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ABSTRACT

As universal and mandatory institutions, schools are the first institutional frame of reference newcomer youth encounter upon their arrival in Canada, and as such they play a central role in their settlement process. Although the Quebec Ministry of Education provides guidelines regarding the integration of immigrant students into Quebec educational institutions, some secondary schools in Montreal seem unprepared to respond to the unique needs of newcomer youth. This qualitative case study involving six key informants reveals that schools need experts from community organizations who have a greater capacity to assist youth in their settlement experiences. However, partnering between school and community organizations are often based on difficult and unequal relationships which have a negative impact on the programs and services offered to newcomer students. It is crucial that the various ministries involved in the well-being of youth provide long-term funding for collaborative programs targeting newcomers. This could fortify programs that are already implemented, encourage new initiative, and spread them to educational institutions around the province.

Key Words:

Newcomer youth; settlement; secondary school; community; collaborative programs; Montreal (Quebec).

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Introduction

Adolescence is an important, intricate and expanding period and process in the life-course that is viewed as a migration "from childhood to adulthood, from a child's body to an adult body, from parent to peer reliance, from dependence to independence" (Sharabany & Israeli, 2008, p.138). Aside from the overwhelming physical changes teenagers experience, this period is marked by a process of self-exploration whereby identity is forged. Slowly and often with great difficulty, adolescents build their autonomy by re-examining their beliefs through self-affirmation (Erikson, 1968). When coupled with the struggle of immigrating to a foreign country, this period becomes even more complicated for youth (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003) who need to negotiate their lives within various multicultural environments and systems (e.g., family, school, and community) (Chuang, 2010). This process of immigrating during adolescence is therefore perhaps best conceptualized as a *double migration*—a concept that will be defined and used throughout the rest of this work.

Many authors agree on the central role schools play in the integration of newcomers. The universal and mandatory features of schools make them the first frame of reference youth encounter upon their arrival in Canada (Anisef et al., 2005; Audy, 2010; Potvin et al., 2010). Schools play the important role of transmitting and reproducing the language, religion, and cultural costumes of the majority (Audy, 2010). Adaptation to school life is even more challenging for newcomers who arrive during adolescence (Anisef et al., 2005; Guyon et al., 2011) and has a significant impact on students' academic future (Bang, 2011). As a result, the type of support provided by these institutions has a decisive effect on the integration of these students as it is likely to have a long-lasting impact on the bonds they create with society at large (Seat, 2003). Insufficient attention has been paid to this issue. More research is needed on newcomer youth's ability to adjust to their new country and on the efficiency of settlement programs meant to support them in this process (Anisef et al., 2005; Bang, 2011; Chuang, 2010).

In Canada, various policies and programs have been implemented in schools to support youth in their settlement process; their effectiveness has received scant attention in the literature. Overall, there is growing concern about the need for adopting a more holistic approach to support newcomers and address the complex

process of settlement. It is largely recognized that families and communities have a major impact on children's achievement in school and life more generally (Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Suarez-Orozco, 2010). As Violette and Holder (2005) observed "schools that have succeeded in developing close ties with families, the community and their institutional partners are more likely to foster young people's development and success" (p.3). Collaboration among school, family and communities is largely recognized in the province of Quebec as being essential for the well-being and success of students (Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport [MELS], 1997).

The present research examines the implementation of collaborative programs in Quebec, paying particular attention to how they support secondary schools in providing services to newcomer students. The main question this research aims to answer is: what role do community organizations play in supporting secondary schools when integrating immigrant students? The following subset of questions will help to guide this investigation: 1) What are the main incentives and institutional barriers to community organizations in Quebec seeking to do collaborative work with schools? 2) Once partnerships are formed, what are the responsibilities that community organizations assume? 3) From the perspective of community practitioners, what are the advantages and disadvantages of collaboration? This research aims to further our understanding of how collaboration can be a strategy to address the social problems at hand, paying specific attention to the role of one type of key player -community organizations- within this collaboration.

Clarification of Terminology

For the purpose of this research, *integration* refers to:

A long-term multidimensional adaptation process, which is distinct from assimilation, the overall adoption of the host society's culture and fusion with the majority group. The process of integration, which involves accepting elements of the immigrants' cultural identity of origin and in which the achievement of proficiency in the language of the host society plays an essential role, is only complete when the immigrants or their descendants participate fully in all aspects of the community life of the host society and feel a sense of belonging in that society (MELS, 1997, p.1).

Collaboration is defined as the action of partaking in a task that has the objective of educating the child or assuming the responsibility to support his or her education process. Ideally, this action is undertaken without prejudice or any type of power relations that could prevent other actors in the child's environment from participating. Collaboration encourages dialogue and sharing of knowledge (Vatz Laaroussi et al., 2005). *School* refers to a governmental institution responsible for academic and personal development of individuals. For newcomers, school represents a frame of reference with the new society and should provide a space where all youth can develop themselves, learn, and socialize (Audy, 2010; Semprini, 1997).

In this research *family* is described as the most vital part of a student's microsystem and can take many forms, especially in multicultural societies where family structures and roles can vary among different cultures. In Bronfenbrenner's ecological perspective, a theoretical framework which guides this research (more on this below), a family "is embedded in the natural physical-biological, socio-cultural, and human-built environment" (Bubotz and Sontag, 1993 as cited in Riedman, Lamanna, & Nelson, 2003, p. 35). Thus, family is influenced by and influences the environments that surround it. *Community* refers to:

> Any individual or neighborhood that influences students' learning and development. It includes the neighborhood, community organizations, businesses, cultural groups, health services, recreational centers, municipalities, and universities. The community comprises not only families with school-age children, but also all those interested in and concerned about the quality of education. (Deslandes, 2006, p.83)

Finally, *community organizations* include non-government organizations (NGO) (e.g., community neighborhood centers) and public and municipal organizations (e.g., CLSC[1], Montreal Police, and Public Libraries).

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[1] In Quebec, a *Centre local de services communautaires* (CLSC, local community service centre) is similar to what it is known in Ontario as a Community Health Centre. CLSCs are free clinics under provincial legislation.

Review of the Literature

Double Migration: Adolescence and Immigration

The process of *double migration* can be very intense and stressful for youth who may experience an overwhelming sense of loss and disorientation upon arrival (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003; Potvin et al., 2010; Sharanay & Israli, 2008; Suarez-Orozco, 2011). The major challenges youth face during their settlement and adaptation process in Canada are 1) acquisition of new language; 2) adaptation to a new school; 3) rebuilding of social networks; 4) intergenerational differences, and 5) identity development confounded by dual sources of identity (Anisef et al., 2005).

Language has been identified as the biggest obstacle newcomer youth face during their settlement, adaptation and integration process (Janzen & Ochocka, 2003). As Anisef and Kilbride (2003) noted, this barrier "can exacerbate educational difficulties, create family difficulties…produce low self-esteem, and increase discrimination" (p.237). In general, language acquisition requires from four to seven years of academic instruction to develop academic second-language skills (Suarez-Orozco, 2011; McAndrew, 2001). It is a long process that may be very demanding and stressful for youth since language proficiency is important for social integration, and crucial in order to perform well in school, which is their chief responsibility. Students often face approaches and expectations from schools and teachers that are very different from what they have been accustomed in their home country (Suarez-Orozco, 2011). Also, it is not rare that parents' expectations toward their children become higher upon immigration (Potvin et al., 2010), since parents frequently conceive their migration as a "sacrifice" they made "for the sake of the children." Parents may see their children's success in school as interconnected with their own achievement and integration, which can be a source of motivation for youth but also a source of additional stress (Potvin et al., 2010; Seat, 2003; Vatz Larroussi et al., 2005).

Peer groups are particularly important during adolescence and constitute a source of reference in the development of youth identity (Ryan, 2001). When migrating, youth lose this source of reference and need to rebuild their social network of friendships—something that is difficult for most people in the best of times (Chuang, 2010; Janzen & Ochocka, 2003). Language barriers make this process even more trying (Steinbach,

2010). Therefore, schools play an important role in providing a space and opportunity for newcomer youth to interact with other students, thus facilitating their social integration.

Immigration is also a stressful event that often changes the family structure and may cause family relationships to become conflictual (Bang, 2011; Tyyskä, 2005). Generational differences between parents and children is a common feature of adolescence; in immigrant families it may be accentuated by a gap between the old culture (country of origin) and the new culture (Canadian), which may lead youth to experience a tension between the need to fit in with their peers and the desire to meet their parents' expectations (Suarez-Orozco, 2011; Tyyskä, 2005). Moreover, it is widely known that immigrant youth learn a new language and adapt to the new country faster than their parents (Suarez-Orozco, 2011). As a result, it is not rare for individuals in immigrant families to experience *role reversal,* whereby youth are asked to take on adult responsibilities, become interpreter for their parents, and deal with what are typical parental responsibilities, e.g., navigating through the health care system (Bang, 2011; Janzen & Ochocka, 2003). Role reversals can have a range of consequences on family relationships; parents may feel that their authority has lessened and children might have the impression that parents are not able to adapt or do not want to adapt, potentially leading to a loss of parental role models (Janzen & Ochocka, 2003; seat, 2003). In addition, as Bang (2011) noticed "immigrant youth also confront the acculturative challenges of navigating two worlds and developing an identity that encompasses both cultures" (p. 410). This dual source of identity can be very stressful.

These challenges are part of the complexity of the settlement and adaptation process newcomer youth must cope with. According to Kilbride and Anisef (2001) some elements should be considered in order to successfully respond to their needs. These include: "strong academic support at individual and group levels; broad support for family and community involvement in their education; and cross-cultural understanding and respect for their ethno-racial identity in all the institutions and agencies with which they deal in their daily lives" (p.19). Considering the amount of time youth spend at school and the many challenges they face in this setting, the educational system plays an essential role in facilitating (or not) their social and academic integration into the new society. However, over the last decade, studies showed that newcomer youth often experience serious difficulties in adapting to their new school settings (Anisef et al., 2005; McAndrew, Ledent, & Ait-Said, 2006; McAndrew et al., 2009).

The next section focuses onto the situation of newcomer youth in the city of Montreal, Quebec.

Profile of Montreal

In the Canadian context, where equality of opportunity is a normative imperative, educational institutions are expected to help youth from different cultural, language and socio-economic backgrounds to succeed (McAndrew et al., 2008). However, in Canada this consists of a considerable challenge given that institutions have to continually adjust to a growing flow of immigrants from diverse origins (CIC, 2010). Like many other provinces of Canada, Quebec receives a sizable number of immigrants, which in the last decade increased from 15.1 percent (37,598) to 19.2 (53,982) percent of the total admission of permanent residents in Canada (CIC, 2011a). Despite incentives aimed at encouraging immigrants to settle outside major metropolises, Montreal continues to attract a large portion of newcomers. For instance, in 2010, 86 percent (46,461) of newcomers in Quebec settled in Montreal (CIC, 2010).

It is not surprising to find that most first-generation youth in Quebec enroll in schools in Montreal (Armand, 2011; Ledent, Murdoch, & McAndrew, 2011). In 2011, the majority of newcomer students who did not have one of the two official languages as their mother tongue were concentrated in two of the five public school boards of Montreal: commission scolaire Marguerite-Bourgeois and commission scolaire de Montréal, wherein they constituted almost half of all students (Comité de gestion de la taxe scolaire de l'île de Montréal, 2012). Consequently, schools in these two boards are characterized by outstanding cultural, religious and linguistic diversities. Moreover, a study found that newcomer youth in Montreal are likely to register in public schools identified by school authorities as being located in poor neighborhoods and largely frequented by immigrants (Ledent, Murdoch, & Ait-Said, 2010).

In 2000, 63 percent of newcomer youth in Montreal lived below the "low income cut off," (LICO), compared to an average of 34 percent for all youth in the city (Potvin et al., 2010, p.10). It has been observed that the socio-economic situation of immigrant parents can significantly influence the physical, social and emotional well-being of their children, which in turn can have an impact on their academic and social integration (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003; Potvin et al., 2010; Seat, 2003). As Anisef and Kilbride (2003) noted, "immigrant children with unstable families are less likely to prosper scholastically" (p.14). In the last decade the coalescence of poverty and immigration increased considerably in Montreal (Potvin et al., 2010). It is

known that dropout rates are generally two and a half times higher among poor children (Bilodeau, Bélanger, Gagnon, & Lussier, 2009), which puts newcomer youth in an even more vulnerable situation.

Academic Experience of Newcomers

In the last decade, an emerging literature turned attention to the experiences of newcomer youth in Canada.[2] Some research reported that immigrant students performed, on average, at least as well as the general population (Worswick, 2001), and their academic motivation was often higher than Canadian-born students (Potvin et al., 2010). However, other findings pointed out that some of these youth faced important difficulties that hinder their academic success (McAndrew et al., 2009). Overall, these studies revealed that the school experience of immigrant youth cannot be generalized. Although many factors may influence their experience, certain aspects seem to have a higher impact on school achievement--ethnicity and the time of arrival in the educational system are two of them (Guyon et al., 2011).[3]

In Quebec, only 48 percent of immigrants who enter the educational system at the secondary level obtain a diploma (after seven years), whereas 75.2 percent of those who start in the primary level manage to do so (Guyon et al., 2011, p. 24).[4] In Montreal, for example, these students have 11.6 percent less chance than the rest of the population to complete secondary education; even immigrant students who stay an extra two years in secondary schools are less likely to complete their diploma than the rest of the population (Ledent, et al., 2010, p. 28). Black youth have 17 percent less chance of completing secondary school compared to others; this deficit is especially true for Caribbean and West Indian immigrants, among whom only four in ten obtain a secondary school diploma (Ledent et al, 2010, p. 28).

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[2] These studies include: Anisef & Kilbride, 2003; Anisef, Brown, Phythian, Sweet, & Walters, 2010; Bang, 2011; Bilodeau, Bélanger, et al., 2009; Bilodeau et al., 2010; Guyon et al., 2011; Kanouté, Vatz Laaroussi, Rachédi, & Tchimou, 2008; Ledent, Murdoch, & Ait-Said, 2010; Ledent, Murdoch, & McAndrew, 2011; Suarez-Orozco, 2011; McAndrew et al., 2008; McAndrew et al., 2009; Steinbach, 2010;Worswick, 2001.

[3] Many factors can have an influence at different levels such as social class, language, generational status, relationship with the new country, systemic factors such as discrimination, family' practices and strategies, family relationship with the school, attending public school versus privates school, and the profile of the neighborhood (Anisef et al., 2010; Ledent et al., 2010).

[4] Education pathway in Quebec: Elementary (1 to 6= 6years) + Secondary (1 to 5= 5years).
Education pathway in Ontario: Elementary (1 to 8= 8years) + Secondary (9 to 12= 4years).

Thus, empirical findings show that newcomer students face challenges that can prevent them from achieving the same academic success as their Canadian-born counterparts.[5] The fact that most of these students are concentrated in particular areas of Montreal suggests that the aforementioned school boards may not be able to respond to the needs of newcomer youth. This may also raise questions about the efficacy of policies and programs intended to support newcomer youth. It is known that schools, especially in Montreal, have engaged themselves since the 1990s in a continual process of systemic adaptation to the diversity in order to facilitate the academic integration of newcomers (Bilodeau et al., 2010, p. 10). Some of the measures taken to adapt are, for example, providing specific intercultural training for employees, leading to a better recruitment of teachers, adapting the educational programs and didactic material, setting out various modifications of school regulations, and enhancing relationships between parents and schools (McAndrew, 2001). The next section examines policies guiding settlement programs implemented in secondary schools in Montreal, and the main criticisms they have received from experts.

Quebec Immigration Institutional Apparatus

Since the 1991 Canada-Quebec Accord, Quebec has had autonomy in the delivery of services aimed at the reception and linguistic and cultural integration of permanent residents (Young, 1991). The Accord stipulates that the federal government is obliged to transfer CND 90 million to the province annually as compensation for settlement services. This amount cannot be reduced, but may be increased depending on fluctuations in immigration flows (Young, 1991). The current annual grant has significantly increased since the agreement; the expected amount for the current year (2012-13) is CND 283.1 million (CIC, 2011b). [6]

The government of Quebec seems to recognize the important roles that public, private and community sectors play in the integration of newcomers. The provincial government has developed a working framework headed by the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [MICC] that encourages decentralization and partnerships (Chicha & Charest, 2008). According to Quebec immigration law (article 3.2.3) "the [MICC] establishes and maintains, for individuals who become established in Quebec, a program

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[5] This is an important concern considering that academic experience among immigrant groups can lead to social inequality across generations (Kilbride & Anisef , 2001, p.23).
[6] In comparison, Ontario expected CND314.9 million in 2012-13; the province receives twice as many immigrants than Quebec (CIC, 2011b).

of integration to favor their initiation into the Quebec society". Moreover "by virtue of this program, the [MICC] assumes responsibility over linguistic integration through services of French language training and initiation into the Quebecoise life" (article 3.2.4, Loi sur l'immigration au Québec, 2012).

Since 2008, federal funding has been entirely administrated by the MICC, which redistributes it to different ministries – which in turn distribute it to their affiliated institutions – and a few other partners within the province (Germain & Trinh, 2010). The main goals guiding the work of the MICC are to contribute to the re-establishment of Quebec demography, the prosperity of the province, the durability of the French language, and the openness of Quebec to the world (Germain & Trinh, 2010). As Chicha and Charest (2008) observed, in the last decade various action plans were created to reach these goals, which resulted in numerous partnerships between the MICC and other actors involved in the settlement sector such as the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport [MELS], Ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux [MSSS], the City of Montreal, private foundations (e.g., Centraide du grand Montréal, McConnell), and a variety of community-based organizations (Chicha & Charest, 2008; Germain & Trinh, 2010).

The MICC grants considerable responsibilities and funding to the MELS in order to integrate immigrants. Since 1998, the MELS has developed its own policy and action plan of integration (Rimok & Rouzier, 2008). The "Educational Integration and Intercultural Education" policy also known as *Une école d'avenir* (A School for the Future) was established in response to the growing ethno-cultural, linguistic and religious diversity characterizing the education system of Quebec (MELS, 1997). This policy establishes principles and offers guidelines regarding the integration of immigrant students into Quebec educational institutions and society, and the intercultural education of the whole student population (MELS, 1998).

The MELS defends the view that immigrant youth should have the same opportunity for academic achievement as other students. The education system should prioritize the integration of newcomer youth through three key components 1) the acquisition of linguistic proficiency; 2) the pedagogic classification of newcomers according to their academic capacity; and 3) the social adjustment in the host society, which includes establishing strong ties with members of the new society, and learning of its values, norms and cultural references. This policy also encourages academic institutions to count on the contribution of families

and community organizations to integrate immigrant students. This policy calls for parental support and promotes the presence of parents at school (MELS, 1997).

The MELS action plan supports the policy of educational integration and intercultural education and proposes a variety of measures to school boards in order to implement its policy. The MELS gives financial support to school boards for projects that have the objective of facilitating the educational integration of newcomers and their academic success, and/or that encourage values of "*vivre ensemble*" (living together). The MELS created four categories under which school boards can request grants for settlement programs: 1) promotion of French language ($2,500 per project); 2) innovative practices in integrating and learning French ($10,000); 3) support for students with major academic barriers ($10,000); and 4) building partnerships with School-Family-Community ($15,000) (MELS, 2011-2012a). Though small, these categories allow for the creation of a variety of programs for newcomers, of which linguistic integration is the principal program found in secondary schools in Montreal.

Linguistic Integration: Welcoming Class and PASAF

In Quebec, concern with the French language has always been a priority in immigration and settlement policies and has influenced the design of the model of integration offered in the educational system (McAndrew, 2001). The first program of linguistic integration, called the *welcoming class,* was established in the 1970s. This program offers special French language classes to newcomer students before integrating them into regular classes. The main goal is to facilitate linguistic integration into Francophone society through learning the French language and acquiring a positive attitude towards the Francophone community (Armand, 2011). This model of integration emerged in a context where the perceived "*menace of assimilation"* from Canadian Anglophones and immigrants was omnipresent in Francophone society[7]. At this time, this type of

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[7] In the history of the province of Quebec, Quebec's attitude towards immigrants was often determined by whether immigrants would be seen as "allies" willing to learn French or "undesirables" boosting the Anglophone community. Language always represented one of the main socio-cultural characteristics shaping the "desirability" of immigrants. Quebecers feared that newcomers could alter the delicate power relation between Quebec and Canada: in order to have political muscle vis-à-vis the rest of the country, it was essential for the Francophone to remain the majority within the province. Francophones were distressed by immigrants' tendency to choose English instead of French and by demographic decline of Francophones in Quebec. As a result, the preservation of language and culture became the main motivation in the Quebec government's quest for autonomy in immigration matters. The creation of the Ministry of Immigration of Quebec in 1968 was a significant and visible step in this direction as it also led to the 1991 Canada-Quebec Accord. For additional information on the topic refer to Behiels,1991; Gastaut, 2009; Pâquet, 2005.

integration was seen as the most adequate to quickly integrate newcomers into Francophone society (McAndrew, 2001). With the adoption of *Loi 101* (commonly known as "Bill 101"; 1977), which obligated the majority of newcomer children to attend French schools, the Francophone educational system witnessed a massive entry of non-francophone speaking students in its schools. As a result, the model of the *welcoming class* became the heart of the process of linguistic, social and academic integration of newcomer students in Quebec (Armand, 2011). Numerous modifications were made to the *welcoming class* since its inception, and today various models of it exist.[8] In Montreal, the large number of newcomers has led school boards to adopt the *sheltered welcoming class model* (Armand & De Koninck, 2010). As opposed to English as a Second Language (ESL) programs offered in the rest of Canada, students in *sheltered welcoming classes* pursue all their lessons (e.g., mathematic and sciences) in the welcoming class setting (Armand & De Koninck, 2010). This full-time class of 15 to 18 students is designated for newcomer students who do not speak French (MELS, 2011-2012a).

In this class, newcomer students received services from the *Programme d'accueil et de soutien à l'apprentissage du français* (PASAF, Welcoming program and French learning support). Created in 1998, PASAF is the most common linguistic service in Quebec. All non-Francophone students receiving for the first time a French education – whether born in Quebec or abroad- who do not have a sufficient level of French proficiency are entitled to receive this service (Armand & De Koninck, 2010). Under this program, financial allocation is granted to schools for every student with insufficient knowledge of French. The duration of this financial support depends of the educational level: 20 months for elementary and 30 months for secondary students (MELS, 2011-2012a).

In order to receive this government service, students have to pass a linguistic assessment administered by a school board. The MELS does not impose any specific regulation on how to assess students; it remains under the supervision and the discretion of each school board. As a result, there are various assessment methods, which fuel questions about the discrepancy among the different school boards (Guyon et al, 2011;

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[8] Armand and De Koninck (2010) identified five models found in different school boards around 17 areas of the province of Quebec: 1) *total integration model with assistance*; 2) *partial integration model*; 3) *sheltered welcoming classes*; 4) *total integration model without assistance*; 5) *Sheltered welcoming classes with assistance*.

Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse [CDPDJ], 2011). In some cases, there is no specifically defined assessment, but instead an "approximate evaluation" of language skills, which raises concern about the risk of stereotyping (CDPDJ, 2011). It seems that assessments are more budget orientated than focused on addressing the linguistic and settlement needs of newcomer youth (CDPDJ, 2011; Guyon et al., 2011). As it happens in some other provinces of Canada, the devaluation of the students' knowledge may be perceived by students as unfair and can lead to frustration and demotivation, fuel misunderstanding among immigrant parents, and even prevent these students from reaching their goals (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003; Anisef et al., 2005; Bilodeau et al., 2010).

Nonetheless, many students have passed through PASAF programs, where they have had the opportunity to learn French. In 2006-2007, 79 percent (13,192) of PASAF students were registered in the five Francophone school boards of Montreal (Armand, 2011). These data highlight the number of non-francophone - most of them newcomers- in the city of Montreal; these students are most likely to receive PASAF service in *sheltered welcoming classes*.

Welcoming classes raise concerns about the physical separation from other regular classes and the pejorative symbolism of these classes, which may contribute to the stigmatization and ghettoization of newcomer students (De Koninck & Armand, 2010; Kanouté et al., 2008; Vatz Laaroussi, 2011). Another concern about this linguistic approach is the transition from *welcoming class* to regular class. In theory, if newcomer students in welcoming classes do not use all their 30 months of PASAF, once they integrate into regular classes, they can continue to receive linguistic support (Armand, 2011). However, support seems to be limited in the transition from the *welcoming class* to regular classes (CDPDJ, 2011). Insufficient support during this process makes students experience a double destabilization in a short period of time, which may significantly slow their integration into the school. In addition, lack of support may lead to teachers' reluctance in receiving newcomers in their classes, especially teachers incapable of supporting newcomers linguistically (Guyon et al., 2011). Teachers are concerned that students from *welcoming classes* may slow down the whole class (Guyon et al., 2011).

Nevertheless, according to Armand and De Koninck (2010), these classes seem to be adequate for a significant number of students when teachers and school workers are aware that they constitute a progressive

model, serving to eventually integrate students into regular classes, and not an alternative pathway where students remain for two or three years. In general, students should stay approximately 20 months in these classes (Armand, 2011). However, according to McAndrew (2001, p.27), 50 percent of these students remain two years or more. This long period spent in these segregated classes might have a negative impact on their social and academic integration. It is not difficult to see that these classes might be damaging for those trying to integrate into the educational system; it may also help to explain the challenges faced by newcomer youth in Montreal. In addition, the main goal of PASAF and the *welcoming class* is linguistic integration and as such they target non-francophone newcomers. Newcomer youth who arrive in the educational system with knowledge of French also are assessed and face the unfair pedagogic classification discussed above (Bilodeau et al., 2010). However, it remains unclear if there are specific settlement services available for these students in order to help them integrate into their new schools. According to Bilodeau et al. (2010), numerous programs have been implemented to address social integration of newcomers, especially in disadvantaged neighborhoods of Montreal. However, few authors examined them broadly and analyzed their impact on youth.

In sum, the creation of the policy of educational integration and intercultural education of the MELS provided a general framework to school boards to create projects addressing the settlement challenges of newcomer students. Although this policy shows a commitment to equal opportunity to academic success for immigrant youth, the pathways to intervention remain broad and fragmented (Chamberland & McAndrew, 2011). The academic success of youth is a general concern in Quebec, where dropout rates increased in the last decade (Larivée, 2011). In Quebec, as in other industrial societies, challenges brought by immigration, ethnic diversity, socio-economic disadvantages, and social inequality in education become an important motivation for educational reforms (Bilodeau et al., 2011). Since 2000, there is an increasing push towards the implementation of partnerships that may enhance social educational services through the creation of bridges between various actors in a given community, which include parents, community, government or private organizations (Potvin et al., 2010; Turcotte, Bastien, Clavier, & Couturier, 2011).

Since 2000, a number of initiatives emerged in Quebec.[9] The MELS, recognizing that schools alone cannot assume the responsibility for improving current levels of academic achievement, asserted that there is a need for creating close collaboration between parents and community (MELS, 2009). Partnering with community groups became a school's strategy "to respond [in part] to the academic and social problems of children from disadvantaged communities" (Bilodeau, Bélanger, et al., 2009, p.143), after they realized that schools are unable to address these issues alone (Violette & Hodder, 2005). It was believed that collaborative programs should therefore support newcomer youth throughout their social and academic integration, but also address the complex process of the *double migration* these youth experience.

As mentioned, parents are as crucial in the settlement process of their children as their children are for them. For instance, parents' experience in the new country influence the academic integration of their children and has an impact on their children's identity development and well-being (Seat, 2003). Therefore, it is possible to suggest that programs that are able to target and support newcomer students and their families are more likely to respond to schools', youth's *and* families' needs. The next section examines what has been written about School, Family and Community [S-F-C] collaborations, and presents some examples found in Montreal.

School-Family-Community Collaboration: An Alternative Approach

Numerous studies in Canada and abroad have shown that a close relationship between families and schools is beneficial to students (Deslande, 2006; Henderson &Mapp, 2002; Sheldon & Epstein, 2004). This relationship has the power to facilitate students' adaptation to school, improve their academic outcomes, diminish absenteeism, improve behavior, increase higher adolescent autonomy, and increase academic aspirations (Kanouté & Calvet, 2008; Larivée, 2011; Suarez-Orozco, 2010). There are numerous types of collaborations and parent-involvement initiatives, but the impact of these collaborations on children's academic success remains unclear (Larivée, 2011; Vatz Laaroussi et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the main goal of including parents in their children's school experience is to increase their academic performance, and as Larivée (2011) observed, all types of involvement may have positive effect on children.

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[9] Some of these initiatives are: the action plan Mobilisation concertée; strategy L'école j'y tiens! Tous ensemble pour la réussite; SIIA program- Agir Autrement; Prendre le virage du succès, Programme de soutien à l'école montréalaise, les programmes Famille, école, communauté: réussir ensemble, Aide aux devoirs and École en santé (Turcotte et al., 2011).

Many factors may prevent families from actively participating in the school system (Wright, Stegelin, & Hartle, 2007). It has been observed that the relationship between immigrant families (especially the newly arrived) and schools can be challenging and have a direct impact on newcomer students' school experience (Guyon et al., 2011). Research on Latin American parents in Ontario identified the difficult relationship they had with their children's teachers, whereby cultural and language barriers were identified as important factors contributing to misunderstanding. For instance, parents did not understand how to navigate the school system or teachers' behavior (Bernhard & Freire, 1999; Pacini-Ketchabaw, Bernhard, & Freire, 2001). In addition, Schugurensky (2009) observed that "often unintentionally, teachers and school administrators tend to privilege relations with middleclass parents who have a cultural capital similar to theirs, and who can express themselves in English without difficulty" (p.99). In fact, cultural differences might inhibit good parent-teacher relationships. Researchers also found that teachers tend to expect a certain kind of "Canadian" parental involvement and as a result criticize other parenting styles for being patriarchal, socially dysfunctional or "traditional" (Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Vatz Laaroussi, Kanouté, & Rachédi, 2008). Consequently, parenting styles of immigrant families may be used to justify the academic failure of children whose parents are labeled as passive and uninterested, and not adapted to the new country (Bernhard & Freire, 1999; Vatz Laaroussi et al., 2005). As Vatz Laaroussi et al. (2008) noticed, the discourse around collaboration between immigrant families and schools lies on two interrelated misunderstandings: schools that criticize the lack of parental involvement, and families who condemn the demands, interference and control of schools on youth social life.

A recent study examined twenty-three community organizations working with immigrants in Quebec in order to identify the principal demands made by clients. The report revealed that 59 percent of these organizations received demands from schools, and 77 percent received demands from parents. Schools asked for assistance with mediation between themselves and the families of students with difficulties; help in understanding the family's reality in order to provide adequate counseling; and the provision of translation services (cultural and linguistic). Parents (mainly mothers) asked for help to enhance their understanding of the educational system, e.g., being able to register their children at school; counseling on parental issues; and translation services (Guyon et al., 2011, p.10). Another study found that immigrant families in Montreal were

likely to seek support from community organizations, ethnic or neighborhood associations that were able to assure mediation between them and their children's school (Vatz Laaroussi et al., 2005).

These studies confirm the important role community organizations can play, whereby they can create bridges between schools and immigrant families (Bernhard & Freire, 1999; Deslandes, Potvin, & Leclerc, 2000; Deslandes, 2006; Vatz Laaroussi et al., 2008). Over the past few decades, numerous studies highlighted the various benefits of collaborative work among schools, families, and community organizations (Bilodeau et al., 2010; Deslandes, 2006; Epstein et al., 2002; Vatz Laaroussi et al., 2008; Violette & Hodder, 2005; Wright et al., 2007). Deslande (2006) pointed out that S-F-C collaboration has the potential to increase students' persistence in school, improve their learning and academic results, motivate students to spend more time on homework, enhance their well-being, and have better social, emotional and physical development. For the parents, this collaboration can increase their understanding and knowledge of their children's development, enhance their parental skills, encourage them to become more active in their community, and offer parents the opportunity to access support services such as housing, transportation and employment (Deslande, 2006).

In addition, S-F-C collaboration has the power to improve the school environment and its programs, and assist schools to achieve their educational mission (Epstein et al., 2002; Deslandes, 2009), especially in disadvantaged communities (Violette & Holder, 2005). Deslandes (2009) observed similar findings while evaluating different collaborations in Quebec. The author also found that some of these collaborative programs - such as Community Learning Centers (CLC)[10] - improved communication among local actors and provided physical space for community life. Community organizations have the objective of building strong social ties, reinforcing individual empowerment, and promoting values such as justice, solidarity and democracy (Kanouté, Lafortune, Lavoie, & Gosselin, 2011). Their missions make them important actors in their communities. However, as Kanouté et al. (2011) suggested there is a need to reinforce dialogue between them and schools in order to extend their action around the academic challenges faced in some areas of Montreal. Deslandes (2010) identified this dialogue as being a crucial condition to build collaborative programs, which must include equality and mutual respect among partners. For the author, these programs

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[10] CLC is an English minority language initiative supported and financed by the MELS; defined as "partnerships that provide a range of services and activities, often beyond the school day, to help meet the needs of learners, their families, and the wider community. Their aim is to support the holistic development of citizens and communities" (Community Learning Centers [CLC], web site, 2012).

also need to be based on strong action plans consistent with the institution's educational mission. Sanders and Epstein (1998) observed that, "with the right support - a framework of involvement and a team approach for action- teachers, administrators, parents, students, and community members can work together to build effective programs of partnership" (p.33). One good example of a School-Family-Community framework is the community school approach, which has been widely implemented in the United-States to address low academic achievement in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods (Epstein, 1995; Epstein et al., 2002; Sanders & Epstein, 1998).

> A community school mobilizes the school staff, the members of the governing board, the parents and partners (community, social, cultural, municipal, government and economic) to place their respective resources at the service of young people, their families and the community. A community school considers fostering young people's success a social commitment. (Violette & Hodder, 2005, p.12)

In this type of collaboration, services are organized around the needs of youth and their families. The school becomes the main point where services such as health, social, and cultural services are delivered in addition to homework assistance. These services are organized and managed by the school in conjunction with its partners. According to Armand (2011), schools that adhered to this approach are more likely to develop better relationships with immigrant parents than those which do not. Although this approach has positive effects, only few schools in Montreal seem to subscribe to it (Bilodeau et al., 2010). Bilodeau et al. (2010) noted that in areas with community-schools actions were coordinated between the various sectors such as schools, community organizations, the municipality and health sectors; this coordination led to better coherence among programs and partner relationships.

One initiative emerging from a community-school approach in Montreal is *Un milieu ouvert sur ses écoles* (MOÉ). MOÉ was created in 2001 in response to the growing immigration flow and to the ghettoization of some neighborhoods of Montreal. There was a need to reach immigrant youth and their families in order to facilitate their integration and participation into society; schools were the perfect context in which to try to create these necessary links (RIRE, 2011). In brief, MOÉ aims to create a variety of programs

and activities that "tie with the mission of schools, namely to teach, qualify and socialize, but also with the mission of the Table de concertation jeunesse Bordeaux-Cartierville and of its members" (RIRE, 2011, p.2).[11] The centerpiece of this project is the integration of a School-Community Worker (SCW) at school, who has the responsibility of establishing a liaison among the school, the community, youth, and their parents (RIRE, 2011). Bilodeau et al. (2010) found that schools that have integrated MOÉ produced many more activities for youth and their families than schools in the other areas. Schools that adopt this program had more partners and therefore could afford a range of different services (Bilodeau et al., 2010).

Bilodeau et al. (2010) provided interesting findings on collaborative programs implemented in four disadvantaged neighborhoods of Montreal[12] with a dense newcomer population.[13] These authors identified numerous measures to assist academic and social integration of immigrant youth that have resulted from different collaborations,[14] most of which were less inclusive and less well coordinated than MOÉ. Most of these measures (65 percent) focused on sports, culture, leisure and personal and social skills development; 15 percent were dedicated to academic achievement; while 11 percent aimed to link family and school, particularly newly arrived families (Bilodeau et al., 2010, p.34). Half of those targeting parents emerged from the school-community worker (SCW) strategy, having the objective of developing S-F-C collaboration.[15]

Bilodeau et al. (2010) found that community organizations were the main partner involved in these measures (86 percent), followed by municipal governments (24 percent), and health organizations (16 percent) (p.54). Community organizations were involved in all kind of measures, especially those addressing school-family and academic achievement (i.e., homework support, dropout prevention). Municipal governments were

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[11] Table de concertation jeunesse Bordeaux-Cartierville [CLIC] is a collaborative association for intersectional joint efforts and networking, which is also known as a neighborhood table. The table seeks to encourage collaboration in order to enhance the living conditions of its citizen in the neighborhood (CLIC, 2009).

[12] Neighborhood where MOÉ was found is included within these four neighborhoods.

[13] Less than five years in Canada (Bilodeau et al., 2010).

[14] Measures include policies, programs, activities and services.

[15] In Côte-Des-Neiges Viens jouer dans ma cour was a program seeking to enhance relationship between the school and its neigborhood. In Bordeaux-Cartierville some of the measures were : Un milieu ouvert sur ses écoles, Une école pacifiquement ouverte sur son milieu, workshop mother-daughter in a context of immigration, Éducation aux activités en plein air conçu pour les jeunes et les familles and the student's newspaper Passeport Jeunesse which was distributed to families (Bilodeau et al. 2010).

involved in sport, culture and leisure, and skills development. Health organizations participated in measures targeting nutrition, school-family relations, and skills development. The type of partnership varied significantly according to the area where schools were located, which mirrored the approached of the different schools boards. The analyses of current collaborative programs established in different neighborhoods of Montreal shows that only 18 percent of all activities and programs were made under S-F-C collaboration, and most of them were remedial by nature, and in secondary schools, focused on job preparation and professional training (Bilodeau et al., 2010, p.76). Researchers point out that in these neighborhoods there is a lack of strategies to improve academic achievement, which strategies could result in breaking the cycle of reproducing social and academic inequality present in Quebec. Moreover, there was a lack of parents' and community's mobilization around educational content, which would have related the academic curriculum to the cultural and material reality of poverty and immigration (Bilodeau et al., 2010). In addition, very few measures[16] targeted immigrant families, particularly the newly arrived; and even fewer targeted those engaged in the complex process of settlement.

Interim Conclusion

This review of the literature examined research on immigrant youth in the province of Quebec. A considerable amount of evidence shows that schools in the province are not succeeding in providing the type of assistance that the government has committed itself to offer. The lack of adequate funding and the inherent flaws of outdated models prevent schools from offering newcomer students the type of support they need in order to succeed academically. Approaches encouraging the involvement of families and community organizations seem to be well recognized by academic institutions. Preliminary studies pointed to the positive role that community organizations can play. "Community organizations can reach children and their families more easily and this makes these agencies more efficient" (Deslande, 2006, p.3). In Quebec, interest in creating S-F-C collaboration emerged two decades ago, but only recently have programs with this approach been put in place. As a result, few studies have examined the result of these collaborations, and even fewer have paid specific attention to programs established to respond to the needs of immigrant families. However,

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[16] Among other programs, all schools seem to provide –an introduction to French language and culture for immigrant parents (Bilodeau et al., 2010).

there is a growing demand from schools and families for community support in responding to youth needs. Sources of funding, though relatively few, seem to be available for community organizations to work around the issues faced by immigrant students and their families (Kanouté et al., 2011; MELS, 2011-2012b). However, as Boulanger, Larose, and Couturier (2011) pointed out, few researchers have documented the professional and inter-professional dimension of relationships that involve collaboration. In fact, the different actors involved in collaborative programs often compete for school space and for funding. This research seeks to better understand how community organizations partner with schools to assist student newcomers through an analysis of one example of such collaboration.

Case Study

Methodology

A) Approach - Strategy – Sample

The present study seeks to contribute to the literature with an in-depth analysis of collaborative programs between schools and community organizations. This research examines the current action implemented in a secondary school to address challenges faced by newcomer youth, paying particular attention to the actors and processes involved in the elaboration of these programs, their advantages, shortcomings, and implementation challenges. A qualitative analysis of one case study can generate empirical knowledge that contributes to the literature on school and community collaboration in the field of immigration. The present study captures the perspective and experience of practitioners who are directly involved in collaborative programs. Moreover, "the case study is a naturally occurring phenomenon" and gives important information about processes that have occurred or are currently happening in the chosen milieu (Descombe, 2007, p.37). This strategy provides a holistic view that can help us to better understand the outcomes of collaborative programs.

The case study focuses on Saint Mary Secondary School (a pseudonym is used to protect identity of participants) and three community organizations; two which have established partnerships with the school, and one which has many times tried to do so, without success. The school and community organizations are located in a neighborhood that is divided into three districts which are here referred as A, B, and C. The school

is situated in area B but receives students from all three districts; 70 percent of the students live in area A. Considering that numerous newcomers come from area A, and that school is located in the area B, only these two districts are discussed in this research.

The characteristics of the two areas are very different. Area B comprises 38 percent of the population of the neighborhood, with less than one third made up of immigrants. Newcomers are less likely to settle in this area than in the others. Nevertheless, the main countries of origin of those established in area B are Algeria, Haiti, France, and Morocco.[17] Area A has only 22 percent of the inhabitants of the neighborhood, but it is the most densely populated zone. It is the area with the higher proportions of immigrants and recent immigrants (less than five years in Canada) of the Metropolis; in 2001, 62 percent were born outside of Canada, in comparison to 28 percent for the whole immigrant population of Montreal. The principal countries of origin are Greece, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Haiti. To illustrate, 80 percent of the area population has a native language other than French or English; the most common languages spoken are Greek, English, Punjabi and French. This area is also one of the poorest of Montreal, wherein lower income rates and larger families are found. For instance, in 2001 the unemployment rate was two times higher than the average for Montreal (Ville de Montreal, 2004).

Saint Mary School was selected for this case study for its willingness to participate and because the school possessed all characteristics identified in the literature review: it is a large secondary school which receives a high number of newcomer students and as a result has a significant number of welcoming classes. The school also maintains some relationships with community organizations in this area, which are working to support the institution by providing services to their students. Three of these organizations were selected to participate in this study.

A snowball technique was used to contact the school and community organizations and recruit participants. The process started with a contact who knew someone in Saint Mary School who agreed to post a pamphlet about my study in the school's bulletin board. In the case of the community organizations, a letter of introduction to the study was sent to the directors of the organizations via email. Thus, participants were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate in the study, their direct involvement in programs for

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[17] A large portion of these immigrants have French as mother tongue or at least have knowledge of this language.

newcomer students, and knowledge of the subject matter. Gender and age varied. The main common characteristic is that participants worked either for the chosen school or one of the community organizations that provide -or tried to provide- services to this school. A second characteristic is that integration and settlement issues were part of all interviewees' day-to-day work tasks.

I conducted semi-structured, one-on-one interviews, of one hour each, with six key informants in French. Two informants worked for the school (S1, S2); one worked for a community organization which was affiliated with the Ministère de la Santé et des Services Sociaux (O1); two for one non-government organization (O2a and O2b); and one for another non-government organization (O3). Interviews with these individuals offered an opportunity to obtain detailed information about personal feelings, perceptions and opinions about partnerships. Data generated through these interviews were sufficient to draw interesting insights that can contribute to the discussion reviewed above.

B) Data Organization and Analysis

An interview guide provided a general structure for the interviews. The six interviews were tape recorded and written notes captured visual information such as the non-verbal behavior and attitude towards certain questions or themes. The advantage of using interviews was that it would allow participants to explain programs from their own perspectives and elaborate on topics that seem most important for them, which the literature might have omitted. The idea was to generate concepts and themes that I might not yet have considered. Questions were broad and concerned the overall process of working with the school in assisting newcomer students, for instance, their experience working with newcomers; the process leading to the creation of partnerships; the characteristics of the work carried by community organizations; and the advantages and disadvantages of this type of partnership. I did not enquire about any specific client or their relationship with school or community workers. The goal was to get a general view of the workings of the programs addressing newcomers' needs.

In order to prevent any sort of distress and establish a climate of trust, they had the choice to skip any question and end the interview at any time. The workings and benefits of programs as a whole were discussed, not the particular experience of any small group of youth. Information was carefully handled and precautions

were taken to ensure confidentiality of key informants and their organizations. For instance, organizations received the letter "O" and the school received the letter "S"; each participant was given a number (S1, S2, O1, O2 and O3). A letter (a-b) was given for those from the same organization (O2a and O2b). Once interviews were recorded, they were all transcribed and codified. As the interviews unfolded, an index of coding was created. This index helped to organize the data and to develop new concepts and themes. The idea was to be able to understand them and to find interconnections.

One of the shortcomings in this study is that the methodology used might raise concerns about the trustworthiness of the findings. According to Archer and Berdahl (2011), qualitative inquiry can bring researchers to "[rely] upon more intuitive, soft and relativistic modes of interpretation, [analysts] risk compromising the dependability, transferability, and the conformability of their findings" (p.136). With this concern in mind, four measures were taken to ensure trustworthiness in the present study. 1) To ensure dependability (precision), interviews were recorded, which has prevented the subjective selection of information during the interview. A detailed transcription of all interviews was made. 2) A tenable and believable description of the collaboration (e.g., actors involved) under study was offered in order to secure credibility (authenticity). 3) The question of transferability (portability) was addressed through the selection of the case study, one which presented similar characteristics with other schools located in other areas of Montreal. Admittedly, this has been confirmed during the field research. 4) To ensure confirmability (impartiality) of the knowledge produced, the researcher has "to recognize, acknowledge, and minimize the amount of personal bias that enter in the study" (Archer & Berdahl, 2011, p. 142). The academic supervisor of this study has played an important role in ensuring confirmability, and the overall trustworthiness of this investigation, though ongoing discussion of my concerns and the trends that were emerging in the preliminary findings.

Conceptual Framework

As noted briefly, above, this research draws on Bronfrenbrenner's ecological paradigm. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory postulates that individual psychological development is influenced by numerous environmental systems that interact with each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In this

approach, child and youth development is embedded in four interrelated systems. (1) The microsystem refers to the immediate spatial context wherein the individual has an active and direct participation; it includes family and school, as well as relationships, people, and activities that overlap in this spatial context (Benner, Graham, & Mistry, 2008). (2) The mesosystem is constituted of the relationships between two or various microsystems, for example, relationships between parents (family) and teachers (school). (3) The exosystem encompasses environments indirectly linked to children's lives that influence their development; parents' workplaces, school boards, local organizations, neighborhood, and government agencies. It also refers to physical space, the people therein, and decisions taken there (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). (4) These interconnected systems exist within a broader context called the macrosystem, which also includes beliefs, ideologies, values, and social institutions common to a culture (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Thus, in this approach the child is placed at the center of a complex system with multiple actors and various types of relationships.

> Each child exists in a family of some kind; each family is part of a community; and each community is part of a larger society complete with many institutions and ideologies shaping the public policies that define and then address the needs and concerns of … youth. The youth interact face to face with some of the players in this human ecology, like parents, peers, and teachers, but no less important are those beyond their reach, like school boards and ministries, governmental departments and non-governmental agencies, whose policies [shape] their access to opportunities and rewards. (Kilbride & Anisef, 2001, p.19)

In the present study, the ecological approach will help to take into account various actors and processes that may facilitate or hinder newcomer students' ability to integrate into the new society.
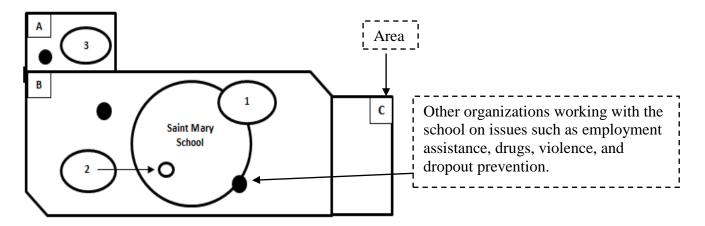
Findings and Discussion

The research for the present study included a close analysis of collaborative programs implemented at Saint Mary Secondary School with the aim of supporting newcomer students. Interviews with six practitioners working for or with this school greatly enriched this analysis. This section presents findings based on

discussions with these key informants. Of the various themes that emerged during interviews, five are discussed in detail below. First it is necessary to provide a description of the services for newcomer youth available at Saint Mary School that will help to situate the reader in the subsequent discussion.

Services Available

Before going further, it is important to mention that most key informants referred to newcomer youth as students in the "welcoming department" of Saint Mary School. Discussion about newcomers and services available to them focused mainly on students in welcoming classes. Only one key informant referred to newcomers as also those who had integrated into regular classes. Specific services to already integrated students were not mentioned during interviews, which underscored the absence of assistance for these students. This finding corroborates Armand and De Koninck's (2012) observation about the lack of support youth receive once they integrate into regular classes. In addition, informants did not mention newcomer youth directly integrated into regular classes upon landing. This finding highlights the lack of available data on these youth, as identified in the literature review above. Although they may have the requirements necessary to join the regular academic stream (i.e., French proficiency), they are likely to face other challenges related to the settlement process. But they, for the most part, remain invisible. It appears that emphasis and resources are only placed on those who lack French language proficiency.

Diagram: Organizations Providing Services to Newcomers and their Connection with the School

Area

C — Other organizations working with the school on issues such as employment assistance, drugs, violence, and dropout prevention.

Community Organization 1-has one full time worker in the school, who offers counseling services to individuals and families; gives advice on students' rights; supports people in crisis situations; builds connections between services available in his/her organization, community, youth, family, and school. This organization is funded and closely connected with the Ministère de la Santé et des Services Sociaux of Quebec (MSSS), and has been partnering with the school for 30 years. Informant O1.

Community Organization 2- works mainly with immigrants, and started partnering with Saint Mary School in 2011, and at the time of writing, plans to continue the collaboration in the coming years; its staff (volunteers, placement students, and full-time workers) offer after-school homework assistance two days per week to students in welcoming classes. The school hosts the program and provides two teachers. This program is funded by the foundation Centreaide du Grand Montréal. Informant O2a and O2b.

Community Organization 3- is a youth community center that offers a variety of social activities. In the last 20 years partnership with the school has been intermittent. In general, community workers are asked to intervene in short-term activities in Saint Mary. Despite the center's numerous attempts, long-term collaborative programs were never established with the school. This center does not have a stable source of funding; it relies on various grants that are usually tied to specific projects and populations. Informant O3.

Saint Mary Secondary School has some aspects of a community-school partnership discussed above; it has collaborative programs coordinated among various community actors: the school, the municipal government, health and community organizations. Most of these programs address dropout, delinquency, and drugs prevention through sport and culture; few focus on settlement-related issues. As Bilodeau et al. (2010) have pointed out, newcomer youth and their parents have few available resources in Montreal. According to my study, this was true of Saint Mary School, which offered few services to newcomer youth. Of the few services related -directly and indirectly- with settlement, two are collaborative programs with community organizations and three are offered by the school alone. The school offered the program of francization (PASAF) through welcoming classes, and had two specialized professionals who provided services to all students in the school, including those in welcoming classes. A third specialized professional was also available and emerged from a collaborative program between the school and a public health organization, which has a long history of partnerships. This program allowed for one practitioner from this organization to be available to students in the school.

The assistance provided by the three specialized professionals is similar. For example, together, they intervene in situations of conflict or crisis, such as if a student has severe academic difficulty, problems with absenteeism, and problems with families or teachers.[18] These services are available for all students, including newcomers, and so are not specifically tailored to newcomers. Practitioners could help newcomers address

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[18] Title of each specialised professional is not mentioned in order to protect the identity of key informants.

difficulties related with the settlement process such as intercultural conflict or academic difficulty, of which these practitioners seem to have a general understanding (more on this below). For instance, one of the school counselors pointedly identified the intergenerational difficulties youth faced:

> Parents embark in the immigration project in order to offer a better future for their children, but in certain case parents still have feeling of loyalty towards their cultural roots, which is legitimate. However, their children often face a certain duality between the values learned at school and those taught at home. (O1)

This key informant mentioned something other key informants also raised: the difficulty for youth to navigate between the two "worlds" of home and school, and language barriers were perceived as the biggest challenges youth have to face as newcomers.

Despite this *general* awareness of newcomer challenges, school-based councilors did not seem to have more specific knowledge of immigration-related barriers. For example, when asked about the relationship with students' parents, one key informant from the school mentioned that when parents needed to be reached and there was a language barrier, s/he used the youth him/herself as the translator. Another solution used by this key informant was to ask an older student from the same ethnic group to translate the conversation "preferably someone who doesn't know the student" (S2). The impact of using children as translators has been widely examined in the literature (Go, 1998; Seat, 2003), and there is a consensus that it has the potential to increase family conflict and fuel role reversal. In the case above, for example, the student is put in a difficult situation. Acting as the facilitator of discussions about his/her owns challenges or problems can potentially give him/her a degree of power, whereby s/he is responsible to transmit the correct information and to mediate the relationship between parents and school workers. The student then becomes a filter for the type and amount of information that flows between the school and the family. This may also foster insecurity for parents who depend on their children to undertake parental responsibilities, and for the children who are taking a parental role in a situation in which they are concerned. Although adolescence is a period marked by a search for autonomy, children still need close guidance, which is usually provided by the family. Using older

students from the same school to deal with other student's problems is unlikely to be a better option as it puts family confidentiality at risk, and so raises ethical concerns.

What arose in some of the practitioners' discourses is that their actions were driven by good intentions; they wanted to provide the best services they could for these youth and their families. However, the institutional structure did not always provide the necessary tools to prepare them, and their lack of knowledge around immigration and settlement can have negative consequences on the youth. This finding is consistent with the recommendation of Guyon et al. (2011) that teachers and specialized professionals at school should receive training that allows them to acquire a better understanding of immigration and its challenges for students and their families.

The second collaborative program available to newcomer youth consisted of the implementation of a homework after-school assistance program, housed at the school. Saint Mary's teachers and a NGO serving immigrants were responsible for this program, which targeted only newcomers in welcoming classes. The collaborative program was divided in two parts: the first section supported youth with their homework, while the other addressed settlement issues through social activities. According to one key informant from the school (S2), this project was very helpful for youth, teachers and parents, especially newcomer parents who were not always able to provide help to their children due to language barriers.

The benefit of homework assistance for newcomer students has been well examined in the literature (Bang, 2011; Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009). Bang (2011) found that homework assistance offered at school is correlated with higher levels of homework completion and allows students to gain insight and learning strategies by working with peers; the author concluded that this type of program is essential to newcomer youth.

As a key informant from one of the partner organizations explained (O2a), the aim of the homework program at Saint Mary School was not only to provide academic assistance:

Homework assistance is a pretext to get closer to these youth [newcomers], to offer them services, listen to them…give them the opportunity to understand how things work here [in Quebec]. I mean the

experience around integration and settlement, and not only talk about succeed in integrating regular

classes, which is a challenge for a large part of youth. (O2a)

This testimony illustrates the second mission of this collaborative program, which is to address the settlement

process through social integration, peer interactions, and supportive adult relationships. As previously

discussed, peer groups are particularly important during adolescence (Ryan, 2001), and to rebuild a social

network of friends is one of the difficulties newcomer youth face (Chuang, 2010; Janzen & Ochocka, 2003;

Steinbach, 2010). The homework program was offered in collaboration with an organization whose staff has a

deep understanding of immigration and settlement process. As a result, they were more culturally sensitive and

more likely to be capable of building supportive relationships with students. Interestingly, these practitioners'

perception of the challenges of the settlement process coincided with what is here called *double migration*. As

this next section discusses, this perception oriented their conception of integration.

Theme 1: Importance of Integration Over (and for) School Achievement

According to the key informants working with NGOs, it is necessary to address the various aspects of

integration. The *social aspect* of integration, for example, concerns youth's opportunities to become involved

in social activities, socialize and meet other youth, adults, and volunteers, and create new social networks.

Socializing was also an important way of practicing French language. As one community informant noticed

"[integration] is also about feeling of belonging, to be part of a group; this makes a great difference for youth

in welcoming classes" (O2b). In the same sense, according to another community informant,

It is through involvement that youth create their own place. It doesn't matter if they identified as

Quebecois or not; the important issue is to find a place here, where they feel good to belong. This is a

huge part of the integration process. (O3)

For these informants, supporting youth in building a feeling of belonging in the new country is a way to help

to improve the well-being of these students. According to community key informants, there is an important

personal and emotional aspect of integration, which could be reached through "creating trust relationships,

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listening to these youth, discussing and communicating with them and their parents" (O2a); "recognize where they are, adjust to them and start were they are" (O1); and "re-evaluate our conception of adolescence" (O3). One informant demonstrated knowledge of what this study refers to as double migration, and explained that,

> When we started the homework project in schools we witnessed the "awkward teenage phase" that happens in secondary school. It is very difficult when a child is uprooted by the project of immigration, while experiencing at the same time of his or her life an "identity crisis"; this is directly linked with integration…especially because they did not choose to experience the project of immigration. (O2b)

This quotation shows that this informant from the NGO serving immigrants has a good understanding of the issue, and it is safe to assume that his organization has the necessary competence to identify the needs of this population. This seemed in contrast to what the worker in the school understood to be important challenges to newcomer youth.

An interesting aspect of integration mentioned only by NGO informants was the need to give youth the opportunity to understand what is happening to them: "To explain to them the settlement process, cultural and intergenerational conflicts… youth are often put in this immigration project without having made the choice to come in Quebec, which in itself can lead them to experience important difficulties" (O2a). Though only the NGO serving immigrants seemed directly concerned with explaining the immigration process to newcomers, other informants also mentioned the question of "not having decided to immigrate."

Most of informants in both community organizations and the school have not mentioned academic performance as an aspect of integration; emphasis was on the importance of developing language, social skills, and self-confidence. This finding shows the interconnection between social and academic success, whereby the former is the key to achieve the latter. For instance, although the homework program was intended to address academic matters, informants from the NGO mentioned that the main rationale for the project was to support youth in their settlement process. As one of these informants said:

Integrating the educational system is difficult for these children…we need to keep them active and try to make their integration as harmonious as possible: These are the core goals of the project. Homework support helps newcomer youth to integrate faster into regular classes but also, if not more important, [this project] ensures that this generation of teens will not lose interest in school. (O2b)

This passage demonstrates the informant's concern with giving newcomer youth the same opportunities to succeed as other Quebecois students. To integrate into regular classes means to join regular societal streams and avoid social inequalities between immigrants and well-established citizens. In sum, the school is important as a "place" that provides academic support and offers community practitioners the opportunity to deliver services. However, school workers themselves do not seem prepared to respond to the unique needs of newcomer youth. Being on the ground with youth and their family makes community practitioners the best qualified to assist newcomers. This key finding confirms that community organizations can significantly support schools in integrating newcomers in the educational system, whereby they provide a "grounded expertise" that focus on other levels of integration. However, as noted above, according to informants, particularly from community organizations, their contribution is not duly recognized

Theme 2: The Roles of Schools (as "space") and Community Organizations (as service providers)

There was a relative consensus among key informants about the complementarity of the school and community organizations. The school's role reflected that discussed in the literature review above, whereby this institution is often considered a frame of reference within the Quebecoise society. Informants also identified the school as the principal place where integration happened, which was mainly associated with the fact that youth spent a large part of their day there. As one informant clearly put it, "it is not in the neighborhood that youth integrate into the Quebecoise society; it is at school" (O3). This informant, who works in neighborhood A, pointed out that the fact that there was a high number of immigrants living in the area and that newcomers were very close to their families made the school the mostly likely environment for their integration into Quebecoise society, though s/he noted that community involvement may also be helpful.

All community organization informants noted that the school has the potential to provide a space to facilitate all aspect of youth integration. However, school administrations may not be able to directly

coordinate all efforts in this way. It is precisely in this context that community organizations are able to play their role: to offer services that schools are not able to provide, while taking advantage of the school structure. Having a space in the school was an important topic for the majority of informants working in community organizations. According to them, schools are the perfect context in which to reach youth. As an example, one informant explained that her NGO has tried before to offer a homework after-school program at their location. However, they were losing some youth on their way from the school to the organization. For this reason, they began to offer programs at the school, enabling them to reach and maintain contact with more youth. Once organizations reached youth they could offer their services. As one informant explained,

> The role of the school is very important because it is where these youth spent most of their time. However, we must offer them services that the school cannot provide such as personalized assistance (e.g., listen to them) and give them more [individual] time. Teachers in welcoming classes, for example, have a very difficult work; they can have 15 students from different countries of origin. Thus, they cannot provide individual support. It is not in welcoming classes, where they are all grouped together, that they will integrate…integration does not work with magic wand. (O2a)

For this informant, newcomer students do not have sufficient support in welcoming classes and the role of his NGO was clear and essential: to provide that which the school was not able to offer such as individual assistance and information about immigration.

Interestingly, these two types of services are rarely mentioned in the literature on newcomer youth in Quebec. Research and programs in the province seem to overlook the importance of giving the opportunity for youth to understand what is happening to them, i.e., to help them to put into perspective their individual experiences with double migration. The focus within the schools has been on helping them to learn, as quickly as possible, the language of their new country, with the appropriate slang and cultural references, and integrate into the regular academic stream, to perform as the other students. Attention is also paid to how to assist newcomers to develop a feeling of belonging to the new country when often these youth left their country of origin unwillingly. Once here, they are expected to meet the achievement expectations of parents

who "migrated for them." Finally, they are asked to integrate despite the fact that the new society places immense barriers to the integration of their parents. Therefore, offering newcomer youth the opportunity to understand their settlement process could greatly facilitate their integration. As one informant explained,

> Our staff [volunteers, students, and workers] talk with these youth, ask them how they feel, let them know that we are here to listen to them, that we understand what is going on…With these youth, we discuss the Quebecoise society and allow them to better understand their social environment. It is also important that these students meet other people, and socialize through activities; this facilitates their integration. (O2a)

Community organization informants seem to have a good understanding of the shortcomings of the programs at Saint Mary School, which reflects broader deficiencies in the provincial settlement apparatus. These informants also have a clear vision of how their organizations can help in the settlement of newcomer youth: "Students spend most of their time at school, which make this institution important; however, community organizations are essential in providing newcomer youth with a personalized approach"(O2a).

Community organization practitioners also mentioned that their organizations could help teachers to adapt to the reality of multi-ethnic classrooms, both directly through workshops and training, and indirectly, by facilitating exchanges between teachers and students' ethnic communities. One community worker explained:

> [We can do this by] providing tools to school workers (e.g., teachers) to enhance [their] academic structure. For instance, we offer workshops on intercultural differences and how to integrate this approach in institutional practices […] we can also build bridges between community and newcomers…The idea is to sensitize one to another in order to facilitate newcomers' integration. (O2b)

These tools are not yet provided in Saint Mary School, maybe because the partnership between this organization and the school is recent. The informant did not have more details on the topic, but explained that

one of the NGO practitioners had recently succeeded in joining the *conseil d'établissement* of the school (school council)[19], which should increase the chances of implementing more collaborative programs. Being a member of the council will allow the community organization to call attention to newcomers' needs in the administration of the school, but it might also make it possible to secure additional funding for collaborative programs such as a workshop on migratory experience and, as one informant suggested, new projects and programs with parents.

Another informant emphasized the role of community organizations in supporting schools to look after students' and parents' overall well-being. S/he said:

> When schools cannot provide (health and family services), organizations are there to do it. Alone, schools have too much to do in order to provide the necessary support for youth well-being. School is a *milieu de vie* [life context] but there are other things happening around it, and this is why it is important to reach out and open the doors to other organization as much as possible. (O1)

Schools are supposed to support the academic and personal development of students. However, informants' repeatedly noticed that Saint Mary School is incapable of attending to all the needs of youth. Community organizations are available to help the school to provide what they are unable to offer. As one informant pointed out, "community organizations serving immigrants in Montreal are likely to intervene at all levels of the neighborhood needs such as policy, equal access of services, employability, and school experience" (O2b). These organizations are likely to develop a deep understanding of immigration and settlement processes and a holistic view of issues faced by its target population. Their role in helping students "does not substitute for or replace, but complement" that of schools (O2b). This last quotation summarizes well the role of community organizations serving immigrants.

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[19] School Councils in Quebec emerged in the late 1990s with the aim of developing schools as a collective responsibility. In this new setting, the MELS channels funds to the school boards that redistribute it to school councils. Each school has its council composed of directors, teachers, parents and other members of the community. The school principal must present to the council a budget proposal that includes the objectives set out by the Ministry and the School Board; after deliberations, the council decides on the entire annual school's budget. As a result, decisions taken by the council have crucial impacts on the school life (Fédération des comités de parents du Québec, 2009).

Theme 3: Creating Collaborative Programs with the School

In 2009, Saint Mary experienced important structural changes, leading to an increase in the number of newcomer students. These changes included the creation of more welcoming classes, reaching a total of 12 classes in 2012. According to one informant from the school, these changes have strengthened the structure of the school, in increasing internal and external resources; "the school hired additional welcoming class teachers and community organizations are much more involved in the school" (S2).

Not all informants from community organizations and the school share this positive vision about the restructuring in Saint Mary. The increasing number of newcomers in the school raises concerns among practitioners, who identified a significant lack of support for these youth.

> Saint Mary should seek partnerships with organizations serving immigrants. Their expertise in immigration could help us [school workers] in our day-to-day work, and could support newcomer youth and their families in their integration into Quebecoise society…Currently, there are no services available at the school to help them in their settlement…We definitively need more practitioners. (S1)

Another informant points out that support available for students is not congruent with Saint Mary's size.

> The large size of Saint Mary has consequences on services available. This year we opened 12 welcoming classes! This is a lot of students. We need to include also students who have already integrated into regular classes, who might require assistance during their settlement process. However, there are numerous needs to which we [practitioners] are unable to respond. This is why we need more practitioners. For example, sometimes these youth and their family arrive in my office with long-standing problems; had we intervened before, this family would not be going through a crisis, or the problem would be easier to solve. I need to patch things up instead of doing prevention. (O1)

According to these two informants Saint Mary does not provide sufficient assistance to respond to students' needs. Hiring additional practitioners is perceived as essential to help these workers and to better assist youth. Interestingly, neither of these two informants mentioned the community organization serving immigrants and offering the homework assistance program, whose partnership with Saint Mary was a response to the school's restructuring. Despite working with the school, this partnering was limited to welcoming classes and was therefore unknown by other school workers. Consequently, this organization could not fully extend its expertise and services to other practitioners. As expressed in the above passages, some school workers would appreciate additional support, particularly from experienced workers in the field of settlement.

Creation of Partnerships

According to informants, strategies around the creation of collaborative programs remain ambiguous, but all agreed that it is challenging to start them, particularly for NGOs. As one informant said "schools are a real ivory tower" (O2a); she explained that the current collaborative program came about due to the direct involvement or initiative of a personal contact that made the bridge between the organization and the school administration. Another key informant explained that his organization has tried numerous times to build long-term partnerships with Saint Mary, without any success. The reasons most often cited by these informants included (1) lack of funds for collaborative programs; (2) disagreement on the way to proceed; and (3) the discontinuation of projects following the resignation of school staff responsible for the partnership. NGO's informants were always those who had to take the first steps toward school administration in order to build collaborative programs. The School never asked for their support.

Lack of Funding

Lack of funding was the most pervasive sub-theme that emerged in this research. Lack of funding for collaborative programs is not only a matter of provincial and city priorities; the examined school also does not allocate resources for this purpose. As one informant from the community pointed out,

Schools always tell us that there is no money, no subvention to create collaborative programs with welcoming classes. Every year we [the NGO] are offering our services and asking if the school can financially participate in one or another activity; they reply 'No, we don't have money'. (O2a)

Therefore, organizations trying to partner with schools had to finance their own activities. The school contributed through providing space, and sometime materials. According to NGO informants, no funds were available to create collaborations between school and community organizations, even less to support newcomers. Only one funding agency (Centraide) financed youth projects, and for the NGO serving immigrants this fund served to maintain the homework assistance program in Saint Mary School.

As noted above, lack of funding to work with newcomer youth is a topic that emerged *many times* during interviews. An informant explained that there are three main agencies that fund immigration-related projects: the MICC, Emploi- Quebec, and Centraide.

[Our organization] is always seeking funds to support needs on the "ground." We receive small subventions for some programs (e.g., from the CLSC, the city of Montreal and Service Canada). With most of these agencies we have service agreements, which determine specific objectives to reach. For instance, with government funding -federal, provincial and even municipal- specific populations are targeted. To be able to respond to the overall needs of the community, our organization put these funds all together; we do more than complete these contract agreements. (O2b)

The long experience of this NGO and its recognition in the community allowed it to combine funds from various sources and negotiate with funding agencies in order to increase the capacity of its programs. As the informant explained, this NGO serves clients despite immigration status, age, or postal code, and as a result it has a broader scope for seeking funding than organizations tied to specific areas or clients. For instance, at the time of the interview, the NGO unable to partner with Saint Mary had not yet succeeded in securing funding for its proposed projects. Some of its funding required them to work with youth in their area (A), which did not include the school (area B).

In sum, according to key informants, the capacity of building collaborative programs was related to factors such as the credibility of the organization (which was in turn linked to the quantity of funds they were receiving); sufficient resources to convince the school to join the partnership; the existence of a personal contact who can facilitate the relationship between the organization and the school; stability in the school administration that allowed for continuity in collaborative programs; and, lastly, interest in the type of services provided by the organization. Nonetheless, as one informant from a community organization explained,

> The school might not have the tools to allow organizations involvement…I don't know if the school, I mean the administration, those who have the power of saying 'yes' or 'no' to an organization, are always aware of the school's and youth's needs. They have a general knowledge…they never consult us, the practitioners. (O3)

Indeed, school administrators and the school council might not be aware of the needs of newcomers and how to support them in their settlement process. As Sheldon (2009) has observed, the influence of the school principal is correlated with the quality of programs and the outcome of partnerships. The decision to build collaborative programs to support newcomers seems to have been taken by a few individuals; newcomers might not have been high on the School Council's and director's list of priorities. Saint Mary allocated human and other resources according to other legitimate preoccupations (e.g., their retention rate -preventing dropouts and drugs prevention). Therefore, collaborative programs for newcomers seemed to be mostly a concern and responsibility of community organizations, but few funding agencies provide funds for projects addressing youth settlement-related issues. As one informant mentioned, these youth are a "forgotten population" (O2a).

Theme 4: Some of the Perceived Challenges with Collaborative Work

Building collaborative programs was not easy and it is not surprising to have found different perceptions on the topic, particularly between informant working for the school and those working in community organizations. Informants from the school saw only advantages in establishing collaboration between the school and the community. "More practitioners; more expertise; thus, more help…we are working for the same goal which is to educate, ensure the safety and respond to youth needs" (S1). And "partnership provides

more service within the school; I can go directly to see these partners who are at school and refer them to students in need. I have a lot of work and having them close facilitates my work" (S2).

For these school workers, collaborative programs signify more reasonable workloads. Indeed, these informants explained that they are often overloaded. Having community organizations based in the school or having practitioners from organizations providing services to Saint Mary students is a benefit for everyone. The presence of community organizations at the school facilitates contact with youth who become more aware of available services; youth get to know community workers and learn where to go if they need assistance. In addition, youth are more likely to use services if these are in their day-to day context. It has been shown that in disadvantaged immigrant neighborhoods, families are not likely to seek help from existing professional services such as institutional and community resources (Bilodeau, Lefebvre, et al., 2009). These families tend to look for supports that are nearby (Janzen & Ochocka, 2003; Seat, 2003). As a result, having community organizations at the school eases contact with youth and opens the door to potential relationships with their families. In fact, my study reveals that seeking proximity is the major incentive for community organizations to partner with schools. In this sense, interesting programs have been implemented such as the Settlement Workers in School (SWIS) and *Intervenant Communautaire Scholaire Interculturel* (ICSI), which I will discuss further in the recommendations section.

Notwithstanding these advantages, working within the school also presents some challenges to community organization workers. According to one community informant working at school,

Coming from the community but working at school as an external resource makes me an external resource for everyone: to my own organization and to the school. I do not belong 100 percent to either. I also work under two frameworks, two missions, two directors, and different goals… I am a service for the school borrowed from a different organization. (O1)

This extract from my interview illustrates the complexity of working for two different entities, and the challenges such workers have to face in their day-to-day work. Working for an organization closely associated with a ministry and with the school, this informant has to respond to the expectation of two different

ministries. We can suggest that a possible lack of coordination between different Quebec ministries may constrain and possibly even prevent collaboration; however, further study would be needed in order to examine their relationships and their impacts on collaborative programs.

The area where community organizations and the school are located also has an impact on the quality of collaborative work. As one community informant explained,

In this collaborative program, I have my office at school and must offer services to all students and their families. My community organization is located in [area B, the school location] and serves residents in this sector; however, 70 percent of students in Saint Mary come from [area A] - there is no secondary school in their area. That's a problem. First, all my resources are in [area B]; I don't know what services are offered in the other sector. Second, when I submit a request to my organization to help families located in [area A], the process is more complicated and it takes longer to receive assistance. (O1)

According to this informant, the responsibilities that the school asks him/her to assume are taxing and difficult to fulfill since they do not always fall within the mandate of his/her community organization. This affects the availability of services for a number of students and their families. Newcomer families, who are settled in area B, but attend Saint Mary at area A and have a community worker at the school also from Area A, are less likely to receive expedient assistance and may find gaps in local services.

Lack of Recognition from the School

The personal relationships among the various workers involved in these programs are intricate and do not fall into two clear classes of community and school staff. Community organizations O2 and O3 are not-for-profit, non-governmental organization (NGO) that face the common challenges of this type of institution, especially inconsistent funding; their workers self-identify as community advocates and as such value their autonomy. Organization 01 is closely associated with the MSSS and most of its workers are directly or indirectly on the government's payroll, which entails access to generous benefits. Thus, in some ways, O1's personnel are similar to public school workers. The tension created by these different statuses and working conditions was a

recurrent theme in the interviews. For instance, the outsider organization (O3) expressed a feeling of "being used" for short-term activities rather than long-term projects and believed that schools underestimated NGOs' expertise and knowledge, which constitutes an injustice. As s/he explained,

It is not rare that the school's specialized professionals snubbed our practitioners [from the NGO] and made them feel unqualified. NGOs' practitioners have sometimes much more expertise than school workers; however, they are a lot less recognized and are paid less than they. (O3)

There was a tension regarding the difference in the salaries of NGOs workers, schools workers, and O1 personnel, wherein the latter two earn considerably more than the former. Moreover, NGO informants felt like outsiders when trying to work with public workers. According to the outsider organization,

The responsibilities are heavier but the salary does not increase. In addition, schools and the CLSC sometimes have information or action plans that could facilitate our work. However, confidentiality often slows down our collaboration…they are always willing to receive information from us but never willing to share what they have. We want to work together but it is very difficult. (O3)

Another community organization informant explained,

Schools have their own idea of what is "education" and do not always see the social and cultural parts of integration, and the difficulties youth might face through the immigration [process]. However, if you want work with schools you need to adapt to their definitions. (O2a)

It is possible to sense frustration from community organization informants. They have the impression that the school perceived their organizations as services that had to adjust to the "real" institution—the school. One informant noted that since her organization began to work with Saint Mary School they had to make various adjustments in order to preserve the partnership.

In Saint Mary School students have important academic difficulties that we are not used to. In the other school where we worked before it was not the same thing; students have some difficulties but not *sous-scolarisés.* [20] It is another dynamic and we do not have a choice other than to adapt to the school if we want to work with these youth. We are now working with teachers who provide our framework. For them [teachers], the homework project is a continuation of the class; we do not think it is. (O1)

The perception of NGO informants was that their organizations needed to fit in the school's perception of collaborative work. However, the NGOs' idea of this work often differs from that of the school. For example, the perception of "education" mentioned by informant O2a is different from that guiding the homework assistant program, which was imposed by the school. According to O2a, the homework project should not be only about academic achievement, but also about social integration and peer interaction. This highlights what I previously mentioned about the interconnection, placed at the community level, between social and academic integration.

Interestingly, the NGO that has not been able to build collaborative program with Saint Mary School had mentioned its unwillingness to adapt: they want to be accepted as they are, in their way of working "being independent and not a school's satellite" (O3). This may help to explain their difficulty in establishing a partnership with the school. The uneasy relationship between schools and community organizations has been identified in a recent report (TCRI, 2011). This report suggested that collaboration between schools and NGOs resembled more a subcontracting relationship than a partnership. According to this report, inequalities between schools and NGOs could be detrimental to collaborative programs. The present study corroborates these findings: the inequality experienced by community organization workers negatively affects their willingness to build collaborative programs with the school. Moreover, it is possible that the rigid structures of collaborative programs are meant to safeguard the school's control over activities. Through "who gets in or not and on what conditions," schools can impose their "frame of reference," maximizing their influence. Nevertheless,

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[20] Students classified as sous-scolarisés (under-educated) are newcomer students who are three or more years behind in the regular academic pathway (Armand, 2005).

imposing rigid structure on community organizations does not necessarily help students since some of them could benefit more from flexible services such as those provided by the outsider organizations.

Theme 5: Parents

The fifth theme that emerged in interviews with noticeable frequency was the significance of the parents of newcomer students. Informants from the community and school noted that parents are attached to their culture of origins, and when kids are home it is as if they were back in their country of origin. Since newcomer youth are usually close to their parents, it is unlikely for integration to take place at home. One community informant gave an example of how parents' understanding of the educational system could impact their child's school experience. S/he explains that sometimes children are suspended from school and are required to return to school accompanied by his/her parents; however, some of these children did not return because parents did not understand what had happened and the process involved in reinstating their children. S/he explained that in these cases practitioners must call the families and if necessary have a translator in order to explain the situation to the parents. This example highlights the importance of enhancing the relationship between newcomer families and schools in order to improve communication between them. This finding confirms what Guyon et al. (2011) also observed: the relationship between immigrant families and school has a direct impact on newcomer students' school experience (Guyon et al., 2011). Nevertheless, five informants from the school and community organizations each mentioned that language barriers make the relationships with parents particularly difficult (S1, S2, O1, O2a, O3).

What arises from these observations is that children need to manage two worlds: the parents' world, which is connected with children's culture of origin, and the school's world, which propagates the culture of the new country. According to the ecological framework, both worlds are part of the children's microsystem and their relationships have a direct impact on children's well-being. This might have important consequences for newcomer youth, who have to learn to navigate between these two very distinct frames of references. As one informant mentioned as an example, a practitioner tells a student that in Quebec all youth – boys and girls – need to respect female teachers as much as male teachers, but once this student returns home, his father tells him the contrary. This example illustrates how this duality can cause significant cognitive dissonance for youth. From a psychosocial perspective we can suggest that it is almost inconceivable to exclude parents from

their children's settlement process. As Bhattacharya (2000) found in her research with newcomer parents, the relationship between parents and school teachers is essential in children's school adjustment. Interestingly, the school has excluded parents from its day-to-day work and curriculum, whereas community organizations are aware of the importance of involving parents in their work with youth and tried to include them.

However, building a bridge between parents and schools has proven to be a difficult task. Indeed, informants from the school and community consistently noticed that they find it difficult to reach out to newcomer parents. According to one community informant, although in secondary school it is normal to see parents progressively withdrawing from their children's education lives, it is essential to establish a relationship with them; "reaching parents and establishing relationships remain an important work to do…however immigrant families have a tendency to hold back" (O1). In the same sense, another community informant explained her difficulty to reach newcomer parents:

> Reaching parents is a real challenge and we [her organization] would need a specific project and practitioner working permanently to be able to reach them. We would like to talk with these parents, talk about certain things, difficulties they might face. They may need support services as newcomers. (O2a)

In a recent study on immigrant youth in Montreal schools, Potvin et al. (2010) also found that school workers have difficulties in reaching out to immigrant parents. Different factors may explain this issue. For instance, since welcoming classes are not offered in all schools and neighborhoods of Montreal, some immigrant families may reside far away from the school which is providing such a class to their children, which makes parents' presence in the school more difficult. The large size of Saint Mary School (1400 students) can also be a disincentive for parents. As Leithwood (2009) observed, parents are normally more likely to participate in smaller schools. According to the same author, when parents believed that involvement in their children's education is part of their parental duties they are much more likely to become involved. The author added that if parents feel that their skills and knowledge can help their children, and there is opportunity to do so, parents

are more likely to become involved. Saint Mary School, however, does not have projects with parents, whereas other schools in Montreal with a similar profile do (Bilodeau et al., 2010).[21]

The absence of services and programs targeting parents suggests that the school might not recognize the contribution of parents in children's school experience. For instance, when I asked about activities with newcomer parents, one informant from the school replied, "Why would we offer programs for these parents? They are already receiving support from immigration service offices" (S2). Obviously, this practitioner does not subscribe to a holistic approach and does not see the importance or the logic in involving newcomer parents. In contrast, community informants were interested in better involving parents in school, particularly through programs where newcomers could build social networks with other parents. This finding underscored the fact that schools simply focus on students, to the exclusion of other important people and social forces in their lives, while community organizations have a broader focus, which is likely because they perceive their mandates to be different. However, the school's approach may not help newcomers in their settlement process, whereas an inclusive, more ecologically oriented approach could better respond to youth's and their family's needs.

Overall, the interviews revealed that Saint Mary School alone is unable to provide the necessary services for all its students because of their narrow definition of education, their school location, limited resources, restrictions around confidentiality, the rigidity of the system, and well-paid "experts" who have little training for working with immigrants -all part of the institutional structure of schools- are part of the problem. Community organizations, with their limited resources, and specially trained, holistically-minded experts, coinciding with an ecological approach, have an important role to play in supporting the school in their broad educational mission.

The fact that the school has already implemented some collaborative programs demonstrates that the school administration is at least in part aware of the need to involve community organizations. However, according to informants these collaborative projects were often based on difficult and unequal relationships, which had a negative impact on the programs and services offered to youth. While NGO practitioners have

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[21] For instance, some schools offered francization (sessions on French culture and language), information sessions on the education system in Quebec, parental empowerment workshops, and a School-Community Worker, (SCW).

more skills in the field of immigration than school workers, they were less recognized and less well paid than their counterparts at the school, who were not adequately trained to intervene with newcomers. In addition, NGOs who have stable funding have better chances to become a school partner, whereas those with fewer funds are restrained to short-term collaborative programs.

Although becoming a school partner was a challenge for some informants, it was also perceived as essential: the school is a crucial space for community organizations wanting to provide services to newcomer youth. For instance, the homework assistance program has allowed the community organization to take a place in the school and provide what is most important to them: "Although [newcomer youth] are at school, they have the right to have someone explain to them what Quebec is and how the settlement process works" (O2a). Through the homework program and the relationship it fostered, NGO practitioners provided something the school has not been able to offer: individual support and information on immigration and settlement, services that require a deep understanding of challenges around double migration, such as reconciling parent's culture and the new culture. As Suarez-Orozco et al. (2009) noticed, supportive adult relationships can "bridge the gap between home and school cultures and provide important feelings of safety and opportunities for success in the school setting" (p.741). Thus, these NGO practitioners are providing precisely this supportive relationship.

As aforementioned, the school and the home are parts of children's microsystem and have a direct impact on their development. More than simply filling a gap, supportive relationships can facilitate the relationship between these two microsystems. In fact, for the NGO serving immigrants a place in the school was a step toward implementing a collaborative program targeting newcomer parents. Establishing better relationships with families is a common concern among most of key informants, especially from the NGOs, but they also highlighted the challenges associated with this. The difficulty in reaching parents might be connected to the absence of current programs involving them in this school; with the recent membership of one NGO staff on the School Council, this will hopefully change. The absence of programs involving parents is unusual, and will need further investigation, considering that numerous secondary schools in Montreal with similar profiles have established programs. Interestingly, none of the informants mentioned the subvention for partnership among School-Family-Community provided by the MELS under its "Educational Integration and

Intercultural Education" policy. This subvention is given for programs that can facilitate the integration of immigrant families and target both youth in welcoming classes and youth integrated in regular classes. Successful programs are supported for up to three years and progressively undertaken by the community organizations and school. The absence of this subvention in this school rises concern about the availability of this subvention or/and the possible unwillingness of the school to submit a proposal for this type of project.

The benefit of involving families in their children's education has been widely discussed in the literature; school and home are two important settings in a child's microsystem and their interrelation (in the mesosystem) has a direct impact on children's development and behavior. As Bronfenbrenner (1979) noticed "a child's ability to learn to read …may depend no less on how he is taught than on the existence and nature of ties between the school and the home" (p.4). The lack of opportunities to involve parents and a lack of understanding of immigration and settlement processes on the part of school workers may have prevented the creation of ties between school and home.

Finally, there are various levels of influence that facilitate or hinder newcomer students' ability to integrate into Quebec society. The analysis of this case study has focused on the level affecting the type of services newcomer youth were able to access in one secondary school in Montreal. It was found that there is a deficiency in the mesosystem that links home and school. Moreover, findings showed that the exosystem, which includes the state, has a particular influence on the services available at school and consequently on newcomer youth's integration. Youth's integration depended on five factors: 1) The settings, that is, the specific populations and the objectives and topics imposed by different ministries (e.g., the MELS, the MICC, and the MSSS) and other funding agencies (e.g., Centraide du Grand Montréal); 2) The funds and objectives provided by the school board responsible for Saint Mary School; 3) The school council which decides on the school budget, which must respond to the various expectations of the first two groups; 4) The school administration's and school council's awareness of the specific needs of their students and workers, and 5) The relationship between school administration and community organizations. These factors are found in settings in which newcomer youth were not present; however they directly influenced the services available to them. In sum, this study shows that Saint Mary School lags behind in creating S-F-C collaborative programs

that could respond to the needs of newcomer families. In light of this study, seven recommendations are suggested.

Recommendations

This research has helped to identify key recommendations to enhance collaboration between school and community organizations in order to better support newcomer youth in Montreal secondary schools:

(1) It is essential to expand school workers' understanding of newcomers' needs, considering that they are often identified as being the principal resources for students. Schools should offer their workers training in the settlement process. Collaborating with community organizations serving immigrants in order to lead this training would be a suitable and beneficial way for schools to show their recognition for NGOs' experiences and knowledge.

(2) It is imperative that educational institutions recognize that collaborative programs, particularly those offered by culturally sensitive practitioners, can support newcomer youth throughout their settlement experience and help school workers in their day-to-day tasks.

(3) In order to create strong collaborative programs, it is crucial that schools and community organizations develop better relationships based on fairness and mutual respect, which would include better wage parity between school staff and NGO's practitioners. The disparity of status among community practitioners, and between community and school practitioners is often due to the recognition of specific credentials and professional titles among some (usually the school-based practitioners), such as social workers, psychologists, and educators, and the lack of professional accreditation among others (usually the community-based workers). Specialized professionals are more likely to work for schools, government agencies, and quasi-governmental organizations, whereas workers who do not have these specific credentials or professional titles, but have other training in the field of social services, most often find positions in the non-governmental sector. NGO practitioners serving immigrants have strong expertise gained through numerous years of practice on the ground, often accompanied by a range of post-secondary degrees, but lack an overarching, official professional title. The MICC may do well to make better use of existing resources by

adequately integrating these qualified professionals in the institutional apparatus that serves the newcomer population. As this study has showed, the latter has much to benefit from the practical knowledge and profound dedication of community workers.[22]

In order to recognize practitioners' specialization in the field of immigration, it would be beneficial to begin discussions on the merits of the professionalization of the "settlement worker" field, as is the case in other jurisdictions. To start, practitioners can begin discussions on the self-regulation of their profession. Later, the province, in collaboration with practitioners, could create an intensive one-year training program on immigration and settlement studies. The existence of specialized training could benefit the field in numerous ways. It would serve to publicly recognize and give more visibility and credibility to practitioners working in the field, while at the same time stipulating certain standards for the services provided by these professionals. Most likely, these professionals would then be able to negotiate better wages, more suitable to their level of expertise. Finally, organizations staffed with these certified, and better-organized workers would have more credibility vis-à-vis funding agencies, which may increase their chances of finding resources to fund collaborative initiatives targeting newcomer youth.

(4) The location of Saint Mary in area B and the high number of newcomers in this school coming from area A calls for the implementation of additional collaborative programs with NGOs serving immigrant located in area A. This collaborative work could enhance relationships between families in this area and the school.

(5) It is important that schools reinforce their collaboration with families and modify their strategies in order to reach parents. For instance, some schools in Montreal have francization for parents, information sessions on the education system in Quebec, and parental empowerment workshops. The academic success of children is most often a priority for immigrant families, who in many cases immigrated precisely to give more opportunities to their children. Parents are concerned with their children's school experience, but do not

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[22] The transfer payments from the federal to the provincial government raised concern in the last years. The government of Quebec was accused of spending the money for other purposes than the integration of immigrants (Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes [TCRI], 2012). For example, for the 2012 budget, the federal government transferred CND25 million for the francization training and integration programs. The money was used instead to pay the Quebec debt. While immigration has increased in the province, the amount of resources made available for settlement services has not followed suit (Chicha & Charest 2008; TRCI, 2012).

always understand the educational structure, which might prevent them from becoming involved in school matters and developing fruitful relationships with school workers. As Vatz Laaroussi (2005) argued, schools have to recognize the knowledge of these immigrant families and be more culturally sensitive and inclusive in their approach.

(6) Schools located in neighborhoods with a high density of newcomers should recruit specific workers to build bridges among newcomers, schools, and communities. In recent years, some interesting initiatives emerged in Canada, for example, the Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS) Program, which emerged from the Ontario-Canada immigration agreement and is currently funded by CIC. Similar to the SWIS but much smaller is the Intervenant Communautaire Scolaire Interculturel (ICSI), also an interesting community initiative in Quebec. The SWIS and ICSI staff are workers assigned to elementary and secondary schools with the aim of bringing immigrant families, schools and community closer together (CIC, 2010; TCRI, 2011). Their role is to facilitate the integration of youth and their families into the education system; to determine their needs and issues; to provide settlement services and information about resources available in the school and the community; and to facilitate access to services in order to enhance their integration. These workers also play the role of mediator among families, youth, school and community, and provide emotional support, practical help and advice. These workers can become a model for children, while empowering children's parents.

As shown in this study, being a partner based at a school allows community workers to have direct contact with youth, whereby they can observe and identify youth and families who might be in need of assistance. Their privileged position makes them aware of community needs and resources and therefore they are essential members of the school councils. Moreover, their work at school and in the community can encourage the creation of collaborative programs. In sum, programs such as ICSI fit into S-F-C collaboration promoted by the MELS and reflect the MICC objective of integrating immigrants into the Quebecoise society. The two ministers should recognize the added value of ICSI programs and provide long-term funding in order to fortify the program structure, and implement it in other educational institutions.

(7) Finally, Quebec should review the way newcomer youth are integrated in the educational system. The welcoming class model does not only segregate (and possibly stigmatize) newcomers into

"immigrant classes" but also in specific zones of Montreal, which are often characterized as disadvantaged immigrant neighborhood (or ghettos). As it stands, these classes function more to assimilate than to integrate young people, since they help to deepen the separation between "others" (immigrants) and "Quebeckers" (people that can trace their ancestry back to the regime of New France). A key weakness of this model is an excessive emphasis on language acquisition. As this study showed, drawing on interviews with field practitioners, newcomer youth integration (should) involve much more than language proficiency. In fact, the socialization aspect neglected in the welcoming class model seems to be one of the most vital aspects of successful integration.

The way a society receives and welcomes their new members affects the ease and success they will have in navigating their new society (Ransford, 2001). As a result, it is imperative that further research examines the empirical effects of the Quebec pluralism model on newcomer youth. Nation building is a legitimate political project for minority groups defending their internationally recognized right of sovereignty, as is the case in Quebec. However the current model may actually backfire, creating further divisions rather than increased integration and national autonomy, as it seems to actually increase the distance between new Quebeckers and (old) Quebeckers.

Conclusions

Immigration and adolescence are major changes in one's life that comprise both losses and growth. During these processes, newcomer youth encounter numerous challenges such as loss of social networks, language barriers, new expectations from parents and schools, different cultural references, intergenerational friction, and socio-economic problems linked with parents' employment situation. As universal and mandatory institutions, schools are the first institutional frame of reference newcomer youth encounter upon their arrival in Canada, and as such they play a central role in their settlement process. Adaptation to school life is not an easy task for these students and the support encountered in this context can have a decisive impact on their integration. In Quebec, a policy of "Educational Integration and

Intercultural Education" provides guidelines regarding the integration of immigrant students into Quebec educational institutions. Language integration is at the heart of this policy and is considered the key to integrate newcomer youth into regular academic pathways. In this sense, the welcoming class model provides intensive language training to facilitate integration. This model is adequate for a number of students, but also has numerous shortcomings.

The present study shows that schools alone are not providing sufficient support to newcomer youth; they need experts from community organizations who, based on their settlement expertise, have a greater capacity to assist youth in their settlement experiences. The solid "space/place," and stability in structure and funding (most/daily access to students) that schools provide are clearly an asset in the provision of services; so partnerships do seem the way to proceed. However, more respect and equality are needed to establish strong and permanent relationship between community and schools. Thus, collaborative programs in Quebec can support secondary schools in providing services to newcomer students, specifically those in welcoming classes. As this case study shows, the homework program at Saint Mary School aims to integrate youth more rapidly into regular classes. Moreover, community organization workers provide newcomer students individual support that teachers are unable to provide, increasing their motivation and helping them to improve their academic performance- outcomes that are directly linked with their future social and economic mobility (Suàrez-Orozco, 2010).

The present study also discusses the importance of social and emotional dimensions interconnected with academic integration, which was also a point of contention between NGOs and school-based workers, since this clashed with their definitions of education and integration. For instance, opportunities to socialize, practice French, and build new social networks are correlated with youth motivation and successful integration. According to practitioners, another factor that boosts youth motivation is the opportunity to understand what they are experiencing. As examined in the case study, practitioners find that newcomer youth did not have a say in their parents' decision to immigrate, which increases their difficulties during the settlement process, and makes supportive relationships even more essential. This support takes the form of socio-affective practices, wherein youth have the opportunity to discuss their settlement experience, understand what immigration is, and think of ways of reconciling the "old world

and the new world" (Tyyskä, 2005). Also, emphasizing youth's self-esteem and their empowerment can help them to reverse their status of "victims" and become aware of the new possibilities and strengths gained in the migration process.

The complexity of *double migration* makes newcomer youth prematurely mature and legitimatizes their right to receive settlement assistance that goes further than academic assistance. Moreover, the complexity of double migration highlights the necessity of thinking about settlement programs holistically. The application of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory sheds light on the newcomer settlement process and helps us to take note of the importance of better understanding the interconnection among the various systems influencing child development and calls attention to the necessity of creating sensitive and inclusive programs for youth and their parents. As identified in the case study, school workers may not have sufficient understanding of the challenges newcomers' families might face. Their limited knowledge of the needs of newcomers can have negative consequences on youth settlement experiences. For example, in using children as translators, this can increase family conflict (Go, 1998).

This study shows that community organizations are essential to support schools. They provide different types of assistance and knowledge about migration which schools might not have. Schools are also indispensable for community organizations seeking to reach youth. Indeed, schools provide the perfect *milieux* to approach newcomer youth and their families. However, collaborative programs are difficult to build and depend mainly on schools' willingness in implementing them. This results in unequal power relations between schools and community organizations in which the former sees the latter as service providers instead of as partners. This dynamic negatively affects the professional and inter-professional relationships between the parties involved. This finding reveals that Saint Mary School does not plainly recognize the contribution of community organizations in supporting the institution in its educational mission. The fact that the school allocates few resources to help community organizations limits the possibility of building collaborative programs that could target newcomers. The insufficient resources available for newcomer youth suggest, as one informant mentioned, that these youth are a "forgotten population".

Moreover, this study shows the need to examine the youth settlement process from a holistic view and address the home and school as interconnected through the children's school experience. Both parents and children influence each other's settlement experience. In Quebec, the MELS recognizes the importance of involving families in their children's academic experience and encourages institutions to integrate parents into school life. However, this study confirms something that has been identified by other authors: newcomer parents are difficult to reach (Bilodeau, Lefebvre, et al., 2009). As noted above, numerous factors may explain this finding such as practitioners' lack of cultural sensitivity, the absence of opportunities to involve them, and a devaluation of parental skills by school workers. In addition, adaptation can be a very difficult experience for parents trying to integrate into the new society and maybe struggling to meet the family's most basic needs. These parents might not have the time to participate in their children's education or might perceive involvement in their children's education as another significant challenge to face.

As aforementioned, immigrant families in disadvantaged neighborhood of Montreal tend not to seek help from institutional and community resources. Collaborative programs can facilitate the creation of bridges among newcomers, communities and schools. As the MELS itself asserts, support provided to immigrant families by the community groups is essential during the period of adaptation. For this reason the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport provides subventions to school boards in order to create collaborative programs with community organizations (MELS, 2011-2012b). It is up to the schools to take advantage of this.

For instance, a program such as ICSI could establish this bridge and enhance relationships between school and community. As it has been observed in previous research, increasing the number of partners and focusing on concerted actions can promote access to more funding, and result in affording a range of different services for students and their families (Bilodeau et al., 2010). In the last decade, numerous tools have been developed to support school and community groups wanting to develop collaborative work. For instance, the *Centre de transfert pour la réussite éducative du Québec* (CTREQ) and the *Réseau d'information pour la réussite éducative* (RIRE) are efficient networks, offering numerous publications on the topic, and support for creating collaborative programs.

Nevertheless, this study showed that although collaboration among school, family and community may be largely recognized in Quebec as being essential for the well-being and success of newcomer students, some schools in Montreal have not yet included families and still struggle in building stable relationships with community organizations. The growing number of newcomers concentrated in disadvantaged areas of Montreal increases the need of implementing these programs, to better assist these families in their settlement process, and give them the opportunity to socially, economically, and academically integrate into Quebec society.

Challenges and Limits of this Study

This study coincided with the end of the academic year for secondary schools in Montreal, and as result the recruitment of participants was extremely difficult. Most key informants at the school were extremely busy and had little time to offer to this study. In addition, I had a sense that there was a "gate-keeper" who prevented me from making contact with a key person who could have made a significant contribution to this study. It was also difficult to connect with one of the community organizations due to its involvement in different summer events. After all, these are small and busy organizations that had to work steadily to secure and justify their funding. Notwithstanding these limitations, the field research allowed me to capture practitioners' perception of collaborative programs that could support newcomer youth in secondary schools. The focus was on mapping the interaction between schools and community organizations, but I recognize that families' and children's experiences and perspectives could have been of great value for this research. The present study was, therefore, a first step in trying to understand collaborative program which could be further developed by extending the research to capture the voices and direct experiences of newcomer youth and their families.

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