Learning to Gather: Perspectives on Racism in Rural Contexts and the Path Towards Inclusive Communities

by

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List of Tables and Figures

Learning to Gather

The Project's Concerns: Diversity and Inclusion in Rural Canada

The Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action Nos. 93 and 94 focus on building an understanding of Canada's colonial history among newcomers.

> *Newcomers to Canada*
>
> 93.   We call upon the federal government, in collaboration with the national Aboriginal organizations, to revise the information kit for newcomers to Canada and its citizenship test to reflect a more inclusive history of the diverse Aboriginal peoples of Canada, including information about the Treaties and the history of residential schools.
>
> 94.   We call upon the Government of Canada to replace the Oath of Citizenship with the following:
>
> > I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, Her Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada including Treaties with Indigenous Peoples, and fulfill my duties as a Canadian citizen.

—Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015

Yet, since the Calls' publication in 2015, studies and initiatives that address them are few, and most are localized in urban areas. Government initiatives addressing the Calls in rural areas are troubled in their implementation. Tensions are growing between racialized settlers, white settlers and newcomers, and Indigenous Peoples.

Rural communities[1] are central to understanding this intergroup conflict. They are pivotal in federal and provincial immigration strategies (Government of Canada, 2022; Patel et al.,

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[1] Defined as any towns or cities that are not part of a Statistics Canada census metropolitan area (CMA).

2019). Federal and provincial programs, including the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program and Alberta's Rural Entrepreneur Stream and Rural Renewal Stream programs, continue to encourage immigration for economic development. The federal Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot, announced in November 2022 (Government of Canada, 2024), was to welcome a total of 1.45 million newcomers between 2023 and 2025 (465,000 new permanent residents in 2023, 485,000 in 2024, and 500,000 in 2025).

The federal pilot program is to focus on small towns and rural areas, and also on francophone immigration from outside Quebec. It illustrates a merging of historical misunderstanding and economic policy, and is sowing seeds for hostility (or further enmity) in some rural areas where conflict has existed for generations between Indigenous Peoples, racialized settlers,[2] and white settlers. Significantly, Indigenous Peoples and other local residents were not consulted about how these newcomers would be integrated into existing communities.

At the same time as rural migration is being encouraged, rural municipalities are also seeking newcomers to offset their shrinking populations and labour forces (Whalen, 2019). Many Indigenous leaders are questioning why economic opportunities, incentives, and resources allocated to settlement and integration had not been offered to them, or why immigration policies have not sought Indigenous input. Xenophobic tendencies among Indigenous communities are increasing towards newcomers, since some view newcomers, especially refugees, as competing for access to resources that Indigenous Peoples appear excluded from, such as access to employment (Vitt, 2020). Some Learning to Gather (L2G) participants said they were concerned about Indigenous individuals in rural areas who felt threatened by newcomers who were moving

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[2] Since India, the Philippines, and China are the top three countries of origin for immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2022), it is pertinent to include racialized locals in understanding the intergroup conflict.

to rural communities for economic reasons. Some newcomers had little knowledge and understanding of Indigenous Peoples and communities, further exacerbating divides. The arrival in Canada of refugees, such as those from Afghanistan and Ukraine, will continue to increase the diversity of newcomers. Troubling to note, racialized migrants are learning colonialist stereotypes about Indigenous communities (Alidina et al., 2020; Johnston, 2022).

Many Indigenous Peoples, racialized settlers, and white settlers are trying to work towards reconciliation in Canada. Yet deep cultural divisions among the three groups (Cosantino, 2021) have constrained these efforts in ways that perpetuate "xenophobia and racism, negative perceptions, and misinformation between individuals and segments of the [Indigenous and non-Indigenous] communities" (Alidina et al., 2020, p. 12). An "us-and-them" dynamic—a tool purposely used by colonizers to "divide and rule"—creates escalating tensions and divisions in communities (Morrock, 1973; Stanley, 2020). In community conversations, L2G has learned that some white settlers align with racialized settlers at times, yet still maintain white supremacist ways of thinking. They continue to assert their privilege above both sets of marginalized groups. L2G project partners said that many Indigenous groups, a significant population in many rural settings, already feel threatened—a sentiment echoed in prior research (Alidina et al., 2020; Bauder & Breen, 2022).

In sum, conditions exacerbating the racist and other inequities faced by both Indigenous and racialized groups are ripening (Tanaka, 2022).

The Project's Goals and Objectives

In the summer of 2023, community leaders from Indigenous, settler, and racialized immigrants joined with the authors, in Learning to Gather, to share concerns about violence and conflicts that were emerging between these groups. In a mixed-methods approach, we brought on board

our personal and professional lived experiences and collaborations with Indigenous communities

to create research and rural initiatives that could address TRC Calls to Action Nos. 93 and 94.

While some studies (Alidina et al., 2020, Datta, 2019, 2022; Rana & Lara-Cooper, 2021) have

gathered knowledge and understanding about engagement and conflict between these groups,

none have thoroughly explored them in rural Canada. Our project will fill that gap.

This initial exploratory study had two main aims. One was to identify and understand

barriers to and opportunities for positive transformation with respect to the racism,

discrimination, and hate existing between Indigenous Peoples, racialized settlers, and white

settlers in rural communities with dominant white settler populations. The other was to identify,

create, and share solutions that could be relevant and applicable to support communities in doing

so. The study was intended to be part of a larger project exploring similar concerns and

perspectives across Canada in collaboration with Indigenous Peoples, racialized settlers, and

white settlers. We aim to disseminate our solutions nationally among academics and

nonacademic stakeholders in rural and small towns. We hope that our results will mobilize these

various groups to address the concerns of racism and discrimination in rural Canada.

Background

Political and Historical Context

According to the 2021 census, Kirkland Lake's population in 2021 was 7,750, marking a

decrease from 7,981 in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2023). Located 645 km north of Toronto and 45

km from the Quebec border, the town's French-speaking demographic comprises 28 percent of

the population. Three hundred and ten residents identified as visible minorities. Fifty-four

percent of respondents identified as Christian, and 42 percent reported no religious affiliation.

Thirty-nine percent had moved to the area from other parts of Canada, or from other countries,

within the previous five years. The census counted 340 immigrants, but this number did not

include international students at Northern College's Kirkland Lake campus (Northern College,

2022), which recruits from the Philippines, Mexico, and parts of Africa. Nor did it include

international employees at the town's primary gold producer, Agnico Eagle Mines Limited.

Census data on the local Indigenous population may be incomplete, since many Indigenous

Peoples in Canada choose not to participate in federal or provincial censuses.

Kirkland Lake holds significant importance in Indigenous history, as it is situated on land

governed by the Robinson Huron Treaty (Treaty 61) of 1874. This treaty claimed to establish a

government-to-government relationship between the British Crown and the local Anishinabek

Nations. It guaranteed exclusive use of designated lands for the Anishinabek, hunting and fishing

rights, and included an annuity of $4 per person for Indigenous people living in the area (Rice,

2018). However, over time, several issues arose that led to dissatisfaction and finally to legal

action by Indigenous leaders:

1. **Unchanged annuity**. The annual compensation of $4 per person, set in 1874, has
   remained unchanged since then. This stagnant annuity does not reflect the current
   economic realities and inflation, leading to financial inadequacies for the Indigenous
   communities.

2. **Land protection and rights**. The promises made in the treaty regarding land
   protection and hunting and fishing rights were not fully honoured. Over the years,
   these rights have been encroached upon or disregarded numerous times, leading to
   disputes over land use and resource management.

3. **Legal action**. Due to these ongoing issues, Indigenous leaders from the Robinson Huron Treaty area have been pursuing legal action against the Ontario government since 2018. Their grievances include the failure to increase the annuity and inadequate protection of their treaty rights and lands.

Despite the optimistic language of the treaty, the Indigenous leaders say that the Ontario government has not addressed the evolving needs and rights of their communities. The unchanged annuity and unfulfilled treaty promises prompted them to seek legal redress, to protect their lands and rights more effectively. As of fall 2023, the case is under review by the Supreme Court of Canada (Robinson Huron Treaty Litigation Fund, n.d.).

Gold mining remains a vital source of livelihood for residents of Kirkland Lake, where the transient nature of the population poses social challenges and concerns. Fostering dialogue, inclusion, and well-being within the community is difficult despite Kirkland Lake's role as a hub that continues to attract both national and international newcomers. In our initial interviews, Indigenous and settler community leaders persistently voiced concerns about drug use in the community. It is not clear at whose feet they laid the blame for this. Some said it was the temporary workers that Kirkland Lake attracts; others blamed people from Indigenous communities who were struggling with addictions. Assumptions and biases in the different groups have furthered the conflicts that many people experience in the community, such as the ongoing racism and lack of engagement among residents that participants reported.

Partners and Collaborators

The project involved the perspectives of various stakeholders: an academic researcher, two research assistants, a community-based leader who ran an urban NGO, and three community

organizations: the Centre for Civic Religious Literacy (CCRL), Keepers of the Circle, and the

Kirkland Lake Multicultural Group (KLMG). These organizations contributed either to the initial

planning, data collection, or analysis. As the team of contributors included both "outsiders" and

"insiders" from the area of Kirkland Lake, our analysis and report provide a third-party external

perspective that equips each of us with an unbiased interpretation of the data collected.

Summary of the KLMG Programs

KLMG sees itself as an organization that plays a crucial role as educator and activist in its

community. It is actively involved in schools, extended care centres, and local businesses,

sharing the community's issues and proposing effective solutions. Their evolving activist

approaches, evident in the events they regularly facilitate in the community, not only address the

problems in the community but also foster a sense of inclusivity, diversity, and belonging. They

provided us with the following list of their current programming efforts for us to consider in our

analysis.

World Chats

This weekly event is an open-house event open to all—locals and newcomers. Come, say hello

to your neighbours, get a coffee and a light refreshment or bring a dish to share. This free event

allows you to meet the KLMG members and socialize in a relaxed environment. Tea and coffee

by donation. We also sometimes host guest speakers or community members to share their

passions, so watch our Facebook page for upcoming events.

Evening World Chats

This monthly event allows those of you who aren't available during the day to meet and catch up

in the evening. It will be held on Thursdays. The event is an open-house event open to all—

locals and newcomers. Come, say hello to your neighbours, get a coffee and a light refreshment or bring a dish to share. This free event allows you to meet the KLMG members and socialize in a relaxed environment. Tea and coffee by donation. We also sometimes host guest speakers or community members to share their passions, so watch our Facebook page for upcoming events.

Folk Dancing

Brought to you by Mari from Vital Moves. She guides you through a range of dances from the Southeastern Europe. Macedonian, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian and more cultural dances provide a fun way to get moving in a social environment. Only $5. This monthly event is open to all, so bring a friend!

Art Around the World:

This monthly series is presented by our friend Shayne from "Everything Is art" and Marie Moldovan. They will present a look at global art following World Chats. It starts globally and then highlights a new country each month. Be prepared to learn some interesting facts and fiction. Free event 1:00–2:00 pm.

Games Night

Looking for a fun evening to meet new people and try your luck at a boardgame, card game or bring your own to share! We also have a billiard table and table tennis if you are feeling a little more energetic! Pop and light snacks available for $2 each. Free event, donations welcome. Bring your friends or meet some at The Stope!

Stories Around the World

A monthly event available for younger children and their families. Kids can curl up on the cushions and listen to a story from another country. Read by someone from the country and from

their perspective. It's an opportunity to also try some cultural treats and crafts. Registration

required—please see Facebook post and link.

Tea Time Around the World

What does the act of making and consuming tea mean in different countries and different

cultures? For some it can be an extended ceremony, a celebration, or a chance to relax. Join us as

we explore a new culture each month and some cultural treats to match. This month: Lebanese

wedding celebration! You don't want to miss it! $5 per person.

Sound Bath

Join our member Agnieszka Cabon and snuggle under your warm blankets as she guides you

through the meditative and healing powers of sound therapy. This beautiful experience is very

popular, and is limited to only 10 places, so participants are required to register through email at:

agacabon@gmail.com. *Note*: This is a members-only event, free, donations welcome.

Afternoon in the Dark

Have you ever wondered what life might be like if you didn't have the sense of sight? Join Jacob

Way-White at The Stope for an afternoon of fun activities centred around blind awareness. The

event will conclude with a pizza party. Cost: $10 per person, registration required. See Facebook

posts for link to register.

Photography Club

Do you have an interest in photography and would like to share it with other like-minded people?

Do you want to learn some more about how to capture the perfect image? Do you have a project

you are working on and would like some ideas or advice? Come along to the Photography Club!

Free event, no registration required.

PARO Ladies' Wine & Cheese Night

The KLMG are excited to host Michelle from PARO to introduce the nonprofit organization to our local women entrepreneurs. PARO is here to support, mentor, and help you succeed in realizing your potential through a number of free services. Come along, create your network, and see how they maybe able to help you in your first steps or the next big step. Free evening, cheeses, glass of wine and a great opportunity.

Summary of KLMG's Collaboration
With Other Partner Groups

The following is a summary of the KLMG initiatives with local partner organizations, as described by KLMG in December 2023.

> We support our members and community members of all ages, abilities, cultures and orientation to share their passions with the group in a way that makes them feel comfortable and proud to share, educate and entertain. This has included sip-and-paint night, Bollywood dancing, ballet-fit evenings, yoga, artist's evening, photographers, book club, calligraphy, Spanish lessons, movement and exercise classes, snowshoeing, blueberry and cranberry picking, beach volleyball games, cricket games, sliding parties, moon parties . . . and many more.

KL Photography Club. Support financially and with volunteers to host the club and their exhibits at The Stope. We also partnered with them and St. Cyr and Associates for a fundraising event and portrait exhibit.

District of KL Chamber of Commerce. Halloween Scavenger hunt - free community event put together by the Chamber of Commerce and run and supported by local businesses and community groups and Kirkland Lake Christmas Parade. KLMG created a float, opened The

Stope to welcome the community and host with free hot chocolate and crafts, and assisted local

Agnico Mine to give away items to locals. Marshalled the parade, 25th November.

KL Contemporary Art Committee. Art Gala. Financial and physical (workload and marketing)

support throughout the year. However, mostly a major fundraising event for the KL

Contemporary Art Committee and support for bringing international and renowned artists to the

local area for people to enjoy.

KL Legion. Remembrance Day. Brought awareness, attended, showed support.

Rotary Group. Support for Rotary group throughout the year, in particular for the "fish derby"

event in February, their main fundraiser for the year. KLMG cooked, provided and served the

food for the duration of the event.

Keepers of the Circle. Attend and support events, give assistance with event planning, setup and

execution of events, regular communication between the groups to provide support and exchange

knowledge.

Beaver House. Attend and support events (both in-house and community): powwow, awareness

marches, education events. Give assistance with event planning, setup and execution of events,

regular communication between the groups to provide support and exchange knowledge.

Local Schools. Central Public, Federal Public, KLDCS, St. Jerome. Offer support and

educational/entertainment opportunities through events KLMG holds at The Stope. Visit the

school and share culture/education/entertainment with the classes. Each year, partake in the

community open days, job and volunteer fairs, and Pride days, and communicate regularly with

the high school about volunteer opportunities for students.

Northern College. KLMG visits the college several times throughout the year to welcome new

students, offer support and orientation assistance. We support and take part in the community fair

and job fair held at the college. We communicate with the student committee and partner with them to organize events specific to the interests of the students. *Navaratri* – partnered, attended, advertised, assisted in this event along with local community. *Diwali* – partnered, attended, advertised, assisted in this event along with local community. Currently working on a Bollywood movie evening with the local theatre.

KL Town. KLMG has been working hard on creating a partnership with the town, a large employer and a community leader, to support our work to benefit attraction, retention, and a positive community. KLMG is working on a new project we proposed to create a regular whole-community event to welcome newcomers to our community.

KL Town. Community Complex facility. KLMG have sponsored events such as swimming lessons for newcomers and community.

Industry. Agnico Eagle, Blanche River Health, Heath & Sherwood, TD Bank, St Cyr and Associates. These major employers have worked with us for many years on a small scale by either giving us small donations, asking for assistance with events, or welcoming and orienting new employees and their families who are newcomers to the area. We are working on formalizing these partnerships to bring further benefit to all involved and ultimately to create a positive thriving community.

Far North Eastern Training Board. KLMG was invited and has regularly taken part in the Community Services advisory board and industry board, to offer insight, exchange knowledge, and network. Offer a wider range of services for those that come into contact with KLMG. This includes networking meetings and fairs.

Timmins Economic Development Corporation. Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot. KLMG offers a route for potential immigrants to become part of the community and will provide recommendations for applicable members to assist in their immigration applications.

Northern Policy Institute. Invited to partake (2022 and 2023) and give two presentations to the Magnetic North Conference in 2023.

French immigration. Hosting information evenings; Association des communautés francophone de l'Ontario (ACFO). Help with data collection and assist with application for settlement services local to Kirkland Lake.

Methods

This was a mixed-methods study, drawing on both quantitative survey data and qualitative interviews. As a methodology, qualitative research seeks insight and understanding from the nuances of the cultures and self-expressions of study participants without quantifying or delineating the generalizability of findings. It also looks closely into the nuances of how diverse cultural groups function socially. Qualitative inquiry can make visible patterns of behaviour and education that support inclusion or marginalization.

To reflect the diversity and complexity in each group, L2G set intentionally broad categories of identity: *Indigenous*, *racialized settlers*, and *white settlers*. Settlers, whether racialized or white, may be newcomers to Canada or be Canadian born for generations. As those who came by forced migration may not feel that the term *settler* describes their history, these categories were intended to help the project organize and begin its research rather than to be definitive. As research is co-created with communities, nuances will emerge that will lead to a better understanding of each identity and of hate-based discrimination in rural Canada—and to strategies to combat such discrimination.

        L2G collected data through individual interviews with adult participants, a community

event observation, and a survey. We also met with KLMG community leaders several times

before we began our research, to determine the community's needs and to hear concerns voiced

by those who are leading initiatives in the community.

Survey (July 2023)

The adult survey was distributed during a large-group community activity—a powwow—via a

QR code that led the adult participants to the survey. The survey was also posted on the

community's Facebook group. These anonymous surveys focused on local adults' perceptions of

the community and their impressions of how oppression and intergroup relations challenges may

have impacted people in their community.

Individual Interviews (July to September 2023)

The purpose of the individual interviews was to understand each participant's interpretation of

the interactions they observed in their community. The interviews were an opportunity for

participants to voice their reflections on how the community programming we observed had

progressed throughout the year, and how they perceived diverse people's engagement in the

community.

Small-Group Interviews (August to September 2023)

We continued two semistructured small-group interviews, one in person, and one virtual. These

interviews allowed us to understand participants' experiences in relation to each other in their

community (Kvale, 1996). Participants were encouraged to describe their experiences with their

community, and with the equity-driven programming being implemented in their communities.

Community Event Observation (September 2023)

We observed one community-wide activity, the community powwow. It was led by Keepers of the Circle, a local Indigenous community organization, for and with newcomers, settlers, and Indigenous Peoples living in the community. Our observations provided opportunities to see and hear the interactions of both community leaders and participants. In our notes and journal, we documented the visible characteristics of participants and the ways in which they interacted to facilitate intergroup dialogue. We also documented how various participants interacted and engaged with the programming.

Analysis

Our online survey, conducted through Qualtrics, garnered a total of 654 submissions. Out of these, we selected 117 responses for detailed analysis. Eighteen participants were interviewed for this study, insights from seven of whom were encompassed in our analysis. The demographic details of the interviewees included in our analysis are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Participant #	Gender	Race	Age	Religion
P1	Female	White	Unknown	N/A
P2	Female	Asian	Unknown	Catholic
P3	Female	Black	31	Catholic
P4	Female	White	42	N/A
P5	Female	Black	20s	Christian
P6	Male	Black	20s	Christian
P7	Female	White	40s	Christian

An analysis of the survey data and demographics of interviewees reveals that the participants in our study predominantly comprised:

- Individuals aged between 25-45 years.

- A majority of female respondents (73 percent of survey participants).

- A significant proportion of respondents identifying as white, including those of British, German, Ukrainian, or other European descent, making up 58 percent of the survey population.

- A notable segment self-identifying as Christians, representing 36 percent of participants.

- The vast majority (79 percent of survey respondents) were Canadian born.

- Additionally, 64 percent of participants were at least third-generation Canadians, indicating they were born in Canada to parents who were also born in Canada.

Within this demographic context, it's particularly striking that there is nearly a balanced split between those who said they had experienced racism (44.74 percent) and those who said they had not (49.12 percent). A deeper dive into the responses reveals a stark contrast based on

racial identification: 62.5 percent of non-white respondents reported experiencing racism,

compared to 31.25 percent who did not. Conversely, among those identifying as white, 31.81

percent reported experiences of racism, while 62.12 percent did not experience racism.
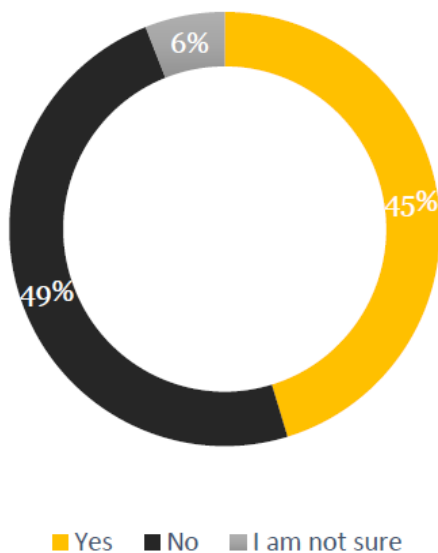
This disparity highlights a significant skew in perceptions and experiences of racism,

predominantly influenced by the responses from white participants (see Table 2 and Figure 1). It

underscores the critical need for broader education on the nature of racism, its manifestations,

and recognition of who is most affected by racism, to foster a more informed and empathetic

understanding within the community.

Table 2

Experiencing Racism in the Community

Q9. Have you experienced racism in your community?	Frequency	Percent (percent)
Yes	53	45.30
No	57	48.72
I am not sure	7	5.98
Total	**117**	**100.00**

Figure 1

Experiencing Racism in the Community

The survey results reveal a striking observation: 76 percent of respondents reported having witnessed racism within the community, contrasting with 21 percent who had not observed racism. A further 3 percent were uncertain about their experiences regarding racism. This ambiguity about recognizing racism points to a concerning possibility: some individuals may not fully understand the manifestations of racism, or they might encounter situations of discrimination without the ability to identify or articulate them as such. This lack of recognition not only reflects a gap in awareness about racism's various forms but also suggests a disconnect from the lived realities and experiences of fellow community members.

This issue is highlighted by the responses of four participants who noted that the survey marked their first encounter with information about the First Nations, Métis, or Inuit Peoples of Canada, or declared having no prior knowledge of these groups (see Table 3, Table 4, and Figure 2). This finding underscores the critical need for enhanced education and dialogue within the community to foster a more profound understanding and recognition of racism and its impacts.

Table 3

Witnessing Racism in the Community

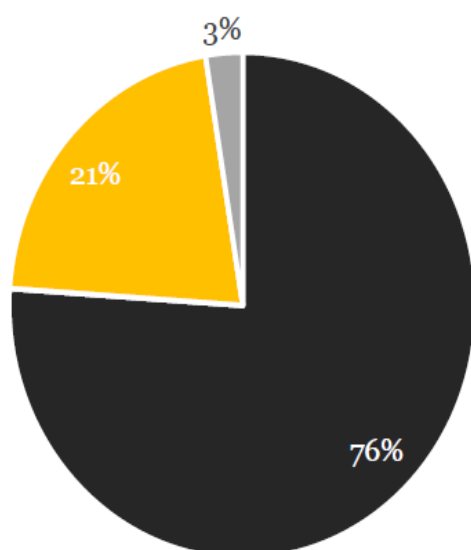| Q10. Have you witnessed racism in your community?	Frequency	Percent (%)
Yes	89	76.07
No	25	21.37
I am not sure	3	2.56
Total	117	100.00

Figure 2

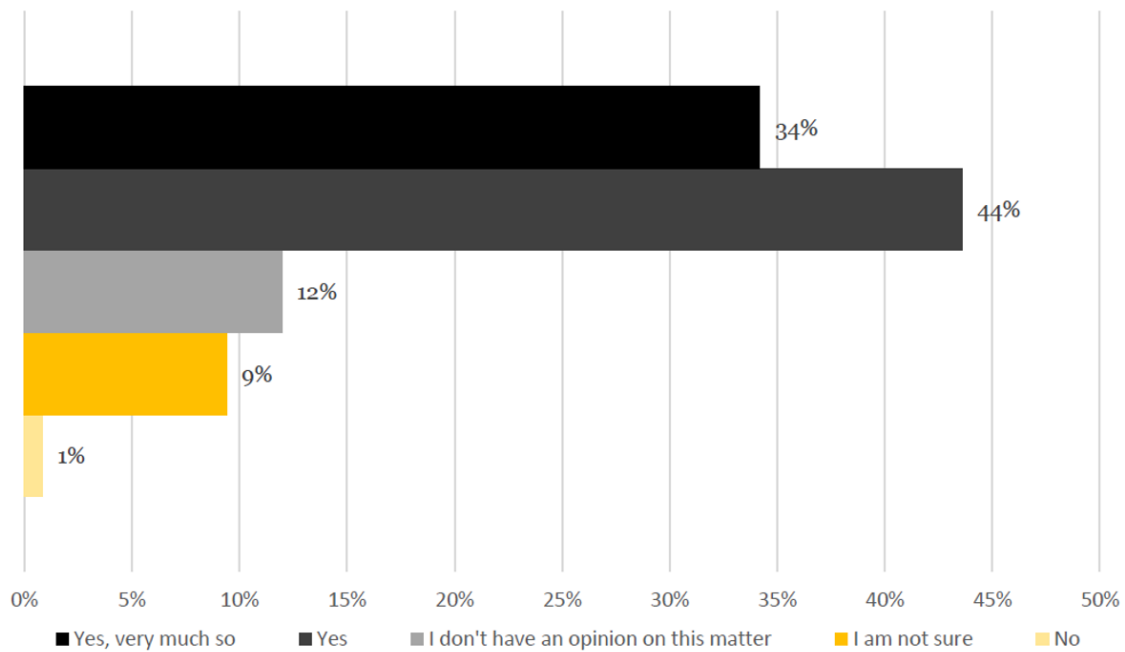*Witnessing Racism in the Community*

Table 4

Knowledge of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples in Canada

Q11. To what extent would you rate your knowledge of First Nations, Metis, or Inuit Peoples in Canada?	Frequency	Percent (%)
This is the first time I am hearing about the First Nations, Metis, or Inuit Peoples in Canada	3	2.56
I have none	1	0.85
I have basic knowledge	38	32.48
I have some knowledge	53	45.30
I have a lot of knowledge	22	18.80
Total	117	100.00

A notable finding from our survey raised concerns when participants were asked, "Is it important for non-Indigenous and Indigenous locals, and newcomers to have a relationship with each other?" (See Figure 3.) Surprisingly, 22 percent of the respondents expressed no opinion or a negative stance on this matter. As illustrated in Figure 3, this leaves a significant majority of 78 percent affirming the importance of building relationships between non-Indigenous and Indigenous locals, as well as newcomers, which is encouraging.

However, the presence of a substantial 22 percent who remain indifferent or opposed to these relationships is troubling, especially in a context where the national conversation is increasingly focused on the truths of Indian Residential Schools, the discovery of mass graves of Indigenous children, the disproportionate numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, and the broader impacts of Canada's colonial history and legacy. This discrepancy underscores the need for continued efforts to foster understanding and reconciliation among all community members.

Figure 3
Importance of Local Relationships

In the final section of our survey, we posed an open-ended question to the community, asking,

"Is there anything else you'd like to share?" The range of responses was varied. Many expressed

no additional comments, or else positively acknowledged the importance of the dialogue initiated

by this survey. A selection of constructive reflections included:

> "Thanks to (the) Kirkland Lake Multicultural Group and the Keepers of the Circle, I am able
> to participate in some Indigenous activities and learn from it. Without them, I may be just in
> my silo."

> "I teach at Northern College and expect this highly influenced my view."

> Other responses provided observational insights or shared personal experiences and
> viewpoints:

> "Not important to have a relationship, but important to appreciate others."

> "Newcomers seem to have more knowledge of Indigenous people than local non-Indigenous.
> Their studies included Indigenous locals as well as settler locals."

"I think it takes a while for people to adjust to the accent, (s)kin colour and also the fear that we are causing overpopulation. It doesn't help our cause."

"It is important for everyone of us to have relationships with each other."

"Everyone should build relationships together for stronger sense of community."

"In my opinion, no racist goes around explaining extensively why they are being so. They only do this with a sense of superiority, ownership and to prove that those they consider inferior do not belong. They don't exactly explain their lineage or argue their 'cause' logically."

One particularly intriguing response suggested, "Racism is a term that should be worked on." This statement opens up a realm of interpretation. It's ambiguous—perhaps the participant felt that the term *racism* failed to fully encapsulate the breadth of racial issues present, or perhaps they questioned the appropriateness of the term *racism* itself. The ambiguity of this statement mirrors the complexities and nuances that were evident in the discussions with locals throughout our interviews, highlighting the discomfort and diverse perspectives surrounding the topic of racism.

Drawing from both the quantitative and qualitative facets of our study, we have distilled the insights into three primary themes, reflecting the community's perceptions, experiences, and suggestions for moving forward.

Theme #1: Racism Is Entrenched and "Underground"

Racialized participants described experiences with deeply entrenched racism. Many seemed to describe it as a way of life in the community. In an interview with a Black male in his 20s, who worked full-time, we asked what diversity looked like in his community's experiences over the four years that he had lived there. He felt and knew that he was different. He did not experience equality. However, he knew he also needed to be financially stable, which the community offered. He said: "we just have to take a back seat," and described being "okay with it." (P6). To

make up for the lack of inclusion that he experienced, he said: "you just have to be with our type of people." The ability to connect and be with one's identifying cultural community is critical for newcomers. Such connections seem to help many newcomers process racism and mitigate its psychological and emotional stressors.

One participant described how cultural events in schools and communities didn't do much to mitigate racism or people's experiences of it. They were token events. They just provided a short-lived cultural celebration:

> Apart from the cultural showcase in schools and apart from festivals, there's nothing else anymore. Nobody standing up anybody. [My sister] she said there is always a showcase where you bring your parents and your families, and you are just asked to wear your traditional clothing and you're just out you. You're asked to learn from other people and like other people's traditions, but apart from that there's nothing else to be done about it. (P5)

The racialized participants' narratives in this study underscore the profound and multifaceted impact of racism on individuals and communities. Their testimony highlights a resigned acceptance of systemic inequities tempered by the economic opportunities available within the community. Financial stability weighed against a backdrop of racial exclusion reflects a broader societal issue: economic incentives are used systemically to silence discussions about systemic racism and inequality. Racialized participants are subject to internalized racism, in which they normalize racism targeted towards them. Their reliance on cultural and racial solidarity as a means of coping with exclusion and internalized racism emphasizes the importance of community as a source of psychological and emotional support.

Certain diversity initiatives reveal a superficial approach. Rather than fostering genuine understanding or systemic change, these events are limited to brief, superficial celebrations of cultural differences that fail to address the underlying issues of racism and exclusion. More

substantive, ongoing efforts are needed to combat racism. Such efforts need to go beyond periodic cultural showcases and instead include sustained, structural changes aimed at inclusivity and equality. A growing body of evidence, including the evidence of this study, calls for a re-evaluation of how communities and institutions respond to the challenges of racism, suggesting a shift towards more holistic and enduring strategies for promoting diversity and inclusion.

The reflections shared by this study's participants reveal a complex and nuanced landscape of systemic racism, ranging from overt acts to subtler forms. Racism, while sometimes less visible, remains deeply ingrained in social interactions and institutional practices. P1's observation—"You can't just wipe out racism. People still think that way. They're just not going to speak up about it"—highlights a critical aspect of contemporary racism. It persists, beneath a veneer of social acceptability. While explicit expressions of racism may have diminished due to societal pressures and norms, underlying prejudices and attitudes carry on, shaping interactions in perhaps less overt but equally harmful ways.

P1, a teacher in one of the local public schools, said she was shocked by the racial dynamics she encountered when she first arrived in the community. She told this story about observing one student yelling at another student in a hallway:

> They were just shouting at them, not maliciously, just being loud and saying, "Hey, did you just get back? You look like—" and (then they) use(d) the N-word because [the other student was] tanned. And that was a shock to me. . . . I don't know that that has necessarily completely changed. What I know is what was acceptably allowed to happen when I first arrived in terms of being openly racist or degrading has changed. So how I feel about it is that it's more underground. It's not safe for someone to openly show their racism or show how they feel. I don't know that it's gone. I don't know that it's completely changed, although some of it has because the newer generations tend to be a little bit more inclusive. But at the same time, I don't think that it's completely gone.

According to this participant, while there may be progress in terms of what is socially acceptable, the root sentiments of racism and exclusion continue to lurk beneath the surface, affecting individuals and communities in subtle but profound ways.

P1 went on to describe the indifference displayed by students regarding the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation. This pointed to a disconnect between historical awareness and empathy for the victims of systemic racism, which P1 felt might stem from systemic racism and a lack of understanding of cultural erasure. For her, this indifference indicated a need for a more comprehensive education, one that not only informs but also fosters empathy and understanding among younger generations:

> More recently, just before the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation, . . . [a school representative] was talking to the kids about why we changed it from Orange Shirt Day to the National Day of Reconciliation. And in part [it] was because we found the [mass graves]. . . . And the kids did not seem like they cared. Not that they weren't surprised [by the number of bodies]. . . . Maybe that didn't surprise them, but they didn't seem to care. And she had shared some very personal stories, not hers, but of other people about things that went on in the residential schools. And as we were talking there was never a comment [from students] about "my God, that's terrible. I can't believe that." Their comments were, "Well, why aren't we talking about school shootings and violence in schools? Why aren't we talking about the deaths of all those kids?" . . . I wouldn't necessarily call it racism. But it sort of is, because they're not . . . they don't care about a group of people. And they . . . and they're likening it to school shootings. So, I don't think they really understand that it's systemic racism and that we tried to erase their culture. Which is far different than some random shooter coming into school and shooting people. . . . Another comment was, "Well, what about the Holocaust? Why don't we talk about the Holocaust?" . . . So, the fact that these kids are bringing these things up [in class] suggests that yeah, there might not be blatant racism where the kids are now gonna call you the N-word or other

things. I think it still is in the back of a lot of their heads because of the family

backgrounds they have, perhaps because we don't talk about it as much. . . . And I

think that a lot of white kids are probably picking up stuff from home thinking,

"Why are we getting picked on? Why is that our problem? We didn't enslave you.

We didn't send you to residential schools. So why are we talking about this?"

(P1)

Underscoring the institutional aspects of racism, P1 also reflected on systemic racism in

the education system. She witnessed First Nations students being steered towards applied rather

than academic classes. This practice not only reflects prejudiced assumptions about the

capabilities and interests of Indigenous students but also has long-term effects on their

educational and career opportunities.

Collectively, these insights highlight the multifaceted nature of racism today. They point

to the importance of not only challenging overt expressions of racism but also addressing the

more insidious forms that permeate everyday life and institutional practices.

Theme #2: Disconnection From Indigenous Peoples

The study's data show a pronounced cultural disconnection between Indigenous and non-

Indigenous communities, even though they reside in the same community. Many newcomers

described a lack of deep understanding and engagement with Indigenous people's experiences

and an unawareness of the harm that Indigenous Peoples have experienced in Canada. This gap

in awareness and connection is not merely an absence of knowledge; it reflects broader societal

issues that perpetuate isolation and misunderstanding. For instance, one participant's statement,

"They are not really into us, like, they do their things on their own" (P5), reflects a perception of

separateness that may stem from both sides' historical (and ongoing) experiences of

marginalization. This perceived separateness is not only a matter of social distance; it also

suggests a lack of opportunities or efforts for meaningful interaction and mutual understanding
between communities.

The contrasting responses to racism experienced by racialized non-Indigenous people and
Indigenous people illustrate the complexity of racism's manifestations. For example, racialized
newcomers are greeted by a supportive local reaction to racism. When racialized newcomers and
local business owners were faced with racist slurs and one of their businesses was vandalized, a
local response spoke up against those acts. P2 reported that the local MP said: "People really got
angry that this person experienced it. 'That's not Kirkland. That's not who we want us to (be).' It
(was) an overwhelming support." The local MP's portrayal of racism against a newcomer as not
representative of Kirkland Lake contrasts starkly with the indifference or acceptance of anti-
Indigenous sentiments. A hierarchy of racism is suggested, in which some forms are more
publicly condemned than others.

P1 observed: "The racism [Indigenous people] face is different." For example, she
reported, Indigenous people were perceived to have "a lot of privileges" by some locals. P2 was
advised against mingling with Indigenous individuals. Taken together, these experiences
illustrate a deeply ingrained colonial mindset, one that fosters division and perpetuates
stereotypes that hinder the development of a more cohesive, inclusive community. Systemic
biases within educational institutions—Indigenous students being pushed towards certain types
of classes, overheard derogatory stereotypes—contribute to the perpetuation of racial
inequalities. These participant observations reflect a broad issue of systemic racism that affects
Indigenous people's opportunities and experiences in significant ways.

At the same time, the vision of an inclusive community articulated by P5, where "all of
us should be in one accord," and P2's understanding of racism as discrimination and inequality

among people of different colours and tribes, point towards a desire for unity and equality. These aspirations highlight the need for concerted efforts to bridge the gap between communities, fostering mutual understanding and respect.

To address this disconnection, the findings call for a holistic approach to combat racism. Initiatives that promote dialogue, education about historical and contemporary Indigenous issues, and collaborative activities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities are critical. These would promote the dismantling of systemic barriers and stereotypes and provide more meaningful intercultural engagement. Such efforts could help build empathy and serve to create a more inclusive society that recognizes and respects its members' diversity.

Theme #3: Fostering Reconciliation: Bridging Divides Through Education and Enhanced Dialogue

Participants from various parts of the Kirkland Lake area recognized education as a pivotal mechanism for dismantling racism and repairing relationships within the Temiskaming Shores and Kirkland Lakes communities. They collectively acknowledged education's transformative potential in reshaping societal attitudes and fostering a more inclusive community ethos.

An emergent theme, "repairing relationships through education," became evident during the interview process. Participants prompted to contemplate addressing racism within the community mentioned a recurring insight: education could be used as a means to mend strained relationships, particularly when working with children and young adults. Education could help develop stronger relationships and better understanding between various community groups. For instance, P3 asserted that education should emphasize the inherent equality of all human beings, regardless of cultural or racial backgrounds. This is an essential approach to dismantling hierarchical notions of superiority:

> For the younger ones you just make them understand that you're not better than
> any other person. That once there's just this in excess of right to wrongness once
> the person is right doesn't matter who the person is, whatever culture,
> background, the person is from whatever is the person is This is human, there is
> no superior, there is no inferior, you have an inferior, you're wrong, you thinking
> you superior, you're wrong. No matter what scale you fall on. Both. You deserve
> to live like a human being yourself to treat others. (P3)

This perspective is vital for rebuilding community interactions on a foundation of mutual respect and humanity. P3's emphasis, that all community members deserve to live "like a human being," is a poignant reminder of the fundamental rights that should be accorded to every individual, regardless of their racial or cultural identity.

Similarly, P4's reflection on the role of education in celebrating cultural diversity and encouraging direct engagement with different cultures through school activities offers a practical example of how education can serve as a bridge between diverse community groups:

> I'm part of a multicultural group, and I think. We're probably the main drivers
> within our community. We've kind of taken on that, that lantern, I guess, within
> the last, I want to say, two to three years. . . . Trying to find the right word, but to
> really, highlight how all these different cultures can. Quite happily. Not just exist
> but like thrive together, and we can achieve these. You know, these cool things
> that, you know, we can either enjoy ourselves, or we can enjoy as a wider
> community. . . . As well as, like, we tend to like to make ourselves available. And
> suggest you know ways that we can come into the schools and maybe, you know,
> help out and talk to kids and speaking our different accents and, like, you know,
> and answer all the questions that the kids have and all those kinds of things. (P4)

P3 and P4's comments exemplify two complementary approaches to using education as a tool for fostering reconciliation and inclusivity. On the one hand, they emphasize teaching fundamental human equality and respect; on the other, they focus on celebrating cultural

diversity and facilitating direct intercultural engagement. These approaches, when combined,

offer a robust framework for education's role in mending fractured community relationships and

promoting a more inclusive society.

The insights provided by these participants also touch on the need for better

communication and engagement among different community groups. The KLMG and Keepers

programs illustrate potential communication barriers arising from misunderstandings or lack of

awareness about community initiatives. Communicating clearly and inclusively needs to be a

mandate for bridging divides. Open invitations to participate in diverse activities need to be sent

to all community members. That way, a more unified community spirit can be fostered.

P2 spoke about the increase in local participation in KLMG activities, which in their

mind signified a positive shift, one towards greater community engagement and inclusivity. Such

a trend suggests that when communication barriers are addressed, and efforts are made to include

all community members, there is a noticeable increase in harmony and cooperation.

Theme #3 highlights a shared recognition of the critical roles of education and

communication in combating racism and building a more inclusive community. These insights

call for a continued focus on educational initiatives that promote understanding and respect for

all cultures and improved communication strategies to ensure that all community members are

aware of and feel welcome to participate in local programs and activities.

Limitations

While L2G's lens as external, non-local community members allowed us to capture particular

rural community nuances, it also invited gaps in how we were to gather and analyze data. Some

project members had not lived in small towns before, so that they could only surmise so much

from what was shared with them. However, our intentionally subjective analysis sought to

remedy this limitation. The team spent a considerable amount of time discussing how our perspectives and interpretations are shaped by our social locations.

Our survey distribution was limited. It only included individuals who attended a local powwow in person and completed the survey by phone while at the event; and those who accessed the survey from KLMG's Facebook page. Posting the survey on Facebook subjected our survey to bots—we got more than 500 falsified responses. Our data analysis team identified the falsified responses, and those responses were removed.

Conclusion

In this report, the complex dynamics of racism and community relationships in the Temiskaming Shores and Kirkland Lake area are explored, revealing critical themes surrounding exclusion, disconnection, and the potential for reconciliation. A detailed analysis of personal experiences and perspectives highlights a pervasive sense of separation between community groups, particularly between local and Indigenous populations. The distinct forms of racism encountered by various community members are pointed up.

However, amid these challenges, the report also identifies a strong undercurrent of hope and possibility for change, anchored in the power of education and enhanced dialogue. Noteworthy examples are the KLMG programs discussed above. Participants across diverse backgrounds have emphasized the critical role of education in combating racism and advocating for a curriculum that promotes an understanding of equality, human dignity, and the celebration of cultural diversity from a young age. The importance of better communication and engagement within the community has been underscored.

Initiatives that facilitate mutual understanding and respect among all community members are needed. The participants' insights suggest a path forward that involves leveraging

educational initiatives to bridge divides and foster a more inclusive and understanding

community (see "Recommendations Based on Our External Analysis," below). This approach,

coupled with efforts to improve communication and actively engage all segments of the

community in dialogue and activities, holds promise for mending strained relationships and

building a more cohesive society.

Concerted efforts to implement the recommendations derived from the participants'

insights are a must. Individuals, educational institutions, community organizations, and local

governments all need to step up. By prioritizing education and communication as tools for

reconciliation, the Temiskaming Shores and Kirkland Lake communities can take significant

steps towards overcoming the barriers of racism and creating a more inclusive environment for

all its members.

Recommendations Based on
Our External Analysis of This Community

Recommendation 1.0: Move Beyond Transactional Relationships

While KLMG has made significant efforts to bring together community members and

local groups, the established relationships appear cursory. To build more meaningful

connections, it is essential to create opportunities for sharing lived experiences, self-disclosure,

and intimate and vulnerable conversations. We recommend focusing discussions on challenging

topics to foster deeper relationships.

Informed by our findings, some topics for the KLMG to consider are:

1.1   *Financial literacy*. This topic can be tailored to specific age ranges (for example,

elementary school, high school, early adulthood, 40-65 years old, & 65+) and may be

targeted to particular financial areas of interest. This may also offer a bridge to engage

with folks of diverse socioeconomic standing within the community.

1.2 *LGBTQ2SIA+ issues*. The experiences of discrimination based on sexual

orientation or gender identity are prevalent and persistent in the community. Offering a

safe space to talk about issues surrounding the LGBTQ community may promote

connection within the community and assist in identifying allies within the greater

Kirkland Lake area.

1.3 *Indigenous world views*. As traditional keepers and protectors of the lands we

occupy, Indigenous communities offer an abundance of knowledge and decolonized ways

of connecting with one another, other living beings, and the environment. Sharing,

learning, and/or healing circles facilitated by a circle keeper can offer opportunities to

connect with others in previously unthought-of ways.

1.4 *Being in community together*. Living in rural Ontario comes with particular

benefits and challenges. By offering a space for people to connect on these common

elements, deeper connections can be forged.

Recommendation 2.0: Increase Diversity in KLMG Operations

KLMG currently offers opportunities for community members of different backgrounds to

connect and learn with one another. However, it would benefit from adopting a multicultural

base. A multicultural group must reflect the diversity of cultures and mirror the community it

hopes to connect with. To facilitate this, KLMG is encouraged to seek support and representation

from the diverse community it serves. Additionally, intentionally setting aside resources to

connect with and establish relationships with surrounding Indigenous communities and

community agencies is essential.

Some recommendations for accomplishing this include:

2.1   Recruit volunteers and employees of diverse backgrounds and experiences.

2.2   Establish memberships accessible to community members of lower

socioeconomic standing by:

- Offering a membership geared to income.

- Offering fully sponsored membership options wherein community members can

  donate toward the membership for other community members.

2.3   Establish a KLMG Ambassadorship program whereby volunteers across all

demographics can gain access to exclusive learning, training, and volunteer experiences

in exchange for promoting and representing the KLMG.

2.4   Offer round table conversations to non-KLMG members to discuss gaps in

services and identify areas for improvement.

2.5   Build a relationship with Northern College and articulate how KLMG can be a

valuable resource for all students, international and domestic. Examine the options to

offer membership to students as a benefit of attending Northern College, perhaps

included in their tuition.

Recommendation 3.0: Create an easily accessible online presence

Most of the information offered by the KLMG is accessible through Facebook. While

Facebook's platform may serve some community members, others may face barriers to

accessing upcoming events, information about services, and how to contact the KLMG.

Living in a digital age comes with new and ongoing privacy, data collection, and

misinformation concerns. As a result, the decision to use specific social media platforms (and

their terms of service) is very much personal. Additionally, specific social media platforms,

including Facebook, are used more by specific demographics than others. Using Facebook as the primary tool for sharing upcoming events and disseminating information, KLMG may inadvertently ostracize certain groups within their community. Considering this, investing resources in a non-social media-based online presence would facilitate the sharing of information from KLMG to the community and allow sharing beyond the geographic community of Kirkland Lake.

Some recommendations for accomplishing this include:

3.1   Establish an online presence without ties to social media. KLMG may consider several free website builders or low-cost options.

3.2   If KLMG continues to use social media as a marketing tool, ensure multiple social media platforms are used to expand the audience. (TikTok, Snapchat, Instagram, X (formerly twitter), Facebook, LinkedIn, etc.)

Recommendation 4.0: Build Relationships With Surrounding Indigenous Communities

It is important for settlers to invest time, resources, and intention in building relationships with the surrounding Indigenous communities. The complexities and nuances of these relationships must be recognized. These relationships should be established on the understanding that they are reciprocal and intentional rather than transactional. Developing meaningful relationships takes time, effort, and energy and should be an ongoing, lasting process.

Some recommendations for accomplishing this include:

4.1   Contacting local Indigenous leaders and organizing regular meetings to exchange information, identify needs, and collaborate.

4.2   Participating in and supporting local Indigenous events would also further this recommendation.

Recommendation 5.0: Prioritize community collaboration

Partnerships must be embraced to build a strong, resilient, and thriving community. Relationships between educational, government, community, and corporate institutions must be collaborative and ever-growing. Common goals should be identified and agreed upon, as should actionable steps that the institutions can take to achieve these goals. Building a strong, collective foundation from which a community can grow will promote inclusivity, belonging, and reciprocal engagement from the community members.

Some recommendations for accomplishing this include:

5.1   Establishing a community advisory board with representatives from all community sectors to facilitate this initiative.

Recommendation 6.0: Further Learning and Education

The report's quantitative and qualitative data point to the need for more education about racism and other forms of discrimination and their harmful effects on the person, family, friends and the greater community. Identifying and implementing appropriate learning strategies and opportunities for all community members—from elementary school-aged children to elderly people—is essential. This would promote a greater understanding of what discrimination looks and sounds like, and bystander intervention options would show individuals and the community how to minimize its harm. Interactive and engagement-focused workshops and learning strategies are encouraged. Some suggestions follow.

6.1   Offer workshops and discussions on challenging topics. Participants would be intended to reflect on their own understandings of others and their positions in the world. Some topics that could be considered include:

6.1.1   Understanding unconscious bias

Objective: To support community members in understanding their biases with a more informed perspective

Format: Interactive workshop or training.

6.1.2   Intergenerational transmission of beliefs

Objective: To support community members in understanding how their biases are impacted by generational beliefs

Format: Interactive workshop or training.

6.1.3   Bystander intervention training

Objective: to support community members in how to recognize and respond to racism, strategies to intervene in racist exchanges, de-escalation skills, and techniques to have challenging conversations about race and racism.'

Format: Interactive training.

6.1.4   Racism in Canada

Objective: To equip the learner with a general history of racism in Canada and how racism is expressed in Canadian society today.

Format: Training or Guest Speaker

6.1.5   Sexual harassment and toxic masculinity

Objective: To support community members in understanding how harmful attitudes and behaviours (emotional repression, aggression, etc.) that are conflated with masculinity can impact community members in the form of serious harm (harassment, stalking, sexual assault, etc.).

Format: Workshop, Training, or Guest Speaker

6.1.6 Neurodiversity

Objective: To support community members in acquiring a basic understanding of how some people have brains that operate differently, how that difference can impact communication and learning, and how to encourage and support neurodiverse community members.

Format: Guest Speaker or Training

6.1.7 Cyberbullying.

Objective: To support community members in effectively preventing and addressing harmful behaviour facilitated by technology. This would be particularly important to people who have children, work with children, or work in education.

Format: Workshop or Training

6.2   Establish a lending library with select books and materials focused on anti-discrimination and anti-racism.

Objective: This would support learning beyond formal workshops or other training opportunities. Emphasis should be on content developed by marginalized populations.

Format: The lending library should be easily accessible and available most hours of the day. This can be done by partnering with a 24-hour or "open late" business willing to

host the lending library. The borrower can sign out books, and books are expected to be

returned to the lending library location once the borrower is done reading them.

Partnering with the local public library and local schools may enhance this initiative.

Recommendation 7.0: Invest in anti-racist initiatives

To support the need for a more inclusive and cohesive community, allocating funds to anti-racist initiatives is essential. Investing in anti-racist initiatives should be critical to the community's health and well-being.

Based on the findings of this report, allocating funds to the following opportunities should be considered:

> 7.1 Contributing to the KLMG in continuing their work to support a diverse and inclusive community.

> 7.2 Establishing scholarships or awards for students who promote anti-racist initiatives within their school community and the Kirkland Lake and Temiskaming Shores community.

> 7.3 Offer recognition to community members and businesses who embody anti-racist efforts. This may be done in the form of an annual award ceremony.

> 7.4 Establish and offer training to business owners and managers on the importance of supporting employees who are new to Canada.

> 7.5 Support the creation of an anti-racism advisory committee of community members with varying backgrounds, ages, ethnicities, immigration status and experiences. Empower the committee to:

>> 7.5.1 Provide input on developing and implementing an anti-racist strategy for the community.

>> 7.5.2 Identify systemic barriers to accessing programs and services within the community.

>> 7.5.3 Identify opportunities to collaborate with community partners and organizations.

>> 7.5.4 Oversee the selection process for the scholarships mentioned above and awards.

Recommendation 8.0: Recognizing the dependence of newcomers to Canada on employers

When newcomers to Canada must maintain employment, many find themselves in precarious

jobs. The need to take a day off to fulfill other obligations competing with the employer's need

for staff can lead to conflict. This puts the newcomer in a position to prioritize their employment

or other needs to meet different conditions to maintain their status in Canada.

Recognizing that employers are, by their very nature, in a position of power and control over

employees might facilitate a more open channel of communication between them. Similarly,

suppose the employer is somewhat knowledgeable about the immigration process and some of

the work that goes into obtaining and maintaining status. In that case, newcomers to Canada will

likely feel valued, empowered, and appreciated.

Some strategies to promote this recommendation include:

8.1 Providing cultural awareness and sensitivity training to all employees (including

leadership).

8.2 Establish a mentorship program for newcomers.

8.3 Providing flexible work schedules and establishing policies to meet immigrants'

unique needs.

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