increase in volunteers, SUCCESS was trying to make sure they had adequate training.

Today the volunteers are spread over from Vancouver, Richmond, and Tri-City. And in Richmond and Tri-City, we have part time volunteer coordinators, but in Vancouver we have full time coordinators doing the volunteers and membership. Most of time is spent on volunteer interviews, contacting with agencies, and also doing volunteer recruitment[...], not only doing the daily services but also management work, and recruiting appropriate people to do the right job. That is our mandate, no matter whether it is 1980 or today. We make sure there is quality control. Skill training and job training are so important. Make sure everybody is doing a good job.

Leung maintained that, without the help of volunteers, SUCCESS could not survive.

Without volunteers, we cannot survive. Around our 12 branches, including part time staff and instructors, we have 200 people, But in terms of volunteers, we have 7,000. You can see why we need 7,000 people because we are totally manpower. Like us, we only have 4 full time staff, but we have 300 dedicated volunteers who come everyday. Without them, we cannot survive.

Membership Program

At the time of this interview, SUCCESS had a membership of 16,000. According to Shirley Leung, 90% of their members were their clients. In terms of reasons for becoming members, Leung maintained that it was likely their appreciation of SUCCESS services which made them decide to join the Society. Talking about the significance of having such a large membership, Leung argued that membership meant sources of income and information.

Board members come from membership. Members are actually our boss. Members are our resources. Ten dollars in a way is a big deal, ten times 16,000 is a lot. Through members we knew their needs and trends, and recruited many volunteers. Like women's groups, senior groups, they are members. Thanks to the founding members, they notify this important matter and decided to keep the volunteer membership coordinators. It's very important for the society.

SUCCESS Newsletter used to be one major channel of communication between the Society and its members. In 1988, the Newsletter ceased publication due to financial difficulties and the increase of membership (from 1,000 in 1981, to 5,000 in 1988, and to 10,000 in 1994). Its publication was resumed in 1995, but as a quarterly publication instead of a monthly. The Newsletter was stopped again in 1998 until the time of this interview. Leung explained how they communicate with their members now:

Why we chose to stop? Because it's very expensive, we just put up more information through *Singtao*, *Ming Pao*, *China Journal*, and *World Journal*. We try to make use of this kind of media channel to keep in touch with our members. For example, in *World Journal*, just last month we decided to make it a quarterly full page, as well as in *China Journal* we tried to allocate a column for our members. *World Journal* is catered for people from Taiwan, *China Journal* is mainly for Chinese from China. In *Singtao*, we have our regular weekly column. Starting from this January [1999], I am the one to be the columnist. That is why I can just pass on the information to update our members and inform the public regarding SUCCESS programs and events, or whatever. *Ming Pao*, we have a weekly column there. I don't see there is a lack of communication.

Integration or Segregation

When asked if the full development of SUCCESS would hinder immigrants from integrating into mainstream society, Leung gave several examples to argue against this allegation. She first commented on SUCCESS's original mandate in building bridges between mainstream society and immigrants.

We are doing community development in Richmond and Tri-City. We are doing this kind of development. One of our missions is bridging, which means we are doing all the partnerships with all the mainstream services to serve the local people. That is our trend and this kept us for 12 years already. From day one we start up SUCCESS, we were doing bridging. The founding members negotiate with government to start up services with this group. They noticed that we are not doing celebration, we are doing just participation and integration, with this kind of mandate.

Second, SUCCESS referred their volunteers and members to mainstream agencies to participate in their activities. Leung said:

For the volunteer program, why we would like to pair up with 150 partners and place them to work for other agencies? Are we keeping the 7,000 volunteers in SUCCESS and

not placing them in society? We are not just keeping our members. We are doing outreach in Killarney, Marple and Renfrew. We do not just encourage members to come to Chinatown and SUCCESS, we encourage them to go to Killarney centre, the south Van neighbourhood houses. We try to develop senior centres, and we encourage our members to join them for feedback and support. We start Killarney Fraserview neighbourhood participation project to build up the neighbourhood partnerships hand in hand, to work with the other ethnic groups. I don't see that is a correct comment.

Defining Communal Needs

Leung pointed out that, when they designed programs, they relied on survey results and feedback from the community.

This is through research and survey. We did seniors' survey and women's survey. We do community survey. We pay door to door visit as well as survey in the local commercial area, and also visit to the business area. We look at census, and also consult community centres and neighbourhood houses. Through this kind of contact and research, we sit down and prioritize.

Sometimes they also received special requests from other community groups which prompted them to design programs. Feedback from the media also helped them define communal needs. Leung noted:

Secondly, it is because we receive both requests and demands. For example, in the Dunbar community, they come to us five years ago. They told us, "We got many Chinese clients in the community. In our area no one can serve them because no one can speak the language." [...] We don't work on our own; we work with partners. They know their communities very well, and we offer them help and try to start the service. The media is very good. They provide us with lots of feedback and comments. We have radio programs so we keep communicating with the public and we got the feedback right away.

Social Contributions

Leung argued that SUCCESS had contributed to Canadian society in two major areas: advocacy and civic education. First, she talked about advocacy:

No. 1 is advocacy, such as the W5 issues. The second thing is civic education. Advocacy, as I mentioned, racism is one thing. We also advocate on immigration policies. If they have any problems maybe misleading or racism towards the Chinese, we are the one to speak right away.

SUCCESS had also contributed to educating the public, especially Chinese immigrants, about their rights and responsibilities. Leung stated:

And like civic education, during the federal election, provincial election, and city election, SUCCESS does a lot of work, nobody knows. We provide interpretations at polling stations. We escort voters to go to the station without influencing them which party to choose. Working with the media closely to encourage the citizens to come out

and vote. We help them to translate government documents into Chinese. We provide workshops on how to vote, encourage them to vote, and familiarize them with the system. We also organize meetings with MPs, MLAs, all the candidates. What we are trying to do is citizenship participation. We are very sensitive to all issues, like crime prevention. Since the 1980s, we put on lots of efforts doing crime prevention. We are the ones to initiate setting up Chinatown Community policing and crime prevention[...] Health issue is a very big matter with cutting back from health boards. Still we try to fight for health protection. We already organize a health fair for eight years, linking up with all the resources.

Why SUCCESS was Successful

Leung maintained that it was humans who made SUCCESS so successful. This included immigrants themselves, volunteers, board members, staff, and government workers. She said:

Human beings, I don't classify mainstream Caucasians or Chinese, but human beings. We see the needs and demands that are of interest to immigrants. We have backup from volunteer teams and the expertise, even government itself, members, staff, board members, and donors. The sensitivity to the trends and needs, and the close communication and network with the community are so important. No matter whether they are members or clients, they all contributed.

Staff

Group and Community Services had four full time staff members. Leung stated that they relied on 300 volunteers to help them.

Full time staff, including myself is only four. We have 300 volunteers working closely every month. We have the Seniors' Council, we have the Service Council. In ESL classes, we have 40 monitors. These are all volunteers, and they come everyday. In the women's Program, they have their own board members. We have the Scouts Program, it is for age 5 to 18. We have 40 leaders for that group, 30 parents. This is for youth development also, we have another 10 leaders for that. We have volunteer membership committee, 20 people on that. In the office, we have at least one volunteer to support us, taking phone calls and photocopying. We have so many things to do.

Funding

According to Leung, Group and Community Services received funding only from one source, the Social Planning Department of the City of Vancouver.

Issues

Leung maintained that lack of stable funding was a major problem for SUCCESS.

Funding is our weakest point. We don't have stable funding. Every year we apply and every year we face cut backs. Governments think we are resourceful, "you can raise your own fund." We are so generous to place volunteers to other organizations, the mainstream thinks we are so resourceful. "Whenever we request volunteers even on short notice, SUCCESS just provides right away because you have the resources." We should be

aware of this kind of manipulation. We still like to work with the other partners because with our mandate, we do bridging work. We help immigrants, we would like to help them settle down, and recognize working experience as volunteer work. We would like to bear with this kind of manipulation. We just keep on referring volunteers to other society. We have the trust of our volunteers, but we are manipulated by some organizations.

In sum, the Division of Group and Community Services looked after a wide range of programs, including senior's programs, women's programs, and community development. This division also liaised with the media and Chinese community organizations, and promoted volunteer and membership program. Over the past years, SUCCESS has built partnerships with 150 mainstream organizations, such as community centres, hospitals, health boards, police, school boards, and the media.

Volunteers played an important role in the daily operation of SUCCESS. The number of volunteers had increased from 150 in 1980 to over 7,000 in 1998. At the time of this research, SUCCESS had a membership of 16,000 people. Membership brought in sources of income and information for SUCCESS.

Group and Community Services has made its contribution in the areas of advocacy and public education. This division received funding from the Social Planning Department of the City of Vancouver. Lack of stable funding was identified as a major issue facing this Division.

Richmond Office

T. N. Foo moved from Hong Kong to Vancouver in 1990, and joined SUCCESS soon after arrival. He had been working as the Program Director of the Richmond Office since then. In interview, he talked about programs and services at the Richmond Office.

History

The Richmond Office was established on July 14, 1989. Foo talked about how this branch office started.

It was more or less a year after it started that I took over the office. It was on New Westminster Highway. There were two classrooms there until my charge. We have what we called the LINC program, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada, which is a federal government funded program. We still have LINC classes over there and LINC classes here [Office at the Caring Place].

Before the opening of this office, Chinese immigrants in Richmond relied primarily on mainstream organizations or SUCCESS Head Office in Chinatown for services. Foo explained:

Chinese origin immigrants started to come to Richmond in 1986. Of course, before that we got a small number of Chinese immigrants. In fact, my sister-in-law came in 1980, but at that moment in time the number of immigrants were rather small. They get their

services in two ways. One is to go to the mainstream organization with a interpreter. The other way is to go to Chinatown to SUCCESS to get the services in Chinese, but it takes an hour of travel by bus or even by car to get the services. This is why SUCCESS felt in 1989, it was not ideal for all the lower Mainland people to go to Chinatown to get the services.

Foo revealed that this action of expansion was supported by the philosophy of community development and taking services to the clients. He said:

This is the general philosophy of social service that we reach out to the target group rather than asking the client group to come to us. So this is what we hope, as far as there is service need and there are resources available, we try to reach out to the community, rather than setting up a big organization in one particular spot and asking everybody who need the services to go there for the services.

Purposes for Richmond Office

There were two major purposes for SUCCESS to reach out to the Richmond community: meeting the settlement needs of new immigrants, and helping them integrate. Foo commented:

My personal belief is that, before they can be a fully contributing member of the society, the new immigrants need orientation, they need services to help them to settle down, and they need sort of support services. If our orientation/services can reach them at the very beginning of the immigrant days, the quicker they can contribute back to the community, and then they can integrate back to the community. So the primary aims of our services right from the very beginning are twofold: one is to help meet the needs of these new immigrants and then the second one is to help them to integrate into the new society. Some people see this as contradicting, but I personally do not take this view that the more services we provide to the new immigrants, the more we delay their integration into the society. I do not buy this idea.

Programs and Services

Reflection of Six Areas of Programs

The provision of programs and services at the Richmond Office reflected the six groups outlined by the SUCCESS Head Office: Language Training and Settlement Services, Family and Youth Counselling, Employment Training and Services, Small Business Development and Training, Community Airport Newcomers Network, and Group and Community Services. Among them, the employment training programs were administered through one centralized office. Furthermore, the Richmond Office also had their own initiatives based on local needs. First, Foo commented on the Family and Youth Counselling and Language Training programs:

In a way, these [six groups of programs and services] are the base, the foundation of our services, so we continue. We just add on to that. For example, we provide counselling services. At the same time, we increase what we called the Problem Gambling Counselling as well. It is again based on family counselling approach. We expanded

Language Training. Now we have two types of language training. One is funded by government, that is what we called the LINC program. Then we have our own ESL program, which is free charging. Because for those who have completed the LINC program, and they feel they need to learn more English, we arrange English classes on a self-sufficiency base.

Volunteer Development: A Win-Win Situation

In the Richmond Office alone, there were 1000 volunteers. Foo stated that their volunteer groups contributed in four ways: organizing activities for themselves, helping with SUCCESS activities, serving the Richmond community as a whole, and contributing to society at large. Meanwhile, volunteers themselves would get a sense of satisfaction, self exposure, and more knowledge about society. Foo called the Volunteer Development Program a 'win-win' situation.

My personal vision or wish for volunteer development is to create a win-win situation. In other words, for volunteers who contribute so much of their energy and time, they should get something back. As I describe, in general our volunteer groups would do four kinds of things. One is organizing some sort of activities for themselves or their own groups of people. SUCCESS lead their services. The second category of service would be serving SUCCESS. The third area is that they serve the Richmond community as a whole. And then the fourth area is that they would expand their program activities for the entire society[...] In doing so, they have a sense of satisfaction that they serve somebody else, but at the same time they get something back. At least they feel they are more exposed, their times is better used. On the other hand, they get a little bit more knowledge on the education or medical or legal area. This is the approach I try to pursue for the past years, and I am glad we have rather strong volunteer groups now in my Richmond office.

Self-Support Groups

Another area in which the Richmond Office was successful was the development of Self-support Volunteer Groups. Foo stated:

Another example, like Volunteer Development, previously we just tried to develop new immigrants or long time residents to participate as volunteers. Throughout the years, I tried to develop that concept into what we call Self Support Volunteer Group. Nowadays, we have a very strong Chinese Senior Group. We have a few more groups like this, such as the Women's Club, the Parents Association, the Mandarin Speaking Immigrant Self Support Group, and we have a number of youth groups.

Foo talked about one specific Self Support Group, the Women's Club. This club organized a variety of programs, and formed a network among themselves. It very much acted like a miniature organization. Foo explained:

These Self Programming Groups or Self Support Groups form themselves together into a miniature organization. They have their own executive committees and their general membership. They plan for their activities. For example, the Women's Club, they have weekly activities in the Caring Place here. Every Friday, except summer holiday or

Christmas holidays, they have meetings from 10:00 a.m. to 12:30 pm. In this kind of meeting, they invite people to come to talk about health, skin care, sometimes cooking, and sometimes handicraft, a variety of interesting topics[...] They are educational, recreational, and practical. At the same time, they form this kind of network with the newcomers. Some of the women learn from their long time counterparts. Sometimes they have adjustment problems, the women's club provides them with a little bit of Peer Group Counselling. Of course when they identify the problem that the new immigrant cannot face, they refer to our family counsellor for services.

When the self-support groups initiated and organized their own programs, the Richmond Office became a facilitator. Foo noted:

For each club I have one colleague to be their liaison person, helping them to book the venue, or to invite the professional. Sometimes they feel the invitation should be sent in the name of SUCCESS rather than the club, we do all these facilitating and helping. But their program plans are initiated by themselves, planed and implemented by themselves.

Community Bridging

Community bridging was also an important part of their daily activities. Foo said:

At the same time, the last part in my report is community bridging. In other words, my colleague and I sit on a number of committees of government, over 20. I sit on a number of school board committees, on the integrated health council committee, and other organization's committee. Sometimes they have ad hoc task force that I sit on, as well as some of my staff members.

Through sitting on committees, the Richmond Office could link up the immigrants with mainstream organizations. He stated:

One thing is that we get a first hand knowledge and information from all these committees on this aspect so that we can pass on to the new immigrants. The second part is that we can act as voicing out from a more cultural sensitivity angle to see the issue. For example, for the foundation program we would provide them with a little more cultural sensitivity approach, like the health program etc. The third advantage is that sometimes we act on their behalf to collect input from the Chinese community, and then we can have a sort of official paper presented to the parties concerned. This is what we call community building.

Foo revealed that the demographic characteristics of immigrants in Richmond had changed dramatically in the last few years, and that their programs had to change accordingly.

The mix of the immigrants has changed over the years, so our service and programs have to match up with these changes. We found that the need of the Chinese immigrants coming from Mainland China is a little bit different from those from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Say for example, they are more in need of employment services than the Hong Kong and Taiwan people because there are quite a number of them who are astronaut families from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In other words, the husband may still be working

and earning money in Hong Kong to support their wives and children here. So for this kind of family, employment or income would not be the major sort of issue. But for immigrants coming from Mainland China, there are very few satellite families. Usually the whole family is here. They are in a greater need for stable employment.

Settlement Services: The Most Popular Services

According to Foo, among the programs and services provided by the Richmond Office, the most popular ones were settlement services. He stated:

Settlement services, including orientation, were the most popular. Every year we organize immigrant orientation programs. We invite government people to talk about the medical system, the Medical Service Plan (MSP), the education system, and the legal system. We invite RCMP people to come to talk to the new immigrants about how to protect themselves, and how to guard against house break-in. If they are involving in traffic accidents, how to report to the police. We provide individual interpretation and translation for the new immigrants. We also have language training programs, whether they can join the government funded LINC class or ESL class. We have general settlement counselling services for new immigrants who may have adjustment problems like marital problem, or generation problem. Last year, every month we got over 200 people. We served over 4000 clients in one year. Sometimes they repeat, sometimes they come for the direct services as well as the counselling services.

Major Achievements

Foo talked with pride about two major achievements. One was the gradual acceptance of SUCCESS by the Richmond community. He stated:

One thing that I am really proud of is that the Richmond community as a whole accepts SUCCESS more and more. One time people argue that to have SUCCESS would create racial division, and I am not saying all the Caucasian has dropped this idea. Some of them still has, some of them still hold this idea. I am glad gradually we get more and more accepted. This is an area we have developed.

The second area which Foo was proud of was volunteer development. He said:

The second area that I am really proud of is what I have described in detail to you the development of this volunteer support group. I see that when there is limited resources, we have to tap in the human resources of the community. This support group does really serve many other people without too many resources from SUCCESS or from government, it's from their own. This is another area that I am rather proud of.

Staff and Qualifications

When the Richmond Office was established, it had three staff members. Now it had increased to ten. Foo said:

At that moment in time [in 1990], we just got a total of 3 staff members including myself. It was small naturally, and many of the staff were funded by a project. From 1990, we

started from three, and now we have including myself a total of ten staff members. In 1989, 1990, 1991, and 1992, quite a large number of immigrants from Asia (primarily Hong Kong and Taiwan) came to Richmond. This is why both government and SUCCESS see there is a need to expand our services here in Richmond.

In terms of qualifications, most staff members were trained social workers. Foo stated:

In general, they came from Hong Kong and the majority were trained social workers in Hong Kong. I got a person from Taiwan, a Caucasian who got a Bachelor of Education degree from UBC. She runs the friendship club for me. Of course, I got a clerk. All the professionals have social work background except the teacher. He is a B.C. recognized teacher.

To reflect the demographic changes of immigrants, the composition of their staff team had to change as well. One prominent change was the hiring of a Mandarin speaking staff. Foo commented:

In the 1990s, the majority of the Chinese immigrants came from Hong Kong. They were Cantonese speakers. But then gradually we got more and more immigrants from Taiwan. Because of that, we purposely employ one social worker born in Taiwan who speaks more fluent Mandarin than many of our immigrants from Hong Kong. And in the last 2-3 years, the situation is that we got more and more new immigrants from Mainland China than Taiwan or Hong Kong. We have a total of 10 staff members, 8 of them came from Hong Kong. We can all speak a little bit Mandarin and English. People would not feel comfortable with our Mandarin accent, but we got a Taiwan born colleague. On the whole, SUCCESS has to think about what we are facing and how to make the mix of our staff as far as possible to reflect the immigrant or the Chinese population in Richmond. My colleagues is working very hard to learn Mandarin and trying to serve them as well.

Funding

Foo described how they applied for funding. For settlement services, they applied together with the SUCCESS Headquarters.

In funding application, we have two ways. For some of our services, we centrally apply. In our application we spell it out that how many staff members will be posted in Richmond, how many in Burnaby, and how many in Vancouver. For example, for settlement services, right from the beginning when I joined SUCCESS, it is centrally organized and arranged. But in our application, we spelled it out that we should have two settlement officers stationed in Richmond.

In some other areas, the Richmond Office handled their own applications independently.

Foo stated:

There are other areas of work that I apply independently. For example, at the present moment, I have a family youth counsellor. I have a certain number of projects, like the project for seniors, for which I apply independently. For the past few years, I have a project with the Richmond School Board. It is called multicultural friendship club in

Richmond schools. I wrote the application independently. We have a club composing of half ESL students and half non-ESL students. We have handicraft, games, activities after school or during lunch hour. So hopefully the ESL students and the non-ESL students know each other's culture and accept each other's culture through learning and playing together.

Richmond Office and Other SUCCESS Offices

Foo made a comparison between the Richmond Office and other SUCCESS offices. It was found that the Richmond Office was a miniature of the Head Office. He commented:

To a certain extent, this is a miniature of the head office. This is what we wish to develop. It is within SUCCESS sort of developmental vision. On the one hand, we wish to develop various regional offices which provide more or less the same but not exactly the same.

Having said that, there were also differences between the Richmond Office and the Head Office. The establishment of the Richmond Office was aimed at bringing services closer to the client. Their programs and services were more tailored for Richmond residents. Foo said:

So the purpose is not to duplicate the service, and is to bring the service closer to home, closer to the clients. This is why we may have similar programs like whatever we have at the Head Office. We are particularly catered for the Richmond residents, and the Head Office is catered for the Vancouver residents. At the same time, SUCCESS is developing specialist offices. One example is the employment office. The Broadway Office is the business centre. These are the specialties area.

As alluded to earlier, there was one family counsellor located in the Richmond Office, who was under the joint supervision of Foo and Kelly Ng, Program Director of Family and Youth Counselling. I asked Foo how that worked out. He said:

So far so good. Kelly organized quite a lot of professional meetings of the counsellors, and my colleagues here always join them. They have professional growth, and they share each other's experience and wisdom. It is pretty good.

Other Chinese Organizations in Richmond

To facilitate an understanding of the diversity and complexity of the Richmond community, I also made efforts to find out if there were other Chinese organizations in Richmond that served Chinese immigrants. Foo told me that there were four such organizations including SUCCESS. The other three were the Chinese Cultural Centre (Richmond Office), the Richmond Chinese Community Society, and the Taiwanese Canadian Cultural Centre. Foo first commented on the Chinese Cultural Centre:

Like SUCCESS, its head office is in Chinatown. Here is a sub office. Of course the division between CCC and us is that they concentrate more on cultural aspects, we concentrate more on social service.

Foo also talked about the Richmond Chinese Community Society, which was an advocacy group. It did not provide services. He said:

Another one is more local to Richmond, and it's called the Richmond Chinese Community Society (RCCS). They stem from Chinese school and then they form the association more or less ten or nine years ago. Unlike SUCCESS or CCC, originally they concentrated more on policy, advocacy, rather than providing services. Comparatively speaking, they don't have many staff members, two or three. Their work is primarily carried out by the board members and directors. They try to speak out on behalf of the Chinese community on various issues. For example, at one time they were rather keen on the development of Chinese books in the Richmond Public Library. We work very closely with the Richmond Library as well to promote development of Chinese books. They have a cultural librarian who is a Chinese. Chinese books are the quickest to go. The circulation rate is much higher than English books in Richmond library. They do a little promotion of Chinese culture, a little bit of advocating. These are the major ones.

The Taiwanese Canadian Cultural Centre also organized activities in Richmond. Foo noted:

Then there is the Taiwanese Canadian Cultural Centre. They do not have an office here in Richmond, but sometimes they have their activities in Richmond.

In terms of their relationship, Foo pointed out that wherever there was an opportunity, they would work together.

Whenever there is a opportunity, we would like to work together. For example, just recently the three organizations organized a program to promote diversity, to promote the Chinese culture. Not too many, but I hope we can have this kind of function together.

Challenges

One issue Foo and his colleagues faced was the challenge imposed by recent immigrants from Mainland China. He said:

Many of the Mandarin speaking clients from Mainland China find we don't have sufficient manpower, or some of our colleagues' Mandarin is a little bit clumsy. Some of them even told me we do not understand their culture although we are both Chinese. China is so big, and every province may have its own culture. This is an area that is a challenge to me and a challenge to my colleagues.

Another challenge facing the Richmond Office was lack of resources for developing new programs to help these more recent immigrants from Mainland China. He commented:

We have to develop our services gradually. Our primary hurdle is of course resource, and we have to get funding for the service. For example, I am writing a funding proposal to ask my senior group to act as mentor to those senior immigrants from Mainland China, and they are willing to do so but on a very limited scale. We do not have the funding. If we have the funding, we can do a little more orientation, training, matching, and then we can do a little bit subsidies. For example, if the seniors want to bring the new immigrant seniors to a museum, or the library, sometimes it may involve bus fares. I hope I can get some money to subsidize the seniors, but I am not sure if I can get funding from the government because governments are talking about cutting their budget as well. This is an example we always try to match the changing need of the community and we try our very best. Some of the projects that I am having at the present moment have been applied for two or three years before I finally get the money. This is a fact that government has recognized. There are more Mandarin speaking Chinese immigrants from Mainland China, and their needs are different from the Cantonese speaker. But I don't know whether we will get additional funding. This is our challenge.

In sum, the preceding examination has revealed that the Richmond Office was established in 1989 as an outreach project to meet the demographic changes of Chinese immigrants and take services home to the clients. Its services reflected the six areas of programs and services outlined by the Head Office with settlement services the most popular. That being said, the Richmond Office had also developed its own unique programs such as Self-support Volunteer Groups and Community Bridging. All their programs were to help immigrants with settlement and integration.

In many ways the Richmond Office was a miniature of the Head Office, but their programs and services were tailored for Richmond residents. The composition of the Chinese immigrant population had changed dramatically in recent years, and the Richmond Office had to change accordingly. One example was hiring of new staff to meet the needs of the increasing number of Mandarin speaking Chinese.

For some programs such as the settlement services, the Richmond Office would apply for funding together with the Head Office. For other programs such as their collaborative project with Richmond School Board, the Richmond Office would apply separately. Needs of recent immigrants from Mainland China and lack of resources for developing new programs to meet their needs imposed challenges on this branch office.

Tri-City Office

Wai-Fu Mak also emigrated from Hong Kong originally. At the time of this interview, he was the Program Director of SUCCESS's Tri-City Office. In his interview, he shared his thoughts with me about the programs and services at the Tri-City Office.

Purposes for Reaching Out to Tri-City

Mak pointed out that the motive for SUCCESS's expansion to the Tri-City area was to make their services 'more accessible' to immigrants in this area.

SUCCESS is a social service agency serving all immigrants in the lower Mainland. A few years ago, we saw new immigrants move to suburban areas, such as Burnaby, Coquitlam, Surrey, and Delta. That is why we branched out a little bit. The clients have no need to go to Vancouver to get services. That actually makes our services more accessible to our clients. That is why we are doing outreaching services.

History

The history of the Tri-City Office consisted of three stages. In 1991, an office was established in Burnaby that provided settlement services, language training, volunteer program, and counselling. Mak said:

In 1991, we had only one office there in Burnaby, the Settlement Program. We have LINC classes, and we have volunteer programs. And then we developed more programs over the past few years, such as the Host Program and Family and Youth Counselling services. It just keeps on developing.

In 1995, SUCCESS launched another office at Westwood Mall in Coquitlam, providing settlement services and employment training. Mak commented:

We have developed several employment programs there, and also we have settlement programs. Some of our clients who live in the other side of Coquitlam or even Port Coquitlam have no need to go to the North Road Office. As a matter of fact, the Tri-City area, including Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, and Port Moody, is quite a huge area. We have another office there. We have settlement and employment programs there.

In 1998, SUCCESS amalgamated the previous two offices in Burnaby and Coquitlam. The new Tri-City Office also included the Surrey Delta Office. Mak noted:

Last year in November 1998, we amalgamated all the different small offices in the Tri-City area. The new regional office is now located at Westwood Mall, here in Henderson Place with part of the operation in Burnaby- Coquitlam Office. So that means the Tri-City office and part of the Burnaby- Coquitlam Office amalgamated, and we have our operation here. In Surrey-Delta, right now we have an office at Guilford area, quite close to the Guilford Mall. It is mainly employment program. We have what they previously called LINC classes there. We also have some settlement programs organized there.

Scope of Services

Reflection of Six Groups of Programs and Services

With the amalgamation of the two offices in Burnaby and Coquitlam, the Tri-City Office became a multi-service office providing a wide range of programs and services including

Settlement Services, Language Training, Family and Youth Counselling, Small Business Development, Employment Training, and Volunteer Program. Mak noted:

Right now in this Tri-City Office at Henderson Place, we have different kinds of programs. We have Employment Programs, we have Settlement, Counselling Program, and we have NINT (Newcomers' Integration Network for Tri-City), which is the Multicultural Settlement program. We also have Volunteer Programs, Family and Youth Counselling Services, and Multicultural Summer Youth Program. It amalgamated two offices and became a very multi service centre.

Community Bridging

Mak maintained that community bridging was also an important part of their services at Tri-City.

Lot of immigrants are being uprooted from the countries of origin. When they come to this new place, they don't know the community resources, and we help them to identify all these resources in their own community. A lot of them simply don't know where the library is, or they really want to talk to a person from their cultural background in their own languages. They really need to rebuild their support system. They need to know what sort of resources in the community they can make full use of. That is what we have been doing

N.I.N.T. – Newcomers' Integration Network for Tri-City

NINT program was established in 1993. At that time, many immigrants from Korea and Iran settled in this area, and they had difficulties accessing programs and services. SUCCESS received funding from the federal government to provide services for them. Mak explained:

We started the NINT program in 1993. The reason is very simple. At that time, we can see a lot of immigrants from Korea and also from Iran. They move to the Tri-City area. We set up a new program, and we applied for funding from the government. They are very supportive, and they gave us some funding so we can start the program. At that time, we recruited Korean workers (workers who can speak Korean), and workers that can speak Farsi to serve this group of clients. We started providing new immigrant orientation classes. We provided direct services to them, and translation and interpretation services. It is a new project, a very innovative one.

Later they expanded their programs and services to Polish immigrants and people from South America. Mak said:

Later on we identified a lot of Polish speaking clients so we recruited another Polish worker to help them. We then identified a lot of immigrants from Central and South American countries so we hired another Spanish worker to help them. It just keeps on growing and changing.

Hence, this was a multicultural immigrant service program. According to Mak, this program was to meet the changing needs of the immigrant community in this area.

When the needs of the community change, we change our programs accordingly to meet the changing needs. That is the key. As I mentioned, they can't get the service from government or non-government sectors because of the language and cultural barriers. They come to us because we can provide bicultural and bilingual services to them.

Host Program

The Host Program was initiated in Coquitlam and Burnaby areas in 1991, with funding support from the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP). This program involved local Canadian families in the settlement process of new immigrants by sharing each other's culture. Mak commented on how it worked:

We have a host program coordinator to identify new immigrants, and also identify local Canadians. They may not be just Caucasians. They may be from multicultural backgrounds. They have enough understanding of Canadian society, and they are kind enough to share their friendship, time and warmth. We match them up so that they can make friends. Local Canadian families can help the new immigrants to familiarize with the community resources, make friends, visit employment centres so that they can find jobs, share with each other's cultures.

Language Translation and Interpretation

The Tri-City Office had a language bank consisting of people who could speak 25 different languages, among which Chinese language translation and interpretation were the most established. Mak stated:

We have a lot of expertise to translate Chinese. In terms of other languages, we really need to identify the people who have that kind of professional knowledge because we commit ourselves to provide professional service. If we cannot identify suitable professional people, we choose not to do it. In terms of Chinese, of course we have been providing this kind of service for a long time.

They used both professional talents and volunteers to provide language services to the Tri-City community, especially schools. Mak said:

Some translations and interpretations are not going to court or are not important documents, we call it community translator, then we mobilize volunteers to help out. Now our language bank mainly helps parents to communicate with the school. In that case, we don't need a professional because the most important thing is as long as they can understand each other, they can talk about their kids through the interpreter, then that's fine. We use a lot of volunteers to help out, Korean, Chinese, Farsi, and Spanish.

Mak explained that, if it was highly professional language translation and interpretation, they charged for that. Otherwise, it was free. To help parents at schools, it was usually free.

When organizations can afford it and they have the budget, we charge them, especially when they need professionals. We charge because we need to pay the interpreter. They are not doing volunteer work. Because parents can't afford it in many cases, we just waive them. Some volunteers really like to help the community. It depends. Some programs we don't charge, some we do. We do a lot of interpretation for the schools, and we don't really charge them at all. As a matter of fact, because we get funding from the provincial government, we have a multicultural project officer to mobilize this kind of volunteer work. We provide quite a lot of service for free for the schools.

Mandarin Services

Mak commented that most staff members could speak both Cantonese and Mandarin.

These services are actually open to Mandarin speaking clients. For example, our Family Youth Counselling Services, our workers can speak Mandarin. In the Surrey-Delta Office, the employment counsellors, the employment workers, and the settlement counsellors, they all speak Mandarin. In terms of whether we serve them in Mandarin, yes we do. Right now most of our workers can speak both Mandarin and Cantonese. They can communicate quite effectively with the clients. Most of our volunteers can also speak Mandarin. As a matter of fact, some of them are from Taiwan.

Client

Mak revealed that most of their clients were newcomers to Canada predominantly with Chinese origins. They also had a large number of clients from multicultural backgrounds.

I want to say that most of them are newcomers to Canada. Our ESL clients, most of them did not speak English. I also want to say that primarily most of them are Chinese, but we do have quite a lot of multicultural clients. As a matter of fact, in our Job Finding Club, our LINC classes, and our NINT programs, a lot of our clients come from Korea, Iran, and from Eastern European countries.

Although most of their clients were adults, they also had kids. They covered the surrounding areas including Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows. Mak said:

They [the clients] live in Burnaby, Tri-City, and Surrey Delta areas. Some of them also live in Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows. These are also our catchment areas. Most of them are actually adults, but we do have some clients who are small children and kids. For example, our Multicultural Summer Program has small kids, and our Family Youth Counselling Program also services small kids, but most of them are adults. The age group is quite diverse. We also have some senior groups, women's group, and youth group.

Mak further commented on the composition of their Chinese clients.

We have a lot of clients from Hong Kong, and also from Taiwan. I would like to say that the largest group is from Hong Kong, and then from Taiwan. This is in terms of Chinese. And then we do have clients from Mainland China. Of course we have Chinese from other parts of the world, but still these three groups are the major groups.

Staff and Qualifications

The Tri-City Office employed 14 staff members at the time of interview: 5 people working on the Public Education and Settlement Counselling team; 2 on the Family and Youth Counselling team; 4 on the NINT. team; 1 working on the Host Program; 1 looking after the Problem Gambling program; and 1 looking after the LINC Program. Two spoke Korean and one spoke Iranian. In terms of their qualifications, Mak stated:

Most of them have university degrees or equivalent. Some of them, the so-called non-professional staff, may not have a skill, but most of them have a degree. Some workers have to have some sort of special training. In family youth counselling services, they have to have a degree in social work or counselling. Both of our Family Youth Counselling workers have MSW (Master of Social Work). We really look up to education qualifications and make sure they provide quality service.

Reasons for Coming to the Tri-City Office

It seems that clients at the Tri-City Office were from diverse ethnic backgrounds. It remained unclear why they came to this office instead of going to the mainstream or their own ethnic organizations for help. I discussed this question with Mak. He revealed that the major reason was that they could provide their clients with linguistically and culturally competent services.

I think the reason is very simple. Most of what they call the mainstream organizations may be government departments, they don't really have workers that can speak the client's languages. We provide cultural competence services to them. They can speak in their own languages, and our workers can communicate effectively and freely with them. That is the reason why they join us.

Another reason revealed by Mak was that his office had the expertise to provide social services while other ethnic groups could only provide fraternal support.

In this community, I am not really aware of [if other ethnic groups have their own ethnic organizations]. There are lots of Korean churches in Coquitlam and Burnaby. Maybe they provide support or friendship. They can mingle with people of their own kind in their own churches. The Iranian community is the same. They may have small groups or associations, but in terms of providing settlement services, I think we are quite organized. We have two Korean workers and an Iranian settlement counsellor here. We have the expertise of serving immigrants. That's why people just come to us.

Defining Communal Needs

Mak pointed out that the Tri-City Office mainly relied on two sources of information to define communal needs when they planned programs: government statistics and feedback from their clients. First, he talked about how they used government statistics.

As a social worker and community worker, we rely on few things. It's important to look into statistical figures from government and also our service records. If you really look into the Census, you know that new immigrants just keep on moving to this area. When we set up the new office in Burnaby-Coquitlam at North Road, we found out quite a lot of our clients live in Burnaby and Coquitlam. They came to Vancouver for our services. So this is one of the indicators. That is one way we identify the needs of the community.

Feedback from clients was also useful in defining clients' needs. Mak noted that when Tri-City started, they mainly provided settlement services. From contacts with their clients, they learned that immigrants also needed other kinds of programs and services. He explained:

We really concentrate on settlement services, like language training, settlement counselling, and the Host Program. In 1991, almost 10 years ago, mainly we met the settlement needs, but later on it is not just settlement needs. Immigrants have family problems, and they need family youth counselling programs. We identify the funding and develop this kind of services. Through our day to day contact with our clients, we know that they do not only have settlement needs, they also have other needs. We develop other programs, too, like employment programs. To conclude from statistical figures and records of our existing services, we found out all these. According to these needs, we design programs that can meet the needs of our clients. That is actually our strategy.

Tri-City Office and Other SUCCESS Offices

As a branch office, the Tri-City Office shared many similarities with other branch offices of SUCCESS, especially with regard to the nature of programs and services. Mak said:

I believe different regions or communities have their uniqueness or special needs. Their client profiles should be different, that actually define what we should provide. We have a lot of similarities, e.g., we have family youth counselling services, we serve the Chinese population, we do have language training classes. These are the same.

However, the Tri-City Office also differed from other SUCCESS branch offices in terms of its client profiles and staff team. Mak commented:

But in terms of client profiles, that really depends on our clients. I just mention programs like NINT. We have Korean workers, and we have Farsi speaking worker. A few years ago, we had a Polish worker and a Spanish worker. Our clients come from Iran and Korea. The client profile depends on the ethnic backgrounds they have and the languages they speak. These define what sort of programs we should provide. We recruit workers, who have different kinds of skills to meet these needs. These are our differences.

Reasons for Going Multicultural

The foregoing discussion has illustrated that the Tri-City Office had many multicultural components regarding its clients, programs, and the composition of its staff members. I pursued further in discussion with Wai-Fu Mak regarding the reasons why this branch office decided to

take a multicultural approach. Mak maintained that an organization must change in response to the needs of the community. Since the Burnaby-Coquitlam areas were becoming more diverse and multicultural, that drove SUCCESS to initiate a series of multicultural programs. Mak stated:

The reason is very simple. We live in a multicultural society. When the community needs change, we change our programs accordingly to meet the changing needs. For example, if a group of immigrants from Korea need help, we do have a lot of expertise in serving immigrants, and we get the support from the government, we'll help them. That is our mandate, too. We have also changed our programs and make it more innovative, make it more inclusive so that we can serve immigrants in general. Twenty six years ago, yes, our main mandate is to serve the Chinese, but when time changes, things change, we just change our programs so that it can be more creative, innovative and more effective.

Major Events and Achievements

Mak highlighted a few events that took place successfully in the past few years, including the Multicultural Youth Program, the Host Program, and other multicultural events. First, he talked about the Multicultural Youth Program.

The Multicultural Youth Program is really successful, helping new immigrant kids to use the summer in a very constructive and meaningful way, learning something new, making new friends, outreaching to the community, and really helping them to better integrate into the community.

They also organized a children's drawing contest which drew a big crowd. Mak noted:

Recently we organized a children's drawing contest. We have sponsors from corporations and banks. We invite the Mayor to come, that is very successful. We have more than 100 young kids to join the contest. Including parents, there were more than 300 people. It really gave the kids an opportunity to participate in this multicultural society.

Mak also commented on the Host Program, which provided a forum for intercultural communication and exchange.

Host program is very successful, too. We organize quite a lot of volunteer recognition events. They are so kind to contribute their time, talent, and friendship to the community to help out with new immigrants. On a yearly base, we have a host program and multicultural volunteer recognition party, very successful. We invite politicians to participate, and our board members also come. We invite people with very diverse cultural backgrounds to perform. We have multicultural food. It is a wonderful program to celebrate the diversity of this community, to celebrate the uniqueness of each culture. For me that is very successful and important program.

Social Contributions

According to Mak, the Tri-City Office had contributed to Canadian society in a variety of ways. First, it helped immigrants integrate and become contributing citizens. He stated:

Sometimes we organize programs, and we serve a lot of people. But for me as a community social worker, when I see families come to our office, parents get help, clients find jobs, previously they don't have friends and jobs, but when I see that happen, when I see their kids go to school, high school and university, they sometimes become professionals, then the client family really contributes to the community, I am very proud of them. They are not just service recipients, they are service providers, too. That's our mandate, they become participating and contributing citizens. They start integrating and contributing back to the society.

The Tri-City Office had also contributed in educating for democratic citizenship. Mak commented:

There is one thing I need to highlight a bit. We have civic education workshops, encouraging our members and clients to vote. That is also important. It is ongoing basis. We organize both provincial and federal election forums so that they understand what the politicians want to do, and what their expectations are from the community, and what their visions of their ridings are. We let them have dialogues with the politicians so that they understand. I think this is a very important contribution to this community.

Challenges

One major concern Mak had was lack of funding. He maintained that insufficient funding kept them from organizing more programs.

I think it is very important to identify funding sources so that we can develop more innovative programs to meet the changing needs of the community. That is very important. We can see a lot of needs in the community. If we don't have the money, we can't really provide that kind of service. That is my major concern.

Mak also advocated for more communication and collaboration with other community organizations.

At the same time, it is very important to have more communication with community organizations so that we can work together more, and get more coordination and collaboration. We have been working on this over the past few years, but we think we still want to do more. It is not enough.

Future

Talking about the future of SUCCESS, Mak hoped to see more culturally competent and inclusive programs.

For me, many years ago we are a social service agency serving the Chinese only, but now we are more or less like we've transformed ourselves into a more multicultural social service agency. So the challenge to us is how we can develop more culturally competent services to the community. That for me is a very important challenge. In the past few years, we have been doing the job. In the future, we really hope that we can follow this direction and build up an image that we are really a professional organization, we are

very sensitive to the needs of the community, and we just keep on changing our programs. We just keep on developing programs that are more inclusive, that is one thing we need to pay a lot of attention to.

Secondly, Mak maintained that SUCCESS needed to secure funding for future programs.

Another thing we need to identify is funding sources. If we don't have the resources, no matter how wonderful your program is going to be, you are going to have to cut it because you don't have the resources to do it. We really need to secure funding sources.

Mak also hoped that SUCCESS will play a more active role in voicing concerns of immigrants.

We really hope SUCCESS can be a voice for social justice. Anything that is unjust or doing harm to the community especially for the immigrant community, I believe SUCCESS should be a voice to challenge the authority, to really voice out what our clients want, and to be an effective advocate. That is something in the future I hope to see SUCCESS play an active role. We have been doing this in the past few years, but I hope in the future we can actually play an even more active and important role in this area.

In sum, the Tri-City Office was established to make their services more accessible to immigrants in this area. In fact, the Tri-City Office oversaw several offices in the surrounding areas: Burnaby, Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, and Surrey. Like the Richmond Office, programs and services offered by the Tri-City Office reflected those offered at the Head Office.

The Tri-City Office also offered its own unique programs, such as the Newcomers' Integration Network for Tri-City (NINT.), the Host Program, community bridging, and language bank. The NINT Program serviced clients from other ethnic communities such as Korean, Iranian, and Polish immigrants. SUCCESS extended its programs and services to other ethnic groups because immigrants in these groups had difficulties accessing mainstream programs and services because of language difficulties, and because their own ethnic communities did not have the resources to help them. Chinese immigrants still formed the core of their clients.

Lack of funding prohibited them from organizing more programs. In the future, the Tri-City Office will develop more communication and collaboration with other community organizations. SUCCESS as a whole should play a more active role in voicing concerns of immigrants.

Summary of Chapter 7

Through analyzing data from interviews with Program Directors, Chapter 7 has investigated current programs and services in 6 program areas and 2 parallel offices at SUCCESS. The investigation has demonstrated that the programs and services at SUCCESS

were vibrant and comprehensive. It confirmed some of the findings in Chapter 6, which argued that SUCCESS offered a wide range of programs and services including immigrant airport reception, settlement services, language training, family and youth counselling, small business development, employment programs, public education, community development, and advocacy. It appears that the Society had reached a certain degree of "institutional completeness."

We can also conclude from this investigation that programs and services at SUCCESS expanded in response to the changing characters of the immigrant community. These changes in programs and services also reflected changes of official immigration policies, and its adaptation to these changes.

Chapter 7 has shown that SUCCESS has been a subcontractor of government agencies. Quality services, high success rates, reputation, and organizational strength were all instrumental in helping SUCCESS win contracts. Restructuring of government policies had a great impact on its programs and services. Sometimes the Society had to change in response to the changing funding patterns of the government. It was found that lack of funding was a major issue facing most of its programs and services. Meanwhile, this analysis has also suggested that government agencies and SUCCESS were intertwined. However, through funding requirements and accountability government exercised social control over SUCCESS.

Having investigated programs and services, Chapter 8 will examine its finances and administration.

Chapter 8

Finances and Administration

Chapter 8 discusses the finances and administration of SUCCESS as they were when this study was being conducted. The supporting data are derived from interviews with Program Directors of the three areas of SUCCESS: Finance and Asset Management, Fundraising, and the Administration and Building Development. The analysis in this chapter reveals the sources of finance, fundraising activities, and the functions and responsibilities of administration.

Finance and Asset Management

Nicholas Lo, Program Director of Finance and Asset Management, originally came to Vancouver from Hong Kong. He joined SUCCESS in 1984 to work on the Kingsway Community Outreach Project, which became its first branch office on Fraser Street. There, he was the office manager until he moved to his current position in 1998. He shared his thoughts about the responsibilities of this division.

Finance

Lo monitored the finance of the whole organization. He reported that the budget in 1984 was half a million dollars, but now it was around \$10 million, 20 times increase in 15 years.

I think my major role is to oversee the finance of the whole organization because our budget has a big increase. When I joined SUCCESS in 1984, our annual budget is only half a million, and now it is round \$10 million. It is our responsibility to make our resources and funding more effective. We need to have better control and monitoring.

He explained further that one third of the \$10 million came from the government, one third from donations, and one third from cost recovery programs.

Right now I can divide our funding into three parts, 1/3 from the government, 1/3 from donation, and 1/3 from cost recovery programs. Most of our funding is from federal government. Since last year, some of the federal funding will go to province. Right now the proportion of government funding is around 70% from federal, and 30% from the province. But it may change, and we don't know the exact proportion this year [1999].

In terms of how the funding was distributed, Lo explained that the funding arrangement was usually based on location and the cheques would be sent to local offices

We have the proposal, we have the funding contract, but some of the cheques will be sent directly to local offices. Some of the funding are funded by location, and they won't fund SUCCESS as a whole, but they will fund the service in, lets say Richmond, the cheque and funding will go to Richmond. For employment, the cheques will go to employment – Kingsway Office.

The role of the Director of Finance would be managing and monitoring the funds based on SUCCESS's Financial Manual. Lo stated:

We have a financial manual developed by an accounting firm in 1994 or 95. This manual helps us to monitor and implement our financial procedures, let's say how to claim a cheque, how to request a purchase. Let's say if any staff members want to purchase something, they need to apply for a purchase order. We will check whether the funding or budget allows them to make the purchase, and whether the purchase is a good purchase. Is there any quotation? We have to check lots of things. Once the purchase order is granted, we will place the order and make sure the cheque will be issued on time so we don't have to pay for overdue payment. Also we have a whole system monitoring the funds and our auditing system[...] All cheques must be signed by the Executive Director and one of our Board members, so that all cheques to be signed must be sent to the Headquarters, and I will double check the cheque to see whether the cheque is right or the amount is spent according to the budget. If there is any problem, we will sort it out and then return to the division and ask them to revise.

Asset Management

Another role of the Director of Finance and Asset Management was to look after the assets of SUCCESS, including the Head Office which SUCCESS owns and branch office leases.

Lo explained:

Right now we have our own building in our headquarters and also I have to look after the lease renewal for other locations. Except our Headquarters, all other offices have a lease with the landlord, so I will have the Program Director or office manager to negotiate with the landlord regarding the lease renewal.

His responsibilities for the Head Office included room bookings, maintenance of the building, and use of facilities. Lo noted:

I will look after the room bookings, and also the uses of the facilities. I have to look after the maintenance, arrange people to upgrade or clean the carpet. I will supervise the janitor, and the whole system, the computer system, phone system, alarm system, the maintenance, and also some facilities such as the elevator, the air conditioning, and also the security.

Rationale for Setting Up this Division

Lo also discussed the rationale for creating the division of Finance and Asset Management. He stressed that owing to the increase of budget, a separate division was needed to control and monitor the finances of the Society.

We have the financial controller for a long long time. It is not a new position. Before we had an accountant, Edwin Chan, but he left the society about 2 years ago. It is quite hard to hire someone to be our accountant because of the scale of our budget and also the compensation. We can't afford to hire a high salary accountant. We do have an accountant right now, but we find that we need to be very careful and cautious in using

the public money. That is why we want to have more control and monitoring system. That's why besides the accountant we need someone to oversee the whole financial system. That is why when our financial controller left the society, also since we have our own building, Lilian proposed to combine these two job areas into one position.

Staff

There are 7 people working under the Director of Finance and Asset Management including 1 technician, 3 supporting staff, 1 accountant, and 2 accounting clerks. Lo said:

We have an information system technician. He looks after the computer system. Because our computer system also supports all branch offices, we have a network computer system. Also we have a pool of staff supporting administration and building maintenance, the pool consists of three supporting staff, one accountant and two accounting clerks.

Fundraising

Lydia Sham, Program Director of the Fundraising Division, joined the Society as a fundraising coordinator in 1994. One year later, she was promoted to be Program Director of the Fundraising Division. She talked about the two major fundraising events they organized every year: Walk With the Dragon Walkathon and Fundraising Gala Dinner.

Walk With the Dragon

Walkathon: A Big Annual Event

Walk With the Dragon - Walkathon usually took place during the Summer at Stanley Park. It could draw up to 13,000 people. Walkers would solicit sponsorships and pledges through the walk. People could join in as teams, individuals, or corporate groups. Sham explained:

We just had our 14th Annual Walk With the Dragon in July [1999], and normally we would have this event at Stanley Park, 7 km walk in the morning session and then we have the carnival, inviting families to join our event. We would like to get more participants coming in to enjoy a family day. The numbers of participants are around 13,000 people, quite a big event. People can join in as teams, as individuals, or as corporate. Everyone can join the walk. What they do is to go out and solicit sponsorships and pledges for their walk. The amount of pledges we receive come up to around \$250,000. We also solicit sponsorships.

Walkathon Preparation

The Walkathon was a one-day event, but it involved preparation and promotion well in advance. Sham commented on this process:

It is a long process, it is a day event, but behind that we need to have preparation. We started to do the sponsorship in May and June, promoted this event in different Chinese malls, Aberdeen Centre, Parker Place, tried to arouse the public interest to join the walk. Also we have different activities to get people involved. If they can't join the walk,

probably they can still donate to the walk. We have different fundraising activities in these various malls in the month of June.

Other Walkathon Fundraising Activities

Besides soliciting sponsorship and pledges during the Walkathon, there were other fundraising activities such as selling mugs, buttons, and stickers. Sham said:

We set up promotional booths in different malls, and we sell different items for fundraising purposes, such as mugs, buttons, and stickers. We think of different strategies to raise funds every year. People don't buy lucky draw tickets. What we do is on the platform we have lucky draw slip, and whoever participate in the Walk and ask for pledges, they are entitled to enter into the draw. It's kind of incentives to the walkers. The buttons, mugs, etc. are really souvenirs to the donors, a recognition for their participation in charity work.

Using Celebrities to Raise Fund

In recent years, celebrities from Hong Kong also came to help with this fundraising event. Sham noted:

In the last two years the economy is so bad, and a lot of wealth off people have gone back to Hong Kong. Starting from last year, we did another concert to compensate for the loss of part of the pledges. Last year we invited Yee Mui Chow to hold a concert for us at the Chan Centre, the result was really good. We could raise \$95,000 just for the concert, with sponsorship of course. We had two major sponsors: the Chan Foundation and Pacific CNB. This year we could foresee the same problem. We decided to do another concert to make up the shortfall, we invited Roman Tam. These artists didn't really charge us an amount for the performances. We just give them a little honorarium which is minimal compared to their normal fee.

Seeking Corporate Sponsorship

Another important part of the Walkathon fundraising event was to solicit corporate sponsorship. While some companies may provide cash, others had sponsored food for the event. Sham stated:

We have different levels of sponsorship. We are very fortunate to have General Motors of Canada and Hong Kong Bank sponsoring quite a substantial amount of money for the Walk. We have other sponsorships, like corporate sponsorship and food sponsorship. There are different categories[...] Most of them donate money, and the rest like the food sponsors, e.g., Hon's Restaurant, Maxim Bakery, they donate food to the event. It is a mix, in-kind and cash donation[...] Because the expense for the Walk is pretty minimal compared with other events like the gala dinner. The sponsorship amount is more than enough to cover the costs.

According to Sham, through Walkathon related activities such as seeking sponsorship, soliciting pledges, selling souvenirs, and holding concerts, the Walk With the Dragon fundraising event in 1999 raised about \$520,000 for SUCCESS.

Fundraising Gala Dinner

Fundraising Gala Dinner was another major event the Fundraising Division organized annually. It usually took place during the Chinese New Year period (i.e., late January or early February). Sham talked about how this event started in 1995. She pointed out that the Event was aimed at raising funds as well as providing a platform for SUCCESS clients to participate.

The Gala Dinner started off like an ordinary gala dinner in a hotel. We used to have this dinner done at the Vancouver Trade and Convention Centre. It was way back, about four years ago, and we thought we need some changes. Everybody is doing the same. We find it hard to fundraise through this channel, we would like to attract more people, like the Walk we have 13,000 people. After all we are a non-profit social organization, and we would like to get the community to get involved. Lots of people say "fundraising dinner just gets the community leaders," "you get the sponsors to join the dinner." For the clients, they find it so remote. We really want to build up a platform for them to really participate, so we thought we could do something different and also at the same time to raise more funds.

Collaboration with Hong Kong TVB

From the very beginning, the Gala Dinner fundraising event received support from Hong Kong Television Broadcasting (TVB) Corporation. The first one at GM Place was very successful, drawing over 12,000 people, mainly Chinese, sitting in one venue to enjoy the Chinese show. Sham noted:

In 1995, this was the time where we kicked off our building fundraise campaign. Patrick Lau has been the chairman for the Gala Dinner for four years, and he has very good relation with Hong Kong TVB. They had discussions, and they thought probably it's a good idea to have a joint venture with TVB. They can bring in artists and expertise to come here and perform a show. At that time, it happened GM Place was just built, and we didn't really set a goal. As long as we cover the costs from the sponsors, we said go ahead and do it because it is just a kick off. We just like to get the public's attention that we are going to build this service centre. It was pretty successful and that was the first time when we could get over 12,000 people (mainly Chinese) sitting in one venue to enjoy a Chinese show. The whole community was very excited, bringing in a dozen very famous artists, lots of coverage from the mainstream media. It's a kind of interesting.

A Community Event

The Gala Dinner Fundraising Event usually consisted of two parts: the dinner and the show. People could only come to the show for entertainment and/or pay a much higher price for

the dinner where they could get more exposure. This event accommodated ordinary participants, community leaders, and sponsors. Sham explained:

So people asked "how come SUCCESS is doing entertainment business now by holding so many concerts?" It is really the trend now. Lots of people have the heart to help out the community, but going to boring dinners and different events isn't appealing to people. The money is well spent for good causes, and we can get the community involved. The tickets ranged from \$28 to \$128. We have a dinner prior to the show as well on the arena floor and where we can accommodate all the community leaders, sponsors, we can take care of two different groups. The dinner tickets are quite expensive, ranged from \$1000 each to \$180. It's surprising, now we have a waiting list for the dinner table already, because people they pick events, "this is interesting, I will have my money spent on this event." Because of the exposure and also the entertainment side of it, people would like to come to this event. We can also raise more funds through these events.

For SUCCESS, it raised funds as well as publicized the Society. Sham said:

Previously, dinner at hotels can raise probably \$300,000, now we could raise over half a million. When we started off doing that, it's all for the building. We could raise more then. People get to know us, and they donate rooms. It is a good channel for people to know about SUCCESS.

Who Came to Dinner

As mentioned earlier, tickets for the dinner tables before the performance ranged from \$180 to \$1,000 per person and there was a waiting list for that. I discussed with Sham who usually came to the dinners. She noted that these were usually representatives of big corporations, government officials, and community leaders.

They are not ordinary people, and most of them are heads of big corporations. Like the two prime tables, every year they are occupied by Hong Kong Bank, top executives and VanCity, Scotia Bank, and also our long term supporters and also government officials, community leaders.

When asked why it was important for them to be there, Sham pointed out that they were there for the exposure.

Really we are trying to create a mood. We sort of promote through TV. It is such a big even in the community. People think this is the event I should be there, and people are bound to talk about the show. If you are not at the show, you feel bad about it.

Other Gala Dinner Fundraising Activities

Along with the Fundraising Gala Dinner, they also solicited sponsorship and sold raffle tickets. Sham described in detail the raffle ticket activity.

We don't just do the gala dinner. Prior to that, like 3-4 months ahead of the events, we have to solicit sponsorship and also sell raffle tickets. That's a major fundraising revenue.

The raffle tickets is \$2.00 each, the grand prize is a vehicle donated by GM. This is part of the sponsorship. We have the car displayed in different malls, it gave them the maximum exposure. Normally, they have to pay a lot more money to display a car in the mall. Also with this raffle ticket sale, it will last for 3-4 months, and it will take up a lot of our time trying to promote raffle tickets in malls or through our different channels.

Sham also revealed that part of the success of raising funds through selling raffle tickets was attributed to the contributions of volunteers.

We don't want to do it like just issue the raffle tickets, and whoever comes, they can purchase the tickets. This is not successful. You have to push, and you have to go a step further. We get volunteers to help out to sell raffle tickets. We raised around \$140,000 just through raffle ticket sale. It is really substantial, just 3-4 months. Not many organizations can do that because they don't have the manpower. When I say manpower, it is really the volunteers' effort. For every weekend during these 3-4 months, we really have to get a person to coordinate. We have to line up volunteers, train them up. For one weekend, we have a booth set up in 4-6 locations to sell raffles. It is very comprehensive.

What's In It for Hong Kong TVB

According to Sham, TVB was their largest sponsor of the Gala Dinner fundraising event. I discussed with her why Hong Kong TVB came all the way to Vancouver to support the event. Sham pointed out that it was part of their charity work. Meanwhile, this kind of event also raised their image.

Many of them do a lot of charity shows. It's their image, too. They have to contribute somehow like corporations, and they donate money to different charities. If people know they come out and do charity, they are more receptive to their performances. TVB does a lot of charity shows. In Hong Kong, they organize a lot of charity shows for hospitals, and for social service agencies. It is not the first time they are doing this for SUCCESS. They used to run charity shows for Mount St. Joseph Hospital, and it didn't quite work out. TVB is the biggest sponsor if I can say it this way. It is only this organization which can bring in so many artists. These different artists have contracts with TVB, and they count this as one show. TVB actually loses one show. The cost they bear is really great.

Furthermore, this was partly business for Hong Kong TVB. They had the right to sell their shows. It was also a good learning experience. Sham stated:

Of course it is partly charity and partly business because they can sell the show to Toronto, to China. They have the right to sell the charity show to other places as well. They always do shows in Hong Kong, but it's an overseas show. They move the whole crew out, and they can learn new things and get new exposure. It is good for both parties.

Benefits to Artists

These shows usually involved a number of artists from Hong Kong. In talking about the reasons which brought the artists here, Sham explained:

For one thing, it is the convenience. Most of them take holidays when they come to Vancouver to do a charity show. We provide free air tickets and also accommodation. These are all sponsored by hotels and airlines anyway, and the money does come from SUCCESS pocket. Also they can spend a few days in Canada doing sightseeing.

They also wanted to contribute to different Chinese communities in the world. Sham noted:

They really want to contribute to the Chinese community in different countries. They don't just do it in Vancouver. They do it round the world. Like Roman, he is very famous and he does a lot of charity shows in China. Also in Toronto, he helps raise fund for symphony orchestra, TSO. They would look at the organization, whether we are worth supporting and how the money is spent. We have a good relationship with these people.

In comparison with Walk with the Dragon – Walkathon, the cost for organizing this event was much greater. Therefore, they had to work out a very detailed budget before the event. Sham commented:

The first year they [the GM Place] exempted our rental fee, and it is kind of difficult for them to do it every year. We do pay them a fee at a discounted rate. The cost is a lot more than organizing a walkathon, the lighting, the sound, and all the equipment. We pay all the different equipment in a special rate, but the cost is still higher than the Walk. Before we do anything, we work out a budget, and we know roughly what the expenses will be and we have to target this amount. After that, we can start doing whatever we want. We won't go into anything and say "let's do it," eventually we take a loss or something, we won't do anything like that. After all we are using the money from the community, so we have to be accountable.

Corporate Sponsor

GM Place – A Major Sponsor

GM Place had been one of the major corporate sponsors of SUCCESS for a number of years. They had sponsored the two major fundraising events discussed above, and they had also participated in many other sponsoring activities. Sham said:

They [GM Place] don't just really sponsor these two events, they are involved in a lot of different activities. I don't know whether you have been to our first floor, the first floor is all sponsored by General Motors of Canada. You can see their logo everywhere, and they sponsor a very substantial amount for having the whole first floor named after their name – the General Motors of Canada Educational Floor.

Benefits to Corporations

Sham pointed out that corporations had a budget to do community work, which was tax deductible. SUCCESS was chosen as their partner because it offered the most comprehensive social work.

Corporations do have a budget for doing community work and charity. They can get tax exemption, and they do set aside a budget for this kind of work. They will just pick which and what they should do. For one thing, our mandate does provide a lot of different social services. There are lots of organizations of course, but we provide the most comprehensive social work, very diversified. Everybody is taken care of. The corporations look at our profile and say "this is the right place to spend our money."

In terms of what corporations like GM Place would get out of this sponsorship, Sham commented that by sponsoring a SUCCESS event, sponsors would get a considerable amount of exposure through the media and SUCCESS promotion materials.

We serve them right I guess. We have to improve that, too. We give them the right amount of exposure, like we give them air time in radios, TV. They make appearance on television, and also they put their logos on posters, on flyers, and all promotional material. Depending on the level of sponsorship, if they are major sponsors, we give them more exposures, more prominent exposure than other corporate sponsors.

Depending on the sponsorship, SUCCESS provided both standardized as well as customized sponsorship packages. Sham explained:

We have a sponsorship package. Before we do anything, we have to develop a sponsorship package for this event and we just go out and sell this. We custom, make different packages for different corporations. Some corporations would like to get exposures on TV, and some of them don't. "I don't want my name to appear on TV, and I want a tax receipt or something." We have to really go and talk to them and see what they want in return. We do have standardized sponsorship packages, sometimes they don't really work that well. We have to present it to them and they have to come to us and ask "should we have this or that?" and then I eliminate that. We have to set up meetings with them.

It's Not Trade

Sham also gave an example of what a sponsorship package with GM Place was like. She stressed that exchange between GM Place and SUCCESS was not trade. She argued that it was for the benefit of their members and clients.

Actually we work out a package, not just by event. Like in November and December, they [GM Place] offered a \$500 donation program. What we do is we sent out mail to our members, associates, or students. We have a lot of connections. Our active membership is over 8,000 (paid up members). We also have volunteers, students, clients, and we have all these data base. I think it is not a trade, I won't put it this way. It is for the benefit of those people as well. You give opportunities for them to help out the community. What they do is they sent out invitations to these people, If they purchase a car, and in return they would get the \$500 donation receipt, and the \$500 will go to SUCCESS. They don't really gain anything, what they have is really a tax receipt of \$500.

Other Corporate Sponsors

Besides GM Place, other sponsors such as Air Canada, Hong Kong Bank, insurance companies, and communication companies also helped with SUCCESS events. Sham noted:

We have different donors. For example, for the Walk we see \$100 from the same donors every year. We have different levels. We have GM, we have Air Canada sponsoring us, over 60 tickets a year just to fly all the artists coming to do the performance. In kind, they also contribute cash to us, too. They are very supportive. Hong Kong Bank is a major sponsor. For every event they will be there, and all the other banks too. The seven big banks, they always help out, very supportive, different corporations from different industries, like insurance companies and communication companies. Some of them are loyal to us. I would think 20% of them come and go. That is for every event, we have to try to look for some new sponsors. It is not a easy job.

Attracting People to Events

A total of 13,000 people was not a small number. When asked what attracted such a big audience to their fundraising events, Sham explained that it was the artists who drew the people to the venue.

Of course, people come to Roman Tam's concert. Almost 70% of them come for entertainment instead of charity. At the same time, it is good because they get donation receipts. It is really the artists that draw people to the concert.

Meanwhile, the performance brought people home. It also helped people maintain connection with their original culture. She said:

Our mandate is helping people to settle in Canada, we would like to do that. On the other hand, people get homesick. They would really hope for something from the home country. This is the way we can bring all these people together, and they would have a very enjoyable evening as well as helping out in the community.

Benefits to Volunteers

As alluded to earlier, volunteers played an important role in making the fundraising events successful. I discussed with Sham why the volunteers were there. She pointed out that from participating in these events, volunteers got satisfaction, work experience, and prestige.

They get satisfaction. Doing events is fun. For youth, they come and work on a project, they see people come in and play your game and they enjoy it. Volunteers are happy with it and get the satisfaction. Sometimes we designate projects and try to make them happy. We have to build very good relationship with them, we just don't ask them to come and say good-bye. We basically have to build up the connection. Sometimes we go out and have outings. Sometimes we have to spend time on good volunteers. Satisfaction is one thing, good cause is another because they are helping out the community. It's good on their resume too. They gain more work experience. Helping out a big organization is better than helping out a no name. The prestige is important.

Educating the Public about SUCCESS

What was in it for SUCCESS? Besides raising funds, it was also a good opportunity for SUCCESS to educate the public about their programs and services. Sham commented:

It is really an opportunity for SUCCESS, too. Most of the people know about SUCCESS, but they don't really know what we do and the scope of services that we have. We just don't help new immigrants, we have expanded so much. They don't know about our employment services, so we want to reach out to these people, and say we can help you too. Before the show start, we will educate them.

Through the fundraising events they utilized innovative ways to publicize SUCCESS.

Sham noted:

We have flyers. Our chairman will come up on stage and say what is the purpose of this event, and how this money is spent. We try to make every opportunity to educate the public, and hopefully they will utilize our service, too. That is what we are here for. The show as well, 12,000 people are there and we have an introduction for SUCCESS. Also through the program, TVB artists would mention SUCCESS services in entertaining ways that people can accept. It is kind of difficult if we tell people "this is what SUCCESS is" and "how we can help you out." People are not interested. We have to do it through different ways.

Fundraising and Financing SUCCESS

During the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, almost half of SUCCESS's budget came from fundraising. With the tremendous growth of immigrants and services, the budget increase was huge. The money raised from these two fundraising events definitely would help, but it did not fund the entire operation. Sham commented:

The money raised through these two fundraising events is minimum compared with the whole operating budget. Our big sponsor is really the government. At the moment, the government is putting in a lot of money through the employment sector because the unemployment is so high and they would like to get people employed, off EI. There are different areas they would subsidize, the government does not really pay the full amount. That is the problem like settlement. They are withdrawing their funding. Probably the government will pay 80%, I don't really know the percentage. Then SUCCESS has to raise another 20% of the whole amount. Sometimes it is very difficult for us to balance to see what service we have to do, how much money we have to raise on top of that[...] We always have meetings to see through what ways we can get this extra money.

Sham also commented on the dilemma they faced between providing more services and operating within a tight budget.

For SUCCESS, our budget is really tight. Whenever we have money, our ED [Executive Director] will think of some new programs to do. This is right because after all we are a social service organization. Our survival is to provide services. I totally agree with our

ED's decision in providing more services and try to be useful in the community, but then somehow there is a dilemma.

Why Fundraising was Successful

There were a few elements which contributed to the success of the fundraising events.

First, SUCCESS was a good product to sell. She stated:

There are lots of other reasons. SUCCESS itself is a very good product to sell. It is the biggest Chinese organization. When people think of doing charity, they will think about SUCCESS, especially the Chinese people. Of course we are trying to reach out to the mainstream. Why the mainstream corporation would like to invest in SUCCESS? It is because we have the strongest connection, and we have the biggest clientele. These corporations really want to get the money's worth. They would think how many clients we have. They want to know if we can reach their target buyers? If this is the case, then they will put in whatever money.

Second, corporations were looking for opportunities to promote their sales and SUCCESS was a good match because of its high profile. Sham explained:

They [corporations] have their advertising budget anyway. It is up to them to decide how much they will spend on SUCCESS. Corporations are looking at sales in return. For donors, they would see whether this organization is worth supporting. SUCCESS is doing very well in these few years. Of course there are other people saying SUCCESS is not doing enough. There are many things we need to improve. This is because we have expanded too fast and there are lots of things we need to look into.

Furthermore, Board members were helpful in making the necessary connections with related organizations. Sham stated:

We have a very strong bond. The Board members are very helpful because they have many connections. The chairs of the different events, especially fundraising events, have lots of connections. They can draw people to donate. Also there are people out there who are doing events but are not that organized. At least we can put up something big, and some other organizations find it very difficult.

Finally, volunteers and staff members contributed numerous hours which made the events successful. Sham noted:

We have the manpower, not within the fundraising division, but we have very strong support from the community through volunteers' commitment. For Walk with the Dragon, on the event day, we had over 500 volunteers helping out. Not many organizations can do that. They just don't help out on the event day but throughout the whole month doing office work, data entry, holding a big event. There are lots of nitty gritty things to do. Like our Walk, we have game booths, we have the whole team, the booth leaders mainly undergrads, helping us to plan what games we should do on that day, even the production. They work out their own games for us, very good. We have a very strong support from our volunteers. Also staff, on event day, we get all staff

members to help out. It is only through that we can organize such a big event. Lots of other organizations don't really have that manpower to do the work. We are very fortunate and that's why we can hold such a big event. We have a lot of support from staff members, Board members, and also the volunteers.

Sham also commented that the Chinese community rarely saw big events that accommodated over 10,000 people at one venue. People wanted to maintain connection with their culture.

Fundraising for the Multi-Level Care Building

At the time of this interview, SUCCESS was raising funds to build a Multi-Level Care Building for seniors. The Provincial Government had secured \$15 million, and SUCCESS needed to raise \$1.5 million on their own. When asked how much work she saw ahead of her, Sham was in fact quite optimistic about it. She stated:

Raising funds for building, I won't say it is easy, but it is smoother than doing annual fundraising events. For building, a lot of people would like their names to be remembered. They would like to pay a certain amount of money just for one event, it is worth doing that. When they think about putting a little bit more money to get their names to be permanently displayed somewhere, they will think this is worth doing. I don't see there is a major problem. Even for this building, we did a lot of fundraising events like the gala, the lotto – the \$100 lotto ticket. The main source of money is from naming opportunities, the same with the multi-level care. We have over 100 beds and different rooms as well. It should be OK to raise \$1.5 million.

Staff and Qualifications

Usually there were 3 staff members in the Fundraising Division. When they were busy with organizing events, they may hire up to 3 more people. Sham said:

Within the fundraising division, we have 3 full-time permanent staff at the moment including myself, sometimes 4. It depends. Like now we only have 3, but when we start off doing the fundraising gala, we will hire one more person and also some casual workers to sell raffle tickets. During peak time, we have 6 people, i.e., 2 more casual people helping to receive money from the public.

With regard to their qualifications, Sham commented that it was important to learn from their experience.

I am very ashamed of this. The organization itself is a good product, and we are just trying to do our best to do follow up work. When you say qualifications personally, I don't have a lot of background in fundraising field. When I first came in to the fundraising division, I didn't expect myself to advance to this position. There is a shortage in expertise in this field. If you want to go out and say you want to fundraise for whatever organization, they ask you "do you have the experience?" If you do, they would say "you can start work tomorrow." The market is short of this type of people – doing

fundraising. We gain our qualifications through experience. It is very useful we have been doing special events, that will help. Also our interpersonal skills would help because we meet a lot of different people. We just learn while we work.

Challenges

Sham maintained that fundraising is competitive. For every event they had to look for new sponsors, and they had to convince the sponsors that they were the right one for them to support.

The fundraising field is very competitive at the moment. A lot of mainstream organizations are recruiting Chinese or Asian fundraisers to help out. They know where the money is coming from. But we are targeting the same group of people, and we are sharing one pie[...] We never come to a point when we say we have enough money. Every time we have to work something different, try to get more connection, and try to go out and talk to them, basically to sell SUCCESS, try to think of some interesting activities. Like corporate sponsors, they look at what we do. For the public, most of them don't really see it that way. They just come for the event. If it is enjoyable, they pay for it. There are two different groups of people, and we have to meet their needs.

Future

Besides continuing the two major fundraising events, SUCCESS was planning to set up a separate foundation to receive on-going donations for the future. Sham stated:

At the moment, we are too concentrated on these two events. We are trying to explore new ways to raise more funds and more stable funds. We are planning to set up a foundation so we can receive donations. It's too limited by doing two events. It is not stable. We need to get more stabilized money from donors, individual donors. We are planning on doing that. These two events, the preparation time, and time looking for sponsors is very time consuming. We are thinking of setting up our own foundation, like a separate body. Hopefully a few years down the road, you will see fundraising division as a separate body]...]

In sum, SUCCESS has run innovative and successful fundraising events. They raised funds through two major annual events: Walk With the Dragon – Walkathon and Fundraising Gala Dinner accompanied by a variety of other fundraising activities.

Sponsors who supported such fundraising events included big corporations, such as GM Place, Air Canada, Hong Kong Bank, insurance companies, and communication corporations. They attended such events and sponsored their programs because of the amount of exposure they would get through the media and SUCCESS promotion materials. In addition, it was because SUCCESS offered the most comprehensive social work to a large number of clients and members. Big corporations would benefit from their network in marketing their products and

services and advancing their economic interests. The big crowds at these events and the public exposure also drew politicians and community leaders to the venues.

In recent years, celebrities from Hong Kong and television companies also came to help with fundraising events. The foregoing analysis has suggested that the celebrities attracted a big audience because they brought cultural activities home to the Chinese immigrants and helped them connect with their culture.

The foregoing analysis has indicated that the Society was able to solicit sponsorship from diverse channels. In the 1980s and early 1990s, funds raised from these events would constitute half of the operating budget. With the budget increase in more recent years, these fundraising events would only contribute in a minimum way to the operation of SUCCESS. However, throughout these events, SUCCESS publicized the organization, and its programs and services.

Administration and Building Development

Joseph Lau, Program Director of Administration and Building Development, moved to Vancouver from Hong Kong in 1997. Soon after his arrival, he joined SUCCESS first as a Building Project Coordinator. In his interview, he discussed the roles this division played in the operation of SUCCESS.

Administration

According to Lau, this Division played a facilitator's role in the operation of SUCCESS. They dealt with anything which was not social services.

I see administration as a facilitator. It tries to facilitate all the divisions in terms of resources and information sharing. That's what I look at administration.

Among its many responsibilities, hiring was a very important part. Job ads were usually sent out from this division and they participated in the selection process. The selection panel made recommendations to the Executive Director. Lau explained:

I send out all the job ads. For selection, we sit on selection boards. If other divisions want to recruit somebody, they ask me to post an ad and then they will deal with selection interviews. Someone from this division will take part in the selection just to be an observer or to give some advice[...]The selection panel makes recommendations, and then submits to the Executive Director for final approval.

In terms of how they publicized their open positions, Lau commented that job ads were usually posted at job banks because they were costly to put in newspapers.

We advertise internally to all offices and externally to all the job banks. We don't usually put ads in the newspaper. It is quite costly. In the job banks everybody can see it on the Internet.

Another important role this division played was to provide secretariatship to Board meetings and update the Board of Directors Manual every year. Lau explained:

The Board meets once every month, and there is also an executive committee comprising the Chairman, all the Vice Chairs, deputy chairs, and officers. Of course there are sub committees, standing committees. They will meet from time to time, depending on the needs[...] There are over 10 committees, we have the Public Affairs Committee, Public Relations, Program, Building Committee, Capital Fundraising, Membership and Volunteers Development Foundation, Walkathon, Annual Gala Show, and Re-Engineering which is an ad hoc. We do have other regional services advisory committee.

Building Development

The Director of Administration and Building Development also oversaw building development. With the completion of the new Social Service Building, Lau began to work on two other new building development projects: one was the multi-level care and another one was the congregate care home. He explained:

Another project in hand is the SUCCESS multi-level care facility which will have our ground breaking on the 9th of September [1999]. Apart from that facility, we are also thinking about building a congregate care home, but it is now at a premature stage. We do have plan, which is also part of the building development[...] The congregate care is for seniors who don't need medicare; for multi-level care we provide health services. For congregate care, we provide room service and bed making. We have canteen for the residence. We do have programs for the residence, but we don't have that kind of nursing care provided in the multi-level care[...] The multi-level care is for people at intermediate to extended care. The care element is very high.

When asked why SUCCESS decided to build a multi-level care facility, Lau stated that there was a need for culturally appropriate homes in the Chinese community.

We recognize that there is a need in the community for the Chinese population. We build what we call culturally appropriate homes where residents can have Chinese meals. We have nurses who can speak Chinese. There is a need.

Lau also mentioned that this care facility was open to anyone, not only to the Chinese.

Anybody can apply for it because we can't say it is for Chinese. Whoever is interested in the facility can apply. Whatever race doesn't really matter.

However, SUCCESS's original mandate was to help immigrants overcome language and cultural barriers. I discussed with Lau if this project contradicted the original mandate of SUCCESS. Lao argued:

I don't think it is contradictory, it is evolution. We meet the community needs. The mandate is quite broad.

Staff

There were 5 people working in this division besides the Program Director himself: an administration manager, a personnel officer, a personal assistant to the Executive Director, and 2 receptionists who worked at the front desks. In terms of qualifications, Lau himself has an MBA, 2 have university degrees, and the rest have graduated from secondary education.

Summary of Chapter 8

Based on interviews with Program Directors in Finance and Asset Management, Fundraising, and Administration and Building Development, Chapter 8 has demonstrated that with the expansion of programs and services, the budget of SUCCESS has increased dramatically in the last 15 years. The Society ran very successful fundraising events annually to help with the budget. They were able to solicit support from local as well as overseas corporations. In return they got public exposure and benefited from using the ethnic network to advance their economic interests. In recent years, celebrities from Hong Kong attracted big audiences to their fundraising events. These cultural activities also helped immigrants maintain their cultural link. Besides raising funds from these events, SUCCESS also publicized their programs and services throughout these events.

The analysis has also shown that administration played a facilitator's role in the operation of SUCCESS, dealing with everything but social services. With the completion of the new Social Service Centre, they were working on two projects: the multi-level care facility and the congregate care home. SUCCESS decided to provide senior care because there was a need for culturally appropriate senior homes in the Chinese community.

Chapters 7 and 8 have revealed the most recent situations in SUCCESS during the 1990s, focusing on its programs and services, finances, fundraising, and administration. The analysis of these two chapters plus the previous two has prepared us to examine SUCCESS in the context of other communities in Chapter 9.

Chapter 9

SUCCESS in Context of Other Communities

Chapters 5 to 8 investigated the founding of SUCCESS, its historical development from 1973 to 1998, its current programs and services, and its finances and administration. These four chapters provided us with a detailed understanding of this organization mainly as it stood alone.

However, the previous investigation also suggested that SUCCESS did not exist in a vacuum. On the contrary, its history was constructed within a dynamic social context. Thus, Chapter 9 attempts to position SUCCESS in the context of other communities. The chapter examines its relationship with other community organizations as well as the government. Further, it analyzes its leadership, social contributions, forces behind the changes, elements which made it successful, its broadened mandate, and its unique approaches. In addition, this chapter also examines the issues, challenges, and future of the Society.

The data rely on all the interviews with early founders, former Board members and Chairs, past executive directors, and present program directors. This chapter should provide us with a more analytical account of the history of SUCCESS.

Differences from Other Ethnic Chinese Organizations

Maggie Ip pointed out in her interview that the Chinese community had always been the largest ethnic community in Vancouver, and a complex one, consisting of Chinese from China and all over the world. Before SUCCESS was founded, about 100 Chinese organizations had already existed. These organizations included the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA), clan organizations, and many special interest groups (i.e. art groups, music groups, and martial arts groups). The Chinese Cultural Centre was established around the same time as the founding of SUCCESS. During the investigation, I explored the differences of SUCCESS with many other Chinese ethnic organizations.

SUCCESS and Clan Associations

The difference between clan associations and SUCCESS was discussed with many of the persons interviewed. Some of them pointed out that traditional associations mainly provided friendship among clan members whilst SUCCESS provided professional services with the support of government grants. Three direct statements illustrate this:

They [clan associations] mainly provided a friendship type of service, not a kind of social services. It's more looking after their own clans, social gatherings to connect to each other, but not to provide social services which were needed in those days. (Jonathan Lau)

If you are Mr. Ma, you have the Ma Clan Organization you can go to. They used to look after their own kind that way. If Mr. Ma lost his job, he can go to stay in a Ma's house and they look after him[...] Those were totally privately funded, not generally structured groups to provide services. Our aim was to service in different areas. Theirs was like, "oh you don't have a job, OK, we'll see if so and so can find you one," whereas ours was more structured. We get funding from the Federal Government, from different levels of government. We set up an office, and we provide Chinese speaking workers who are solely responsible for this and that. (Linda Leong)

For us, at that time we just open our door to anybody who comes in. We don't care who you are, whether your last name is Lee or which village you are from. If you need help, we provide services. No charge. That's the difference from other organizations. I am not saying that other organizations are not doing their jobs. They are definitely doing their jobs, but it's just a different nature. They don't have government money. We were able to get government money. We have to be public, and we want to do that. This is the purpose of it. Also we provide professional services. Zong Qin Hui [Clan Associations] and so on, they don't hire people to provide services. They just help each other. If you have a problem or if you don't have a job, "OK, let me find out if my friend needs to hire you." But for us, it's different. We have professionally trained social workers. (Maggie Ip)

SUCCESS and the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA)

During the interviews, the difference between SUCCESS and the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA) was explored. Some participants revealed that the Chinese Benevolent Association was an umbrella organization, and that it had never provided services. Ip explained:

CBA is never a service organization. CBA is an umbrella organization. They don't provide services. They coordinate all the Chinese organizations. Zong Shang, Zong Hui, Hui Guan [a general organization].

When the new immigrants arrived from Hong Kong in the 1960s and early 1970s, they found that both clan associations and CBA had well positioned themselves in Chinatown. The newly arrived, educated immigrants needed to make contacts outside Chinatown, and none of these associations could serve this purpose. Hence, they set up a new one, which was SUCCESS. Ip explained:

Well, what you have to understand is that, before the 1950s and 1960s, all the Lao Hua Qiao [Old Chinese Immigrants] mostly come from the same region, Taishan. It's almost like they all know each other. If your family name is Li or Chen, you go to Li's or Chen's association. They are all from the same village. Suddenly all these people come from Hong Kong. They have no relationship with the local Lao Hua Qiao. It's almost like a different group of people. Also you have to understand that, because of the social, economic and political environment, at that time those Chinese were not able to move out of Chinatown. They were all in Chinatown. In the 1950s and 1960s, when the new immigrants come in, they can't find jobs in Chinatown. It's not enough. And many of them don't want to [confine themselves to Chinatown] because they have skills. They are

technicians or professionals. So they want to find jobs outside Chinatown. CBA etc. they don't have contacts with outside.

SUCCESS and the Chinese Cultural Centre

Angela Kan, a former Executive Director of SUCCESS and the Executive Director of the Chinese Cultural Centre (CCC) at the time of this interview, summarized the differences between SUCCESS and the Chinese Cultural Centre.

If I put it in simple words, SUCCESS is helping newcomers to know about Canada. The Chinese Cultural Centre is a place where we inform the rest of the community, the mainstream or the second generation Chinese about Chinese culture. If there is a better understanding of our culture, the mandate, the role of this organization [the Chinese Cultural Centre] is to reach out to the mainstream.

In interview, Maurice Copithorne, a former board member of SUCCESS, commented on the mandate of SUCCESS. He regarded SUCCESS primarily as a social welfare provider whose mandate was not to build bridges between the ethnic Chinese community and mainstream Canadian society.

If they spent a lot of time on that, building bridges between the ethnic Chinese community and mainstream Canadian society, then they are moving more into the area of some of the other organizations like the Cultural Centre and some of the others. At least some years ago the Cultural Centre was quite active in bridging that sort of thing because they were presenting a whole variety of activities and even courses that were available to the mainstream community as well. I had looked on SUCCESS always as the primary social welfare.

Intra Communal Politics

Because of the complexity of the Chinese community, it was necessary to have a variety of organizations focusing on different things. Ip pointed out that it was important for each organization to focus on things they were good at.

For example, SUCCESS focuses on social services. The Chinese Cultural Centre focuses on cultural retention and promotion, and so on. CBA is an umbrella organization. We always see that these major organizations have different roles to play. Sometimes there are some areas overlapping, but there should be different focus. That's why very consciously SUCCESS tries not to be involved in the kinds of things the Cultural Centre usually involves in[...] It's important that we focus on what we are good at and try not to have too much overlap. When there is a competition, there is always hot feeling. Also because the Society as such is a non-profit organization, we don't want to be involved in any political and international situation. That's not my job you know.

How SUCCESS Differs

A Politically Neutral Organization

Organizations in the Chinese community were usually connected with politics in China. They were divided between the Communists and Nationalists. During its stage, SUCCESS founders (Leong, 1976) already asserted that it was important for SUCCESS to remain non-political so that it could provide an alternative to the politically polarized groups in the Chinese community. He argues that it was even idealistic to see SUCCESS as a buffer group between the two extremes so that more effective cooperation may be achieved for the welfare of the Chinese community as a whole. This view was shared by Jonathan Lau during his interview. He pointed out that SUCCESS was a way to neutralize political rivalries in the Chinese community.

In the early 1970s, Canada recognized the People's Republic of China. We had the new group from China, and the old CBA who are more Guo Min Dang, the Nationalists. The Chinese Cultural Centre was coming up. They more represent a new group. You have the two groups who are rivals in those days. They are not really getting along that well, I mean the CCC and the CBA. Each one is claiming they represent the Chinese population. Each one is disgusting the other one. SUCCESS is a way to neutralize that. It's more emphasis on social services. They don't really get involved in politics. They are mainly serving the Chinese population in the social service field and advocacy for changes, policy changes in terms of services, services at different approach.

A Professional Organization

K. C. Li, Chair of SUCCESS from 1978 to 1979, maintained that the difference between SUCCESS and other Chinese ethnic organizations lay in efficiency, accessibility, and professionalism.

CBA didn't even have regular staff. They have a board. They might have a part time secretary or a care taker. They have meetings once in a while. They can't do much. As a new organization we have proper funding. The people working here are qualified university graduates, fluent in English and Chinese. The old Chinese organizations, they don't have any full time staff. They don't have trained educated staff. We started as professionals. The Board members are all professionals, the workers are all professionals.

Fluent English-Speaking Board Members

Li also argued that language is another factor which determines the differences between SUCCESS and other Chinese ethnic organizations. SUCCESS Board members were required to be English-speaking and fluent. He stated:

To play the bridging function, bridging the Chinese community with mainstream society, the Board members should be very language fluent and culturally fluent. We are English fluent. Culturally, we are not fluent because SUCCESS was born with few local born Chinese. If you are on the Board of SUCCESS and you don't speak English, it's very

difficult. We had one or two Board members who don't speak fluent English, they dropped out because they don't feel comfortable. The Board meetings were conducted in English. The negotiation with the government is in English. Everything is in English. If you don't speak English, you can't sit on our Board.

Relationship with Other Ethnic Chinese Organizations

Among the participants of this research, there were different opinions regarding the relationship of SUCCESS with other ethnic Chinese organizations. Some people argued that SUCCESS had intimate relationships with other ethnic Chinese organizations while others maintained that the relationship between SUCCESS and other ethnic Chinese organizations was not very close.

Close Relationship

Wilfred Wan was one of those participants who maintained that the relationship between SUCCESS and other ethnic Chinese organizations was close. They worked together on a number of projects in Chinatown. Wan explained:

I would say we have an excellent working relationship with the Chinese Benevolent Association, with the Vancouver Chinese Merchant Association, and with the Chinese Cultural Centre. In fact, we run a lot of cross programs, and we also have regular gatherings. Once every quarter, we get together with one organization hosting a function in turn, and we talk about common issues. In our previous property developments, like re-zoning and development permit applications for our social service centre and the multi-level care, we had the unreserved and total support of these organizations in public hearings. In the Chinese New Year, for example, we work with them on Chinatown celebration.

Wan also pointed out that they worked together outside Chinatown as well. Besides working with the major ethnic Chinese organizations, SUCCESS also maintained good working relationships with new ones such as Taiwanese organizations. He stated:

Outside of the Chinatown community, our Richmond office works very closely, and our Coquitlam office works very close with respective local Chinese organizations, but not only Chinese. We go way beyond that. On the Taiwanese side, we have close relationship with these Taiwanese organizations. I can pick up the phone and talk to the executives and directors on issues. The attitude of SUCCESS in this area is we will actually recognize the strength of other organizations and try to work with them in whichever way we can.

Mason Loh echoed what Wan just stated.

We try to make friends and cooperate with the other organizations. For the last few years, we have been cooperating with three other major organizations to put on the Chinese New Year celebration. The Chinese Benevolent Association, CCC, and the Chinatown Merchant Association, we do the big parade for the Chinese New Year together. We also

work with Taiwanese organizations on some projects together, we are friendly with Chinatown organizations, we invite them and they invite us to functions.

Loh also added that SUCCESS began to make contacts with some Mainland Chinese organizations when he was the Chair. He hoped to see more of this kind of contact.

Mainland Chinese organizations are just starting to come up. When I was Chair last year, I tried to, through the Consulate, meet some of the groups. One of them is a technology group. We are trying to reach out to some of these groups and I hope the new board and staff would do more than what I could do when I was Chair. The idea is to work with everybody. We don't believe in territorialism. No one organization can do everything. You got to work with other people, then you can create more benefit.

Less Close Relationship

Kan described the relationship between SUCCESS and other ethnic Chinese organizations "not too close." As an organization formed by newcomers, SUCCESS had not been completely accepted by old timers. Kan commented:

I think even up to now it's not too close. There are differences between old timers and newcomers. They don't like each other somehow. Even here, now I work at CCC, people look at me from SUCCESS, "you belong to the new group." So when SUCCESS started, it was not accepted by a lot of these organizations. And SUCCESS gave people an image of, "oh, you are close to the government." That's why in the early days, when CBA, CCC, of course at that time a lot of cross-over with board members sitting on CBA and on CCC, seldom do they sit on SUCCESS board. SUCCESS board is made up of new people, newcomers. Old timers can't completely accept newcomers. They have some kind of bitterness. They have their own culture. You have to pamper them, too.

Kan added that the relationship with other ethnic Chinese organizations had improved in recent years due to closer personal relationship among the leadership.

There was a period of time when SUCCESS chair liked to sit down with old timers, have tea and dim sum[...] In recent years, SUCCESS Chair, Mason Loh, has very close relationship with CCC Chair, John Cheng. Chinatown Merchant Association (CMA) liked to get everybody involved in Chinatown activities. In recent years, SUCCESS is also invited to participate. This is the third year that four organizations e.g. CBA, CCC, CMA, and SUCCESS, organized the Chinese New Year parade and banquet together.

Tensions Within the Chinese Community

Maurice Copithorne maintained that there had been competition particularly between SUCCESS and the Chinese Cultural Centre as a result of different 'personalities.'

At various points in time, there has been competition. I think it is in part a function of personalities as much as anything else, and also there has occasionally been perceived competition between the Chinese Cultural Centre and SUCCESS. And at one time, I know I was asked by, I can't remember which organization, what about Mr. so and so –

prominent member of the Chinese community, and the answer was "oh, no. He couldn't be a candidate or a candidate which has any hope of success because he is so closely associated with the other group." It was perceived at least until a few years ago. I had this conversation maybe five years ago. There were two streams of service to the community for most Chinese, and that was either SUCCESS or the Cultural Centre.

Copithorne also commented on the relationship of SUCCESS with the Taiwanese community. He maintained that the relationship between the two was not smooth during one period of time when the Taiwanese anticipated more Mandarin services from SUCCESS, but did not get them.

In the background, of course there were the traditional Chinese like CBA etc., and some of them were quite influential because of the personalities involved. Bill Yee, the President of CBA, was also in effect the President of the Chinese Cultural Centre for a number of years, and there were other basically Chinatown organizations. And then you mentioned the Taiwanese. They of course are the most recent arrivals at least in large numbers in Vancouver, and they had originally looked to setting up their own organization. At that time, as I understood SUCCESS was not offering services in Mandarin, and they had anticipated doing that for the Taiwanese, and maybe also in Taiwanese as well as in Mandarin, and perhaps coincidentally SUCCESS began to offer courses or counselling in Mandarin.

Speaking for the Chinese Community

Many years ago, the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA) was regarded as the organization which could speak for the Chinese community. The contemporary Chinese community in Vancouver has grown to be highly heterogeneous and complex. The question remains whether there was any organization which could speak for the Chinese community. If the answer was yes, which organization would that be? Would that be SUCCESS? I explored this question with many participants, and the following is what I heard from some of them.

First, Loh stated that he did not want to claim SUCCESS could speak for the whole Chinese community in Vancouver.

We are very careful. We never want to say that we represent the Chinese community, we don't. The Chinese community is large, and it is not homogeneous. There are many points of views, many organizations can speak on different issues, different segments of the community, so SUCCESS can't claim to speak for the Chinese community. But I think SUCCESS reflects partly the growth and development of the Chinese community in Vancouver and in Canada because the Chinese community in some way is growing, developing and maturing, and SUCCESS in some way is a mirror of what is happening in the Chinese community.

On the other hand, Loh maintained that SUCCESS was regarded by the mainstream community as the spokesperson "for a certain segment of the Chinese community."

I can't say SUCCESS represents the Chinese community. It is perceived by some people in the mainstream community as speaking for at least a certain segment of the Chinese community. That's why a lot of the mainstream media and people come to SUCCESS when they want to access to the Chinese community or they want to hear the opinion of the Chinese community like politicians, media, and Canadian business. I am the last one who will claim that SUCCESS represents the Chinese community, I don't think that is the case. But SUCCESS does play a role in reflecting some of the opinions and feelings from the Chinese community to the larger community. I think for 25 years, SUCCESS has been doing that, like the bridging kind of work.

Jonathan Lau, a founding member and the first Executive Director of SUCCESS, presented a different view from Loh. He explicitly argued that SUCCESS could speak on behalf of the Chinese community.

I think people will look at SUCCESS to provide that [role as a spokesperson for the Chinese community]. Even CCC claims that they advocate for the total Chinese population. On certain issues they can. In terms of population behind the organization, SUCCESS has the membership. CCC has the membership in different organizations. Each different organization says they have so many memberships, but they are not really in one. SUCCESS is in the whole. They have so many members and volunteers.

Since the Chinese community was no longer a homogeneous group, Lau maintained that what worked the best for the Chinese community in Vancouver was for all these organizations to work collaboratively and form a united voice.

Actually the best solution is to have all the big groups get together and to have a joint statement whenever there is a big issue, CBA, CCC, and SUCCESS. Then you have a big voice, and you have a really concerted voice of the Chinese community.

Relationship with Mainstream Organizations

Maggie Ip maintained that SUCCESS enjoyed good working relationships with many mainstream organizations. She noted that SUCCESS as a Chinese organization had been accepted by many mainstream organizations, local communities, and individuals. First, she commented on the financial support SUCCESS had received from mainstream organizations.

For the past few years particularly, SUCCESS has also been supported by many many mainstream organizations, not only in terms of their help and services, but also financial support. If you look at the kind of money being donated to SUCCESS from mainstream businesses and organizations which is tremendous, that probably also proves that SUCCESS mainly as a Chinese organization has been certainly accepted and recognized by many mainstream organizations and individuals.

Ip also pointed out that SUCCESS had decentralized its services in recent years. SUCCESS could be found almost in every community. This meant that SUCCESS had been accepted by all local communities. She explained:

It certainly has every intention of making sure that these immigrants are here to make contributions to the society and to the country. This is why in practice we decided to decentralize in recent years. Decentralization costs lots of money, you know. But we felt it's very important. We don't want everybody to feel that if they want services, they have to go to Chinatown. Chinatown is important, very important for the Chinese community, but it's not the only one. We also want to make immigrants feel that wherever they live, their neighbourhood is their home. Their neighbourhood is their community. For that reason, and for that particular strategy that we practice, that means we have been accepted by all local communities.

Loh argued that SUCCESS had reached out to different sectors: government, business, the media, and community groups. They worked with at least 159 organizations throughout the Lower Mainland. He stated:

We reach out to different sectors, government, politicians, bureaucrats. We reach out by working with them on many programs and events. There is a high level of awareness of SUCCESS. By them getting to know SUCCESS, maybe they will get to know a bit about the Chinese community, also at least a segment of the Chinese community. Businesses, we talked about some of the companies that we work with, they act as sponsors to our events, and we also put on training programs with them. We sent our people to some of the companies to sensitize their executives or tell people about Chinese values. We educate the mainstream about Chinese values and customs through business contacts and business programs, and all that. The media, we go and do interviews with the English media about issues, describing SUCCESS, explaining what SUCCESS does. We do that all the time. Whenever we are invited, we would go and do it. We also invite them to our press conferences. We work with Community groups. The last number I heard, it was 159 other organizations, anywhere from the United Way to the Cancer Foundation, the Diabetes Society, the Canucks Place, Libraries, Schools, many schools. We have joint programs with schools, youth programs in schools. We have cooperative projects with 159 organizations throughout the lower Mainland, You can imagine the network, the stretch that we have.

Relationship with Three Levels of Government

According to my participants, when SUCCESS was founded in the 1970s, the relationship between SUCCESS and the three levels of government was an ordinary working relationship. The relationship of SUCCESS with the government in the late 1990s was more intimate, and it was like a partnership. They also claimed that it was the outstanding performance of SUCCESS which won them the reputation.

Maggie Ip, founding Chair of SUCCESS, stated that the relationship between SUCCESS and the three levels of government has shifted from a working relationship to co-sponsoring programs. She also argued that accountability was an important element to determine this.

At the early stage, mostly we had working relationship. Now the relationship certainly has been strengthened, strengthened to such that there is a lot of co-sponsorship working together for certain activities. All relationships with governments are very good because they see that we are doing our job to the best we can. Usually we produce good results, and good quality services. We are dependable. We are conscientious of the legitimacy. Everything we do, the money, every penny we count, there is no problem. The governments do see us as a reliable organization. They know if they give us money, we'll look after the money very well. They work with us. We always produce quality work.

Wilfred Wan, Chair of SUCCESS at the time of this interview, claimed that SUCCESS had an "excellent" relationship with all three levels of government. It was staff and volunteers who won that.

I would say in one word "excellent." On the immigration side and customs side, we have access to the Ministers regularly. On the provincial side, we talked to all the agencies involved, especially these agencies who are going to take over the funding administration of the federal program starting from 1999. We have regular dialogue with them. We work very closely with all city governments, and they all hold us in very high regard not because of the directors, but because of the excellent staff and volunteers we have.

I further probed Wan if he would describe this relationship as that between funders and agencies, and he said it went much further beyond that. He said they were 'friends.'

No, absolutely not. Because all our funders know that we do far more than what we are supposed to do. They give us one pot of money, we play magic with it, and the outcome and the result is better than they expected. We performed very well and live up to their expectations. We are friends, too.

K. C. Li, Chair of SUCCESS from 1978 to 1979, pointed out a very interesting indication of goodwill between SUCCESS and government. He noted that one of the City Councillors has continuously been a former Board member of SUCCESS.

SUCCESS has good relationship with the three levels of government. You know continuously one of the City Councillors is a former Board member of SUCCESS. First is Bill Yee, then Maggie Ip, Sandra Wilking, and Tung Chan. John Cheng, a former Board member of SUCCESS, is a trustee of Vancouver School Board. In the Provincial Government, they all respect SUCCESS.

Copithorne commented on how much weight SUCCESS carried among politicians. For many of them, it was a degree of importance or prestige to be associated with SUCCESS and attend events and activities organized by SUCCESS. He explained:

I think it is a great success in a bigger sense of that word. I am told for politicians in this town, they must be at the SUCCESS fundraising dinner, whether they are federal politicians, provincial, or municipal. They are all there, incredible atmosphere.

Membership and Volunteer Development

Membership and volunteer development had always been a very important part of SUCCESS's mandate. SUCCESS's members and volunteers had contributed enormously to the growth and development of SUCCESS. During interviews, this topic was discussed with some of the participants.

Importance of Volunteer Development

When the first volunteer project was initiated in 1975, Jonathan Lau was the co-ordinator of SUCCESS. During interview, I talked with him about the importance of this project and volunteer development as a whole. He pointed out that SUCCESS needed the volunteers to help them with their programs and services. As a voluntary organization, it was an important task for SUCCESS to recruit and train capable volunteers for the society at large. Lau explained:

I feel strongly that SUCCESS is a voluntary agency. We advocate for changes, but we don't have enough staff to do all the job. We need to develop a volunteer program all over Vancouver. They help in different areas, in different areas of the city, in different area of services. That's our thinking in those days. Even today we have so many volunteers at SUCCESS. I don't know how many exactly, thousands of them. The organization needs that. In a real Chinese neighbour way, you are providing services in each neighbourhood, you need to train them. That's now a big function for SUCCESS, to train volunteers, very capable volunteers in different areas of expertise, to help other people who need help. To me that's one of the main functions of SUCCESS, to recruit and train more and more volunteers to do the job.

I probed Lau on how much he thought volunteers have helped SUCCESS financially, and he stated the most important thing was that volunteers contributed to build a better community.

I am not really thinking in terms of finance. I am thinking how we can build a better community. Once you serve your people, you can enlarge and serve other people. I feel that's the main thing for this project.

I also discussed this topic with Maggie Ip who argued that volunteers helped SUCCESS establish credibility by bringing SUCCESS's name to different communities.

The volunteers bring the name of the Society to different communities and establish credibility there. In terms of voluntarism, we feel that everybody wants to volunteer, but not everybody is comfortable. Sometimes they don't know how or where, we want to train them here and provide them with the opportunities to practice. One day they will say "hey, this is what volunteer is"[...] we don't want them to just volunteer for us, we want

them to volunteer for other organizations. Then they will feel comfortable doing volunteer work outside.

According to Loh, volunteers were "the backbone of SUCCESS." He also argued that by engaging immigrants in volunteer activities, SUCCESS was instilling the Canadian value of voluntarism among immigrants.

Volunteers are the backbone of SUCCESS. Volunteers come to volunteer through the sense of compassion and their common experience. They come and donate their time. On top of that is a very Canadian value. For most immigrants especially Asian immigrants, they didn't have a lot of experience with voluntarism in Asia, it is not a very prevailing, common value, whereas in Canada it is a very common thing, almost everybody does something whether small or big. I think SUCCESS tries to engender that value in immigrants that come to Canada. I think that people who come from a country where volunteerism is not common might think, "gee, if I go and volunteer, I will lose face. I have better use of my time. I should be a busy person doing business making money," but that value system is changed, it is different in Canada. SUCCESS tries to engender that spirit, that Canadian spirit. When you are in Rome, do what the Romans do. In Canada, volunteering is encouraged and it's valued. We encourage our supporters, our members, and clients eventually to contribute as volunteers.

Importance of Membership Development

Lau argued that membership helped SUCCESS raise its profile. Meanwhile, membership dues were an important source of income for the Society as well.

Memberships and volunteers are two in one. You need the membership to raise your profile, and then to strengthen your organization, which means you have so many people supporting you, who your members are, who receive your service, and also in return through volunteer work to provide services to other people. So the membership driver is very important. On that side, also financially you have some money coming in from the membership. They can help you in some ways. I think the volunteers and memberships are really important to SUCCESS. You need a big base.

Ip echoed what Lau just said. She also viewed the membership development as a way of helping immigrants become totally integrated.

To me, I see that as a way of helping the immigrants become totally integrated. For us to build the credibility of the Society, because if we want to be recognized, we must establish the credibility. The credibility is how many members actually support the Society. That's very important, the number of membership.

Ip also pointed out that membership programs provided a forum for developing democratic citizenship. She commented:

We see that SUCCESS is almost like a smaller model of what Canada is all about, a smaller society within a society. For example, today we had a long AGM. We go through

all the democratic procedures. If all the members have experienced that, when they go to vote and participate in other organizations democratically, "yes, we have done it before, I have voted before." So it's nothing new, nothing strange to them anymore.

SUCCESS Leaders

This section describes those who provided leadership for SUCCESS, what kind of qualifications they had when they joined, and what motivated them to join. Reviewing the background of the people I interviewed for this research, it seems clear that all the Board members and program directors were professionals. While most program directors had master's degrees in Social Work, the backgrounds of the Board members varied, including a teacher, a medical doctor, a lawyer, a former diplomat, and a few social workers. They all contributed to SUCCESS in different ways. The following paragraphs present a few members' profiles, their stories as immigrants, and their experiences with SUCCESS. Hopefully the illustrations also help us understand how different they were from earlier community leaders.

Maggie Ip

Maggie Ip, founding Chair and Chair of SUCCESS from 1990 to 1992, was born in China and grew up in Hong Kong, where she received her BA in sociology. Then she came to the University of Ottawa to study for her master's degree in education in 1966. She found Canada very open and friendly, plus there was political uncertainty in Hong Kong, so she applied for immigrant status after her graduation. She commented that some of the difficulties she had to go through as a student were similar to immigrants' experience. She explained:

I came to Canada as a student. So the experience I had, of course many of the difficulties and problems or experiences were very similar to immigrants, but as a student there was not as much pressure as immigrants. I went through some of the language problems, cultural differences that sometimes caused misunderstanding. In terms of immigrants who had come to this country with a family, with lots of social and economic pressure, what they were facing was a lot of pressure that I hadn't experienced. I came as a student. I enjoyed my study here. I found the country very open, very receptive[...] Yet, of course, I came as a university student, and I had quite a bit of education and also language and so on. At that time I felt that for people who came with less education, less language, and with families and so on, I am sure they have a lot more problems than what I had to go through.

K.C.Li

Kwok Chu Li, known as K. C. Li, was the Chair of SUCCESS from 1978 to 1979. He became a landed immigrant in 1968 and moved to live in Canada in 1969. As an established medical doctor in Hong Kong, he had to take a position of resident in internal medicine after coming to Canada. He commented that as a new immigrant, he suffered a 'mark drop' in social

status and earnings. He claimed that this general problem related to immigration promoted his involvement with SUCCESS.

I came at the age of 39, and I went training as a practice doctor. That means I suffered 'mark drop' in social status, 'mark drop' in earnings. This is the problem of immigration. When you move from your home base to a new country of immigration, your social status drops tremendously, which has some relevance to my being so active with SUCCESS. I was a fairly successful general practitioner in Hong Kong in the tourist district of Kowloon, Hong Kong. I was well regarded in the community as a practising doctor in that area. But when I come to the Veteran's Hospital which is for retired soldiers in Victoria, and become the basic medical staff, the drop in social status is significant.

Li also argued that the further training he had to take gave him personal experience with how new immigrants "feel, suffer, and react."

As an immigrant, I experienced the feeling and the problem. After I became somewhat established, I got my license the following year as a fully qualified medical doctor in BC, then I went into further training. This is my personal choice. I didn't go to practice. I took three more years training as a psychiatrist. By 1973, I was qualified as a specialist in psychiatry. During those 3 years, I was still going through training as a basic medical staff, therefore, a lot of work and hardship, still experiencing that relatively lower status as a medical staff, a resident as it is called for the next 3 years. I spent 3 years in training and of course I didn't regret that, but it did show me, and give me the actual personal experience of a new immigrant, and how would new immigrants feel, suffer, react.

As a graduate from an English University, Li still experienced language difficulties after arriving in Canada. At work, he had difficulties communicating with his patients. He explained:

Actually as a graduate from Hong Kong University, we were taught in English. In Hong Kong, we spoke English quite often. Even then, when I came over, I started working, and I still experienced some language difficulties. It's the difference in dialect and colloquial expressions. As a psychiatrist, I spoke English, my patients spoke English, but they said they couldn't understand me.

Linda Leong

Linda Leong, a founding Board member, came to Canada in 1967 to study at UBC. Receiving her BA in Sociology and Anthropology, she spent two years on her master's degree in Social Work. During her master's program, she started working in the Chinese community. She said:

I spent two more years for my master's degree in Social Work that involved learning how to do community work with individuals and with group counselling. I was placed with some groups in Chinatown and also some school groups. I spoke a lot with Chinese immigrants at that time.

After receiving her MSW, she started working at the YWCA as a social worker. There, she became involved with the Chinese community. She commented:

I was a new social worker at that time hired by the YWCA who had an office in Chinatown. I was hired to work with schools, Strathcona Elementary School, Britannia Secondary, and Seymore Elementary. What I was doing was that I took out certain new immigrant children from their counselling classes and gave them additional group counselling, or got them integrated with the school, and made them feel more at home in Vancouver. At that time, I liaised with the parents, again sort of interpret what the school was trying to do, how the parents can get more involved with the community, that sort of things. And because of that, I felt more involved with the Chinese community. I didn't live in Chinatown as such. Because of my job situation, I was there five days a week.

Jonathan Lau

Jonathan Lau, a founding Board member and the first Executive Director of SUCCESS, emigrated to Canada in 1968 as an independent immigrant. In 1969, he took a job with the Neighbourhood Services Association working in the Strathcona area as a community development worker. He talked about his involvement with SUCCESS.

We have a group working at the Pender YWCA, now a church at the corner of Dunlevy and Pender. We sit together and talk about the need. In those days, as a community development worker we organized workshops, talked about how the local community functioned, how we can be adapted to the local community. With that kind of talks, seminars and workshops, we get together more often and feel that there is a need for that kind of services. We talked about how we can form a society in order to access services, in order to access funding, and to provide that kind of services.

Lau also talked about how he and his group worked together to form the Society.

We came together because of the work in the area and interest. In those days, K.C. [Li] and Mei-Chen [Lin] were working for the Strathcona Mental Health team. I was working with the Rehab Office. Maggie [Ip] was working for the YWCA's Women in Training Program. Linda Leong was working in that program, too. So we are there. We are so close. We have lunch together from time to time, and we have tea together. We just talk about things and how we can get together and do something.

Mason Loh

Mason Loh, a lawyer and a community activist, became involved with SUCCESS as a volunteer in 1980 when he was a student at UBC. In 1986, he became a Board member and served as the Chair from 1994 to 1998. He moved to Canada at the age of 14. Although he did not have much problem with the adjustment himself, the problem his family had to go through had an impact on him. He explained:

I think people who donate their time and money, they were immigrants themselves. They have gone through the hard time adjusting and settling and integrating in the community,

so they can appreciate what the late comers have to go through. For example, myself, I went through pretty difficult time when I was settling. I came here when I was 14 years old with my family. I didn't have as much trouble adjusting, going to school and all that. I did have some, but it wasn't for a long period. But I could see my parents going through an adjustment period, and it was tough on the whole family. I think every immigrant who comes to this country has some stories to tell about their experience. So I think it is that common bond among the people who have gone through that experience, and they feel a sense of compassion to other people who come later and go through that experience, and I think that's what prompts people to give and to care. I think it is that common experience that immigrants share.

Maurice Copithorne

Maurice Copithorne, SUCCESS Board member from 1987 to 1988, used to be a senior official in the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was an Assistant Undersecretary for Asia and the Pacific. He worked in the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. Later he became the Canadian Commissioner in Hong Kong. Although not a Sinologist, he became interested in the Society because of his work in Hong Kong and what SUCCESS was doing in Vancouver. In the interview with him, he shared his inside stories as a Board member.

First, as a non-Chinese Board member, Copithorne talked about English as the media for Board meetings. He commented that language preference could effectively exclude non-English speakers from joining the Board.

I heard that [English vs. Cantonese] was a problem before I came on, it had nothing to do with me. For sometime, there had been an issue because there were some Chinese, mainly Canadian born Chinese, who were much more comfortable in English than in Cantonese, so they already had a policy of conducting the meeting in English, that wasn't part of me. But it did reflect the problem that existed within SUCCESS as to reflecting the fact that non-English speakers were effectively excluded from the Board, not because of any rule, but just because of the language preference.

Although his general impression of Board members was positive, Copithorne also expressed his concern that the turnover rate was not very great. He argued that the Board members were committed to Multiculturalism.

Well, I thought the directors were very good[...] They have contributed a lot of years, but I have the impression a number of them have stayed on for a very long time. Turnover is not very great[...] These are people that are very active in the community as a whole[...] I think most of the people on the Board had an ongoing commitment to multiculturalism, not only that is to say to advancing the interests of the Chinese community, but using that in general to broaden the mainstream communities to multiculturalism.

Copithorne also stated that, although very few Board members were born in Canada, he did not feel 'uncomfortable' as a non-Chinese Board member. He stated that many of the Board members may have come over as infants.

I don't feel uncomfortable. I think learning English, or another part of Canada French, is a part of the immigrant experience, and it is important. I can't remember there were very many people who were not born in Canada on the Board, although some of them may have come over as infants, but my impression was that everybody on the Board must have come over before the age of say six, before they started school. That was purely impression.

T. N. Foo

T. N. Foo, Program Director of the Richmond Office, moved to Richmond in February 1990, and joined SUCCESS as the Program Director of SUCCESS's Richmond Office in May 1990. Before coming to Canada, he already had opportunities exposing himself to Western societies through studying at Manchester University in the UK and McGill University in Canada. He had many years of experience working as a social worker in the Social Welfare Department of the Hong Kong Government and teaching social work and mental health at Hong Kong Polytechnic. He highlighted three reasons for joining SUCCESS. First, it was because he could work in an area where he was trained.

This is my career, my profession. I have been working and teaching social work in Hong Kong for close to 28-29 years before coming over, and I would be happy to be involved in direct services, participation of social welfare services as well.

Secondly, Foo revealed that working at SUCCESS would give him a chance serving his own people.

The second reason, in 1990 we saw quite a lot of immigrants coming from Hong Kong, from Taiwan, and coming not as many as nowadays from Mainland China. I felt that if I had a choice, I would like to work with my own Chinese people, although I fully understand I have to expand my horizon to be exposed to the mainstream, so I joined SUCCESS.

Furthermore, working at SUCCESS enabled him to interact with mainstream organizations. He commented:

The third major reason is that the SUCCESS position enables me to reach out to the community. Because of my work, because of my position in SUCCESS, I was forced to reach out to many mainstream organizations and get myself involved. Throughout the years, I joined a number of voluntary mainstream organizations[...] I see all these benefits of working in SUCCESS. Because of this position, I get involved in all these kinds of voluntary or community services. Many of my fellow immigrants from Hong Kong may not have this opportunity.

Kelly Ng

Kelly Ng, Program Director of Family and Youth Counselling, graduated from the School of Social Work at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He first joined SUCCESS as a summer youth worker in 1992. After he received his master's degree in Social Work in September 1992 from the University of British Columbia, he became the Program Director of Family and Youth Counselling until now. He described the problems he encountered while adjusting to the Canadian system.

It all came too soon. I came here in April 1991, and then started to study in September. Only after a few months I was here, I started the program. The first two months in the program, I found there was so much expectation. I thought I had some difficult time. For example, they expected me to have knowledge of social welfare system here, the welfare history, and aboriginal issues. I have been here for 3 months, how can I know all these? The other issue is of course language. I was trained in the British system in Hong Kong. Here you use the American accent and some of the idioms. Oh, I don't know why people are laughing. It took me two months and I overcome. The British system is too humble, too indirect, here it is direct. I am still learning. I am more direct in terms of my communication skills, and in terms of expression, direct to the point.

Ng also talked about what made him join SUCCESS. He explained that he was attracted by the dynamics of the organization and its involvement in the community.

At that time, SUCCESS was very renowned in terms of the community. It got a very high reputation. I worked in SUCCESS as a practicum student with the Coquitlam Office. At that time, I find this organization very dynamic in terms of expansion, services, and commitment. I could see the energy there and very much influenced and impressed by it. So when the job was offered, I had no hesitation. Also as a first job in Canada, it is very attractive. Pay is low of course, but on the other hand, in terms of kind of opportunity, the atmosphere, everybody is working so hard towards the objective, helping immigrants and serving the community, that was something really attractive. I think that is the major reason.

Ng maintained that, although he had a degree, he faced challenges when he took the director's job.

That was quite challenging to me. I got a degree, I had a background, but in terms of how to manage a division, how to fulfil the mandate of the division to help family and individual problems as well as to advocate for the interest so that they can enjoy a better life, it is also very foreign to me.

Ng compared his work here with his work in Hong Kong. One difference he highlighted was that the funding here was insecure. He also mentioned that he had to be very careful with sensitive issues such as funding.

This is so different from the Hong Kong scene. In Hong Kong, you got very stable funding. At first, I had some struggle as to what would be my role because it is important to look for projects so that you have stabilization of projects, so that you can have the work done; whereas in Hong Kong, you got very stable funding, five years funding. When I first came here, I remember I received a contract of only four months for one project. In terms of external meeting, I was also not so used to the style here. Although at UBC you talk very freely, once you are in the field, it is very political. There is competition for funding. There are some very sensitive issues I have to be very careful.

So he decided to be a new learner. He explained:

So I decided I should humble myself and begin to learn. First of all, be a humble learner and to know the in and out of the whole division, the relationship between my division and the whole SUCCESS, and the relationship between divisions, and other family counselling and other areas, and the relationship between SUCCESS and the outside community. So bit by bit, I slowly picked up.

After the new learning and adjustment process, he became quite a different person. He pointed out that he used to be a quiet person at meetings. Now he learned the Canadian way.

I would say I was quite reticent, I was quite quiet when I attend meetings, but gradually I learned that the Canadian way, you have to express yourself. It took a few months. I became quite vocal and people accept, so this is unlike in Hong Kong you have to respect authority, you don't speak up that much. Here, even if the minister is sitting next to you, you can reason with him or her if there is something justifiable. So I slowly learn, and I think it took time. It took one or two years before I can feel myself very relaxed and settling in terms of that kind of environment.

Ng maintained that his experience as an immigrant had helped him immensely with his work. When immigrants came to him to talk about problems facing them, Ng said he could easily understand them because he knew both systems well. He explained:

When I first came here, the majority of the clientele to family services came from Hong Kong, at least 60% of them. It changed gradually. But at that time, people came to us and talked about astronaut issues, economic issues, and family violence. Because I was an immigrant, I knew how they feel. They also compare the two systems all the time. Even in terms of direction or planning, the choice of words when doing workshop, this is the language that is familiar to them, and this is an issue immigrants are facing, so I find this much more appealing when I can apply all this knowledge.

SUCCESS Now and Then

A Difficult Start

SUCCESS did not have an easy start. Linda Leong, a founding Board member, maintained that when SUCCESS was founded, she never thought it would live this long.

It was really hard to get started. At first, nobody knew who you were, including your own community, but we felt that we have to at least get the support of the locals so that there were lots of outreach, so that they would know what this organization was about, and fundraising as well.

Philosophy Remains the Same

Without any doubt, SUCCESS had changed immensely since its inception in 1973 until the late 1990s, in terms of its programs and services, its clientele, and the structure of the organization. During interviews, a comparison was made between the 1970s and the 1990s. Ip argued that the philosophy has not changed much.

I don't think we have drastic change of the philosophy. I am amazed that 25 years ago we were talking about the same kind of things we are talking about today. I don't think we have really changed the philosophy. The large philosophy, no.

Different Ways to Achieve the Philosophies

Ip maintained that the ways through which these philosophies were achieved were different in the 1990s from the 1970s. Some of these differences included its volunteer and membership development, and more comprehensive and decentralized services and programs.

Of course the ways how we can achieve these philosophies might have changed. For example, right now we decentralized our services. We emphasized more on the volunteer development, the importance of membership. These are the different ways to achieve the large philosophy. I must say that the level of services certainly became comprehensive, we have almost everything from youth, from children, to seniors, women, and men.

Change of Advocacy Work

Initially, SUCCESS's advocacy work focused on mainstream organization's hiring policy. Now it has expanded to encompass a wide spectrum of areas, including government policies and educating the mainstream community. Lilian To, pointed out:

Twenty-five years ago, the advocacy work was more for institutional and organizational change in the so-called mainstream organizations so that they will be able to hire Chinese. That's the key target[...] In fact, even by doing so, it doesn't solve the problem. How many can they hire?[...] Now we are looking at if you do that, the agencies also have to change some of their culture[...] There need to be more changes than just hiring staff. That's one of our approaches in doing that. The other approach in advocacy is actually policies. We are now looking at government policies, including immigrant policies, education or health polices, whether they are able to deal with the special needs of immigrants, whether they are fair. The third part is to do with gradually changing the attitude of the so-called mainstream community. It's more community education.

To explained further why it was important to educate the mainstream community to change their attitudes towards immigrants.

We now look at settlement services. If we want to help someone integrate or settle, we definitely can prepare the immigrants, this is important. They have to speak better English. We have to help them find a job and understand the school system. On the other hand, there are two sides to it. Our clients should not be focusing only on the immigrant population, our clients should also be the mainstream. We have to have the employers be willing to hire immigrants before they can even get a job. We have to work with employers and help them understand where the immigrants come from, and help them to understand they can contribute to their businesses. We have to work with the mainstream businesses so that they can serve immigrants better. So our target now is not only immigrants, but also mainstream communities. I have to say that there is still a lot of work we have to do with mainstream organizations, mainstream communities, or mainstream employers. That is our target now.

To stated that SUCCESS's advocacy work covered both personal and community levels.

I forgot to say that we do advocacy at both personal and community levels. We all do advocacy when we work with new immigrants. In our direct services, for example, if a client has a problem in the school system, the child is being unfairly treated by the teacher or students, our staff do have an advocacy role in working with the school to try to change the teacher's attitude, or try to change the school system so that they would be fairer. We do that. Or someone is being unfairly treated by the employer, or being discriminated against, so we do have a role to advocate on behalf of this client, work with the employer, or even help them go out to the Human Rights Commission. We do deal with advocacy at a more personal level although we also deal with it at a broader community or organizational level or government level.

With An Increased Budget and Expanded Programs

Wilfred Wan compared the changes of SUCCESS in more recent years. He highlighted the increase of budget and expansion of programs and services.

We have grown 4 or 5 times as big as we were 10 years ago. In 1989, our budget would have been less than \$2 million, today we have a budget of \$9 million. But that number doesn't mean anything unless you serve the people well. I believe our services have changed. Broadly speaking, originally we started as an immigrant service agency, but now our services spread way beyond serving immigrants. We are into job training, into small business assistance. We are into family and child services, and we are into a lot of very high tech counselling, job creation. And we will soon go into seniors' health care, and provide assisted living for seniors.

Highlights of the Major Changes

Lilian To, Executive Director of SUCCESS since 1987, summarized some of the major changes in the 1990s, which included change of mandate, scope of services, clientele, staff, budget, geographic locations, and service approach.

If we compare then with now, I think there are huge changes. Start with the mandate, even the mandate has changed. First, when SUCCESS was set up initially, it was a demonstration project, which was supposed to end in three years. We have now become an established community service organization, the mandate is to provide services[...] Second, the scope of our services has also changed. We now have a very broadened service scope with three main departments. We have social services[...] [W]e have employment, job training programs. That's the education component. The third component is health. In terms of the targeted client, it's changed. It's not only Chinese, although 80% are still Chinese, 20% are multicultural, which include mainstream clients. The staffing has changed. It's not only increased in size, [...]it's also more multicultural, 15% to 20% of our staff are multicultural, non-Chinese as well. The budget has changed. The geographic location has changed as well. We tried to reach out to people. One of the reasons why we extended to different geographic areas is because immigrants' needs have gone beyond Vancouver[...] The approach has also changed. The approach initially was interpreting and information referral, but now it's a professional organization.

A Broadened Mandate

The foregoing discussion has made it clear that over the past 25 years, SUCCESS had evolved tremendously, from a demonstration project to a multi-service agency. One big change which has been illustrated in the previous section was the change of its mandate. The contemporary goal of SUCCESS is much broader than its early one. Linda Leong, a founding Board Member, commented that SUCCESS had now "reached out to everything and anything."

I really think the goals at that time were a lot limited and the services we were going to provide were a lot more limited, but now they have branched out to everything and anything. It's such a strong organization now.

From Serving New Immigrants to Advocacy Roles

K. C. Li pointed out that SUCCESS changed its mission statement from serving new immigrants to include advocacy in its fifth year of service. He explained why the Society made that decision.

SUCCESS started as a new immigrant service society, but very soon we realized that just to serve new immigrants was not sufficient because half of our clients are seniors. About 4 or 5 years after its inception, SUCCESS changed its mission statement. Our original mission was to help new immigrants, collect information, and ask government to improve services for new immigrants. After the fifth year, we changed our mission to advocacy for the Chinese community. That's a significant increased role of SUCCESS. Actually SUCCESS played the role of advocacy for the Chinese community a lot, advocacy for immigrant benefits, social and welfare benefits, and doing a lot of government projects.

From Serving Immigrants to Including Mainstream Clients

Mason Loh, Chair of SUCCESS from 1994 to 1998, pointed out that SUCCESS was no longer just serving Chinese immigrants. Some of their clients were from the mainstream.

The other aspect is SUCCESS is no longer just a Chinese organization, 20% of SUCCESS's clients are non-Chinese. We service 210,000 clients a year, out of that 20% are non-Chinese. That number is steadily increasing.

From Providing Settlement Services to a Multi-Dimensional Agency

Another change identified by Loh was that SUCCESS was no longer just providing settlement services. Its services have become multi-dimensional.

SUCCESS is a multi-dimensional organization, it is no longer a single focus immigrant service organization. I think in some ways that building [the new Social Service Building] signifies that. If you walk through the building and look at the rooms and the facilities, you get a feeling of the multi-dimension. We still have 10-12 outlying offices outside of the Head Office, some of the services in those offices are not even in the Headquarters.

From An Immigrant Organization to Part of the Mainstream

Loh also argued that SUCCESS had reached out to the mainstream. SUCCESS's activities were noticeable not just in the Chinese community, but in the whole of Vancouver. It had developed from an immigrant organization to part of the mainstream community in Vancouver. He explained:

We are reaching out in our work. We are reaching out to the mainstream, the media, government, all around. We are dealing with a much broader range in business, we have a lot of sponsorship like General Motors, IBM. We work with all these organizations[...] [T]oday it is no longer just a community group, I think you can probably safely say that it's part of the institutions of Vancouver. When SUCCESS does something, it is noticeable, not just in the Chinese community but in the mainstream.

Lilian To maintained that SUCCESS should not be looked at as a marginal or secondary service agency because their clients were an important part of the community.

I have to say, as a social service organization, we should not be looked at as a marginal or secondary service organization. We serve a group of people who are legitimate citizens, a large chunk of the whole community. They need specialized services, and we have the expertise.

Becoming Multicultural

Increasingly, SUCCESS was being called upon by government to show leadership in promoting integration and greater community relations. In the past 25 years, SUCCESS had carried a belief in mutual support and encouraged multicultural harmony by building cross-cultural bridges. To date, SUCCESS had an interpreting bank of more than 25 languages and an array of multicultural services. New integration services in the Tri-City area helped immigrants

of different ethnic backgrounds settle into their new community. Outreach programs integrated clients into community programs and services to help build their neighbourhoods. Recent years had seen other multicultural services such as the Employment Services, the Community Airport Newcomers Network, school youth services, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), and the Host Program.

It is noticeable that SUCCESS was becoming a more and more multicultural and multiethnic organization. During interviews, I discussed this observation with some of the participants. According to Ip, SUCCESS had also expanded its mandate from serving Chinese immigrants to serving immigrants from other ethnic backgrounds.

Also now we have expanded to other languages other than Chinese. That is really mainly because we felt that, if we have the experience of serving immigrants, the problems immigrants face are quite similar, the difference is language. If we can share our experience and contribute our experience to other immigrants, I think this is the duty of our Society to pay back to the country, especially to other ethnic groups that may not have that kind of experience and also the resources. This makes SUCCESS broaden our mandate, broaden our thinking and our services which I think is very exciting.

Another participant, Wilfred Wan, talked about the new explanation of SUCCESS's name to accommodate people from other ethnic backgrounds.

To be honest, we are trying to refocus our name on SUCCESS only. Our whole name is called the United Chinese Community and Richmond Services Society, (a) it is very long, (b) it does not have an 'S' in the front, and (c) it highlights Chinese. What we try to sell to market SUCCESS's image from now on is just to say SUCCESS. In doing so, people will still know we have a Chinese heritage, but our focus and our services will cater to people of all ethnic background. For example, we are already doing that in the Tri-Cities in Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody, our services actually go across racial boundaries. In our small business development program in West Broadway and Burrard, we also cater to many different nationalities, mainly Asians including Koreans, Singaporeans, Malaysians, Filipinos, and Indonesians. And the most noticeable is our airport reception project. We are actually there to serve all landing immigrants and landing refugees, no matter what nationalities, whether they are from Europe, from Africa, or from Asia, and our staff speak those languages as well.

I also probed Wan if SUCCESS faced any challenges to service a group of clients with more multicultural backgrounds. He stated that the biggest challenge was language.

The biggest challenge is language. There is a perception in the Taiwanese community that SUCCESS is Hong Kong based organization, run by people who are originally from Hong Kong. That is our heritage and that is our history, and we cannot change that. What we are trying to do is to embrace people from other backgrounds, mainly people from Taiwan, China, and Southeast Asia. For example, we can never replace those organizations in the Taiwanese community. It is not our intention to either compete with or replace these organizations. However, it is our intention to work with them on

programs for things that we can do better. If there are any areas in which there would be cooperation between these associations and SUCCESS, we would participate and work with them.

Driving Forces Behind the Change

Government Funding Leads the Change

As noted above, SUCCESS had gone through tremendous transformation. I discussed with Mason Loh the driving forces behind these changes. Loh commented that the initiative to expand its programs and services to include other ethnic groups first came from government. The government had specific requirements about some of its funding. Loh stated:

Then there is an area of government requirement. For the last few years when the government gives us funding to do projects, they have specific instructions. They say the needs are in Port Coquitlam or in Surrey so you got to run that project out of Surrey and Port Coquitlam. Partly to respond to those needs of the government requirements, we had to open up an office in different areas to run those projects. It is driven by needs rather than our intention to have a network of offices all over the place. It's hard to manage all the offices. It is much easier to concentrate them. We are in a social service business.

Wan explained how they went into some programs such as employment training and small business development.

As I was saying, the original mandate was only where we started. Our mandate has to change depending on the needs of the community, and also depending on where the government funding is coming from. We went into a lot of new areas, like job training and small business development, because the government of Canada opens up avenues of grants in this, because it sees there is a need in conducting programs in these areas, and we went ahead in applying for funding under these programs.

Benefiting Other Immigrants

Because of its outstanding record in serving Chinese immigrants, the government aspired to use SUCCESS's experiences in services to benefit other ethnic groups. Loh explained:

The original mandate was quite clear that we are there to service the interests of Chinese Canadians. We have this debate internally all the time. We didn't branch out specifically to serve the non-Chinese out of the internal initiative. It didn't come about that way. Initially, it came about from the government. The governments came to us and said, "Look, SUCCESS you have been doing a good job running programs for the Chinese community. We have been giving you funding support. We think that you can do more than just the Chinese community. Can you take on the Korean community? The Polish community? We will give you more funding. We give you \$50,000 to do this project, now we will give you \$100,000, but if you will serve the rest of the community, too." The party came about because of the bigger environment, because there have been one or two other ethnic organizations which have some difficulties, so they had to cut some of the programs and those communities were not served. If the government were to set up its

own department to serve, it will cost a lot of money. So the government came to us and said "SUCCESS, can you do it?" We said "well, we can do it, there is no problem." So we started to take on some of these.

Lilian To commented that, as long as the government provides extra funding, SUCCESS would be happy to include the mainstream and multicultural clients.

Let's put it this way. If they [the government] give us funding, say for the Fraser Office, for the employment programs for welfare recipients, many of whom are just Canadians, they give us funding to do that, it doesn't take away my staff from doing other employment counselling work to serve the welfare recipients, it's extra funding, extra staff, extra programs, I don't think it takes that [our resources] away. Of course it impacts on our accounting, impacts on me of my time, some other human resources. But if they are able to pay some of the administrative costs, that would help. If they don't, we may actually have to subsidize a bit, but that is still important that we are still able to be more inclusive, not losing sight of the need of the Chinese community.

One Way of Reaching Out

The second reason the government invited SUCCESS to serve immigrants from other ethnic groups was due to the pressure from people who feared 'ethnocentricity.' The government hoped that by offering services and seeking services from each other, ethno-cultural organizations would engage in inter-group exchanges. Loh stated:

Then the government the second time around came to us and said multiculturalism is a sensitive word nowadays. There are people politically who don't necessarily agree with multiculturalism. They are saying multiculturalism promotes ethnocentricity, one ethnic group being isolated from the other community. You see your own ethnic group as the centre, and you don't really deal with the other groups. So the government said "well, we want to encourage the ethno-cultural groups to branch out and reach the other community, so we are going to give you funding but you HAVE to, it's not a matter of choice, service the other communities." So that's the second step.

Lilian To expressed her dismay with the pressure from the government to change the ethno-specific nature of some immigrant service organizations such as SUCCESS.

Sometimes the shift in some bureaucratic departments about ethno-specific services creates some problems for us. As I said, we gladly opened up to become inclusive. If the government is saying we should not ghettoize ethno-specific services, that they would rather see mainstream organizations provide the services rather than an immigrant agency like SUCCESS, then we have a real problem with that because first of all, it's not recognizing the client has a choice; secondly, there needs to be some kind of trust level, comfort level for people in the immigrant community because they don't trust them, they only trust us; thirdly, what is the best service format? If they feel more comfortable and trust us more, why should they be denied the opportunity for services?

Meeting Community Needs

Wan maintained that the mandate of SUCCESS changed according to the needs of the community.

As the community changes, our services should change. If SUCCESS is doing today what it did 10 years ago, I think we will have neglected the majority of the needs. For example, in one area SUCCESS started by Hong Kong immigrants, typical services are for Cantonese speaking clients. Through the 1990s, with the influx of immigrants from Taiwan, we had to create substantial Mandarin services. Right now we have Mandarin service centres in Vancouver, Richmond, and Coquitlam. More recently we see a big influx of legal immigrants from Mainland China. Their requirements are totally different from our Taiwanese immigrants who are much more well off. Chinese immigrants from China require jobs. They require basic help even with living, with language, and so SUCCESS has to change in order to cope with the changing needs of new immigrants. That's why it will never stop.

Internal and External Factors

Loh added that many of the expanded services had been imposed on by the government, but SUCCESS stood up to accept the challenge.

In the last few years, that's been happening. We happen to have the professional staff, social workers, and counsellors, so we decided to take on more and more of that role. But a lot of that was imposed on us, not because we wanted. Once it started to happen, then we said "Why not? Why can't we do it? If we can do a good job at it, why not? We service the Chinese community well, and if we could service the other communities well, we should do it." We don't want to necessarily fight if the Polish community or other community groups can do it. We don't want to fight with them. But if a community is not being served, and the government thinks we can do it, and we know we can do it, why don't we do it? We decided to take on that challenge[...] So partly this pressure was from government, and partly we feel that it is not inconsistent with our mandate, so we just continue to do.

In Comparison with the Head Tax

This imposition from government to extend its programs and services to other ethnic groups reminded me how the Chinese were treated historically. I examined the difference between this imposition and the Head Tax imposed by the government on the Chinese a century ago. Loh commented that they were different. The latter imposition was a trust the government had bestowed upon the organization and the Society accepted challenge. He viewed the latter imposition as a positive thing.

I think this is something good, I don't equate that with head tax at all. Head tax was a discriminatory measure and I think history will be the judge of that. I don't think that episode has been fully resolved. Personally as a Chinese Canadian, I feel something needs to be done on that. On this issue, SUCCESS and the government relationship, I don't feel this is a negative thing. I feel that it was a challenge the government put to us,

and we rose to the challenge, and we want to prove that we could do a good job at it. We want to prove that it is part of our mandate. Our trademark is a bridge. We are building bridges not just between new immigrants with the new country, but we are building bridges between the Chinese community, the Chinese Canadians with other communities, Polish Canadians, Korean Canadians, mainstream Caucasian Canadians. It is part of our mandate to do that. If the government would give us funding and give us an opportunity to do that work, why not? So we look at it as a very positive thing. We should do it, it's an opportunity, it's a challenge. It is a trust the government has given to this organization.

Comparing SUCCESS with YWCA/YMCA

Loh also made a comparison between SUCCESS and the YWCA/YMCA. He maintained that the changes made by SUCCESS were similar to the changes made by the YWCA/YMCA from a Christian organization to extend its services to non-Christians.

When you talk to Lilian, you can ask her to expand this concept. She was the one that articulated to me first. She said if YMCA and YWCA can grow from a Christian organization to such a mainstream thing which service and take on non Christians, anybody by the same token can do the same. SUCCESS started as a Chinese organization, like YWCA or YMCA was run predominantly by Christians, but the services are not just given to Christians, it's given to anybody else who needs it, same as SUCCESS. We started as a Chinese organization, and predominantly it is still run by Chinese people, but the services don't need to be isolated just for Chinese. We could expand out, we are in the service business, social services. We provide services to the people in need. If we can service the people and we have the resources to do it, why don't we do it?

Broadened Mandate vs. Its Original One

Would the broadened mandate contradict SUCCESS's original mission to serve the Chinese community? According to Loh, it was not a contradiction because SUCCESS was building bridges among different communities. He pointed out that it only brought good will to the Canadian Chinese community.

Even during this process we had debated among ourselves, If we decided to do that more and more, does that take away from our focus in serving the Chinese community? That debate is still ongoing, and I can't say it is completely resolved. But we have been able to rationalize and say "Look, if we can serve the other communities and not just the Chinese community, it will only bring goodwill to the Canadian Chinese community because we are building bridges with the other communities and with the Chinese community." So our mandate is very broad. We should do things that are in the best interest of Chinese community. Now that we are doing this, it is not against the interest of the Chinese Canadians, we are building up bridges, building up goodwill. Why not?

Lilian To emphasized that serving non-Chinese clients did not dilute their efforts in serving the Chinese community.

I think it's important to respond to the make-up of the whole community. Currently, there is still a large Chinese population. Eighty percent of our clients are still Chinese. We are still very much community-based in terms of reaching out to the Chinese community. But at the same time, I don't see that serving the multicultural clients necessarily dilutes our community base. I don't think we have lost that community root yet. In terms of advocacy, a lot of the issues are to do with the Chinese community as well. Our community-based services and our community support part are still there, the advocacy part is still there. It's just the service clientele, about 20% maybe have changed; and some staff, 10% to 15%, have changed.

The original mandate of SUCCESS was to serve new immigrants. Should the Society serve early immigrants? Nicholas Lo, Program Director of Finance and Asset Management, argued that SUCCESS could not turn them away when they came to their door.

We still focus our services on new immigrants, but we can't reject or refuse to provide services to old immigrants. When they approach us, especially for seniors, some seniors are quite lonely here. They live by themselves. Their children may return to Hong Kong or somewhere to find jobs, or they live in other cities, no one can help them. When they come to SUCCESS, we can't say "Sorry, we can only accept new immigrants. Since you are not new immigrants, we can't serve you." We can't say that. People keep coming to our office, and we still have to serve them. Since we don't have enough funding or manpower to provide too many services, we also involve lots of volunteers to help out. For example, for filling out some forms for seniors, let's say to apply for some senior benefits or senior housing, we will train volunteers to help with that.

Thomas Tam, Program Director of Small Business Development and Training, discussed this question from the perspective of small business training. He argued that the new steps taken by SUCCESS to provide small business training was not a contradiction with its original mandate. It was an extension of what they were doing before. He explained:

I would like to say it is an extension of our service base on the same mandate. For new immigrants, we also help them to overcome cultural and language barriers in doing business or in getting employment. For the Canadian community at large, we help to bridge newcomers with local people, and eventually for the well being of everybody. I think this is an extension of our services based on the old mandate.

SUCCESS and Monopoly

Because SUCCESS had developed so fully and provided such a broad variety of programs and services, some people argued that it had become a monopolist in the Chinese community. I discussed this with Maurice Copithorne, a former board member of SUCCESS. He explained that the heterogeneity of the contemporary Chinese community had made any monopoly impossible.

Clearly they are the most well established, now the largest and probably the most aggressive in a good sense. I don't know about being monopolistic although I know there has been friendly competition. Maybe sometimes not unfriendly competition for some of the areas that they have worked in, but I think the bigger challenge is broadening a mandate beyond Chinatown. However that is done, it faces all the Chinese organizations[...] [T]he Chinese community for at least 20 years has spread out far beyond Chinatown and leans more to Chinese people who only rarely go to Chinatown and only probably go for shopping if that. The whole dimension of the Chinese community has changed in a way that, among other things, I think prevents or works against monopolies. There are too many Chinese, there are too disparate interest groups, and also there are different types of Chinese as immigrants. The socio-economic background of the immigrants has also I think made it more diffused.

The Place of Ethnic Specific Organizations

During interviews I asked some of the participants whether they thought there was a place for ethnic-specific organizations like SUCCESS. Copithorne pointed out that there had been.

There obviously is, there has been. Whether you are asking me whether this service should be done by the government, I don't know what the answer is to that. I tend to think that private agencies do more efficient job in delivery than public agencies. But sometimes there is advantage to being a public agency, but I think it has worked very well.

Social Contributions

A Role Model for Immigrants

Maggie Ip argued that SUCCESS had demonstrated to the large community the spirit of people who had come to this country, their commitment, and contributions. It showed people that contemporary immigrants were different from early immigrants who were more sojourners. It had also set an example for immigrants to follow. Ip explained:

I think we have demonstrated to the Chinese community and at the same time to the large community the spirit of people who have come to a new country, who have made the commitment to settle here and to contribute to this country. We don't just come for no reason. We are here. We have to make a commitment. I think this is very important. It changed from the early immigrants who always eventually have to go back home. This is not their home. This is not their country. For new immigrant, this now IS our home. This IS our country. I count here. This is why SUCCESS wants to make sure that we have demonstrated to everybody that. It's a sample. It's a sample that immigrants can look for. If you want to live here, if you want to make commitment, this is it.

Two-Way Bridging

SUCCESS also contributed to building bridges between immigrants and mainstream Canadian society. Mason Loh explained:

I think the contribution SUCCESS has made is twofold: one is to help immigrants to really settle into the community and to become contributing Canadians; the second part is to some way reflect some of the opinions in the Chinese community to the mainstream and to help some of the mainstream individuals, organizations, institutions to access part of the Chinese community. If I have to single out one thing, it is that bridging role. Everything else that we do all the over 200 programs that we run at the end of the day, that's the work we are doing, the bridging work.

Angela Kan had this to say:

I describe to you how SUCCESS was trying to change people's attitude. It is both ways, for the Chinese community to realize that they have to take some effort to learn the language, to be responsible citizens, to participate even though it is very hard because you are taking them away from the comfort zone, they feel comfortable to be their own kind, but sometimes we provide the opportunity to make them change the attitude. On the other hand, at that time in the early 1970s and 80s, we played a role to change the people's attitude, the government's attitude towards Chinese immigrants. This is something SUCCESS has done quite a bit. That contribution has to be done together with other ethnic groups, together with other racial groups.

Raised the Profile of the Chinese

Linda Leong pointed out that SUCCESS had made great contributions to maintaining "a high profile for the Chinese."

I think they are still doing the service delivery, but also I think they maintain a high profile for the Chinese, which I think is also important. You don't want to be forgotten. It's easy to be forgotten if you don't make lots of noise in Canada. In any society, if you hide, nobody will know you exist. Nobody will know your needs if you don't make yourself known. If you present yourself in such a way that many people understand you, respect you, they will lend you a hand, understand you. It's a good thing. It's a good bridge we're talking about.

Jonathan Lau and Angela Kan endorsed Leong's view. Lau added that SUCCESS presented a united front of the Chinese to other communities.

I think it brings a kind of high profile of the Chinese population. We are not in different pieces. We are a kind of in one, especially about services. So you have a total population behind you, that's easier. It gets away all the political boundaries and you are focused on making some changes.

Kan commented that SUCCESS had helped raise the image of the Chinese from being isolated to being inclusive.

I think we have moved on from one generation to another. The generation in the early days, when I took on in the early 1970s, Chinese image was in a transitional period. Before our time, before us coming here, we were really looked down upon, because they don't get involved, they stayed in Chinatown. They just had their heads down because

they were discriminated. They didn't fight much for it. We were sort of in the middle. I think now we were moving from being looked down upon to another generation of more progressive, more outreaching Chinese community. We are ready to take part in whatever aspect of Canadian life, like taking part in schools, in cultural field, in politics. I think SUCCESS has trained quite a number of politicians.

Helped Immigrants Settle and Integrate

Thomas Tam, Program Director of Small Business Development and Training, maintained that the provision of small business training had helped immigrants achieve self-sufficiency through starting a business and integrating into the local economy. It had also contributed to general economic development. Tam stated:

When we talk about contribution, we can divide into two major areas. One is how we help new immigrants and local Canadians to get self sufficiency or to get a sustainable life through starting a business or through becoming self-employed. For new immigrants, we call it Economic Integration, we help them to integrate into the economy in one way or the other, either getting a job or starting a business. For the Canadian community at large, we help to develop the economy because we train people to start business and we help the new immigrants to speed up their process of getting into the work force or getting faster to start a business.

Advocating for Changes

Shirley Leung, Program Director of Group and Community Services, argued that SUCCESS had contributed to Canadian society in two major areas: advocacy and civic education. First, she talked about advocacy:

No. 1 is advocacy, such as the W5 issues. The second thing is civic education. Advocacy, as I mentioned, racism is one thing. We also advocate on immigration policies. If they have any problems maybe misleading or racism towards the Chinese, we are the one to speak right away.

Preparing Democratic Citizenship

Leung also pointed out that SUCCESS had contributed to educating the public, especially the Chinese immigrant population, about their rights and responsibilities.

And like civic education, during the federal election, provincial election, and city election, SUCCESS does a lot of work, nobody knows. We provide interpretations at polling stations. We escort voters to go to the station without influencing them which party to choose. Working with the media closely to encourage the citizens to come out and vote. We help them to translate government documents into Chinese. We provide workshops on how to vote, encourage them to vote, and familiarize them with the system. We also organize meetings with MPs, MLAs, all the candidates. What we are trying to do is citizenship participation. We are very sensitive to all issues, like crime prevention. Since the 1980s, we put on lots of efforts doing crime prevention. We are the ones to initiate setting up Chinatown Community policing and crime prevention[...] Health issue

is a very big matter with cutting back from health boards. Still we try to fight for health protection. We already organize a health fair for eight years, linking up with all the resources.

Wai-Fu Mak, Program Director of SUCCESS's Tri-City Office, confirmed Leung's view.

There is one thing I need to highlight a bit. We have civic education workshops, encouraging our members and clients to vote. That is also important. It is ongoing basis. We organize both provincial and federal election forums so that they understand what the politicians want to do, and what their expectations are from the community, and what their visions of their ridings are. We let them have dialogues with the politicians so that they understand. I think this is a very important contribution to this community.

Getting Its Share of Resources

Wilfred Wan also commented that SUCCESS contributed to helping the Chinese community get its share of the resources for government-sponsored services.

I think SUCCESS today can be proud of itself as probably the foremost Chinese service organization in Canada who has access to government funding. We know how to get the money, and we get the money. And if we don't get it for the Chinese community, the same money will go to other communities. I think SUCCESS's biggest achievement is to get the proportionate share of allocation for government sponsored services for the Chinese community. I think this is where we have done well.

What Made SUCCESS So Successful

The foregoing examination of its history has revealed that the development of SUCCESS has been a successful story of ethnic organizations. Maurice Copithorne, a former Board member of SUCCESS, described how much influence the Society has had among politicians.

I think it is a great success in a bigger sense of that word. I am told for politicians in this town, they must be at the SUCCESS fundraising dinner, whether they are federal politicians, provincial, or municipal. They are all there, incredible atmosphere.

Being Able to Adapt to Community Needs

What made it so successful? During the interviews I explored this question with some of the participants. First, a few of them maintained that there were needs for such services in the Chinese community and SUCCESS had done an excellent job in meeting these needs. Linda Leong commented:

Why do I think it's successful? Obviously there is a need. Obviously they are doing a good job in meeting all these needs. Of course because the Chinese community has grown far larger than the Chinese community at that time, the needs multiplied themselves. The needs changed because the profiles of the immigrants are different now. I think SUCCESS evolved. I think it's been aware of the changes. It's been able to adapt

to these changes, and deliver services according to the needs of clients. I think that's how come it's successful.

Angela Kan confirmed this view by saying that the growth of SUCCESS went hand in hand with the needs of immigrants.

If you take a look at SUCCESS, a lot of people were amazed by this growth. Within 25 years, it has really mushroomed from one location to ten different locations. But SUCCESS's success really go hand in hand with the need of immigrants, if the society is responding to that need and it's bound to grow. Maybe it's not SUCCESS, maybe other organizations. You can take a look at agencies similar to SUCCESS, MOSAIC, the Immigrant Services Society (ISS), they all mushroomed in the last 20 years. They started about the same time with projects. MOSAIC started with I believe two projects[...] Then 20 years later, MOSAIC has also really grown[...] If the society, the centre, or the organization is responding to that need, it grows according to the need. If the organization is not responding to the changes of the community, it will dwindle, and new organization will start to replace it. That is a natural law.

A Clean Start

An interesting point mentioned by Kan was that SUCCESS was successful because it had a very clean start, and because it did not have 'baggage' in its history like the Chinese Cultural Centre.

I think SUCCESS is successful because there was a need from immigrants, and also it has a very good foundation, a good tradition, it doesn't have "baggages." The Chinese Cultural Centre has some baggages to deal with, but SUCCESS has a very clean slate[...] The background of CCC is different from SUCCESS. CCC was formed with the support of more than 40 organizations. Sometimes you hear some clan organizations saying that "without us, there won't be CCC."

People's Dedication and Compassion

Several participants attributed the success of SUCCESS to people who devoted themselves to the development of SUCCESS over the years. This included founders, Board members, the Executive Director, volunteers, and staff members. K. C. Li maintained that founders and Board members' dedication, compassion, personal experience, language ability, and qualifications contributed to the growth and development of SUCCESS.

First of all, SUCCESS started with a group of very devoted founders. All the founders are service-oriented persons, priests, lawyers, doctors, teachers, social workers, every one of them. So that was a given. We came to serve. Of course many of our original directors are new immigrants, we know what new immigrants are like. We have the compassion, empathy, and personal experience. We tried not to make mistakes, we tried not to offend other people, we tried not to step on other people's toes. All the Board and staff members are bilingual and highly educated. Many of the department heads have master's degrees. All the Board members are committed.

In terms of what they got out of this dedication, Li argued that they only took away "good will and name" with them.

Basically it's the spirit, we [Board members] all know what SUCCESS is doing, and we are not corrupted. None of the Board members derived benefits from the Society personally. It's only "give," you don't "take." You take, what you take is the prestige, the good will and name, as being part of SUCCESS and working for SUCCESS, but money, personal benefit, none. You only give, give your energy and money.

Linda Leong emphasized the importance of the contribution from the current Executive Director, Lilian To.

I think a large part of it has to do with its executive director, Lilian To. I believe she is the driving force behind. She is keeping the whole thing together. It's a huge machinery. Of course the volunteers, the directors, and people like that kept the agency in the public eyes actually. They hold a pretty high profile. I think that's necessary, for PR purposes. Of course there are two sides. If you don't deliver good services, the PR will be useless. Basically the services are good. That's how come SUCCESS has been recognized.

Democratic System

The democratic way SUCCESS was run was another element identified by participants as a factor which contributed to its outstanding performance. Loh summarized two reasons which he thought made SUCCESS successful: the people and a democratic system.

It is the people, SUCCESS has been very fortunate in attracting community minded, caring people who volunteer their time, effort, and money. We have been fortunate to have a system in place, a basically democratic system in place. For example, for me after chairing for four years, I have to step down so we would have new blood come in with new ideas and new energies to take the organization to a new level, new direction, so the organization has the vitality, always keep growing. It is a combination of things. We attract the people with the commitment and community minded volunteers; secondly we have a democratic system in place which ensures that the organization would not become stale, and we always have new people coming in and not the same old people always running the organization.

Professionalism

Lau argued that it was the uniqueness of the Society and its professional manner which made SUCCESS so successful

I think the reason SUCCESS is so successful is that there is no Chinese organization who is providing direct services, who is really doing what SUCCESS is doing in a more humble professional way. Secondly, the Demonstration Project demonstrated to the Chinese population that we need a stronger voice in order to effect any changes in the public services. That's why you need to stick together and to make a strong voice. In order to make that you need a lot of people. You need to have a volunteer base. That's

why people believe in that. Also it's a Hong Kong mentality. You need a big social organization to get people together, to make some changes, and to include the services.

Neutral Stand

K. C. Li argued that the success of SUCCESS was attributed to its neutral stand.

SUCCESS has always maintained its neutrality. SUCCESS has been very careful not to step on the toe of all these traditional organizations. I talked about this friendly. In the public, we never put down the old traditional organizations. In fact, at the beginning in any events I always welcome these organizations to come to join SUCCESS for meetings, but the response wasn't that great.

The Timing

According to Maurice Copithorne, timing was an important contributing factor.

There might have been one, the timing of it. One was I think the change in the typical immigrant profile. If immigration had continued from among people who probably didn't speak English, and maybe not even spoke traditional Kwantung dialect, but who rather spoke "the four counties dialect," the four counties which provided 70-80% of the Canadian Chinese immigrants up until 1965 or 1970, these people did not speak mainstream Kwantung dialect, they were really isolated, so any organization of them would be quite isolated. So with the change in the profile, people who had broader education, now this is not to say the parents, I am talking about many young people who I know, who emigrated as young people, and they brought not only language skills but skills of a more worldly sort of quality from Hong Kong or Kwantung, and I have noticed in particular what some people are writing on is another description of overseas Chinese, so there are now three worlds of Chinese. There are Chinese in China, however you define China; there are the traditional overseas Chinese, let's say Malaysia and Singapore; and then there is the third world of Chinese, these are the world of Chinese who are living in a non Chinese environment, who may speak English much better than Chinese, who are educated, affluent and in touch with the world, and so you can see this reflected in the migration to Canada[...] And as I said, the timing was right, that fit for SUCCESS. SUCCESS I don't think would have grown so quickly 20 years before that, and maybe it won't 20 years from now. It's just a point in time in which there is this great surge of this third world of Chinese from Hong Kong and it brought great prosperity.

SUCCESS Model

The preceding discussion has demonstrated that a number of elements had contributed to the great success of SUCCESS. Besides the elements mentioned above, the Society had also developed its own model that enabled it to offer affordable, quality services. This model started from the airport immediately after the new immigrants arrived. When they moved into the city, their needs for basic orientation and information were met at the Society. The Society also extended its services to help them find jobs. Furthermore, there was a safety net for these immigrants in its Family Services Division. This model provided a very intimate community

support network, which was made possible by forming strong partnerships with the three levels of government, the community, and corporate sectors.

In using this model to deliver services efficiently, the Society had developed unique approaches which also contributed to the successful growth. The following examines these approaches.

SUCCESS Approaches

Five major approaches employed by SUCCESS have proved effective in delivering services and programs. These are the mono ethnic approach, a three-tiered approach, a community-based and client-centred approach, a holistic approach, and a decentralization approach.

Mono Ethnic Approach

The first one was the involvement of SUCCESS as an ethnic citizen's organization in servicing immigrants from the same ethnic background. It was true that SUCCESS integrated more multicultural elements into its programs and services in more recent years, but for a long time it operated in a mono ethnic mode. It had proved effective. Its effectiveness was attributed to the following:

- The provision of an indigenous ethnic community self-help effort promoted an atmosphere of familiarity and facilitated service accessibility to service recipients.
- As an ethnic citizen' organization, SUCCESS maintained close contacts with the ethnic community with a thorough understanding of the needs and aspirations of the ethnic community. They were in the best position to bridge the gap between the population concerned and the Canadian systems or community at large.
- The aim of SUCCESS was not to segregate but, on the contrary, to connect the Chinese to mainstream Canadian society, where they could further overcome language and cultural barriers, and fully participate in different kinds of activities and services. However, an "ethnic bridge" was often crucial in encouraging this connection.

A Three-Tiered Approach

The second approach was the three-tiered approach employed by SUCCESS in delivering services and programs. The ultimate objectives of this approach were to reduce dependency, to maximize their potential for self-actualization, and to promote meaningful relationships between Chinese immigrants and other Canadian ethnic groups.

At stage one, immigrants were assisted with language and cultural barriers. They were 'connected' to appropriate service systems through the help of SUCCESS. At stage two,

immigrants were helped to help themselves, to be self-reliant and to participate in voluntary mutual help activities. At stage three, immigrants were encouraged to relate to other ethnic and Canadian groups in the community and develop through the process of integration into Canadian society, while at the same time respecting their ethnic heritage.

Community-Based and Client-Centred Approach

The third strategy which had been proved effective was its community-based and client-centred approach. The evolution of SUCCESS's model over the past 25 years was in direct response to changes in immigrant and community needs which called for a comprehensive range of programs and services. The diversification of services was based on the community- and client-centred approach. Loh commented on this:

It's partly driven by the needs of the community. People don't want to commute that much. They would rather be close to where they live. A lot of the people that we serve are seniors, women, and youth. Not all of them commute easily, and not everyone drives. In order to help them, we have to get close to them. A lot of the programs we administer are community neighbourhood projects so we got to be in that neighbourhood working in the field, working with the neighbourhood to administer the project. We have something like Block Watch, like home visits by certain families with other mainstream families, we have to have the offices there. We can't have people from Vancouver going to Port Coquitlam trying to line up neighbourhood families. They don't know the community and what their life styles are like. This is one area of need.

Holistic Approach

The fourth strategy was its holistic approach. SUCCESS provided comprehensive social services starting from airport reception to immigrant settlement services, employment training, and counselling services. Loh discussed the advantages and disadvantages of this approach. He explained that instead of treating any problems in isolated ways, this approach would be able to help immigrants in a more comprehensive way. Loh first talked about its advantages:

The advantages of being able to provide a whole range of services is that, when people run into problems, they would think SUCCESS, "we will go to SUCCESS and my problems would be solved." Whatever problems they are facing at that particular moment in time, we would try to help them. The ultimate advantage is: are the needs being satisfied? Are the problems being solved for the people? By having a full range of capabilities in some way would help to solve the problem, e.g., they come in with one problem, maybe they have other related problem, we have the service and expertise to help, rather than someone come in and say, "I am looking for a job. I have been looking for a job for six months, and I can't find a job." But someone who can't find job for six months may have family problems, e.g., not on best terms with the wife, children, maybe unhappy. There is a holistic approach to solving the problems of the family. Firstly, people sometimes come in with a counselling problem. There is a fight between husband and wife, and then our counsellor see them and talking to them. We found out that both husband and wife are unemployed. So to solve the family problem, we got to solve their

unemployment situation first. If you don't solve that, the family problem remains. We could solve their problem holistically. There is advantage of providing those range of services.

Loh also argued that one of the disadvantages of this approach was that there were too many programs running and quality of services needed to be ensured.

The disadvantage, or the risk of doing that is you have too many things going and you can't be good in everything. So one thing the board is very conscious about, we are always discussing it with Lilian and the program directors, quality of service is no. 1 priority. If we can't provide the quality service, then I as Chair would say I rather not do it. We would only do it if we know that we can do it well. If we don't do it well, don't do it, and let somebody else do it. There will be other organizations or government departments who can do a better job. If we can provide the quality service at the same time, if we can help the client solve the problem in a more comprehensive and more fundamental way, then we should do it.

Decentralization Approach

The fifth approach was the decentralization approach employed by SUCCESS in delivering services and programs. Because of the demographic changes of immigrants in the Greater Vancouver areas, SUCCESS had decentralized its branch offices in the last decade. Ip commented on this approach:

Decentralization costs lots of money, you know. But we felt it's very important. We don't want everybody to feel that if they want services, they have to go to Chinatown. Chinatown is important, very important for the Chinese community, but it's not the only one. We also want to make immigrants feel that wherever they live, their neighbourhood is their home. Their neighbourhood is their community.

SUCCESS Spirit

Besides the unique approaches noted above, SUCCESS Spirit was also an important part of the model. It was based on the spirit of "caring, sharing and serving" that SUCCESS was conceived, founded, and had flourished under for 25 years. The impetus for this continual commitment arose from a vision of an actively caring and mutually supportive community which through united efforts, was able to alleviate barriers, bridge gaps of access, and achieve full participation in Canadian life.

Loh explained that people who were committed to the spirit of "caring, sharing and serving" were usually immigrants themselves, who understood and sympathized with the difficult time immigrants had to go through during their settlement and adjustment process.

The "caring, sharing and serving spirit" is prevalent in SUCCESS. It's quite unusual because I have found that kind of spirit evident in usually spiritual organizations,

religious organizations. SUCCESS is a non-religious organization so we don't provide any real spiritual nourishment to volunteers and donors. The only thing that people get when they come and donate their time and money is a sense of satisfaction, but I think people who donate their time and money were immigrants themselves. They have gone through the hard time adjusting, settling, and integrating in the community, so they can appreciate what the late comers have to go through[...] I think it is that common bond among people who have gone through the same experience, they feel a sense of compassion to other people who come later and go through that experience. And I think that's what prompts people to give and to care. I think it is that common experience that immigrants share.

A Unique Organization With a Three-Pronged Focus

Through 25 years experience of serving immigrants, SUCCESS has gradually transformed itself into a unique organization with a 3-pronged focus: professional services, community involvement, and advocacy. Lilian To noted that these characteristics made SUCCESS distinct from other immigrant service agencies or mainstream organizations.

With a combination of advocacy, community building, and professional services, in some ways we are quite unique. Probably you don't find other organizations like that. We work quite extensively in terms of building leadership with community groups and reaching out to the rest of the community.

Providing Professional Services

One major role SUCCESS has been playing is providing professional social services. To commented that quality was an important yardstick in ensuring professionalism.

One is professional services, that's very specific, such as family counselling, settlement, training, education, or health. It has been very professional, of top quality. That's one[...] We need to go through the root of professionalism. Essentially it's important to make sure that whatever we do, let's produce a result that brings benefits to the community. You have to ensure quality before you can do that.

Community Involvement

SUCCESS is not only a professional service agency, but also a community-based organization. To explained:

SUCCESS is quite unique in that we have a big scope of the second component which is the community. We are a professional organization, at the same time we are very much a community-based organization.

Volunteers as a Community Base

Besides the professional staff, SUCCESS's team has also been made up of a large group of volunteers from the community. To stated:

The basis of the community is this, first of all, if you look at volunteers that we have, they all come from the community. We are quite unique in that other than the professional staff, [...]each year we have at least about 7,000 or 8,000 volunteers from the community who are part of this organization.

Some volunteers also formed community-based support groups with their own leadership. They also provided services. To noted:

In terms of the component of this organization, we have about eight different so-called subsidiary community-based affiliated groups. These are senior's organizations. On the one hand, we help these people develop leadership themselves. Our seniors' organizations here have their own named, their own Board of Directors, there are different committees, they have their own chairmen or presidents, secretaries or whatever, developed their own leadership. At the same time, they also provide services to other seniors[...] So we have professional services, but we also have voluntary services that are provided by volunteers from the community. The network is spread quite broad. It's not only based in Vancouver.

Community Outreach

The second part of its community involvement was its community outreach programs through providing workshops and organizing public forums. To said:

The second part of the so-called community base is a lot of community outreach education and community involvement programs. We constantly run a lot of community education workshops, information sessions, and different community forums (on immigration and customs).

Community Participation

According to To, the third part of its community involvement was to participate in community activities through volunteers.

Third, we do a lot of community participation. We encourage volunteers to come to SUCCESS. They don't only work for SUCCESS because agencies ask us to send schools volunteers, community centres, hospitals, so we send them out to participate in the community as well. That part is our outreach as well. In terms of the community, we try to build community leadership by using the affiliated support groups set up in different neighbourhoods, reaching out to the community, encouraging participation from the community into other part of the mainstream community as well.

Fundraising as a Community Effort

To pointed out that fundraising also involved immense community efforts.

One fourth part of our community participation is in fact the fundraising efforts, which are also part of the community efforts. An example is this building [SUCCESS Head Office], we got about one million from the government, we raised 4.5 million from the community in about 3 years. About 20,000 people contributed money to this building,

some of them are big money, half a million from someone, but some people contributed \$10 or \$20, but it's the contribution, it's the community effort which counts. For this part of the community focus, you don't find it in other agencies, or in other so-called professional organizations. I don't think many of them have that kind of extent of building community leadership, support groups, community education, or that kind of involvement.

Advocacy Roles

The third component which made SUCCESS successful was the advocacy role it played. To explained that sometimes SUCCESS was regarded as the spokesman for the Chinese community by the Chinese and mainstream media.

The third part of what is unique about SUCCESS is that it plays a strong advocacy role. In some way, it's seen as the spokesman on behalf of the Chinese community although we can't claim we are because there are many Chinese organizations and the Chinese community is split. Very often, we're contacted by the mainstream and Chinese media almost as the spokesman. When it comes to budget, we are contacted by all sides to make a comment about the federal or provincial budget. It's almost like a voice from the Chinese community. We play advocacy role on systemic change, government policies, hopefully changing the community attitudes and understanding of the community as well as the bridging role, building bridges between immigrants and other ethnic groups as well as the mainstream community. We carry that role as well.

Professionalism vs. Community Involvement and Advocacy

I also probed To on the relationship between professionalism, community involvement, and advocacy. She explained that a professional organization could also engage in community activities as well as assume advocacy roles.

You can be both professional as well as community-based. We are all at the same time. You can also deal with advocacy, and you can also assume advocacy role. In fact, you're stronger that way because you have the community base.

To also pointed out that there was a lack of resources for advocacy.

I have to say that I don't think we have put enough resources into advocacy. It's just we don't have enough resources. There are so many services we need to provide. That is very important, too. Advocacy is important, but it's a matter of resources.

In following a holistic, multi-service model, SUCCESS continued its mission of building 'bridges,' of acting as a voice and an advocate in the community, and of promoting social awareness and community development.

Diversified Funding

In the early 1980s, SUCCESS's budget was less than one million dollars. Up to the point when this research was conducted in the late 1990s, its budget had been increased to about ten million dollars. There was a big jump in the last one and a half decades. Although more than 50% of that came from government, funding from other sources also helped SUCCESS provide more programs and services.

Funding from the Community

Funding from the community used to account for 50% of the total budget. In recent years, owing to increased government funding for employment programs, this percentage has decreased to less than 40%. Lilian To explained:

In terms of funding, at this point we still have about 40% of our funds coming from the community, about 30% to 40%. That is made up of our fundraising, membership fees, some donations, and some fee charging programs. Some of the revenue generating programs for the community, such as English classes, computer classes, we charge so that we can pay the instructor although we still contribute some facilities, but these programs contribute some income to us which is invested back to the community.

With regard to funds from community fundraising, I asked To whether they were specified where they were going to be spent when SUCCESS organized the fundraising. To commented:

When we raise the money, we don't usually specify. Usually they are for services which are not funded by the government because a number of services are not really funded. A lot of our senior programs the government does not fund at all. Family counselling, they only fund part of it, the bulk of it they don't fund. Family life education and so on, they don't fund. Youth programs, they do not fund. Family Violence Program, for example, for three years we got private funds from an insurance company. Now that's gone. The government won't fund it, so we do it ourselves. Different programs that the government does not fund, we fundraise for them.

Funding from the Government

More than half of SUCCESS's budget came from government funding. They were mainly from two government agencies: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Human Resource Development Canada (HRDC). They support programs such as airport reception, settlement services, English language training, employment programs, and host programs. To explained:

Even though it's limited in funds, I would think Canada is one of the few countries that still provide funding specifically to help immigrants integrate. Not everybody believes that there should be resources provided for immigrant settlement. But the Canadian government is open enough to recognize that in being able to provide services to help

immigrants integrate, it saves time, it saves efforts because if they [immigrants] have the wrong information, if they don't know the information, it would waste time, efforts, and money. I think it's a wise decision.

Limitations of Government Funding

While recognizing the importance of government funding for immigrant programs and services, To also commented on the limitations of such funding. One limitation identified by To was the lack of consistency among different regional offices.

First of all, in terms of government monitoring, we find that even some of the government standards or contracts are very useful because sometimes they are quite specific and they give clear guidelines in terms of direction. If it's to meet the standards and quality of services, we are very pleased to do that. I don't think there is any problem with that kind of monitoring, or even looking at our account books. We are pleased to be in partnerships with the government. This is important to ensure that the money spent is spent with accountability, with high level credibility, with productive quality, and so on. However, sometimes the limitations come from, I can think of two areas. One is that the government departments are not consistent in their approach especially when involving different regional offices. We have HRDC funds for different programs. The funding from one region is not exactly the same as that from the other. From one region they may give us some funds for administrative support, they may pay some of the expenses for administration, but another region may not pay. There could be that kind of difference. Or one department may pay 4%, another may pay 6%, but it may actually require 10%. The discrepancy and inconsistency existed between different regions.

Another limitation identified by To was insufficient funds for some programs.

Secondly, sometimes a lot of the funds are not sufficient to cover the total expense for the services. They may only pay the salary. Sometimes they only pay 80% of the salary. Even there is high demand in the community, but the government says "we're short of funds." They don't really care what the demand is. We have to be answerable to the community. There is a long line-up, people still come for services, so we have to use our own means to supplement government funds. There is a problem there. Sometimes they are not really looking at the community needs.

A third limitation related to government funding was the lack of consistency in terms of expectations from region to region. To stated:

The third issue is related to regional discrepancy and inconsistency. The expectation from one region differs from another. One region could be very picky even counting how many pencils you need to buy, or how many rolls of toilet paper each staff should have, going into that kind of detail which is tedious, time consuming, and sometimes not necessarily productive, that kind of scrutiny. That's after Jane Stuart has problem with HRDC. We don't mind monitoring which we think is important, but not when it's unproductive, not to that extent. Inconsistency and unproductive scrutiny is another issue.

The final limitation identified by To was that funding criteria could be very rigid.

Another problem is that the funding criteria are too rigid. Again they are meeting the changing community needs. One very obvious problem is the HRDC funding for job training programs, it's only limited to people who are on EI. If you're a new immigrant, you never qualify for it. The other obvious example is that the whole immigrant population has changed. People from China, 70% of them are skilled immigrants. They all speak some English. The current LINC program, we only have LINC up to Level 3, but Ontario is up to Level 8 now. But here the funding criteria only allow up to LINC 3. What happens to these computer scientists or engineers is that they can't access these LINC programs. Either they have to pay to get to VCC or some other colleges, or they're just unable to improve their language. Even we have some higher level English classes, but they have to pay because we can't afford to run so many free programs. That's the difficulty. There are lots of funding limitations.

Artificial Funding Criteria

Another problem related to government funding was that sometimes government imposed funding criteria to encourage community collaboration which was well meaning but could become a token gesture. To commented:

One thing I found I have difficulty with is that sometimes a funding proposal requires collaboration with other organizations. Currently we have at least about 50 different services and programs that are joint projects with other organizations, which we like. However, sometimes collaboration is imposed. The government says, "you have to work with other organizations in delivering this service," which sometimes is not necessarily the best way of doing it. It's something that is imposed. Very often it could become a token gesture. We actually have many other organizations that have come to us to write support letters to be their partner in the proposal. They're often asked to have to have community partners, so very often we become their partners. What it means to be a partner is just to put the name on it. We hear from them when they apply, we don't hear from them again afterwards. It's just artificial, there it no meaning whatsoever. Sometimes government bureaucratically imposed criteria that we find not always reasonable.

Impact of Advocacy on Funding Application

In the interview with Lilian To, I also explored the relationship between advocacy and funding. When asked what kind of impact advocacy might have on its funding, To commented:

So far it has not had any effect on the funding *per se*. It could have some impact, but essentially once the funding machinery or system has been established, the political interference should be minimized. What I'm trying to say is that, we've been getting funding from Immigration for so long to develop services, the funding application is usually screened by the bureaucrats, many departments, whether it's federal, provincial, or municipal, they always have an advisory committee or a screening committee. That is usually made up of people in the community or including people from other departments or other levels of government. It's a mixed group. Of course the bureaucrats make recommendations that have an impact, that goes to the review panel. Very often this kind of process is not necessary interfered by political influence.

She revealed that funding decisions were usually based on the following conditions:

[...]that is based on the funding criteria, the needs in the community, and now more and more they are looking at outcome measurement, the quality standard of services provided, the credibility of the organization. If these criteria are met, the funding will be given, if they have the funding.

She also added that where politics could have an impact was when new funding was involved.

I have to say that I don't see a whole lot of interference. Where politics would have an impact on is if you want to seek new money, new funds, sometimes people use political influence. Sometimes ministers could make certain decisions or allocate certain funds, they certainly have certain influence[...] The majority of our regular funds are apolitical almost. They are not influenced by politics *per se*.

Difficult Period of Time in the History of SUCCESS

The preceding discussion has mainly focused on the successful experiences of SUCCESS. However, its history did not lack difficult periods. K. C. Li, Chair of SUCCESS from 1978 to 1979, who witnessed the growth and development of SUCCESS since it was founded, summarized SUCCESS's difficult times in three periods. He explained that the first difficult period was during 1977.

The first period was between the third and fourth year, 1976 and 1977 because we didn't know if the Society is going to carry on and we didn't have money to hire staff.

The second difficult period was around 1984 surrounding the Advisory Council, which he chaired from 1975 to 1979. He said:

The other difficult period was surrounding the Advisory Council. That's around 1984 and 1985. It's not the Advisory Council's problem, it's the conflict within the Board. The Board members became unhappy with the Chairman's performance, they wanted to out the Chairman. In doing so, they would damage the reputation of the Chair and indirectly the reputation of the Society. So that was a difficult period.

The last difficult period was around 1986 when Angela Kan, then Executive Director, left SUCCESS. The organization had a hard time filling this pivotal position. He noted:

The third difficult period was when Angela Kan left SUCCESS. You know the Executive Director of SUCCESS plays a very important role. As she left, we had great difficulty in replacing her. The next one who came lasted for less than 3 months and quit. We wanted to hire another one from New York, but the government intervened and said: "We don't want to hire someone from New York. We want a local talent." We couldn't fill the position. After Angela was gone, about one year the Society had no effective staff leadership until Lilian To came into office. I must say I was very happy Lilian To came back to the Society. She was one of the first staff of SUCCESS.

Criticism

This section presents the debate over the role of SUCCESS, whether it was to promote integration or ghettoization. It also highlights some of the criticisms facing SUCCESS, including its programs, fee charging policies, and collaboration with other ethnic organizations.

A Barrier to Integration

As stated earlier, SUCCESS provided language, job training, and counselling programs. Some programs were for seniors and women, and some were for children and youth. It had developed so fully that it had almost to a certain degree reached "institutional completeness" (Breton, 1964), like a small society within a big society. Some people argued that some immigrants may depend too much on SUCCESS, and that this might create a hurdle or barrier for them to integrate into mainstream society. I discussed this with some participants. Maggie Ip pointed out that one of the aims of SUCCESS's programs was integration, and that they did not have any intention of keeping immigrants with SUCCESS forever. She stated:

This is why I remember I said earlier about the program philosophy of SUCCESS, we have to make every consciousness that the aim is integration. We don't want them to stay with us forever and ever. They can stay with us forever and ever. Yes. But to the point that they have to contribute. Just give you another example. Volunteer development. We recruit volunteers, train volunteers for us. Yeah, of course we need them, but we don't want them to be volunteers for SUCCESS forever and ever. To the point that they have developed maturity and ability, we then would like to help them to go out to be volunteers for the larger community. This is what I would like every staff of SUCCESS and program designers to keep that in mind, so that we do not create that kind of dependency. It's difficult. It takes lots of time, but we want to make SUCCESS as what it should be.

Mason Loh explained that, when immigrants were able to stand on their feet, they wanted to be independent instead of relying on SUCCESS.

People become too dependent on SUCCESS? I don't read too much into that concern. I think people, immigrants who come into a new country, there is a natural tendency to want to become independent, to be self-sufficient, and to be contributing. Nobody likes to hold out their hands and ask for help all the time. Anybody would rather be the one helping others than to be the taker. Everybody likes to be the giver, you feel better as a giver always. So I think there is a natural tendency that people want to be independent and to contribute. I don't worry about someone coming to SUCCESS and always take and always be a taker. If people are capable, they learn the languages, they learn English, they get a good job, they have an opportunity to branch out, they will branch out, they won't stay out because SUCCESS is there. If they are capable, they will stand on their feet. SUCCESS encourages that, that's what SUCCESS does. We help them when they are most needed, when they first start here, when they have problems, we get them on their feet, and we hope that they will stand on their feet, and then to contribute back to

SUCCESS, and to the rest of the community. We are not trying to keep these people in SUCCESS. We want them to grow with SUCCESS, with the community.

Ghettoization vs. Integration

Another side of the same criticism related to integration was that SUCCESS was promoting ghettoization instead of integration. Wilfred Wan commented that this kind of speculation did not reflect what the reality was. He maintained that SUCCESS worked closely with mainstream organizations, and that they worked hard to help immigrants integrate into mainstream society.

I don't think that is true. For example, we do not encourage what they call people to ghettoize so as to speak, to stick to themselves. Actually SUCCESS works very actively with many mainstream organizations, like the United Way is one of our main partners, and with many school districts, with many cities. Our volunteers, our directors, and our staff, actually spent their own time unpaid to sit on many of the civic, provincial and federal commissions and committees, and they work with a broad spectrum of people. Also for our clients, we encourage them to go outside. One of the original mandates which is still very valid today is integration. Integration actually means, after you get familiar with your new country, you should go out and interact with people. Certainly by no means we actually encourage people to stay within the Chinese speaking community.

Lilian To argued that, like other social service agencies, SUCCESS fulfilled a social role, and that its clients were also an important part of this society. She maintained that the 'ghettoization' argument was flawed.

I just want to say that, when we look at SUCCESS as a service organization, a social service organization, or a community service organization, it's not different from family services, the Greater Vancouver Family Services, for example, or the YWCA. They are there because they fulfil a role, a function, again maybe maximizing the potential of the citizens, some of them may be disadvantaged especially, they will help them solve their problems and become independent, then to contribute. The family services target the so-called white Anglo-Saxon families in the community, the YWCA initially targeted women, the so-called young Christian women in the community, we target initially, and even now the majority of our clients are immigrants. It's just a different focus. If you look at white Anglo-Saxon families, they constituted about half of the population in BC, immigrants actually constituted another half of the population, so we are all in one circle if you look at the society as a circle. I don't see how it's 'ghettoization' as long as you acknowledge these immigrants as part of the society. They shouldn't be considered as marginalized component of the society. They are all part of the society. If they have special needs, we have the expertise to address those special needs, we fulfil a very important social role, I don't see how that's called 'ghettoization.'

Taking Jobs Away from the Community

Another criticism was that SUCCESS was taking jobs away from people in the Chinese community. Kan said:

Right now there is some debate about SUCCESS going into the area of helping people who do business. There are different points of view. Some people feel that they are taking the job away from say accountants who are doing it. In fact some people even feel that SUCCESS is receiving two grants, one is that they receive grants from the government to do it. SUCCESS is a non-profit organization, but sometimes they charge as well. Outside people feel that this is taking away their rice bowl. It is their responsibility. It is something that they earn, they make a livelihood out of that. The people who are participating are rich people already. They can afford to do business and you provide somewhat the government subsidized service to them. I don't understand the rationale, but I hear from people in the business field, some people in the tax field. When SUCCESS is growing, they step into some other people's territory. There was probably some criticism. I think lots of multicultural groups also say the same thing. SUCCESS is now doing everything, anything.

Was SUCCESS taking away people's 'rice bowl'? I discussed this question with Mason Loh, Chair of SUCCESS from 1994 to 1998. He maintained that he was more concerned with providing quality services

It's a fair criticism if we are running a program and we are not doing a good job, and somebody else could be doing it better. It is hard to address the question without the specifics, what program is SUCCESS running poorly and it could have been done by other organization. Is SUCCESS running it purely because we have the political support? We do it and took it away from another organization? Now if there is a specific program that we can discuss, then we can address it better. As a general principle, quality of service is no. 1 priority as far as I am concerned and Lilian agrees with me on that. If we are not doing a good job in the program and somebody can do it better, I would be the first one to say: "Let them do it. We don't have to hold the project." The most important thing is the needs are being met.

Loh also commented that SUCCESS was a social service organization, not a business entity. To him, meeting the needs of the community was more important.

I don't believe necessarily in that SUCCESS needs to grow for growth sake. We don't have to be the biggest organization. We don't have to be the most successful organization. That in itself doesn't really mean anything. I really believe SUCCESS is really a social service organization, it's not a business entity. We are not making the most money. What is most successful is when you are meeting the needs of the community. Now if that's what we are doing, I don't have a problem with that. If we define success as meeting the needs of the community, I don't have a problem with that and we believe we should do it, even if it means we might have to get bigger to deal with the needs. If the needs are there and we can do it well, we do it. But I don't really believe that we have to keep growing. We don't need to have the biggest budget, staff, those are not important.

Fee Charging Programs

Another criticism was whether SUCCESS should charge fees for its subsidized programs. Nicholas Lo, Program Director of Finance and Asset Management of SUCCESS, argued that the government funding policies left them with no choice. The money they raised would go to programs and community services. He stated:

Because we are a non-profit organization, but it doesn't mean we can't collect some money. But when we collect money, it doesn't mean that anyone will get the money because we put the money back into services. We just want to use the money to improve the service, especially during the past few years government will always emphasize one thing: we need to get some community partnerships no matter in program wise or in money wise. They won't give us 100% of funding. For some programs we can only get 70% or 80% from the government, and the government will expect us to get the remaining 20% or 30%, but we are not doing any business, we can't get the money. We can only rely on the donation or to collect some money from the classes because we feel that people can buy for a user fee if they want to join something, but we still provide some free service.

Lo also added that if clients had difficulty paying, they would waive their fees.

Also we have a waive system. If a client cannot afford that money, we will waive that money. For example, for interpretation we hire a professional interpreter to provide the service, they will charge us, that is why we have to charge our clients. But if the client is applying for welfare or the client cannot afford the fee, we will waive the fee.

Lack of Collaboration with Other Ethnic Organizations

Another question raised during one of the interviews was if SUCCESS was willing to work together with other ethnic organizations. Angela Kan commented:

In fact, I think we have to look again that SUCCESS has been really looked upon as a very first top organization in the city, but are they willing to work together with other organizations now? I heard also from other multicultural groups that, some probably come out of jealousy because they want to apply for funding, they give it to SUCCESS, that kind of animosity. There are rumours saying SUCCESS does not want to cooperate, they just wanted to do it on their own – that sort of thing. Once you become big, you have to think about your status and how do you maintain your community base and working in the community.

Issues/Challenges

SUCCESS faced a number of challenges. The following summarized what I discovered during the research.

Funding

Mason Loh commented that it had always been a challenge to meet the growing needs and at the same time make sure there was enough funding.

The biggest challenge in all those 25 years has always been lack of stability of funding. We don't have a big reserve fund. Every year we have to balance the budget. Now if we have a deficit one year, we don't have any funds to cover the deficit, we are not like government, we can't increase taxes or print money, we can't. We have to balance the budget every year. On the other hand, we can't have a big surplus because having a big surplus creates a bad impression in the community. We are non-profit, we are supposed to break even, do the service and break even. If we have a big surplus, people will say: "Well, we don't need to donate money next year." The challenge we face every year is to balance the budget, and also we need to raise the money every year. Government funding is not stable, it changes over time. Fundraising is never guaranteed. In every fundraising event, we don't know how much money we can raise. That's always been the challenge. But the demand for services is always there and is always growing, trying to meet the needs but also to make sure we have the resources to meet the needs.

Doing Too Much

K. C. Li, Chair of SUCCESS from 1978 to 1979 and a long time supporter of SUCCESS, pointed out that SUCCESS had grown too much and taken on too many things.

Right now SUCCESS is growing too much. SUCCESS is doing too much. There has been some criticism, many organizations felt that for the last ten years SUCCESS has taken on too many things and leave them with nothing to do, or depriving their opportunities. We cannot stop as success, something useful, something meaningful, we do it, and it's done well. We are wanted by the community, we are wanted by the government, give you more projects, give you more jobs. There is also a risk, expecting too much.

Too Big and Bureaucratic

Li also commented that SUCCESS had grown too big and become too bureaucratic. He thought it probably was about time to slow down.

And now we have 10 branches, I noticed some risk. It's becoming too big. Before we were a small family, very tight family. Everybody knew everybody before. Now the Board members don't know the staff and the staff don't know the Board members. If I walked into SUCCESS, people don't know who I am. Actually at this time, I think SUCCESS should be slowing down because of the political climate and economic climate, maybe cutting down some staff members or restructuring. The worry is that SUCCESS is getting too big, too bureaucratic.

Internal Communication

Nicholas Lo, Program Director of Finance and Asset Management and former Program Manager of the Fraser Street Office, has been with SUCCESS since 1984. He argued that since SUCCESS had grown so much, internal communication and staff morale became major issues.

I think internal communication, because when I join SUCCESS we have around 10 staff, right now we have 200 staff, internal communication may be a major issue. That's why we try hard to develop our computer system so that we can use Internet to improve the

internal communication. It's on the way, but we are still improving our internal communication, especially communication between branch offices. Another thing is staff morale. In the past we work as a family. Everyone just joins the family to provide services. Right now the family is too large. In the past, all staff are very close, they know each other; right now we don't know each other, especially if I work in the Headquarters, I don't know some staff working in Surrey or Richmond, especially if they are new staff. We are trying to improve this situation by organizing some formal or informal meeting to have more chances to meet together.

Future Role of SUCCESS

Maurice Copithorne pointed out that one more challenge for SUCCESS was its future role when the Chinese community has undergone thorough demographic changes.

I guess I could see a challenge, and the challenge is what is the role of SUCCESS as more and more Chinese, secular Chinese meaning they don't have any Chinese identity, who study to be a lawyer, or doctor or whatever, who has a family, maybe married to a non Chinese, maybe not, but doesn't go to Chinatown, doesn't often go to a Chinese restaurant, maybe once or twice a year, maybe they might go to a Spring Festival [Chinese New Year] dinner, minimal contact with Chinese culture, and I think the challenge will be to maintain relevance as such a change in demography overtakes the Chinese community.

Future

Integration as the Final Goal for Future Programs

In terms of future development of SUCCESS's programs and services, Ip noted that it was important to make sure that the final goal of every program was integration.

I also want to make sure that the final goal of every program that SUCCESS runs is eventual integration. We have a program, whether the program is welcome or not is secondary. We have to look at the program. OK, why are we offering this program, because this program will help immigrants eventually become a member of the society. This is a guiding principle. We develop the program as such that this is our eventual aim.

Provide Better Services to the Community

Mason Loh wished SUCCESS would provide better services and meet the changing needs of the community.

I'd like to see SUCCESS be better in servicing the community. The community is always evolving, we have different immigration trends, my wish is that SUCCESS would get better and better in working with the community, not just in terms of servicing the community, but also in soliciting support from the community. Actually those two go hand in hand. If you are servicing the need of the community, the support will come, I believe in that. Things that I didn't do enough of and I didn't do well, I hope the new board will do better with new ideas and new energy, and will take SUCCESS to new direction, new level. The ultimate thing is not to get away from meeting the needs of the community.

Secure Funding

To ensure secure funding for SUCCESS was another wish of Loh's for its future development. He commented that the current concern over funding took away their time and energy from serving immigrants.

One thing I hope SUCCESS can deal with better in the future more than I could in the past is that the stability of funding, to set up a system where that would no longer be a day to day concern. We had this day to day concern for 25 years now, not knowing what's installed for tomorrow. If some structure can be put in place so that that concern can no longer be a day to day concern, it will be a concern, it will always be a concern, we have a lot of professional social workers spending a lot of their time worrying about the financial aspects. I think a lot more work can be done by the social workers in the field rather than worrying about fundraising and financial matters. In the long run, I hope that can be resolved. When that happens, I think SUCCESS will be even better serving the needs of the community because it freezes up the talents, time and effort of the social workers to serve the community.

Improve the Pay Scale

Wilfred Wan, the Chair of SUCCESS at the time of this interview, talked about things he would like to see happen for the future of SUCCESS both internally and externally. He commented that staff were underpaid and overworked. He wanted to raise their pay scale.

Internally, I would like SUCCESS to start to have more employment equity. Right now every single one of them I believe is underpaid and overworked. The situation is slightly better with employment staff who are funded by the government under their programs. But for self funded staff their working conditions are unacceptable. To me, we have moved into better premises, they have better environment, but their pay scale and work hours are totally not at par with the usually acceptable standards.

Encourage Staff to Seek Better Opportunities

Wan explained that he would like to encourage their staff members to broaden their horizons and seek further employment opportunities.

On the human resources side, we also encourage our staff to broaden their horizon. One of the biggest disagreement between me and our senior staff is I always encourage SUCCESS staff to enrich themselves and whenever possible, base on their own wishes, to go out and seek further employment at other agencies. Members of our staff have gone to work for the provincial, for the City of Vancouver, for the hospitals. They have done extremely well making more money, and they still come back as volunteers. This to me is one of the best things that can happen to the staff.

To Be More Responsible Financially

Wan also maintained that he wanted to do something to be more responsible financially.

On the financial side, I would like SUCCESS to be more responsible in a sense in the past we have always spent money while we are making it or sometimes before we make it. The majority of our fundraising programs only occurred at the end of our financial year. Our fiscal year end is March, but our Walkathon happen in August, we are already five months into our financial year, and our GM Place show happens in February which is like the 11th month of our fiscal year. In the past, we have spent money before we even make them. What I am trying to do is blow up a cushion so that this cushion can look after the existing year's deficit, and maybe build up a small comfort zone before we move forward to the next year. We are half way through on doing that. That is financial responsibility.

Involve More People

According to Wan, many people criticized SUCCESS for alienating ordinary people. He argued that SUCCESS should involve more people in their events and activities.

On the external side, I would like to change SUCCESS image. SUCCESS has had some negative image. People are saying, for example, it only serves immigrants, and immigrants are so rich, why should we serve them? SUCCESS is only interested in large scale donations. Everything it does is so big. GM place show 14,000 people, every dinner ticket is \$200, \$300, \$500, and any amount it wants to raise is in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. I want to change that around. That is actually not true, the majority of our donation still come from everybody in small amounts like \$5, \$10, \$100, and we try to involve as many people as possible. I want to portray SUCCESS continuously being a grassroots organization, and not to be something which is alienated from everybody.

Sustaining Development

Maggie Ip stated that while SUCCESS was going through expansion, it was important to sustain it.

I think SUCCESS is going through big expansions with this building, which is a blessing, which is a home. At the same time the home comes with cost. Financially, we have to be very diligent. We have to be very careful how we manage things. This is why I want to make sure that the endowment fund hopefully is there to be able to support this building because you can fire all the staff, but the building will cost you money. Financially, I would like to see that. Yes, SUCCESS has gone through expansions, but maybe the next stage is to sustain. What we should do is we should now put money into something which is able to support us because the growing pain that happens everywhere. The growing pain without any reserve is always of danger to the point that we can't afford any more, and it collapses. This is something I want to make sure that the future of SUCCESS will look into that.

Angela Kan also warned the possible challenge of heavy overhead for such a large organization.

Now they can hire more professional people in terms of marketing, in terms of fundraising. Everything has to be very high class, sometimes I feel it's probably too

much. It has grown without really thinking about if there is no more funding from government, how do you deal with the future. The overhead is very high. Imagine 10 offices, you have a manager, you have a secretary, all these phones, computers. I don't know whether it is necessary growing for the sake of growing.

Developing New Areas of Service

While sustaining its current development, SUCCESS should also define new community needs and develop new areas of services to meet the needs. Wan commented:

On the service side, I would like to see SUCCESS identifying the needs of the community and put forward its agenda. Basically we will still keep our cost services in immigration, in settlement, language training, job training, business development, but we should be moving into new areas like seniors care and wellness program because the needs of the community will change. The average age of the community is increasing, we have to address these issues.

Have Non-Chinese Board Members

Maurice Copithorne, who was the only non-Chinese former Board member to be interviewed, commented that more non-Chinese who have lived in Hong Kong or other parts of the Chinese world should come and sit on the Board of SUCCESS.

It's not language that stands in the way. I think maybe it's time to look at that again. I don't know whether I was the last non-Chinese on the board or not, but it seems to me nowadays there are many people, non-Chinese, who have lived in Hong Kong, or have some others to the Chinese world. They might have been a bank manager in Chinatown or whatever, and those are potential board members.

More Decentralization

While some people maintained that it was time for SUCCESS to slow down, Lau commented that SUCCESS should be more decentralized.

I feel SUCCESS is a big organization. We need to be more decentralized, more decentralized in different areas, work closely with the mainstream agencies, develop volunteers to work with these agencies. I don't see that many volunteers working with other agencies. They do have some. I see the function of SUCCESS as to train volunteers to help other agencies. It's not to try to expand your operation, it's to help the overall bigger community. I don't think they have chosen that. I think they need to develop that. They should have funding from the government to do that.

Avoid Marginalization

Maurice Copithorne predicted that the future Chinese community would be more diffuse and multicultural. SUCCESS could be marginalized if it did not find a role for itself in the future.

I think there is always a danger they could become marginalized if they don't find a role. They have an extraordinary role at the moment because they are so politically

important[...] Vancouver and the Chinese community in Vancouver change so much. It will inevitably become more diffuse, much more multicultural.

Summary of Chapter 9

The previous examination has demonstrated that SUCCESS has established dynamic relationships with community organizations and government agencies. Especially in recent years, it has collaborated successfully with other Chinese ethnic organizations in organizing large-scale community events such as the Chinese New Year parade. Outside the Chinese community, they have also reached out to mainstream organizations. When SUCCESS was founded in the 1970s, it had an ordinary working relationship with the three levels of government. Its outstanding performance won them trust and support from government. Now the relationship was more intimate and it was like a partnership.

From its inception, the Society has been well led by middle-class professionals. With the majority of them being immigrants from Hong Kong, they were fluent in both English and Chinese, which rendered them able to play bridge roles between SUCCESS, the community, and government agencies. Their immigrant experience equipped them with the compassion to serve.

This chapter reveals that SUCCESS has evolved tremendously in the past 25 years. Initiated by community activists from the grassroots to assist Chinese immigrants with their settlement and to help them overcome language and cultural barriers, now the Society has transformed itself into a multi-dimensional and multicultural social service agency with a much broader mandate.

Both internal and external factors have contributed to the changes in SUCCESS over time. Internally, SUCCESS wanted to provide more programs and services to meet the changing needs of immigrants. Externally, because of its outstanding performance, government agencies imposed changes on the Society through funding requirements.

The analysis also indicates that SUCCESS has become a role model for immigrants. It has also contributed to Canadian society by building bridges from both sides, helping immigrants settle and integrate, raising the profile of the Chinese in Vancouver, providing advocacy and civic education, and preparing democratic citizenship. Its successful growth and development were attributed to the influx of Chinese immigrants, the Society being able to adapt to changing needs of immigrants, professionalism, democratic system, and dedication and compassion of early founders, board members, executive directors, volunteers, and staff members.

In its 25 years, SUCCESS has developed its own model and approaches, which were featured by the SUCCESS spirit: "caring, sharing and serving."

SUCCESS's growth and development has also attracted criticism from the community. Some people were questioning if the function was to promote integration or ghettoization. Because of its massive expansion, some people claimed that SUCCESS was taking jobs away from people in the Chinese community. Also, other people were charging SUCCESS with being reluctant to work together with other ethnic organizations.

There were also issues facing the Society, such as lack of secure funding, growing too big and bureaucratic, and lack of internal communication. For the future of SUCCESS, the Society should provide better programs and services, develop new areas to meet the changing needs of the community, and help immigrants with their settlement and integration. The Society should also strive for secure funding, better working conditions and pay scales for the staff, more non-Chinese Board members, and sustaining previous development.

Together with the previous four chapters, Chapter 9 has provided a complete analysis of the founding and historical development of SUCCESS, its current programs and services, and its position within the context of other communities.

Chapter 10

Assessing the SUCCESS Model

As stated in Chapter 1, this thesis is a comprehensive study of the history of SUCCESS, investigating its historical development from 1973 to 1998 and the roles it played in responding to changing community needs in a multicultural society. Employing multiple data sources and methods, adopting an interdisciplinary approach informed by historical, sociological, and political perspectives, and drawing on four bodies of literature, this study has extended existing arguments regarding the roles of ethnic organizations. This chapter summarizes these findings with reference to pertinent literature.

Chapter 10 consists of four parts. The first is a summary of the historical development of SUCCESS. The second discusses major changes in the evolution of SUCCESS; social forces behind the changes; the role of SUCCESS, its leadership, volunteers, and members; relationship of SUCCESS with the state, mainstream society, and the ethnic Chinese community; demographic changes of the Chinese population; challenges posed to earlier assumptions about ethnic organizations; the role of ethnicity; and the social contributions of SUCCESS. The third examines the implications for theory and practice. Limitations of the study and topics for future research are discussed. The chapter ends with concluding remarks.

A Summary of the History of SUCCESS

As noted in Chapter 3, Canada was experiencing dramatic social and economic changes in the post World War II period. Some of these changes resulted in the introduction of the immigration 'point system' in 1967, which based the selection of immigrants on their education, skills, and resources rather than on their racial, national or religious backgrounds. This new immigration policy stimulated increasing immigration from the Third World rather than from the First World. The largest number came from Asia, a large proportion of whom were from Hong Kong.

In Hong Kong, there was political turmoil, triggered by a spill-over of the Cultural Revolution in China. Worried by political instability, thousands of Hong Kong residents migrated to other countries and a considerable number of them landed in Canada. Among them were many Hong Kong elites.

The favourable social and economic conditions in Canada (the 'pull' factors) and the political instability in Hong Kong (the 'push' factors) spurred Chinese immigration to Canada in

the 1960s and 1970s. The new arrivals were substantially different from their previous counterparts. The traditional Chinese ethnic associations in Canada could not accommodate the needs of this new group of immigrants, and a new type of organization was deemed necessary. Furthermore, some of the recent arrivals were sponsored immigrants who came under the family reunion category, and could speak little or no English. Facing language and cultural barriers, they had difficulties in accessing social services provided by the government or other mainstream social service agencies. Thus, a gap existed between mainstream social service agencies and new Chinese immigrants. In Vancouver, SUCCESS - the United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society was established out of this context.

SUCCESS was founded in the summer of 1973. It was formally registered as a non-profit and non-political organization in February 1974. The organization was established to carry out a three-year demonstration project called "The Chinese Connection," sponsored by the Department of National Health and Welfare. Its first annual general meeting was held on May 25, 1974, when a group of 15 founding members was elected to its Board of Directors. Most of the Board members were professionals, such as doctors, accountants, nurses, teachers, and social workers. They were largely former immigrants from Hong Kong, and they all worked in the human services.

Five major purposes were to be served: to bridge the gap in social services, to act as a united voice in the Chinese community in Vancouver, to educate Chinese immigrants about their rights and responsibilities, to help Chinese immigrants become independent and democratic citizens, and to promote integration. The new organization was to meet individual immigrants' needs as well as offer institutional support.

The founding of SUCCESS was supported by the policy of multiculturalism which was formalized as official policy in 1971. Its main goals were to support the maintenance of ethnic cultures, and to assist members of cultural groups in overcoming cultural barriers and participating fully in Canadian society. Supportive values evident in the spirit of mutual help, self-help and voluntarism also underpinned the founding and development of SUCCESS.

Initially SUCCESS served two groups of Chinese immigrants primarily from Hong Kong: independent immigrants and sponsored immigrants. While most of them were new immigrants, a small proportion were long-time residents of Vancouver. The major programs and services the Society provided included direct information and referral services, language translation and interpretation, English classes, and assistance with fulfilling bureaucratic skills and competencies required of citizens.

The historical development of SUCCESS from 1973 to 1998 may be organized into three stages: 1) from 1973 to 1979 was the founding and establishment stage of SUCCESS; 2) from 1979 to 1989 was the developmental and maturational stage; and 3) from 1989 to 1998 was the expansive and transformative stage. SUCCESS established itself during Stage One, and developed into a well recognized immigrant service organization by the end of Stage Two. During Stage Three, the Society experienced unprecedented expansion and transformed itself into one of the institutions of Vancouver.

By the time the Society reached its 25th anniversary, SUCCESS had evolved immensely from its austere beginning in a 300-square foot office to an influential organization with nine offices throughout Greater Vancouver. It provided a whole range of programs and services including immigrant airport reception, settlement services, language training, counselling services, small business development and training, employment training and services, and group and community services. The organization also extended its services from primarily serving Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong to immigrants from Taiwan and Mainland China, and further to people from other ethnic groups as well as the mainstream. However, the Society successfully maintained its community roots through membership and volunteer development.

Major Changes in SUCCESS

This study reveals that SUCCESS experienced tremendous changes between 1973 and 1998. These changes were manifested in the growth of the organization, the expansion of programs and services, and changes in its mandate.

First, the fiscal growth of SUCCESS during its first 25 years was most evident. When it was founded in 1973, the organization only employed four full time professional social workers. By 1998, it had a professional team consisting of over 200 people. At its initial stage, it was funded by less than 100,000 dollars a year; when it reached its 25th anniversary, its annual budget has reached 8 million dollars. The number of clients receiving its programs and services skyrocketed from its initial 2,000 client contacts a year to over 200,000 by 1998. Physically, the organization has grown from the very beginning in a 300-square foot office in Chinatown to an organization with multiple satellite offices in the Greater Vancouver area with headquarters in a 26,000-square foot Social Service Building of its own.

Other important changes were seen in its programs and services. In the 1970s, its lack of resources limited its provision to basic settlement services such as language interpretation and information services. By the 1990s, it was providing a whole range of programs including airport reception, settlement services, language training, counselling services, small business

development and training, employment training and services, and group and community services. It was no longer just a single-focus organization providing only settlement services; it has become a well-established multi-service community organization. Its early approach was to help immigrants through language interpretation and providing information. It has now developed a holistic approach, helping immigrants become competent, socially, culturally, linguistically, and economically. Twenty five years ago, anybody who needed its help had to travel to Chinatown; it has now decentralized its programs and services to suburban areas.

Further changes which were not as noticeable as the former two were those in its mandate. SUCCESS was established in 1973 as a demonstration project, which was supposed to end in three years. Its mandate was mainly to help non-English speaking Chinese immigrants through providing basic immigrant settlement services with the assistance of bilingual social workers who could speak both English and Chinese. Its situation in 1998 demonstrated that SUCCESS had become a multicultural and multiethnic organization. Its clientele comprised immigrants from non-Chinese ethnic backgrounds, including those from mainstream society. To reflect the demographic changes of its clients, its professional team has also become ethno-culturally inclusive. Their programs and services were made available in many languages other than Cantonese and English.

This study has demonstrated that the changes which took place in SUCCESS touched many aspects of the organization. SUCCESS has grown exponentially and strong enough to be noticeable not just in the Chinese community but also in mainstream society. These changes made the organization less marginalized than during its early stages. However, its original mandate to build bridges between Chinese immigrants and mainstream society still remains.

Forces Behind the Changes

The current study reveals that many social forces have contributed in the evolution of SUCCESS. First, the profile of immigrants has changed owing to changes in Canadian immigration policies, such as the adoption of the 'point system,' the introduction of the business immigrant category, and the opening of the immigration division in the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. One consequence of the most recent policy change was the increase of professional and business immigrants, especially those from Taiwan and China.

Second, the needs of newly-arrived immigrants differed from their early counterparts and SUCCESS responded to meet these changing needs. For example, to make its programs and services more accessible to new immigrants, especially those from Taiwan and Mainland China, SUCCESS established Mandarin service centres and hired Mandarin-speaking staff members in

each office. In the 1990s, many new arrivals were professional and business immigrants and SUCCESS introduced employment and small business training programs, in addition to its settlement services and language training programs. It is clear that the organization was sensitive and adaptive to changing community needs.

Another force which influenced the changes in SUCCESS was government funding. Through funding requirements, the government encouraged SUCCESS to extend its programs and services to other ethnic communities. The SUCCESS model characterized by its high efficiency and accountability, outstanding service record, low cost, and close community ties attracted the government's attention. This time, the government initiative was interpreted positively by SUCCESS. It was viewed as a trustful challenge rather than a negative imposition, and SUCCESS accepted this challenge. Furthermore, through offering and seeking services from each other, the government also hoped to promote inter-group exchanges among ethno-cultural organizations. This was an indication that the government was giving in to criticisms that ethnic organizations promoted 'ghettoization' and separatism. It was also speculated that the government was using this approach to promote SUCCESS as a model of community-based organization for effective delivery of services.

Besides these factors, other elements which contributed to the changes in SUCCESS included a democratic electoral system, professionalism, a politically neutral stand, and timing. The Constitution and By-Laws of SUCCESS ensured that an Annual General Meeting was held, and that the Board of Directors was elected from its members. This system guaranteed that there was new blood coming from the community, and made the Society different from its early counterparts, which were dominated by merchants and elites. Since SUCCESS's programs and services were provided by professional staff, the quality of services was guaranteed. The neutral political stand endorsed by the Society enabled SUCCESS to distance itself from Chinatown politics and disputes, and focused itself on the provision of social services for the community. Furthermore, the last 20 years witnessed tremendous growth of the Chinese community and a great demand for culturally and linguistically appropriate programs and services. Both internal attributes and demographic changes contributed to the growth and successful development of the Society.

In addition, another important contributing factor to these changes was the people who devoted themselves to the development of SUCCESS over the years, including early founders, board members, volunteers, and staff members. Above all, it was people who made this happen.

It was their shared compassion, empathy, dedication, and common experience which were formative influences in propelling SUCCESS to its current stage.

Multiple Roles with a Three-Pronged Focus

As stated in Chapter 2, Jenkins (1988) distinguished ethnic associations from ethnic agencies. While viewing the former as a special type of voluntary association, she defined the latter as established social agencies with a primary commitment to members of one or more ethnic groups with both public and voluntary funding. This study revealed that all the characteristics associated with these two types of organizations as described by Jenkins could be found in SUCCESS. With a large membership and volunteer base, the organization could be described as an ethnic association. On the other hand, it also provided professional services with paid staff, using public funding, and administered under a board of directors. The latter traits were clearly identified with ethnic agencies. This study has clearly shown that Jenkins' distinction between ethnic associations and ethnic agencies has been blurred in the case of SUCCESS.

Having said that, this study has also found variations in the development of SUCCESS over the past 25 years. When it was founded in 1973, SUCCESS was more akin to voluntary ethnic organizations. It was ill-funded, understaffed, and functioned from inadequate premises. By the end of late 1980s, public funding had increased immensely and the organization had experienced unprecedented organizational growth. SUCCESS became a special mechanism between formal public bureaucracies and primary social networks. It used a combination of hired personnel and volunteers, who were primarily from the Chinese ethnic community. Like the ethnic organizations in Israel, it was "simultaneously bureaucratized and non-bureaucratized" (Korazim, 1988, p.155). Unlike any other ethno-specific organizations, SUCCESS began to hire staff members from other ethnic communities because of the demographic changes of its clientele. This may also have had something to do with the implicit incentives offered by funding agencies to encourage greater inclusiveness.

In terms of the roles of SUCCESS, the findings of this study reflected many of those reported by similar studies. These include providing direct and information referral services, advocating on behalf of immigrants, maintaining ethnic and cultural identity, filling gaps in existing programs, promoting integration, bridging ethnic Chinese community and mainstream society, facilitating community education and development, acting as a linkage between new immigrants and the formal service providers, playing the role of language and cultural broker, and providing resources and a support network. These roles served both instrumental and

expressive needs of immigrants. But its most important roles were providing professional services, advocating on behalf of immigrants, and facilitating community education and development.

Unlike Ng (1996) who was pessimistic about the advocacy roles of immigrant service organizations, this study demonstrates that SUCCESS accomplished the effective combination of these three roles. Providing professional services did not necessarily conflict with its roles in advocacy, community education and development. Elsewhere, Li (1998) also recorded SUCCESS's active role in advocacy during the protest against CBC radio broadcast 'Dim Sum Diaries' in 1991. Because of the organization's strong community base and frontline experiences, its advocacy work reflected deeper community roots and was more effective than voices from pure advocacy groups. This finding supports Beyene et al.'s (1996) proposition that an immigrant service organization can be a "combination of settlement services and advocacy" (p.173).

A New Generation of Community Leaders

Chapter 3 illustrates some of the differences between new leaders in the Chinese community and their predecessors. In the nineteenth century, leadership in the Chinese community was provided by China-born middle-aged men who were merchants. Their lack of fluency in English and perhaps their unfamiliarity with the general culture of Canada limited their roles only as internal leaders. This kind of leadership was acceptable at that time because the Chinese population then was homogeneous and their activities were mainly confined to Chinatown. During the 1960s, the persistent failure of the old leadership in negotiation with the City of Vancouver over the urban-renewal project proved their ineffectiveness, and a new generation of leaders was emerging. Being either China-born or local-born, they were well educated, spoke both Chinese and English, and many of them were professionals. Moreover, they had links outside Chinatown. They could be both internal as well as external mediators. The first campaign led by this group of new leaders was the founding of the Strathcona Property Owners' and Tenants' Association (SPOTA) in December 1968 in protest against an urban-renewal project (Ley et al., 1994). Their success in stopping the third phase of this project received remarkable public attention.

From its inception, SUCCESS was directed by a group of new leaders. They were representatives of a new group of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, who were well-educated and cosmopolitan. Many of them were in managerial and professional occupations and some of them also brought with them substantial capital. Beginning in 1967, Hong Kong became the main source of Chinese immigrants to Canada. The arrival of a large number of Chinese

immigrants from Hong Kong meant that they were able to exert substantial influence on the nature and organization of the existing Chinese-Canadian community (Li, 1998).

Besides their educational credentials and professional qualifications, they were also politically conscious. They knew how to tap government resources. The history of SUCCESS has demonstrated that they played an important role in securing public funding, especially during its early stage. When SUCCESS became a fully-fledged organization in late 1980s and 90s, it seems that seeking government funding fell on the shoulders of its capable professional staff. At its later stage, the influence of its board members was more prevalent in mobilizing both internal and external private resources from within and outside the Chinese community, even including their source country.

Yet another important aspect of this new generation of leaders was its gender dimension, which has been rarely discussed by researchers. Unlike its male-dominated predecessors, the new leadership was also represented by a small group of females (i.e., Maggie Ip, Helen Chan, Sandra Wilking, Angela Kan, Lilian To, and several Board Directors and Program Directors). Without a doubt, there was still space for improvement. However, these early achievements should be recognized and commended.

In the past 25 years, the contribution of a dedicated Board of Directors to the success of SUCCESS was prevalent. Their spirit of voluntarism and their faith in community development was undeniable. One remaining question was: How could the board members of SUCCESS benefit personally from this participation? Self-satisfaction, recognition, and prestige could be some of the benefits. But where would they use these benefits? This is something which needs more in-depth analysis. One finding revealed by this study was the possible connection between community involvement and the political career of the community leaders. Several of its former board members (i.e., Tung Chan, John Cheng, Maggie Ip, Sandra Wilking, Bill Yee) were successful in civic elections predominantly at the municipal level. It was difficult to assess how much of their past SUCCESS experience accounted for their electoral success. Nevertheless, this study has demonstrated that their involvement in SUCCESS at least provided a venue for exercising their leadership, gaining more publicity, and soliciting public support. Moreover, they had also developed effective fundraising and organizational skills from their community involvement. This finding confirmed Ley et al.'s (1994) argument that community activism left a trace of considerable longevity and that the experience of community involvement led to a personal shift among the professionals into a political career.

In common with SUCCESS and many other community organizations, was the dialectical relationship between the community and the state (Ley et al., 1994). On the one hand, community organizations like SUCCESS could become cradles of politicians; on the other hand, when community activists were elected, they would seek to recast state policies which could benefit community practices.

The Role of Volunteers and Members

This study found that the special qualities and commitment of volunteers and members played an important role in the development of SUCCESS. They were seen as an integral part of the SUCCESS team. Today's achievements of SUCCESS were direct results of their great contributions. Some SUCCESS Board members regarded them as the "backbone of SUCCESS." Another factor not to be overlooked was the skillful way in which the organization recruited and prepared 'the space' for volunteers and members to participate effectively. This required the skill to work collectively and in a complementary manner.

The contributions of volunteers were manifold. First, they played an instrumental role in the daily operation of the Society. They brought in different expertise and helped with numerous tasks in various areas. They alleviated the shortage of staff at SUCCESS and contributed financially. Second, because SUCCESS volunteers were also referred to many other outside organizations, they helped SUCCESS reach out to other communities. Third, because of their participation outside SUCCESS, they contributed to other organizations within the ethnic Chinese community as well as general Canadian society.

It may be asked what motivated the volunteers to give their services so readily. The study shows that volunteers, including many board members, shared common experiences as immigrants with the people they helped. They recognized the importance of the provision of facilitating settlement through programs and services. They understood that their contribution would make a difference to the organization and, most importantly, benefit immigrants. It was the best way to get involved in a community. Volunteering was also a good learning experience for volunteers. Through volunteering activities, they could gain Canadian work experience, a fact confirmed in the 1997 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (NSGVP). This survey identified the main motivation for people to volunteer as to help a cause in which they personally believed or by which they have been affected. They could also use the volunteer opportunity to learn new skills and to explore their own strengths.

What could volunteers have benefited from such activities? The 1997 NSGVP maintained that volunteers gained interpersonal, communication, organizational, and managerial

skills through volunteering activities, a finding supported by the present research. Furthermore, this study also discovered that SUCCESS volunteers gained more knowledge about the new society into which they had just settled. It helped immigrants integrate into mainstream society, too. In addition, through volunteering, they built up confidence, self-satisfaction, and self-esteem. Because SUCCESS was a well-established organization in the community, volunteers also gained a public profile and prestige from volunteering. It demonstrated their public spiritedness. It was seen as a 'win-win' situation for both SUCCESS as well as the volunteers.

What motivated SUCCESS to develop volunteer programs? This investigation revealed that SUCCESS aimed to instill the Canadian value of voluntarism among immigrants. It also encouraged community participation and sought answers to community problems. It utilized volunteering activities in the hope of reducing dependency on community programs and services. In addition, SUCCESS also hoped to help its members and clients get to know their community through participating in its volunteer programs. Its ultimate goal was to help them become independent and democratic citizens and integrate into Canadian society.

Membership and volunteer development programs were regarded as two in one. A large number of its volunteers came from its members and clients. Some of the motivations and benefits discussed above may also apply to its membership development. In particular, its significance to the development of SUCCESS was manifested in the following areas. First, the large number of members registered with SUCCESS indicated the amount of support the organization received from the community. It helped raise the profile of SUCCESS and strengthened the organization. Second, membership dues helped SUCCESS financially. Third, membership development was also an important way of helping immigrants integrate into mainstream society. Events such as the Annual General Meeting of SUCCESS, allowed members to see democracy at work and provided a forum for developing democratic citizenship. Fourth, the members provided an important channel for SUCCESS to receive feedback about its programs and services. Finally, since SUCCESS board members were elected from the membership, it was an important reservoir from which leaders could be drawn.

SUCCESS and the State

The relationship between SUCCESS and the three levels of government varied over time. During the first ten years of its operation, there was little sponsorship from the provincial and municipal governments in immigrant settlement services. Hence, SUCCESS mainly dealt with the federal government. The relationship between SUCCESS and the federal government during its early stage was "cordial and businesslike" (Dirks, 1998, p.103). During the last 10 years of its

25-year history, the relationship between SUCCESS and all three levels of government was regarded by many SUCCESS board members as 'excellent.' It went beyond what was between government funders and voluntary agencies. Some board members also called government agencies their 'friends' and 'partners.'

This study reveals that the positive relationship which has now developed between SUCCESS and the government was shaped by many factors. First, it was SUCCESS's outstanding performance which won the trust and support of all levels of government. To be more specific, its high-quality programs and services were well used and achieved a high success rate. Its management was efficient and professional. Financially, it was accountable and reliable. For the organization as a whole, it had a good reputation and high performance record. Further, SUCCESS has built a large membership and volunteer base (17,000 and 7,000 respectively in 1998) and a huge clientele (232,000 client contacts in 1998). Given the size of the Chinese population in Greater Vancouver, these figures showed the strength of the organization. Its strong community support conveyed to the government the message that it would be a big mistake not to support this organization.

On the other hand, the government also aspired to get closer to SUCCESS and via it to the immigrants. First, the federal government wanted to involve voluntary organizations like SUCCESS in the consultation process on immigration policies. Although voluntary organizations were suspicious of the motives behind the intent, this process at least enhanced communication between government and voluntary sectors. Second, the government contracted out its services to voluntary organizations during the 1980s and 90s as a means of reducing its deficit. Owing to its high efficiency and accountability, SUCCESS became "a cheaper alternative to direct service provision" (Ng, 1996, p.11). Moreover, SUCCESS has also taken on some of the functions which used to be assumed by the state. Gradually it was playing a more important role in the provision of social services as well as in the development of civil society. Third, the government also needed to approach immigrants through SUCCESS. With enduring advocacy efforts from immigrant service organizations like SUCCESS, policy makers recognized the importance of taking services directly to immigrants, and in return they expected feedback from them. In addition, federal, provincial, and municipal politicians also wanted to get closer to this group for political support. Without a doubt, their presence at SUCCESS fundraising events with twelve thousand people would bring support to the organization, but on the other hand, this kind of opportunity also created an important stage for them to promote their political agenda and pursue the immigrant vote.

This study confirms Whitaker's (1991) assertion that the privatization process could be "a double-edged sword" (p.23). On the one hand, this process saved the government money; on the other hand, it contributed to the establishment of SUCCESS as a highly respectable voluntary immigration advocacy group. Whitaker's 'double-edged sword' metaphor was originally meant to analyze the impact of the privatization process on the government, but it shows also that the metaphor could be used to illustrate the impact of government funding on SUCCESS.

It was true that government funding made it possible for SUCCESS to provide more services to help immigrants with their settlement and adaptation, and assisted SUCCESS with its fiscal growth. At the same time, through the funding process the government was able to legitimize its policies and carry out its own agenda. For example, when the government granted funding to SUCCESS, it could stipulate what programs the Society should provide with that fund, where to provide them, and to which group(s). Since SUCCESS needed the funding to benefit its group members, it appears that the organization was able to overcome the negative part of this 'double-edged sword' process. Because a large proportion of SUCCESS's budget came from its fundraising, this made SUCCESS less dependent on government funding and more difficult for the government to exert political influence. This explained why SUCCESS was able simultaneously to continue and expand its partnerships with the government while successfully advocating for social change. This study has clearly shown that Ng's (1996) argument that government funding was "a means of social control" (p.86) and "a way of defusing criticism directed at the welfare state" (p.28) uncovered only one layer of this complicated process.

Relationship with Mainstream Society

The founding of SUCCESS in 1973 attracted considerable resistance and criticism from mainstream society in Vancouver. Chapter 3 shows that the Chinese landed on the west coast of Canada in 1858. By the time SUCCESS was founded, they had been residing in Vancouver for over a century. During this period, the Chinese were treated as 'outsiders' rather than 'insiders' (Anderson, 1995), and were disenfranchised until 1947. In the 1970s, although liberal immigration policies and multicultural policy supported the founding of ethnic organizations to help immigrants with their settlement and adaptation, mainstream society was not really ready for it. Chapter 5 demonstrated that the founding of SUCCESS was in response to the failure of mainstream organizations to provide accessible social services for Chinese immigrants. However, people from mainstream society still questioned the reasons for its establishment. Criticisms were directed towards whether the organization was ghettoizing the Chinese, and whether the government should use taxpayers' money to help immigrants.

The study reveals that, during the first 15 years of its existence, SUCCESS spent much time and effort on lobbying and educating mainstream society about the importance of providing culturally and linguistically accessible programs and services for immigrants. At its early stage, SUCCESS organized programs and workshops to sensitize mainstream organizations about their service approaches. In the 1990s, its efforts began to see a closer relationship with mainstream society. This investigation reported numerous collaborative programs and events organized by SUCCESS and mainstream organizations such as schools, hospitals, community centres, libraries, the media, and business communities. Many SUCCESS board and staff members sat on committees in mainstream organizations and participated in planning and implementing programs.

Another manifestation of this closer relationship was the large donations SUCCESS received from mainstream businesses and organizations in recent years. For example, all major banks in Vancouver, many insurance companies, communication companies, Air Canada, GM Place, and many others were loyal supporters of SUCCESS causes. This finding reflects Fisher's (1980) argument that business donations were capitalism's way of distributing surplus wealth in its own interest. Mainstream businesses and corporations used its surplus, which might otherwise go to the State in taxes, to support SUCCESS and simultaneously publicize their services and products, develop public relations, access a hard-to-reach population, and ultimately advance corporate interests and preserve capitalism. This study revealed that it was the Society's large community base and organizational strength which influenced businesses to donate their money to SUCCESS. However, the benefit was reciprocal. For SUCCESS, it always welcomed donations from businesses because they were helpful to make up the shortage of funding from government agencies. They made it possible for SUCCESS to organize more programs from which its members could benefit.

The relationship of SUCCESS with mainstream society was also reflected in the number of satellite offices SUCCESS established in Vancouver and its surrounding suburban area between 1973 and 1998. This indicates that SUCCESS has penetrated into local communities and neighbourhoods. On the basis of this reality and other collaborative relationships between SUCCESS and mainstream organizations, it could be argued that SUCCESS has been accepted by mainstream society. However, this finding was incongruent with Palmer's (1998) argument that Vancouver residents had low levels of support for immigration, believing that immigration had a negative effect on their community. It also contradicts Li's (1998) argument that Chinese-Canadians have not yet been accepted as full-fledged Canadians and that old stereotypes about

the Chinese still depict them as undesirable foreigners undermining the culture and economic security of traditional Canada. It could be argued that people's attitudes towards ethnic organizations were different from their attitudes towards the ethnic groups they served. While SUCCESS as an organization which was to help immigrants integrate has been accepted by mainstream society, it does not mean that mainstream society has fully accepted the ethnic Chinese or other immigrants as an integral part of the community. This incongruity has also suggested that the relationship between ethnic communities and mainstream society is more complex than what is described here and needs to be researched further.

SUCCESS and the Local Chinese Community

The Chinese community is one of the largest and oldest ethnic communities in Vancouver. It has always been complex and dynamic. As Chapter 3 has shown, numerous Chinese organizations had already been established when SUCCESS was founded in 1973 and came under four groups: clan associations, district/locality associations, fraternal-political associations, and the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA). To distinguish them from recently established ethnic organizations, these four categories were usually referred to as traditional Chinese associations. With the CBA as an umbrella organization, the first three types of associations functioned largely as mutual-aid fraternal associations. They provided services mainly with the help of volunteers. According to Jenkins' (1988) distinction between ethnic associations and ethnic agencies, these organizations belonged to the first category. In addition to these associations, there were many other special interest groups (i.e., art, music, and martial arts groups). CBA acted as the sole spokesman for the Chinese Community.

Traditional associations were declining in the 1960s and 1970s. Among many important reasons for this decline was the changing character of the Chinese population in Vancouver. As discussed in Chapter 3, the immigration point system attracted a group of urban, well-educated, and English-speaking Chinese from different parts of the world, a large proportion coming from Hong Kong. The traditional Chinese associations were accustomed to serving a homogeneous group of Chinese immigrants predominantly from the Guangdong Province of China. These associations were not equipped to address the needs and concerns of new Chinese immigrants. SUCCESS was born to bridge this gap within the Chinese community.

Clearly SUCCESS was a new addition to this well-established Chinese community in Vancouver, and represented a new type of ethnic organization. Some of the major differences between SUCCESS and other Chinese ethnic organizations were manifested in the following areas. First, unlike the clan and locality associations, SUCCESS was mandated to provide

settlement services for all new Chinese immigrants in Vancouver, despite where they were originally from or what their surnames were. Second, originally initiated by a group of enthusiastic volunteers as a grassroots organization, SUCCESS received government funding from its inception. However, it successfully maintained a strong connection with the community. Third, the organization provided professional services with structured mechanisms and professional staff. Fourth, most of its board members were professionals who were fluent bilingually in both English and Chinese. This made it possible for them to negotiate with organizations both within and outside Chinatown. Fifth, its board and staff members were politically conscientious and culturally competent. This was advantageous to the organization when dealing with government agencies and mainstream organizations.

Another important difference between SUCCESS and other ethnic Chinese organizations was its politically neutral stance. Chinese ethnic associations in Vancouver were politically heterogeneous and contested. Many of them brought politics from their home country. Since the 1920s the Chinese Freemasons and the CBA were rivals because of ideological differences and original party connections. The founding of the Chinese Cultural Centre (CCC) in 1973 made this situation even more dynamic. Unlike the CBA which was pro-Guomindang and a symbol of the traditional Chinese community, the CCC represented a group of young, educated, and urban-based professionals. Its establishment directly posed a challenge to the dominant position of the CBA in the Chinese community and finally won the battle over the CBA through court in 1978 (Mitchell, 1998; Ng, 1999). As a non-partisan and independent organization, SUCCESS distanced itself from Chinatown politics and disputes. It became an important force to neutralize political rivalries in Chinatown. This special position gave SUCCESS an advantage in establishing itself in the Chinese community.

The current study revealed that SUCCESS has forged a collaborative relationship with a broad spectrum of ethnic Chinese organizations. This finding differs from Holder's (1998) case study of a Spanish and Portuguese speaking immigrant women's centre. She reported that the relationship of the centre with the broader Spanish and Portuguese speaking community other than service deliverers were largely nonexistent. Soon after it was founded, SUCCESS collaborated with Toronto-based Immigration Policy Study Committee (IMPSC) and the Chinese Cultural Centre (CCC) in Vancouver in organizing the first national Chinese conference pertaining to the Green Paper on Immigration. When Vietnamese refugees arrived in Vancouver in 1979, SUCCESS, CBA, CCC, Chinese Physicians and Dentists, and Hong Kong University Alumni formed a citizen group called Vietnamese Refugee Assistance Association (VRAA) to

help with the refugees. SUCCESS undertook all re-settlement services for more than 50 Vietnamese families. Its hard work and dedication to the Chinese community won SUCCESS a number of awards from the community. In 1980, the reformed CBA's presented SUCCESS with the year's community-service award. In 1986, CBA awarded SUCCESS a Certificate of Merit in recognition of its outstanding performance. In 1989, SUCCESS became a full voting member of the Chinese Canadian National Council. In the 1990s, SUCCESS, CBA, CCC, and Chinatown Merchant Association (CMA) jointly organized the annual Chinese New Year parade and banquet and the Mid-Autumn Festival celebration. They also worked together on the re-zoning of Chinatown. Furthermore, they collaborated with traditional associations, the Chinese media, and special interest groups on different issues.

SUCCESS's active role in the Chinese community reshaped the well-established social order. The study supports Ng's (1999) argument that, by the end of the 1980s, SUCCESS, CBA, and CCC formed a tripod relationship among ethnic Chinese organizations in Vancouver. Meanwhile, the investigation also extended this argument. In the 1990s, it seems that the Chinatown Merchant Association became a new member of this circle and formed a quadruple relationship. This was confirmed by Roy Mah (1998), a World War II veteran, a community activist, and the retired editor of *The Chinatown News*. Mah argued that, in recent years, these four organizations have worked together to "safeguard the interests and welfare of our community" (p.75).

Construction of the social order in Chinatown clearly indicated the dynamics of intra-group politics. It has also shown that SUCCESS played an active role in rewriting the history of the ethnic Chinese community in Vancouver. Apparently CBA lost its sole spokesman's title by the 1980s and 90s. However, it remains unclear who could speak for the Chinese community. In the past 10 years the composition of the Chinese community changed substantially. It now consisted of Chinese immigrants from different areas and countries in the world, the largest groups coming from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China. Further, many Chinese are Canadian-born. The heterogeneity of the Chinese population made it almost impossible to answer this question. Probably Yiu (1998) is right in claiming that no one association or leader could represent everybody in Vancouver's Chinese community. This study also supported another aspect of Yiu's argument, mainly, that "the society that can claim to be most representative of the Chinese community is S.U.C.C.E.S.S." (p.A23). Yiu's statement was based on the fact that SUCCESS has a large membership, an army of volunteers, a directorate composed of Chinese-Canadian professionals from different sectors of society, and a wide range

of services. Furthermore, many Chinese organizations were Chinatown-based, which did not reflect the widely dispersed Chinese population. As the study clearly shows, SUCCESS has successfully established branch offices in many Vancouver suburban areas. This reaffirmed Yiu's statement in terms of SUCCESS's position in the Chinese community.

Demographic Changes

The current study shows that the historical development of SUCCESS reflected the demographic changes of the Chinese population in Vancouver. When the Chinese settled in Vancouver's Chinatown in the 1880s, their segregation from mainstream society was an involuntary process. In the early 1940s, the City of Vancouver still passed a by-law to reinforce that 'Orientals' were prevented from being either tenants or owners in areas other than their own localities (Anderson, 1991). Even until the 1970s, Chinese settlement in Vancouver was still strongly confined to the area in and around Chinatown (Ley et al., 1994), where voluntary associations, businesses, services, and cultural groups were established to serve the Chinese community. It is safe to say that, by the 1970s, Chinatown had reached a certain degree of ethnic "institutional completeness" (Breton, 1964). Because of its propinquity to ethnic Chinese businesses and institutions, it was no surprise for SUCCESS to be headquartered in Chinatown when it was founded in 1973.

During the 1980s and 1990s, those Chinese who had achieved substantial upward mobility were moving out of Chinatown. By this time, the pressure against Chinese residence in neighbourhoods outside Chinatown had diminished. Some business and independent immigrants who came with resources settled directly in areas outside Chinatown. By late 1980s, Chinese immigrants were living in a variety of settings ranging from modest housing throughout the eastside neighbourhoods, to much more exclusive areas, such as Oakridge, Kerrisdale, Shaughnessy Heights, Southlands, and the British Properties (Ley et al., 1992). By the middle of the 1990s, a large number of Chinese immigrants settled in relatively new suburban areas such as Richmond, Burnaby, Surrey, and Tri-Cities (Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, and Port Moody). The new residential pattern of the Chinese-origin communities was characterized by the combined tendencies of suburbanization and concentration (Hiebert, 1999). Unlike the earlier segregation of the Chinese population which was involuntary, this process of suburbanization and concentration was voluntary (Balakrishnan & Kralt, 1987).

Challenging Early Assumptions about Ethnic Organizations

It was clear that the expansion of SUCCESS's services to areas outside Chinatown in Vancouver and its surrounding suburbs reflected the more recent demographic and residential changes of the Chinese community. This study revealed that, in some of these new areas with a high concentration of Chinese, ethnic Chinese businesses and services were set up to cater to the local population. These areas were often referred to as 'New Chinatowns' or 'Asian-themed Malls' (Lai, 2000). During this new concentration process, traditional Chinese associations were left out. However, the current study uncovered that professional immigrant service agencies like SUCCESS were there to bridge this gap, although it may not be located exactly in 'Asian-themed Malls.'

The expansion of SUCCESS to surrounding suburban areas also mirrored its attempt to respond to calls for immigrant service agencies to broaden and extend their services to new arrivals (Hiebert, 1999; Smith, 1998). At the same time, this new development challenged the assimilation model from several perspectives. As shown in Chapter 1, the early Chicago School of Sociology made the assumption that, when immigrants achieved upward mobility, they would gradually disperse outward to residences in suburban districts, and finally abandon their own institutions and join those of the host society. This model may partially echo the settlement and adaptation process of some Chinese individuals before the 1970s, but it did not reflect the situation in the 1980s and 1990s. As stated earlier, the nature of immigrants and the host society have changed since the 1970s and some immigrants settled directly in affluent neighbourhoods and suburban areas. Furthermore, while some individual Chinese may go to mainstream service agencies for help, it was clear that the Chinese group as a whole has not abandoned its connections with its ethnic institutions. On the contrary, the emergence of 'New Chinatowns' and the successful expansion of SUCCESS's services to suburban areas have indicated that there was a great need for ethnic community services. It also revealed that 'institutional completeness' was re-established in new suburban neighbourhoods in Vancouver as the situation applied to the Jews and French in Winnipeg (Driedger & Church, 1974). This time, the re-establishment was under the aegis of cultural pluralism instead of Anglo-conformity.

Another flawed assumption the assimilation model made was that spatial relations were correlated with social relations and that the spatial may be taken as an index of social patterns (Darroch & Marston, 1987). It was true that many Chinese in Vancouver have achieved great socioeconomic mobility, and that many of them and their ethnic institutions, such as SUCCESS, have widely dispersed into suburban and white middle-class neighbourhoods. However, a

number of conflicting cases, such as the missing sequoias in Shaughnessy (Ley, 1995), the Dim Sum Diary incident in Vancouver (Li, 1998), and the debate over 'monster houses' and other landscape changes in Vancouver and Richmond (Majury, 1994; Ray et al., 1997) have indicated that the Chinese have not been accepted socially by the dominant groups. While Canadians were committed to democratic principles such as justice, equality, and fairness, people still retain their negative attitudes and behaviours towards minority groups. This is what Henry (2000) referred to as 'democratic racism.' Therefore, it is apparent that the dispersal and suburbanization of Chinese population and ethnic institutions may reveal the trends and patterns of contemporary immigrant settlement, but they could not and should not be used to explain inter-group relations.

The Role of Ethnicity

This investigation reveals that ethnicity was an integral factor in the founding and development of SUCCESS. It was clear that its initial founding was partly inspired by the multiculturalism policy, which encouraged ethnic groups to maintain their cultural identities through developing ethno-cultural organizations while integrating into the new society. When an increasing number of immigrants from the Third World began to arrive in Canada in 1967, ethnicity was utilized by the state as a way to mobilize ethnic political support through the provision of resources to serve ethnic-specific communities, in this case the Chinese.

At the same time the Chinese community which had a long tradition of self-help came forward to organize itself in response to the needs of newer immigrants. Through the establishment of organizations like SUCCESS, they were able to provide a social security network for newcomers and an effective channel to strengthen ethnic solidarity and guard ethnic identity. It was also seen as a voice in the ethnic Chinese community and a useful bond for the Chinese community to work together, to fight discrimination and secure scarce resources such as state funding. Hence, the community while being courted politically, also stood to gain from state support. This reflected one of Moodley's (1981) assertions that ethnicity became a weapon to gain or defend shared interests.

Like ethnicity itself, which is constantly changing, SUCCESS as an ethnic group has undergone tremendous changes in its first 25 years. As alluded to earlier, initially when SUCCESS was founded, it mainly served one ethnic group, namely the Chinese. But when the organization became a well-established ethno-specific organization, the state wanted to use its successful experiences to benefit other ethnic communities through its funding requirements. Hence, the organization has moved beyond its ethno-specific constituency and was transformed into a more culturally and ethnically inclusive organization. It also began to serve mainstream

society. For the ethnic organization itself, this change indicated that the organization was no longer a 'marginalized' agency. For the state, this was a cost effective way to provide services to the community. It could also be argued that ethnicity became a device for the state to navigate its political goals. Furthermore, the shift of SUCCESS from an ethno-specific to a broader multicultural organization signified that the state was moving from a centred liberalized direction to a more culturally restrained approach. A remaining question was how the new changes would affect this ethnic group. Would its original group members be able to benefit as much as before?

It should be noted that, even during the time when SUCCESS was an ethnic-specific organization, the composition of this ethnic group was diverse. By ethnicity, most of them may be called Chinese. However, many people did not realize that they came from different parts of the world, i.e., Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Vietnam, Singapore, Africa, South America, and many other places. Their various experiences, resulting from different social and political contexts, determined that their cultural backgrounds were different. Their culturally diverse background demystified another misbelief people held about ethnicity, namely, that people of the same ethnicity shared a common culture. It was evident that there was no simple correspondence between people, culture, and nation among its group members (Li, 1999). Their shared experiences as immigrants and their disadvantaged position in the society of adoption united them. This study has revealed that a homogeneous ethnic group in appearance had tremendous heterogeneity in fact.

Social Contributions of SUCCESS

This study concluded that during its first 25 years of existence, SUCCESS has contributed tremendously to the ethnic Chinese community and Canadian society at large. Its contributions touched both practical and theoretical fields of immigration, citizenship, and integration. Its social impact was extensive. Although some of the views in this analysis might have been expressed elsewhere, they are presented here to reiterate some of the major findings.

An area that SUCCESS has had a great impact on was the Chinese community itself. First, Chinese immigrants benefited immensely from its programs and services. By providing culturally- and linguistically-appropriate services, SUCCESS was able to increase the access of Chinese immigrants to settlement and other social services, which they were entitled to but deprived of, owing to the failure of mainstream social service agencies. It was instrumental in filling the gap between immigrant community and government services. Furthermore, it helped create a safety network, a home, a community to which Chinese immigrants felt they belonged. In addition, it helped form a united front among immigrants to fight for social justice and equity

in social services, immigration, and other government policies. It helped immigrants foster a sense of critical consciousness while educating them about their citizenship, rights, and responsibilities. This study found that SUCCESS played a significant role in increasing citizenship participation. To many immigrants, SUCCESS was a stepping stone for them to integrate into mainstream society. As a transitional institution, it helped immigrants ease the process of settlement, adaptation, and integration.

Another important aspect of SUCCESS's contribution to the Chinese community was the instrumental role it played in raising the profile of the Chinese in Vancouver. The outstanding performance of SUCCESS testified to how an ethnic community fulfilled itself. The successful development and expansion of SUCCESS demonstrated to the larger society that the Chinese were no longer just an isolated group confined to Chinatown. Instead, the group became an outreaching community, willing to contribute to the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres of Canadian life. It challenged the argument that immigrants were a social drain.

Through its community development events and activities, SUCCESS contributed to sensitizing the mainstream organizations about their service approaches and changing public attitudes towards immigrants. It helped enhance mutual understanding between immigrants and mainstream society, hence shortened the social distance between the two groups. As a model which was originally developed from an ethno specific community, SUCCESS also provided assistance to other ethnic communities, especially those which did not have the necessary resources. Moreover, its services also extended beyond immigrants to mainstream society. SUCCESS became a financially-affordable model for the government to provide community services while maintaining social control over it. It became a venue for the government to lobby for community support, philanthropy, and donations. It was testimony to how a community organization and government could work together to serve the community. This study also demonstrated that SUCCESS was not only an exit for immigrants to step into mainstream society, but also an important entrance for government agencies and mainstream organizations to approach an ethnic community, which was usually difficult to reach. The significant bridging role played by SUCCESS between the immigrant community and Canadian society at large was salutary.

Implications for Theory

The story of SUCCESS has contributed substantially to the theoretical fields pertaining to integration, citizenship, and minority group rights. The investigation challenges the argument that ethnic organizations promoted 'ghettoization' and 'separatism.' On the contrary, the study has

demonstrated that SUCCESS played a significant role in helping immigrants integrate into mainstream society. Some of its programs and services, especially those which were made available in clients' native languages/dialects, may appear to contradict the theme of integration, but in fact they represented special efforts to accommodate diversity and negotiate for fairer terms of integration. Only by providing culturally and linguistically appropriate services could SUCCESS make it possible for immigrants to get access to the services and resources to which they were entitled. Equally, ethno-racial organizations could be a more effective alternative other than mainstream organizations, because they are more closely connected with and responsive to ethnic community needs.

Again, this study challenges the view of liberal universalism from the perspectives of citizenship and minority group rights. It confirms Tamir's (1995) argument that granting equal individual rights alone was not sufficient to guarantee equal status. Individual rights had to be supplemented by specific 'group rights' and universal citizenship had to be complemented by differential citizenship. Ignoring the special needs of particular ethno-cultural groups would further marginalize these groups. The special programs and services that SUCCESS provided for immigrants were not unjust privileges; they were the first step in the process for immigrants to achieve fairness, justice, and equality. The whole process of the historical development of SUCCESS displayed the collective efforts of the Vancouver Chinese community in responding to unjust and unfair treatment of an ethnic group. Allocating the necessary resources and support to Chinese immigrants helped correct the disadvantages that Chinese immigrants suffered within difference-blind institutions. It also enhanced democratic and independent citizenship because failure to recognize and accommodate their special needs was more likely to alienate further the Chinese from identifying with the larger society and becoming full members of the community. Clearly the study provides an alternative model to interpret citizenship, minority group rights, and democracy.

Implications for Practice

SUCCESS was established and developed out of specific historical, social, and political contexts. This study could not and should not be used to generalize to other ethnic organizational studies. However, it represents a special attempt to contextualize the concept of ethnicity, multiculturalism, citizenship, minority group rights, social justice, and equity in a real ethnic community setting. It is hoped that some of the findings from this study will be utilized as references in analyzing similar studies, given that the context will be taken into account. It is also hoped that the SUCCESS model, characterized by its holistic approaches, high efficiency,

accountability to its funders, and responsiveness to community needs, will provide guidelines for other community organizations to develop approaches suitable for their own contexts.

For policy makers, this study shows that, despite a strong government role in providing social services to the public, and despite an improvement in mainstream service delivery, there is still a need for ethno-cultural service organizations. To avoid further marginalizing such organizations, the government could integrate them into the regular social service system by providing secured long-term funding and other kinds of necessary support. Meanwhile, the autonomy and advocacy roles of these organizations should be left undisturbed by the state. Only by doing that, can ethnic organizations maintain their special appeal to ethnic communities.

For SUCCESS itself, it is to be hoped that this study provides an opportunity for the organization to look back, to learn from its past, and plan for its future. During its first 25 years, SUCCESS has developed into a reputable and influential organization in the Chinese community and Vancouver's mainstream society. However, as this study shows, there are also challenges facing the organization, such as sustaining previous development while developing new programs and services, improving the welfare of its staff members, and further enhancing inter- and intra-group relations. It is hoped that this study will provide an opportunity for the organization to reflect upon its practice.

Limitations and Topics for Future Research

Since SUCCESS is such a dynamic organization and the study of ethnic organization is such a complex topic, the current findings suggest avenues for future research into the Society and other similar organizations.

Another lens through which this research could be conducted is class. It will be engaging to position class within the historical development of SUCCESS and find out what kind of roles and impact it has on the growth of this organization. Despite Ley and Smith's (1997) claim that the deep and generationally reproduced deprivation of an American underclass was not found among immigrants to Canada, this study could be enriched if there was extra space for the examination of the socio-economic background of members and clients of SUCCESS. Another important area which was not the target of this research was assessment of the effectiveness of service delivery. There is a dearth of research on this topic.

Since the interviewees who participated in this study were mainly people who played leadership roles in SUCCESS, the research findings would be more inclusive if ordinary members and clients of SUCCESS were also involved in it. The findings could be more comprehensive if people from outside SUCCESS (i.e., government agencies, mainstream

organizations, Chinese ethnic organizations, and other ethnic organizations) were invited to participate in it.

Further study in this area might compare what SUCCESS does and did with other immigrant service organizations in Vancouver, such as MOSAIC, Immigrant Services Society (ISS), and Surrey-Delta Immigrant Services Society. Since SUCCESS was a more ethno-specific organization especially during its early stage, it will be helpful to find out how it differed from other organizations which were more multicultural. Research into such areas could be extended to other immigrant and ethnic organizations outside Vancouver.

Within the Chinese community itself in Vancouver, similar research could also be conducted with other ethnic organizations, such as the Chinese Cultural Centre. It is important to find out what other organizations are/were doing and what kind of roles they are/were playing in the Chinese community and society at large. More in-depth examination of the similarities and differences between contemporary organizations such as SUCCESS and the Chinese Cultural Centre, and traditional ethnic organizations such as clan and district organizations, would be helpful in understanding the ethnic Chinese community in Vancouver as a whole.

There was not enough research on newly arrived immigrants, particularly those coming from Taiwan and Mainland China. We need to investigate the social, economic, and political background they came from, the differences between them and their Hong Kong counterparts, the difficulties they encountered with their settlement and adaptation process, and whether such difficulties have been successfully accommodated by the state and ethnic organizations such as SUCCESS. All these topics warrant further study.

Conclusion

This study has shown that the history of SUCCESS was socially constructed. It was founded out of specific social, historical, and political contexts, in response to the failure of government agencies and mainstream organizations to provide culturally and linguistically appropriate services for newly arrived immigrants. Its purpose was to bridge the gap between Chinese immigrant and mainstream society. Its founding was supported by the multiculturalism policy and ideology. Its development was shaped by changes in the social and political system in Canada. The expansion of its services and the fiscal growth of the organization reflected the demographic changes of the Chinese population in Greater Vancouver and changes in government immigration policies. On the other hand, these changes formed the social forces which shaped the organization to its current stage. One of the areas which contributed to the visibility of SUCCESS was its ability to respond to changing community needs. And, the

historical development of SUCCESS represented collective efforts of immigrants in negotiating fairer terms of integration in the new society. It displayed their process of constructing social justice and equality.

The history of SUCCESS was characterized by dualities. It was founded to fill a gap in both the Chinese community and mainstream society; it served both individual needs and offered institutional support; it provided an entrance for government and mainstream organizations to approach an ethnic community as well as an exit for immigrants to step into mainstream society; it was supported by government funding as well as fundraising; it provided direct services and meanwhile advocated on behalf of immigrants; it served both Chinese and non-Chinese; it used both volunteers and paid staff to provide services; and government funding helped SUCCESS with its fiscal growth but also became a means of social control.

This study confirms what Kymlicka (1995, 1998) highlights as positive aspects of multiculturalism. An organization such as SUCCESS serves to accommodate diversity and promote fairer terms of integration.

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Appendix C: Interview Guide

Questions for Founders, Chairs, Board Members, and Executive Directors

- Tell me about your experience with SUCCESS.
- What were the original purposes for setting up SUCCESS?
- What were the historical, social, and political contexts in which SUCCESS was founded?
- When SUCCESS was founded in 1973, where did the funding come from? Whom did it serve? What kind of programs and services were provided? What was the structure like? Who provided the leadership? Why was the Chinatown location initially selected as the office for SUCCESS?
- What were the major changes during the time when you were the Chair (Board Member, or Executive Director) from 19xx to 19xx in terms of the structure, funding, leadership, participants, and programs? What were the social forces which drove these changes? Name a few major events that happened during this period.
- What were the roles of SUCCESS in helping immigrants with their settlement and adaptation? What did the organization do to meet the changing needs of the community?
- What made the expansion of SUCCESS? How was the location for different branch offices chosen? Who made the decision?
- What was the relationship like between SUCCESS and the three levels of government, mainstream society, and the local Chinese community?
- What kind of contributions has SUCCESS made to the Canadian society at large and the Chinese community in particular? How did SUCCESS perceive itself to help helped the Chinese immigrants? Did it help Chinese immigrants integrate into mainstream society? Did it help promote and strengthen Chinese intra-group relations? Did it help enhance mutual understanding among ethnic groups?
- Were there any issues related to the programs and services and to SUCCESS as a whole?

Questions for Program Directors

- Tell me about your experience with SUCCESS.
- What are the scope of services at your branch office?
- Who are your clients?
- How many staff members do you have at this office? What are their qualifications?
- How do you define communal needs? What do you do in order to meet these needs?
- How different is your branch office from the Head Office and other branch offices?
- How does your office fit into the overall mission of SUCCESS?
- Could you highlight a few major events or activities that happened in the past few years at your branch office?
- What kind of social contributions has your office made to Canadian society and the Chinese community in your area?
- Are there any issues pertaining to programs and services at your branch office? If there are, what are they?
- What kind of future do you see for your branch office and SUCCESS as a whole?

Appendix D: Participant List

Founding Members, Past Chairs, and Former Board Members (6)

- Maggie Ip Founding Chair 1974-75, and Chair 1990-92
- Linda Leung Founding Board member
- Jonathan Lau Founding Board Member, and First Executive Director 1973-76
- Kwok Chu Li Chair 1978-79, and Chair of Advisory Council 1975-81
- Maurice Copithorne Former Board Member 1987-88
- Mason Loh Chair 1994-98

Former Executive Director (1)

- Angela Kan Former Executive Director 1977-86

Current Chair and Executive Director in 1998 (2)

- Wilfred Wan Chair 1989-90, 1998-
- Lilian To Executive Director 1987-

Current Program Directors (11)

- Francis Chan Community Airport Newcomers Network (C.A.N.N.)
- Ansar Cheung Language Training and Settlement Services
- Kelly Eng Family Counselling and Youth Services
- T. N. Foo Richmond Service
- Joseph Lau Administration and Building Development
- Shirley Leung Group and Community Services
- Nicholas Lo Finance and Asset management
- Wai-Fu Mak Burnaby, Tri-City, Surrey/Delta Service
- Lydia Sham Fundraising
- Thomas Tam Small Business Development and Training
- Thomas Yeung Burnaby Career Development and Resource Centre, SUCCESS Advanced Training Institute