



CCPA

CANADIAN CENTRE
for POLICY ALTERNATIVES
MANITOBA OFFICE

Making employment work

Connecting multi-barriered Manitobans to good jobs

By Ray Silvius and Shauna MacKinnon

March 2012

**Making Employment work
Connecting multi-barriered Manitobans
to good jobs**

By Ray Silvius and Shauna MacKinnon

ISBN 978-1-77125-007-8

This report is available free of charge from the CCPA website at www.policyalternatives.ca. Printed copies may be ordered through the Manitoba Office for a \$10 fee.

Please make a donation... Help us continue to offer our publications free online.

We make most of our publications available free on our website. Making a donation or taking out a membership will help us continue to provide people with access to our ideas and research free of charge. You can make a donation or become a member on-line at www.policyalternatives.ca. Or you can contact the Manitoba office at 927-3200 for more information. Suggested donation for this publication: \$10 or what you can afford.



CCPA

CANADIAN CENTRE
for POLICY ALTERNATIVES
MANITOBA OFFICE

309-323 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2C1
TEL 204-927-3200 FAX 204-927-3201
EMAIL ccpamb@policyalternatives.ca

CAW 467
OTTAWA



Manitoba Research Alliance

Transforming Inner-city and
Aboriginal Communities

Acknowledgements

The authors and CCPA Manitoba are grateful to the following organizations and employers for providing information and feedback throughout the course of our study.

The Alliance of Manitoba Sector Councils
Building Urban Industries through Local Development (BUILD)
The Canadian Science Centre for Human and Animal Health
Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE)
The Central Neighbourhoods Development Corporation
The Central Park Women's Resource Centre
The Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development
The City of Winnipeg
Employment Solutions for Immigrants Youth
The Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM)
Ka Ni Kanichihk
Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre
The Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council and The Welcome Place
Manitoba START
North End Community Renewal Corporation
Opportunities for Employment
Patal Vocational Schools
Red River College
Supporting Employment and Economic Development (SEED) Winnipeg
Taking Charge!
Urban Circle Training Centre
Victor Mager Adult Education and Training
The West Alexander Residents' Association
The Winnipeg Regional Health Authority

We also thank the Government of Manitoba's Department of Local Government for providing financial support for this project.

Finally, the authors are pleased to acknowledge the generous financial support of the Community-University Research Alliances (CURA) program of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council through the Manitoba Research Alliance for Transforming Aboriginal and Inner-City Communities.



Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council of Canada

Conseil de recherches en
sciences humaines du Canada

Canada

Table of Contents

v	Executive Summary
1	Introduction
	The Present Study in the Context of the CCPA and MRA's Commitment to Inner-City Research and Policy Change
	Objectives of Study
	Methodology
4	Lessons and best practices derived from earlier studies
	LMIs as Comprehensive Entities
	Community-based Organizations, Community Development and Neighbourhood Scale
	Cultural Competence and Cultural Significance
9	The Winnipeg Context
	Neighbourhoods
11	Scan of Targeted Employers
	The Winnipeg Regional Health Authority
	Red River College
	The City of Winnipeg
	The Canadian Science Centre for Human and Animal Health
14	Community-Based Organizations and Employment Service Providers
	Multiple Barriers
	Defining Success Differently: The Need for Flexible Outcomes and Evaluation Procedures
	The Continuum of Services: From Pre-employment to Employment
	Serving the Needs of a Community: The Role of CBOs in Employment Programming
	Defining the Limits of a Community?
	Different Experiences Lead to Different Paths and Different Needs
	Core Funding and Capacity
	Cultivating Relations with Employers

24	Lessons and Governance Options
	Issues and Challenges
	Incorporating Best Practices
	Insights and Recommendations: Employers and Organizations
	<i>General Lessons from Employers</i>
	<i>Issues raised by CBOs about current obstacles and challenges in employment training</i>
	<i>What Organizations Would Like to See, and Like not to See in an LMI</i>
	Governance and Organization
	<i>Lessons and Principles</i>
	<i>Models</i>
35	Conclusion
36	Bibliography
37	Appendix A — List of Employment and Employment Related Services
43	Appendix B — Sample Questions to Community-Based Organizations
45	Appendix C — Sample Questions to Employers
46	Endnotes

Executive Summary

A 2005 study published by CCPA Manitoba showed that a Labour Market Intermediary (LMI) could be an effective model to help multi-barriered, low-income individuals move into good jobs. That report showed that LMIs are most successful when they are:

- Comprehensive: offering a broad array of programming and targeted supports, including basic skills, job readiness skills, counselling, job placement, on-the-job training and on-going assistance;
- Networked: linking marginalized individuals in economically depressed regions and neighbourhoods to mainstream employers through local community-based organizations (CBOs); and
- Interventionist: targeting marginalized groups, tailoring jobs and hiring and training practices to meet both client group and employer needs.

Furthermore, our earlier report emphasized that an effective LMI must:

- Focus on “good” jobs
- Simulate the workplace: workplace habits and expectations become understood by job seekers
- Follow a comprehensive program in collaboration with partner CBOs that

includes skill building and supports including hard skills (technical); basic skills (math, writing, reading); soft skills (job readiness); support services (counselling, child care, transportation assistance); job search assistance (résumé writing, interview skills); and job placement activities

- Access existing and additional financial and related supports: co-op/internships, training allowance for employers; financial assistance to students
- Include the full involvement of the union (in organized workplaces)

Building on this knowledge, the CCPA worked in collaboration with CBOs to explore possibilities for an LMI that would meet the needs of employers and residents within the boundaries of three inner-city neighbourhoods — Centennial, West Alexander and Central Park. These neighbourhoods were selected for two reasons. One, they have a high concentration of poverty and two, there are a number of potential employment opportunities consistent with the aim of matching low-income residents with employment that will move them out of poverty.

After conducting interviews and discussions with key stakeholders and reviewing existing lit-

erature, we concluded that an LMI could serve to fill existing gaps, support the work of CBOs, and build stronger links between employers and multi-barriered job seekers. We also concluded that while it makes sense to situate an LMI within the boundaries described, it would need to have a degree of flexibility to serve a broader geographical base. We also concluded that the specific issues and needs of various groups require different interventions therefore establishing LMI's focused on groups/communities job seekers identify with rather than on geographic communities may make better sense.

The general thrust of this report is the idea that the LMI is conceived of as a central manager of networks of CBOs, government and employers. It requires dedicated personnel. It must be highly visible and well connected to the communities(s) in question.

It can be successful by leveraging the contribution, training opportunities, programs and expertise of partners. The partnerships involved in establishing the LMI should be co-ordinated, consistent and complementary in focus. Organizations must see value in participating in the structure, as it offers an opportunity for their clients to benefit from a broader range of services and programs. An LMI is not meant to be an impediment or threat to organizations, their funding, and their existing programs.

A range of services is required in order to successfully transition multi-barriered individuals with little to no employment history into meaningful employment. A successful LMI would have to either directly or indirectly offer these services.

We envision a governance structure that is driven by participating CBOs, employers and relevant labour unions. The LMI must be seen as complementary to these organizations' existing programs and having the capacity to enhance their work. The LMI is best conceived of as an institution that enhances and does not detract from the work and existing programming of CBOs.

We take the following governing principles to be consistently applicable regardless of the final form of the organization. The LMI will:

- Build on the long established relationships of trust and familiarity established between CBOs and the target population(s)
- Simplify relationships between employers and the range of participating service organizations
- Simplify relationships between government and CBOs by filtering information, reporting and expectations
- Have personnel dedicated to managing the multiple referrals and services that any one individual may require
- Establish an advisory board with receptive people in a number of institutions; this includes advocates beyond simply human resource personnel
- Dedicate resources to ensure that multiple organizations can offer services and input without being overtaxed
- Enshrine cooperation and non-competitiveness in the governance structure

We conclude our report by providing benefits and challenges of six possible models:

1. An Aboriginal-serving labour market intermediary
2. A newcomer-serving labour market intermediary
3. A single, neighbourhood-based labour market intermediary
4. A case worker model
5. A neighbourhood-based/decentralized case-worker model
6. A 'community' focused decentralized case-worker model

We recommend the community focused/decentralized caseworker model as that which has the greatest potential to respond to the priorities, concerns and desires of the stakeholders who participated in this study.

Introduction

The Present Study in the Context of the CCPA and MRA’s Commitment to Inner-City Research and Policy Change

This study was conducted through the Manitoba Research Alliance (MRA), a community-university research consortium coordinated through the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Manitoba office (CCPA-MB).

The MRA’s current project, funded in part by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council — Community University Research Alliance (SSHRC-CURA), is entitled “Transforming Inner-city and Aboriginal Communities”. It is a five-year research project dedicated to solving the complex problems of poverty and social exclusion in Manitoba’s inner-city and Aboriginal communities. The MRA’s goal is to produce original work that is rooted in community experience and that is accountable to the community.

The MRA uses a community-based research model, working in partnership with community-based organizations (CBOs) to undertake research activities which incorporate the expertise of front line practitioners. This model ensures that the research is of relevance to front line

service organizations and enables the CBOs to better accomplish their mandates.

This study builds on previous research published by the MRA and CCPA, produced in partnership with the Government of Manitoba and stakeholder CBOs. The 2005 report titled *Moving Low-Income people in Winnipeg’s Inner City into Good Jobs: Evidence on What Works Best* showed how the Labour Market Intermediary (LMI) model has been an effective means of moving hard-to-employ multi-barriered residents into stable employment in other regions, and how such a model could assist in transitioning Winnipeg residents with similar challenges into stable employment (Loewen et al. 2005). LMIs link low-skilled workers with semi-skilled and skilled employment in targeted sectors to create job opportunities for marginalized workers by brokering relationships with employers, education and training institutions, government and funding agencies and CBOs to help clients find and keep good jobs.

The report found that the LMI model had the greatest potential for moving inner-city low-income residents into good jobs and that the most successful LMIs were:

- Comprehensive: offering a broad array of programming and targeted supports, including basic skills, job readiness skills, counselling, job placement, on-the-job training and on-going assistance;
- Networked: linking marginalized individuals in economically depressed regions and neighbourhoods to mainstream employers through local CBOs; and
- Interventionist: targeting marginalized groups, tailoring jobs and hiring and training practices to meet both client group and employer needs

This follow-up study began by exploring the potential for an LMI in Winnipeg's Centennial, West Alexander and Central Park neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods were selected because they have been identified as a priority for the Manitoba Government's Winnipeg Regeneration Strategy.

Demographic indicators in these neighbourhoods suggest the need for innovative approaches to encouraging labour market participation. For example, the Centennial neighbourhood is one of Winnipeg's most distressed inner-city neighbourhoods, with its population dropping 7 percent between 2001 and 2006, according to the 2006 census. The neighbourhood's population is amongst the most diverse in Winnipeg: 45 percent of residents are Aboriginal and 29 percent are visible minorities. Twenty-seven percent of Centennial residents were born outside of Canada. Fifty-two percent of economic families and 87 percent of singles over 15 years live below the low income cut off. Approximately 53 percent of the population over 15 does not have any diploma or certificate. At 14 percent, unemployment is almost three times the city average. At 43 percent, the labour market participation rate suggests that too many residents who do not participate in the economy. The demographic picture of Centennial (and the other neighbourhoods under investigation) suggests the need for comprehensive,

culturally-sensitive service provision to ensure the successful transition of more residents into good jobs (City of Winnipeg, 2009).

We foresee the LMI as having the capacity to link two seemingly separate spheres: industry-driven labour market needs and the needs of CBOs servicing a multi-barriered clientele. Labour market analyses are not always sensitive to the needs of multi-barriered clientele. A serious commitment to enhancing the well-being and employment prospects of multi-barriered individuals would entail educating employers and government of the enduring challenges faced by multi-barriered people, as well the complex and non-linear path towards life improvement, well-being and employability. An LMI would have the ability to articulate these expectations and devise a reasonable and flexible set of criteria to demonstrate progress by a multi-barriered clientele. This may or may not include the immediate acquisition and retention of employment.

While we maintain that the end result of training and support initiatives for multi-barriered people should be to find good jobs, we recognize that the path to this destination is non-linear. Success for multi-barriered people must be defined differently than immediate job acquisition and retention. An LMI servicing a multi-barriered clientele must be cognizant of the significant life challenges faced by this clientele. This includes the need for work experience and labour market attachments when an individual has little to no experience in these areas. An ongoing negotiation between the individual being served, the CBO offering services, the LMI mediating the training path and existing or potential employers is required to determine reasonable expectations and appropriate next steps along the development and employment spectrum.

Objectives of Study

The primary objectives of the study are to:

- Identify applicable existing employment

interventions, both those serving the Centennial, Central Park and West Alexander populations and those being implemented by local public sector employers;

- Consult with and gauge the interest of key employment service providers and other community stakeholders serving the Centennial, Central Park, West Alexander areas who could be partners in an LMI pilot in these neighbourhoods;
- Conduct a job scan of the major and mid-sized public sector employers in the area to identify employment opportunities and gauge interest in participation; and
- Produce options for a governing structure for the pilot LMI, recognizing that the LMI is to be based on the principle of networking and coordinating existing training and employment services and resources, and must be a model that responds to the unique and complicated needs of the population in these neighbourhoods.

Methodology

Research and work for this project began in mid-February 2011 with a review of the secondary literature in order to contextualize the current project. Through consultations with government stakeholders, we developed a list of CBOs to approach. This list was refined and added to throughout the research process. Government stakeholders have provided us with invaluable insights and information on employment-related services offered in and adjacent to the neigh-

bourhoods under study. A list of these services appears in Appendix A.

We sought and attained ethics approval from the Senate Committee on Ethics in Human Research and Scholarship (SCEHRS) at the University of Winnipeg.

Our research is community minded at its core, and we are thankful to a number of representatives from CBOs, employers and service providers with whom we conducted a series of semi-structured interviews. A list of the organizations we interviewed appears in the acknowledgements. Given the time constraints of this project and the lack of responsiveness of some organizations that we contacted, we were unfortunately unable to interview every organization that we targeted or were directed to by others. It is hoped that additional organizations may be engaged in this project as it moves forward.

Interviews were structured around scripted questions (found in the interview guides contained in Appendices B and C), although interviewees were invited to comment on the question in any manner they felt was relevant. Scripted questions were followed to a greater or lesser degree, depending on their relevance to the interviewee, with different questions being asked of employers, CBOs and service providers.

An initial draft of this study was presented to all interview subjects prior to its publication. Furthermore, we solicited feedback from community representatives through a meeting held on May 9, 2011. Our intentions with this meeting were to gauge the organizations' interest in the LMI project and consider potential governance structures and challenges.

Lessons and best practices derived from earlier studies

LMIs as Comprehensive Entities

In a previous CCPA-MB study, Loewen et al. (2005) concluded that LMIs are effective devices to transition individuals from disadvantaged communities into good jobs within the formal labour market. Good jobs are those which offer a living wage, benefits and opportunities for advancement. LMIs bring together multiple actors — CBOs, employer organizations, employers, government, unions, vocational institutions, community colleges and adult learning centres — who hold the common objective of moving disadvantaged workers into good jobs.

In the case of Winnipeg, successful, although currently fragmented, community-based employment development initiatives can be expanded and formalized into a lasting network. Loewen et al. (2005) classify existing employment development agencies according to three types. The first is the pre-employment agency, which offers ‘soft-skills,’ training, basic education and supports. The second is the job search and placement agency. The third is the hard skill training agency. A formalized LMI has the capacity to move beyond stand-alone programs (such as job search, basic education and training initiatives) to offer the full spectrum

of training and services required by the disadvantaged job seeker.

We adapt from Loewen et al. (2005) certain criteria that the most successful LMIs contain. Successful LMIs are **networked**, comprised of formalized partnerships with the aforementioned actors. They are **comprehensive**, providing training supports (basic education, soft skills and hard skills) and post-employment supports. They are **inclusive to employers**, incorporating employer contributions in program design, offering work experience and integrating programs into their recruitment practices. They are **interventionist**, altering the functioning of labour markets and the nature of jobs to the benefit of disadvantaged job-seekers. And finally, they are **culturally competent**, understanding the diverse frames of understandings and challenges that various communities experience.

Loewen et al. further advocate that a successful LMI will follow certain best practices:

- Focus on good jobs;
- Simulate the workplace: workplace habits and expectations become understood by job seekers;
- Develop and follow a comprehensive

program of skill-building and supports. This would include: hard skills (technical); basic skills (math, writing, reading); soft skills (job readiness); support services (counselling, child care, transportation assistance); job search assistance (résumé writing, interview skills); and job placement activities;

- Provide financial and related supports: co-op/internships, training allowance for employers; financial assistance to students;
- Include the full involvement of the union (in organized workplaces) (Loewen et al. 2005).

The above definition of an LMI follows that offered by Giloth for a workforce intermediary (2004, p. 7). Workforce intermediaries:

- Offer a dual customer approach;
- Service the needs of employers and low-income, less-skilled job seekers;
- Integrate funding, public and private sector services and programs and information;
- Perform multiple interventions as opposed to simply job matching;
- Generate ideas and innovations;
- Are more than single purpose or function organizations.

The active participation of employers in an LMI is crucial to the initiative's success. A study conducted by Harrison and Weiss (1998) concluded that employer-sponsored or conducted training resulted in greater earnings and retention than did training which did not involve the employer. It further recommended that CBOs attempt to link to "clusters" of employers rather than individual firms. They define a cluster as a "geographically bounded concentration of similar, related, or complementary businesses with active channels for business transactions, communications, and dialogue that share specialized infrastructure, labour markets, and services that are faced with common opportunities and threats" (Harrison

and Weiss, 1998, p. 6). The LMI can play the role of integrating such a neighbourhood-based cluster, facilitating communication amongst employers themselves and between employers and the prospective labour force.

Labour market intermediaries undertake activities devoted to workforce development. In its more robust form, workforce development means more than merely job training, and includes

the constellation of activities from recruiting, placement, and mentoring to follow-up, of which the actual training is but one element. [This] not only involves the 'production' of skills but also enhances trainees' ability to learn and socializes them to working with others in settings defined by managers in private firms and public nonprofit agencies. (Harrison and Weiss, 1998, p. 24)

Situating an LMI in the neighbourhoods under review will require this more comprehensive approach to workforce development. We view LMIs as more comprehensive entities than individual employment service providers or trainers. That is to say, if they are designed to either provide a full range of necessary services, or locate and access these services through external government agencies and CBOs, LMIs are capable of moving multi-barriered individuals into good jobs. These services may be substantial for the clients in question. One of our objectives in this study is, therefore, to locate who is offering what services to whom and whether they would be interested in participating in a larger LMI structure.

Furthermore, though networking is an important factor in ensuring that job seekers and employers have knowledge of one another, networking alone is insufficient to provide the best outcomes for both employers and employees. An LMI requires dedicated resources and organizational capability in order to properly activate the appropriate network of organizations (Harrison and Weiss, 1998, p. 6).

Community-based Organizations, Community Development and Neighbourhood Scale

CBOs are integral to ensuring that multi-barriered job seekers successfully gain access to employer and job information. As such, they are indispensable to ensuring that disadvantaged job seekers find sustainable, long-term and well-paying employment. Harrison and Weiss (1998) write that

there is practically no way that low-income, already socially ostracized individuals — no matter how highly motivated — can single-handedly reconstruct and negotiate a city's map of social and business connections. Thus, effective training and job placement must be mediated by collective institutions if they are to be fully effective. Individual seekers of skills and jobs must be supported by the greater economic and political power of *agents*: organizations that can break paths, open doors, insist on quality services, and negotiate collectively with employers and governments. (pp. 38-39)

Successful community-based program delivery requires an assessment of neighbourhoods. This entails collecting demographic information on neighbourhood residents to determine the broad issues to be addressed. It also entails assessing residents' perspectives about their needs so as to determine their likelihood in participating in programming (see Austin, Lemon and Leer, 2005). The relatively modest size of our project precludes speaking to would-be clients to determine what elements a neighbourhood LMI must contain in order to ensure their participation. However other qualitative research conducted by MRA researchers leads us to better understand some of the issues that multi-barriered job seekers and trainees experience (MacKinnon, 2011). In addition, we have spoken with representatives of CBOs who work with multi-barriered individuals on a daily basis and therefore can inform our study in how best to align an LMI with the needs of individuals and existing initiatives.

Fleischer and Dressner (2002) state that while neighbourhood organizations are indispensable for recruiting residents of a particular neighbourhood into a multi-faceted employment program and that a neighbourhood-*focused* employment program model is suitable for low-income neighbourhoods, jobs and other resources devoted to such a program cannot be limited to those found within the neighbourhood itself. Neighbourhood-based organizations are better utilized in recruiting, engaging and supporting clients than attempting to offer all training programs themselves.

Such a neighbourhood(s)-focused LMI, would, in our case, be required to help residents of the neighbourhoods in question with the challenges they experience as they transition from unemployment and non-participation in the labour market to good jobs. A suitable division of labour would be required to offer the familiarity of CBOs and their successful methods of engagement with clientele, while taking advantage of a broader range of services, jobs and opportunities offered through an LMI. While a larger and more comprehensive entity than individual organizations, the LMI would be most successful if it were able to retain the familiarity, supports, and comfort offered by individual CBOs.

Neighbourhood-focused employment programs are likely to attract clients from beyond the target neighbourhood(s). Family and friends of neighbourhood residents may be referred to the program. Residents may move from the neighbourhood and (rightfully) expect continued service. The proposed LMI must determine what percentage of its clients will be from the neighbourhood and ensure that they continue to strive to meet that target (see Fleischer and Dressner, 2002).

The concept we employ is neighbourhood-based but not neighbourhood-restricted. Residents of the focus neighbourhoods may be targeted, but it is unlikely that these are the only people that would be utilizing these services.

Targeting, recruiting and maintaining a quota of neighbourhood residents would be amongst the most important tasks offered by a neighbourhood-based LMI.

CBOs are respected, credible and trustworthy to the clients they serve. They are therefore in the best position to assess the various needs of their clients and determine what program components are required to recruit, retain and steer clients through to successful work placement, retention and advancement (Fleischer and Dressner, 2002; Austin, Lemon and Leer, 2005). The close connection that CBOs have to their clients places them in a strong position to evaluate program success. Performance standards must be flexible for disadvantaged workers as typical success indicators may not be accurate reflections of this cohort's actual progress in training initiatives (AECF 2007, p. 12).

Cultural Competence and Cultural Significance

The Centennial, Central Park, and West Alexander neighbourhoods have a large number of Aboriginal and 'newcomer' (immigrants and refugees recently arrived in Canada) residents (see Section 3 for a demographic breakdown of the three neighbourhoods). The issue of cultural competence and cultural significance will invariably come into consideration for the LMI.

Cultural competence may be defined as follows: "a set of congruent practice skills, attitudes, policies and structures, which come together in a system, agency or among professionals and enable that system, agency or those professionals to work effectively in the context of cultural differences" (Cross, Bazron, Dennis and Isaacs cited in Abt. Associates, 2006, p. 11). In relation to workforce development, cultural competence may be viewed as "understanding and integrating the web of behaviours, attitudes and policies that foster effective work in cross-cultural situations" (Abt. Associates, 2006, p. 11). The very basis of cultural competence, therefore, is

cross-cultural understanding and sensitivity in service provision.

Cultural competence is an important consideration for labour market interventions. The Annie E. Casey Foundation, an American philanthropic organization devoted to research and public policy advocacy on community economic development issues, oversaw an eight-year workforce development initiative called the Jobs Initiative, which began in 1995. The initiative entailed the development of six labour market intermediaries to improve job placement and retention for disadvantaged workers and job seekers in six American cities: Denver, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Seattle.

With over 85 percent of the Jobs Initiatives' participants being members of visible minority groups, "the Jobs Initiative experience illustrates that issues of race, ethnicity and culture arise along every point on the continuum of workforce development" (Abt. Associates, 2006, p. 1). The Foundation concluded that racial and cultural matters figured prominently in program success. Many employers lacked experience in dealing with a demographically diverse workforce. Participants were successful when they could interact with staff members from their local communities, who had the ability to communicate with them effectively. The Foundation recommended that culturally relevant job-readiness and additional 'soft-skills' training be implemented (AECF 2007).

Cultural competence, understood as the ability to work effectively in the context of cultural difference, is only part of the equation for the successful development of an LMI. The active incorporation of culturally *meaningful* training may be necessary as well. Silver (2006; especially Chapter 3) and MacKinnon (2011) demonstrate the positive impact that holistic training and program delivery, delivered through Aboriginal CBOs, make in the lives of Aboriginal adult learners. Such training incorporates teachings and models derived from Aboriginal culture, his-

tory and philosophy, and the organizations offer a comfortable environment to Aboriginal adult learners, who have often experienced hostility, racism in mainstream education environments.

“Programs need to know whom they serve in order to create strategies that are sensitive to race and ethnicity, community of origin, life experiences and desired program goals” (AECF, 2001, p. 10).

The Winnipeg Context

Neighbourhoods

Indicators for the three neighbourhoods being studied — Centennial, Central Park and West Alexander — reveal the need for labour force development. Amongst the challenges:

- The labour force participation is significantly lower in these three neighbourhoods than in Winnipeg as a whole.
- The employment rate is significantly lower in these three neighbourhoods than in Winnipeg as a whole.
- The unemployment rate is significantly higher in these three neighbourhoods than in Winnipeg as a whole.
- Employment income is a significantly lower portion and government transfer payments are a significantly higher portion of total income in these three neighbourhoods compared to Winnipeg as a whole.
- Neighbourhood residents have significantly lower education attainment compared to Winnipeg as a whole.

Low income is a pervasive problem in the three neighbourhoods:

- Average employment income is

significantly lower in each of these three neighbourhoods than the Winnipeg average.

- Average household income is significantly lower in each of these three neighbourhoods than the Winnipeg average.
- The incidence of low income is significantly higher in each of these three neighbourhoods than the Winnipeg average.

The ethno-cultural background of the populations in these neighbourhoods differs considerably from the Winnipeg average:

- Aboriginal identity is significantly higher in each of these three neighbourhoods than the Winnipeg average.
- Visible minority identity is significantly higher in each of these three neighbourhoods than the Winnipeg average.
- Immigrant identity is significantly higher in each of these three neighbourhoods than the Winnipeg average.
- The percentage of neighbourhood residents who speak languages other than English or French is significantly higher than that of Winnipeg residents as a whole.

TABLE 1 Demographic Information for Centennial, Central Park, West Alexander and Winnipeg.

	Winnipeg			Centennial			Central Park			West Alexander		
Population	633,451			2,225			3,555			4,000		
Population Growth (in %; 2001-2006)	2.2			-6.7			10.9			-3.5		
Area (km ²) ²	343.6			0.5			.2			1.4		
Population Density (per km ²)	1,843.8			4,176.5			15,277.3			2,864.9		
Speak neither English nor French (%)	1.0			3.1			4.1			3.6		
Other languages spoken (%)	28.8			50.1			73.3			66.5		
Aboriginal Identity ³ (%)	10.2			44.7			21.5			18.1		
Visible minority (%)	5.9			29.0			53.7			48.5		
Immigration (born outside of Canada, %)	18.7			27.2			43.9			43.5		
No certificate, diploma or degree ⁴ (%)	23.1			52.9			32.8			39.0		
Labour force participation (%) ⁵	M ⁶	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
	73.1	63.3	68.0	47.9	37.3	42.6	61.0	55.4	58.2	71.0	55.4	63.0
Employment rate (%)	69.4	60.0	64.5	43.6	29.5	36.6	53.7	46.8	50.1	60.6	47.9	54.3
Unemployment Rate (%)	5.2	5.3	5.2	8.9	21.0	14.2	12.0	16.2	13.7	14.2	13.7	14.0
Composition of Total Income (% within all economic families)												
Employment income	78.9			47.9						63.7		
Government transfer payments	9.7			45.1						33.2		
Other	11.4			4.7						3.4		

SOURCE: City of Winnipeg, 2009.

TABLE 2 Employment income in Centennial, Central Park, West Alexander and Winnipeg

	Winnipeg			Centennial			Central Park			West Alexander		
Employment income (average)	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
	39,642	27,174	33,518	20,982	12,518	17,416	20,333	14,230	17,542	21,535	18,028	19,951
Incidence of Low Income (% of total; prior to taxes)												
Economic Families	14.9			63.0			66.0			39.2		
Unattached individuals	42.5			87.3			69.8			59.3		
Average Household Income	63,023			25,548			22,341			36,848		
Mobility (Percentage of residents who moved between 2001-2006 ⁷)	41			60.7			65.5			58		

SOURCE: City of Winnipeg, 2009.

With both high numbers of Aboriginal people, immigrants and visible minorities AND low income and labour market participation prevalent

in these neighbourhoods, we are concerned about the development of highly-racialized, spatially-concentrated inner-city poverty in Winnipeg.

Scan of Targeted Employers

We approached a number of large, public sector or quasi-public sector institutions in these three neighbourhoods in order to discern their interest in participating in a neighbourhood-based LMI. On the one hand there is reason for optimism that large institutions may find such an LMI in their interest and be willing to contribute to the project. On the other hand, contacting and receiving information from the appropriate personnel in some institutions proved to be challenging.

The Winnipeg Regional Health Authority

The Winnipeg Regional Health Authority (WRHA) is a large institution with 28,000 employees. It is responsible for human resources for the Health Sciences Centre (HSC), which we were unable to engage individually in this project. The HSC is located in the West Alexander neighbourhood.

John Van Massenhoven, Vice President and Chief Human Resources Officer, stated that the organization currently relies heavily on its career portal website for human resources recruitment, although it has engaged with professional human resource and CBOs as part of its recruitment strategy. Though it does not specifically tar-

get the neighbourhood population for employment, the WRHA does stipulate that that third party service providers (e.g. security, cleaning) recruit personnel from the area. Furthermore, the organization is anticipating using area social service organizations to provide skill training for water maintenance. There is interest in further pursuing an Aboriginal community initiative, Aboriginal workforce development recruitment and retention, and cultural diversity is on the WRHA mandate. Therefore, while the organization is not in a position to commit jobs to a neighbourhood-based LMI, there is receptivity in the institution for engaging with such a structure to meet human resource needs and contribute to its overall human resource strategy.

According to Mr. Van Massenhoven, an LMI could be of considerable use to the WRHA. The LMI would need to understand the health care field and workforce needs, relaying this information to its clients. The LMI could:

- assist clients to navigate the WRHA website;
- offer email access (which is necessary for portfolio program on website);
- monitor opportunities and relay WRHA expectation to clients (e.g. that having

a criminal record is not necessarily prohibitive to job attainment);

- offer prospective clients clarity around hiring procedures;
- help clients understand the nature of a corporate work environment, union representation, etc.; and
- orient would-be workers to job place expectations.

To be successful, an LMI must be linked to employer needs. The WRHA supports the idea of an LMI in principle; however, an LMI will only gain traction when it helps fill identified needs not being met through regular human resources procedures.

Because the WRHA must adhere to union stipulations for job competition, jobs are unlikely to be guaranteed for LMI participants. This is consistent with current practice with existing training programs such as Urban Circle Training Centre (UCTC). While the WRHA works collaboratively with UCTC, jobs are not guaranteed, although graduates generally find jobs. The most foreseeable fit would be within positions with high turnover or growth. According to Mr. Van Massenhoven, it is possible to see entry-level jobs as good jobs, as a person could subsequently advance internally within the organization.

Red River College

Red River College (RRC) has approximately 2200 employees. Instructional staff make up approximately 60 percent of its workforce, with the remainder being a wide range of positions that require a variety of skills and education levels. It is foreseeable that an LMI could be a good point of contact for recruitment of a number of entry-level service positions.

RRC meets its workforce needs through advertising, job boards and outreach to multiple organizations. Although it has occasionally encountered difficulty in filling certain positions

due to market demand, most positions are filled within a reasonable timeframe. Nancy Alexander, RRC's Director of Human Resource Services, outlined the need for RRC to enhance its recruitment efforts with respect to Aboriginals and new immigrants. Cultural competency is crucial for organizations such as RRC to thrive, and she emphasizes that the organization is committed to a diverse workplace.

Though the organization does not target a multi-barriered clientele as such, Ms. Alexander suggests that an LMI could alleviate challenges faced by an employer in supporting a multi-barriered employee. An LMI could also play an important role in assisting potential employees in becoming "job ready."

The City of Winnipeg

The City of Winnipeg is a large employer with 9000 employees comprising a wide range of occupations that require various skills and education levels. The City finds itself hiring extensively for such positions as police officers, bus drivers and seasonal student labour.

The City has a commitment to maintaining a diverse and representative workforce and has extensive outreach and engagement with community agencies to accomplish this goal. It has also engaged with Aboriginal service organizations, community agencies and schools to offer a wide variety of outreach, training, volunteer opportunities and support. The City is amenable to partnering as part of both a long-term commitment to workplace diversity and a comprehensive human resource strategy to address human resource needs now and in the future. The City is committed to removing barriers to employment in order to maintain a diverse and representative workforce.

A neighbourhood-based LMI could be helpful to the City, particularly in acting as a liaison between job seekers, seasonal employees and LMI clients and the City. The LMI could relay hiring procedures, how to compete for employ-

ment, union protocol and long-term prospects for permanent employment to its clients.

Much of the available general labour work is seasonal, but this can be translated into long-term prospects for advancement with the City. An LMI could play a role here. For example, Jackie Halliburton, the City's Wellness and Diversity Coordinator, stated that it would be beneficial for seasonal employees to have frequent contact with the City to know of new openings and future seasonal job openings and understand that multiple terms of seasonal employment enables employees to compete for permanent positions. Furthermore, an LMI would be useful if it were able to provide ongoing supports over the period that seasonal employees were laid off. Ms. Halliburton stated that keeping individuals 'on-track' to ensure that they are ready and available for work when needed can have a significant pay-off as seasonal work with the City of Winnipeg can lead to permanent well-paying jobs in the long-term.

Like other employers, the City wants to receive employment-ready individuals. An LMI could be helpful in this regard by supporting

pre-employment training. An LMI may also be involved in ways to facilitate internships and experience for job seekers, providing them with the first important contact with the City that can enable them to develop a relationship with the employer.

The Canadian Science Centre for Human and Animal Health

The Canadian Science Centre for Human and Animal Health (CSCHAH) is unlikely to make employment available for an LMI structure. The CSCHAH's staffing practices and procedures are governed by the Public Service Employment Act and Regulations and other legislation. Changes to their specific external recruitment practices for the sake of an LMI would be a complicated affair. After an initial telephone conversation, a human resource consultant with the Public Health Agency of Canada responsible for the Centre was unwilling to provide more detailed information. In order to change the external hiring practices of this particular large, federal government-run institution, one would have to engage federal bureaucrats, including some in Ottawa.

Community-Based Organizations and Employment Service Providers

Our objective in consulting a number of CBOs and employment service providers was threefold. First, we sought their input into what it might take to successfully move multi-barriered neighbourhood residents into good jobs and whether or not a community-based LMI can serve this need. Second, we wanted to determine whether they would have any interest in participating in the project as it moved forward and how this interest could be reflected in the governance structure. Third, we wanted to ascertain what existing pre-employment and employment programming they offer.

In this section, we present the general lessons learned from this consultation. We provide these lessons through illustrative examples of CBOs' experiences. A complete list of employment services appears in Appendix A. A complete list of organizations that we consulted appears in Appendix B. Specific recommendations for a project governance structure appear in the subsequent section.

Multiple Barriers

A barrier is anything that makes attaining and retaining employment difficult. An individual in the neighbourhoods in question may have any number

of such barriers, all of which must be successfully addressed before employment can be attained and retained. Oftentimes, these barriers are recurrent and disruptive, jeopardizing the ability of an individual to successfully complete training. CBOs that we consulted with consistently mentioned the ongoing mentoring and support roles they play with their students and clients, often in an informal capacity, as these barriers to employment would have to be successfully addressed in order for successful programming.

Terry Sakiyama of Patal Vocational School, which deals with a multi-barriered clientele, cites the need to “build up the person” through programming. The successful attainment and retention of employment is predicated on a client's ability to successfully cope with multiple life challenges. Service providers play an essential role in assisting clients with a range of life challenges and barriers to employment. Ms. Sakiyama feels as though multi-barriered individuals, including many Aboriginal people, are left out of mainstream employment training programs. These programs are designed for individuals who are more employment-ready. Mainstream employment training programs may be alienating for high-need individuals.

Shaun Loney, the Executive Director of Building Urban Industries through Local Development – BUILD), suggests that his organization accounts for some of the shortcomings of publicly funded systems in attempting to empower their participants to become citizens. For example, they offer driver’s training, a prerequisite for many construction industry jobs and something that occurs for most people through the public school system. Aboriginal men, who make up a large portion of BUILD’s students, have high rates of not completing high school and therefore do not have access to such programming. BUILD assists its students in attaining officially recognized identification papers, another prerequisite to full participation in society. BUILD accepts participants with “three barriers”: these may include a person’s Aboriginal/new Canadian identity; no high school; no work experience; contact with justice system; and no driver’s licence.

Taking Charge! offers a full range of pre-employment services to its clientele:

- counselling
- daycare
- parenting
- job readiness (punctuality, expectations of workplace)
- employment facilitator
- parenting
- life skills
- peer support
- various workshops
- computer skills
- crisis intervention
- academic upgrading — training until ready to receive grade 12 and
- advocacy.

Jackie Lavallee, the Executive Director of Taking Charge! sees its success as being based in its ability to offer a comprehensive range of services required by clients. The organization’s prior-

ity is to alleviate clients of burdens as much as possible so that they can focus on the training.

Multi-barriered clients require a full range of services in order to be successful in developing employability. This may include employability skills, hard training, ongoing support, “progressive discipline” to meet obligations in program, job connections, a cultural component, addictions support, and mental health services. All of this must be offered in a supportive environment to retain the client who has history of service interventions and failures. Clients may not know how to work. They require mentorship, dedicated personnel for their entire training program. As Chris Mott, Employment Development Director at the PATH Employability Centre stated, their clients may require a 3rd, 4th or 5th chance, not simply a second chance, and yet must be held accountable for their performance.

Service providers list a host of barriers including, but not limited to:

- Lack of familiarity with the city, or in the case of newcomers, the country
- Racism (particularly toward Aboriginal people)
- Lack of English language proficiency
- Lack of literacy
- Precarious housing
- Domestic Abuse
- Poverty
- Low education levels
- A need for, or lack of, child minding
- Immobility
- Family instability
- Single parent status
- Trauma
- Addictions
- Mental health concerns
- Physical disabilities
- Fetal Alcohol Syndrome

- Criminal record
- Lack of a driver's license
- No or limited history with labour market attachments
- Having to negotiate complex government systems

Defining Success Differently: The Need for Flexible Outcomes and Evaluation Procedures

CBOs indicate that multi-barriered individuals cannot simply turn their lives around in a pre-prescribed span of time. If an LMI were established, it would need to be flexible to recognize how long it would take a multi-barriered individual to move through the system. The path towards employment is not linear for multi-barriered job-seekers. Time and resources are required for social and academic development, and more technical training. If the objective is to serve multi-barriered residents, programs should not be designed so that only fully functioning and fully participating citizens can navigate them.

The pre-employment and employment training offered by CBOs is successful because it is incremental and relevant: participants join and stick with the program when the opportunities presented by the program are relevant, meaningful and desirable. Experiential learning is a critical element to most programs, and successful initiatives are those that have buy-in from the community. We heard from a number of CBOs that when serving multi-barriered individuals, this incremental success is needed to break cycles of failure, frustration and uncertainty. After having established initial successes, labour market attachments, a greater range of career and training options and supportive networks, individuals may wish to pursue different employment and training. It is important to emphasize here that an LMI would need to respect the expertise that is already in place in CBOs and not attempt to duplicate services. Clear boundaries

and ongoing communication between the LMI and CBOs would be critical.

Ms. Lavallee (Taking Charge!) states that there is no one template that each of their program participants can follow. Training simply is not the same for each participant, and participants find themselves utilizing multiple services at different times throughout program. Success needs to be defined differently than simply attaining a job. According to Ms. Lavallee, it is unreasonable to expect participants to graduate from pre-employment and employment training programs in a linear fashion.

The North End Community Renewal Corporation's PATH Resource Centre focuses on the development of the individual and moves towards employability for their clients, many of whom are considered multi-barriered. Success in this objective requires patient work, which may not immediately result in employment for the client. The Centre links opportunities with people's interests: the client must buy into the program and want the job that is available at the end. However, training and development may be non-linear, requiring different evaluation criteria for success. A client may be exposed to new employment and life options and wish to pursue them once comfortable.

Exposure to training and career opportunities can have a powerful effect on individuals who have not had past successes in the education system or job market. Ms. Lavallee (Taking Charge!) states that the participants who enrol in programming undertake constant self-assessment. This often results in them discovering interests and capabilities that were masked by negative experiences in schools. Throughout this process, the participants "find a goal they never thought was in them" and frequently become hungry for new training and career opportunities.

Furthermore, individuals are more likely to pursue training when they deem both the training and prospective jobs to be in their interests. It is wrong to assume that multi-barriered individuals will simply take a job based on availability.

One multi-barriered job-seeker said:

I think training... I think you go and take the same courses over and over again, they don't do any good. You need to find your interest... everybody has an interest, like, everybody has an interest in something and everybody's good at something... they want you to take [training] but if you don't enjoy it what's the point? All that training and just wasting time. (As quoted in MacKinnon, 2011)

This individual went on to say that she believed many people take training because they are being told to do so, and that she believed this does not work. She also said that more must be done to help individuals as they transition from training to work:

There seems to be nothing in between there. Once you're done your course you're on your own right? The government pays for this course then there's nothing there to get you to your next step...they should, like when they have these programs, make sure they have practicum placements where the person can go do what they enjoy doing. There would be so much less hostility and anger and shit like that. [People are frustrated] because they don't ask you like, what do you like to do? "Oh – there's a course – you gotta take it". You gotta find out what people like to do. What makes them tick, what makes them happy. What makes them want to do it you know? (As quoted in MacKinnon, 2011)

As clearly articulated by this job-seeker, an LMI cannot simply plug a cohort of individuals with precarious linkages to the labour market into employment that is representative of current labour market needs. A successful LMI would have to offer as broad a range of employment opportunities as possible to link its clientele with multiple opportunities.

Furthermore, there remains a disincentive to undertake training or seek employment if this jeopardizes one's ability to receive Employment

and Income Assistance (EIA). The availability of career-building, family-supporting jobs would provide a greater incentive for clients to pursue training and employment. This was raised by several individuals representing CBOs that work with people living in poverty. They argued that there must be opportunities to slowly transition people into work that fits their life circumstances. In particular, the LMI must have the ability to influence EIA decisions that create barriers to multi-barriered individuals who might wish to explore work but are not ready to be self-sufficient.

The Continuum of Services: From Pre-employment to Employment

The CCPA-MB's previous study (Loewen et al., 2005) detailed three categories of training that employment service providers can and must offer if multi-barriered job seekers are to successfully find, retain and acquire good jobs: 1) pre-employment (soft skills); 2) job search and placement; and 3) hard skills. Upon speaking with a range of CBOs and employment service providers, we emphasize that sufficient attention needs to be paid to all three categories. A neighbourhood-based LMI would have to account for a complete continuum of services that any given client may require in moving from pre-employment to employment, either by offering these services themselves or attaining them for their clients in collaboration with CBOs and other agencies.

Pre-employment training and services are absolute prerequisites that multi-barriered individuals must have in order to acquire and retain meaningful employment. Nonetheless, many organizations that we consulted with experience challenges in offering such training due to funding constraints.

Marileen Bartlett, the Executive Director of the Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development (CAHRD), stated that most of their students are not employment ready. The lack of education (she estimates that 60 percent of their students start with a Grade 7 reading level or

lower) is an impediment to both skills training and receiving jobs. CAHRD struggles to fill its training programs due to the lack of employment ready, sufficiently educated (to the level required to enter and succeed in training) potential students. CAHRD has many employers interested in and even eager to hire Aboriginal people but they need to have the skills and employment readiness to meet labour market requirements. Life skills training is necessary for their clients, and finding core funding to further develop the necessary programming remains an issue. CAHRD is attempting to integrate a six-week life skills training program as a component throughout the duration of training programs to help to ensure participants are job ready by the end of the skill training.

According to Ms. Bartlett, the most significant issue preventing the organization from developing a full range of employment and employment-related services is a lack of resources. This lack of resources applies especially to organizations that do not have sufficient funding to offer life skills and pre-employment training, including literacy and upgrading. Ms. Bartlett believes that the Aboriginal people using CAHRD's services would be best served if the Province would invest more funding in literacy and upgrading for Aboriginal people. Using resources for an LMI was lower on her list of priorities. So even if an LMI is established, more resources are needed by training organizations to ensure they can adequately support students needing life skills training, basic literacy and academic upgrading in addition to specific skill training.

Participants in the Alliance of Manitoba Sector Council's workforce development initiatives must be employment-ready and cannot have barriers to employment. The Alliance's Executive Director, Beverly Stuart, suggests that in spite of this stipulation, they find themselves doing some pre-employment training 'on the fly' so as to ensure their students can successfully complete programming. Some sector councils are

launching their own pre-employment initiatives to address this need.

Serving the Needs of a Community: The Role of CBOs in Employment Programming

CBOs are in a strong position to build enduring relationships with their participants, students and clients and the community they serve. Many organizations maintain strong relationships with students long after the program or training in question had finished. This is due in no small part to the commitment that CBOs have to the population they serve, a commitment that often exceeds the somewhat narrow mandate of particular training programs. In fact, CBOs are an extension of these communities, and their success is predicated on the development of binding relationships with their communities and with additional organizations, service providers, and so on. Furthermore, many CBOs perform continual advocacy on behalf of program participants; however, this is often in an informal capacity, as organizations often lack the resources for next stage programming.

Such organizations are positioned to be most relevant to the "multi-barriered" neighbourhood residents that are targeted in this work, and hence have the ability to build the sort of enduring relationship required to see such individuals through various stages of support and training. Multi-barriered residents would be best served in a receptive, caring, and familiar environment.

Melrose Koineh, the Coordinator of the Winnipeg Central Park Women's Resource Centre, attributes the Centre's success to the fact that its programs are generated by the population it serves, largely newcomer women. This programming considers the challenges and limitations faced by a large immigrant and refugee contingent with attendant issues of illiteracy, unfamiliarity in Winnipeg and low levels of formal education.

In Ms. Koineh's opinion, employment-related training programs work because they are deemed

to be both needed and feasible by the population being served. Services must “come down” to the level of the person utilizing them. For the Centre, this involves learning through skits, role playing and visual demonstrations to overcome language and literacy barriers. Ms. Koineh suggested that the designers of training programs at the Centre are cognizant of the lack of cultural neutrality in government assessment procedures.

Dorota Blumczynska, the Executive Director of the Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM) suggests that IRCOM’s success is based on the deep and ongoing relationships with its clientele, many of whom live onsite. IRCOM has developed as a community unto itself, providing comfort and familiarity for its clientele, many of whom are refugees with ‘multiple barriers’. IRCOM has the capacity to help its clients navigate services and training in a familiar environment, as unfamiliar environments and locations can be quite prohibitive for refugees.

Ms. Blumczynska can foresee an LMI as valuable, provided that its definition of success is attuned to the needs of refugees. If it is a holistic enterprise, provides on-site training, connections to employers, community-building, advocacy, mentorship, enduring relationships, self-esteem and confidence-building while empowering the community and assisting the community acculturate, then it can be a successful initiative.

Joan Embleton, the manager of the Victor Mager Job Re-Entry Program, suggests that service providers must have deep connections to community, employers and other service agencies so as to successfully locate and secure the services that their clients use. Victor Mager provides necessary attachments to the wider community that its program participants, who are predominantly newcomers, would otherwise not receive. Referrals are more than referrals and are significant connections to the wider community. Staff need to provide direct support to clients, assisting them to ac-

cess and develop relationships with important service providers.

Such forms of ongoing supports and commitments are essential to program success; CBOs are best placed to ensure this form of support, familiarity, flexibility and responsiveness. A significant factor in an individual’s successful training is the comfort and familiarity they feel for an institution. This institution may or may not be a close distance from where they live, however.

Defining the Limits of a Community

Focusing on a geographically-bounded population can be a useful framework for government program intervention in some cases, but it can also bring certain difficulties. Communities to which people belong (Aboriginal and the newcomer population) aren’t necessarily geographically confined, and organizations representing these communities are essential for ensuring a participant’s success in a training program.

The success of training programs offered by CBOs is at least partly attributable to recruitment through informal processes, networking and word of mouth. There are difficulties in targeting a particular neighbourhood and restricting access to programming to residents of a particular neighbourhood. Referrals from past participants and other organizations will feed into the participant base. Participants may themselves be transient, living where rents are cheap and moving frequently. Mandating that a program adhere to strict geographical boundaries would therefore compromise such a person’s need for ongoing service, and it is unlikely that a CBO would deny service to a person in need.

Many of the organizations we spoke with are based in and serving a geographically-defined community, but do not limit their services to residents of the geographical area in question. Ms. Blumczynska (IRCOM) noted that when their initiatives are successful, the community tends to “pull the rest of the community in” to receive services. It is impossible to put sharp

borders around the people that can be served by this organization, and anathema to the organization's mandate.

Ka Ni Kanichihk offers an example of how networks and referrals contribute to program success. The organization's executive director, Leslie Spillett, states that informal recruitment occurs through past and current program participants recommending the experience to family and friends. This form of informal networking ensures a strong community, building vibrant, Aboriginal owned and serving programs, which gives the organization legitimacy and significance amongst those it serves. However, it is unclear that a strong neighbourhood boundary can be drawn around this community. Therefore, while a CBO may have a degree of visibility in a neighbourhood and draw some of its clients from this neighbourhood, it is unlikely that it can effectively serve ONLY a neighbourhood.

Nonetheless, concentrated efforts in particular neighbourhoods can serve a neighbourhood population well. Opportunity for Employment (OFE)'s Community Office, for example, is a more intentionally neighbourhood-based employment centre than its main office. According to Brad Unger, Manager of Community Office, this office receives from one third to one half of its clientele from the Spence neighbourhood, in which it is situated. It receives approximately 75 percent of its clients from the Spence neighbourhood and the adjacent West End neighbourhood. The office has a visible community presence and receives a large number of walk-ins.

One neighbourhood targeting strategy can be found in setting quotas — seeking a certain number of clients from the neighbourhood(s) being served by the organization, setting a goal, and monitoring whether actual intake reflects this goal.

On the one hand, we anticipate the population of the three focus neighbourhoods to be highly mobile. Many neighbourhood residents change residence frequently and may in fact

leave the neighbourhood. The high mobility of much of the population proves challenging for service provision and developing community attachments. Eleanor Thompson (Urban Circle Training Centre) suggests that Urban Circle's community is mobile. In some cases, it appears that clients feel comfortable venturing into other parts of Winnipeg for services, supports, training and jobs once they have developed confidence and know-how within the friendly confines of a CBO. Other CBOs, by their very mandate, serve a community that is not confined to the neighbourhood in which they are situated. Their clients, students and program participants come from across Winnipeg and, in some cases, Manitoba.

On the other hand, some organizations expressed that their clients exhibit an unwillingness to leave either the neighbourhood or the organization itself for services they have been referred to. Ms. Blumczynska from IRCOM suggests that referrals to external organization do not work particularly well for much of their clientele, as many lack the confidence and understanding to access external programming. The newcomer population requires work experience, résumé building, referrals and advocacy work on their behalf. Newcomers require an employment counsellor/case worker who can advocate to employers, facilitate worksite experience and act as a liaison between employer and client.

Different Experiences Lead to Different Paths and Different Needs

Aboriginal people, immigrants and refugees and multi-barriered persons all have different paths to attaining and retaining meaningful employment.

There is a distinction between immigrants who arrive by way of multiple immigration streams and refugees. The former are on the whole job-ready or close to job-ready with a greater history of formal education and training, if not professional experience. The latter have a greater number of barriers and challenges to integrating

into the labour market; this may not be a reasonable goal initially. Refugees are in survival mode and must first successfully stabilize their lives, familiarize themselves with their environment and gain the confidence necessary to venture out into the city.

The priority of Manitoba START, a central hub for immigrant-related services that aspires to be the first point of contact with immigrants upon arrival in Manitoba, is to encourage immigrants to consider their value and be able to articulate this to potential employers. According to Fatima Soares, Director of START, the organization's objective is to assist newcomers in transition to relevant and meaningful employment, and their service provision and referrals are predicated on helping clients meet short- and long-term goals of career advancement. A central component of START's work is to ease their clients' transition into Canadian society and help them deal with the loss of status inherent in transitioning to a new country. START does not serve a particularly 'multi-barriered' constituency. The majority of their clients are actively seeking employment and integration into the Canadian labour market. Many are highly educated and have a professional background. Not all of START's clients go directly into the workforce, as many seek further education and credentials recognition. Newcomers have settlement and training/employment as priorities to varying degrees, suggesting that some require more settlement supports up front, whereas others are more concerned with training and employment.

A client-focused, refugee serving LMI would have to define success in a manner consistent with community generated goals and objectives. For example, various quality of life issues may take precedent over comprehensive employment training. Furthermore, any employment training and pursuits would have to take family dynamics and needs into consideration. For this reason, Ms. Blumczynska (IRCOM) suggests that a holistic approach is the most successful approach

to ensuring that the multiple needs of refugee families are met.

BUILD serves as an example of an organization that is predominantly but not exclusively Aboriginal. They offer an Aboriginal cultural component and events, but it is not mandatory to participate in these programs. According to Mr. Loney (BUILD), their strength with the Aboriginal population (which comprises 90 percent of the organization) is due to the familiar environment they offer. In his estimation, this supportive and inclusive environment is also testament to the non-profit community development organizational ethos.

Eleanor Thompson (Urban Circle) states that while cultural training is not mandatory for their students, she finds that teaching Aboriginal culture is necessary to restore the identity of students/participants. Furthermore, training predicated on Aboriginal thinking is highly relevant to the health field, in which many of Urban Circle's participants gain employment. Through its experiences, Urban Circle finds that the Aboriginal training component is therefore beneficial to both its Aboriginal students and workplaces.

Leslie Spillett (Ka Ni Kanichihk) shares this sentiment. For Ms. Spillett, a transformational and 'holistic' training experience is required in order to understand the effects of colonization and lingering systemic power imbalances. Participants in Ka Ni Kanichihk's programming, for example, do not receive only employment services and training in a narrowly conceived fashion, but receive cultural knowledge in a safe environment. The programs are family-oriented and allow for participants to understand themselves. All of these elements and ongoing intensive support are integral to training. Ms. Spillett states that jobs are not the same for different people. An Aboriginal woman will experience different complexities and obstacles when beginning a job than, for example, a white male. The need for cultural translation and interpretation in the workplace remains.

Opportunities for Employment serves a large number of Aboriginal and newcomer clients. Of the clients that utilize the organization's Ellice Avenue-based community office, 65-75 percent are Aboriginal and 15 percent are newcomer. Fifty-five percent of Taking Charge's clientele are Aboriginal and a growing proportion is newcomer; however, the organization offers no specific Aboriginal programming, as the programming is centred on single parents (the vast majority of which are women) and single women. The organization's Executive Director, Jackie Lavallee, attributes their successful programming to an ability to offer a welcoming, woman-based, respectful and accepting environment.

Core Funding and Capacity

Many of the organizations we consulted with expressed concern about core funding limitations which prevent them from offering the programming they deem necessary for their clients' success. Furthermore, many organizations expressed an inability to offer programming to all of those who seek it, with some having long waiting lists for existing programming and a shortage of human resource capacity to tend to potential and existing clients. It is somewhat ironic that the intent of this study is to conceive of a new LMI structure for the neighbourhoods in question when a number of organizations that can and do serve these neighbourhoods' residents are not in a position to offer more training opportunities themselves, in spite of having a demonstrated need and desire to do so.

CBOs want to expand programming to meet the needs of their communities. CBOs also want to offer as many services as possible 'in house' to respond to the identified needs of their clientele in one place. An LMI will have to be supportive of and complementary to the existing work of CBOs. Organizations expressed some scepticism about an LMI's ability to serve their needs. Will the LMI simply be another level of bureaucracy and stringent guidelines that organizations have

to take into consideration when seeking to offer their programming? Will it be flexible enough to enable participating organization to meet their own goals?

Doing an LMI properly involves drawing on the competencies of participating agencies and ensuring that these complement one another so as to avoid redundancies and concerns about territoriality with organizations' service-providing mandates.

Cultivating Relations with Employers

Many organizations reported to us that employers want job-ready employees. We were also informed of lingering sentiments of racism on the part of some employers: ostensibly 'colour-blind' employers may be hesitant to hire Aboriginal employees, for example. Furthermore, it is unclear whether today's employers have an accurate understanding of both the skills and needs of the newcomer workforce. There is an identified need for continued training of employers themselves to have workplaces more amenable to, and accepting of, both Aboriginal and newcomer workers.

Despite these potential difficulties with employers, many CBOs with reported that they would benefit from greater contact with employers. Many expressed the need for more dedicated employment counselling resources for their organization to enable them to pursue and cultivate relationships with employers over a longer period of time.

Relationships with employers must be built over the long term. Urban Circle's relationship with the Health Sciences Centre, for example, has been 15-20 years in the making. Building trust with employers is critical; this is a long-term initiative. Having a strong relationship with employers is absolutely essential to the success of training programs. Urban Circle can proceed with a training initiative only when certain that there is a match between available jobs, an employer's willingness to hire Aboriginal workers and enthusiasm on the part of the community.

Urban Circle foresees the need for greater mentorship and Aboriginal cultural training opportunities with employers. However, employers must not be compelled to attend Aboriginal cultural training or to hire Aboriginal individuals, but must be interested in doing so. Long-term success is predicated on mutual interest and trust.

Fatima Soares (Manitoba *START*) recognizes a need for employer education and engagement. She wishes that a greater number of employers understand that immigrants of today are not those of the past, who worked largely in the construction and textile industries. Today's immigrant workforce is highly and diversely skilled. She seeks a stronger connection with employers, as there are not enough job opportunities being made visible and available to *START*'s clientele.

It is interesting that that the area of employer education was raised as a priority by *CBOs* work-

ing with multi-barriered individuals but not by any of the employers. This suggests that there remains a disconnect between employers and multi-barriered individuals and those working with them. An *LMI* could have an important role in educating employers about the complex lives of their clients. Employers open to hiring multi-barriered people have the right to understand the challenges that these 'hires' come with and they need to be confident that the *LMI* will be there to provide ongoing support for individuals to ease the transition and minimize the challenges for employer and employee. It should be emphasized that employers willing to take the chance on employing multi-barriered employees should be well-supported to ensure that they do not regret their decision to do so and therefore remain committed to working with the *LMI* over the long term.

Lessons and Governance Options

Issues and Challenges

A successful LMI must effectively meet the needs of its clients, training organizations, employers and the communities served (both geographical and ethno-cultural), remain feasible for administrators and staff, and fulfil funding limits and criteria.

How does an LMI meet the needs of its clients? Ultimately, this question is tied to the question of who is being served by the LMI. In these three neighbourhoods, a large percentage of the population is comprised of Aboriginal people and newcomers, including both immigrants and refugees. Members of the newcomer population are at different stages of 'employment readiness' and face different challenges of integration and settlement within Winnipeg. Many of these challenges may be conceived as pre-employment, meaning that substantial supports and training are required until any given client is employment ready.

We make a qualitative distinction between the Aboriginal and newcomer cohorts that we are dealing with in these three neighbourhoods. As well, we distinguish between the immigrants and refugees that comprise the newcomer population. Without resorting to caricature, there are

enduring challenges that affect each of the main demographics under consideration. Many Aboriginal people live with the legacies and trauma of disruption from colonialism and the residential school system, experiencing low education levels, poverty and systemic racism. Many of the immigrant streams have individuals with a history of labour market attachments, who are on the whole well-educated and work-ready, save for language and skills recognition issues. The challenges for the refugee cohort are more compelling than for other newcomers, and include overall lower levels of education and literacy, acculturation issues and the need to cope with trauma. In addition, there is a non-Aboriginal, non-newcomer population in the neighbourhoods who may themselves be impeded by inner-city poverty traps and multiple-barriers.

An LMI for the three neighbourhood(s) would have to be clear about the population it is targeting (i.e. multi-barriered) and what the specific needs/composition of such a cohort are. Furthermore, with complex and comprehensive challenges facing each group, one must seriously pose the question of whether one LMI structure can adequately serve the needs of Aboriginal and newcomer populations.

We anticipate that the neighbourhood population reflects a wide range of barriers, and that any given individual may have multiple-barriers that need to be successfully addressed before he or she can successfully attain and retain employment.

It will be difficult to restrict access to an LMI to the population of a particular geographic area. While such an organization may be neighbourhood(s)-based and seek to serve the population of this area, it is sure to attract individuals from beyond this area. This may be due to the networks and relations of clients who successfully undertake training, who are referred to the organization by the successful trainee yet live outside of the geographically designated area. It may also result from the success of the organization, should it come to be successful. Furthermore, there is a high rate of transience amongst the population in question, who may move in and out of the area. Given that the vast majority of service providers that we consulted are hesitant to deny service to any needy person walking through its doors, it is unlikely, and perhaps undesirable, that an LMI can *exclusively* serve a particular geographically bound population.

An LMI dealing with multi-barriered populations would have to operate with flexible outcomes in mind. A pressing concern for an LMI sponsored by one or multiple government sources is ensuring accountability for dollars given. Nonetheless, given the multiple needs of the populations in question, such accountability must allow for a demonstration of outcomes that reflect positive developments. An LMI serving a multi-barriered population would benefit from innovative ways of capturing and reporting on positive developments and social outcomes realized by their programming and the programming offered by CBOs. These may include life skill attainment, new labour market attachments and volunteer experience, the development of healthy families, reduction in domestic violence, the building of a cohort's self-esteem, cultural reclamation and self-confidence and support for single mothers.

Incorporating Best Practices

Based on previous studies undertaken by the CCPA and new research and consultations undertaken for the purpose of this report, a successful LMI must exhibit certain criteria, mentioned in Part 2 of this report.

It is worth revisiting the criteria of a successful LMI as informed by our previous study in order to reflect upon how they may be incorporated into the prospective LMI. Successful LMIs are:

- **Networked**, comprised of formalized partnerships with CBOs, employer organizations, employers, government, unions, vocational institutions, community colleges and adult learning centres.
- **Comprehensive**, providing training supports (basic education, soft skills and hard skills) and post-employment supports.
- **Inclusive to employers**, incorporating employer contributions in program design, offering work experience and integrating programs into their recruitment practices.
- **Interventionist**, altering the functioning of labour markets and the nature of jobs to the benefit of disadvantaged job-seekers.
- **Culturally competent**, understanding the diverse frames of understandings and challenges that various communities experience.

A successful LMI will follow certain best practices:

- Focus on good jobs.
- Simulate the workplace: workplace habits and expectations become understood by job seekers.
- Follow a comprehensive program in collaboration with partner CBOs that includes skill building and supports including hard skills (technical); basic skills (math, writing, reading); soft skills (job readiness); support services (counselling, child care, transportation assistance); job search assistance (résumé writing, interview skills); and job placement activities.

- Provide financial and related supports: co-op/internships, training allowance for employers; financial assistance to students.
- Include the full involvement of the union (in organized workplaces).

Insights and Recommendations: Employers and Organizations

To these criteria and best practices, we add a host of insights garnered from the present research. A successful LMI in the Central Park, West Alexander and Centennial neighbourhoods would take the following recommendations into consideration.

General Lessons from Employers

- To be successful, an LMI must be linked to employer needs.
- Many employers support the objectives of an LMI in principle; however, an LMI will only gain traction when it helps fill identified needs not being met through existing human resource procedures.
- An LMI must simplify the process of employer recruitment and training.
- An LMI could be valuable in explaining hiring protocols and procedures with potential employees.
- An LMI must deliver employment-ready individuals and prepare would-be employees to handle expectations of the workplace.
- An LMI could provide supports for individuals in the downtime between seasonal employment terms.

Issues raised by CBOs about current obstacles and challenges in employment training

- Currently, there are unrealistic expectations about how quickly a multi-barriered individual can successfully complete employment related training.

- There is no one template that program participants can follow. Training simply is not the same for each participant, and participants will find themselves utilizing multiple services at different times throughout program. For a multi-barriered clientele, there is no linear path towards employment.
- Time and resources are required for social development and academic training.
- There is insufficient funding for social development, pre-employment services, and on-going supports for multi-barriered clients. CBOs face financing constraints that jeopardize their ability to offer these services, which are often not recognized as essential by government funding conditions.
- That CBOs can and do offer valuable mentorship, leadership roles, self-confidence and employment opportunities to the communities they serve is often not recognized.
- Many existing training programs are not designed with the needs of multi-barriered clients in mind.
- Programs that focus solely on job retention do not reflect the realities of multi-barriered people. Job retention can be a particular challenge for multi-barriered people because of life impacts and new issues that arise because of the new job.
- It is wrong to assume that multi-barriered individuals will simply take a job based on this job's availability. Individuals are more likely to pursue training when they deem both the training and prospective jobs to be in their interests.
- There remains a disincentive to undertake training or seek employment if this jeopardizes one's ability to receive Employment and Income Assistance. The availability of career building, family

supporting jobs would provide a greater incentive for clients to pursue training and employment.

- Many CBOs that offer multifaceted and extensive pre-employment and employment training have core funding limitations, which prevent them from offering the programming they deem necessary for their clients' success. Furthermore, many organizations expressed an inability to offer programming to all of those who sought it, with some having long waiting lists for existing programming and a shortage of human resource capacity to tend to potential and existing clients. There are sensitivities, therefore, that a new LMI may be created and funded when such needs have not been sufficiently addressed.
- While many CBOs develop enduring relationships with their students, program participants, and communities, they lack the ability to track the entire range of services and programs that individuals may take beyond their institution over an extended period of time.
- Multi-barriered people are often intimidated or dissatisfied with government programming and will not seek out government services.
- Trusting relationships are crucial to success, and these are best formed through CBOs.
- There remains a gap in employer knowledge of the complexity of issues for multi-barriered individuals that makes job-readiness as perceived by employers often an unrealistic expectation.

What Organizations Would Like to See, and Like not to See in an LMI

The following is a CBO 'wishlist' for an effective and collaborative LMI.

Most importantly, the LMI must provide a way to build relationships and trust with, and to support, multi-barriered people.

- An LMI must provide the direct role of assisting clients to transition from training to employment but also be able to direct/re-direct people back to the appropriate training organizations if they require additional training.
- The LMI must consider the full spectrum of employment opportunities, from entry-level to fully-trained jobs.
- The LMI must complete a more comprehensive demographic analysis of the neighbourhoods and be clear about the demographic and cultural group(s) that it is serving.
- The LMI must be established at the community level and be driven by community needs but have the stability and funding of a government organisation (e.g. multi-year funding).
- An LMI must take as its mandate a client-centred approach and respond to the needs and goals identified by the community(ies) it serves.
- An LMI must seek to provide its clients with the most comprehensive range of options available. This does not mean that the LMI itself will provide services but rather will work in collaboration with CBOs to ensure that a comprehensive range of pre-employment and employment training, as well as a wide array of prospective employment, is available and accessible so as to meet both the needs and goals of multi-barriered job seekers.
- An LMI must be flexible to recognize how long it would take a multi-barriered individual to move through the system.
- If the objective is to serve multi-barriered residents, programs must not be designed

so that only fully functioning and fully participating citizens can navigate them.

- An LMI must draw from the strong relationships that CBOs have with their clientele. CBOs are well-placed to serve their constituent communities, however defined, and committed to ongoing support until program participants are successful.
- An LMI must not overlook shortcomings of public services and should be prepared to advocate for large scale, systemic change (for example, to address structural and systemic change for EIA, to make it easier for people to transition to employment). It could also serve as a way to educate the public about labour market issues.
- In order to serve the needs of the refugee and multi-barriered immigrant population, an LMI must offer mentorship and facilitate training and programming for people below Canadian Language Benchmark level 5;
- An LMI serving Aboriginal or newcomer communities requires the full and active participation of these communities. The community must 'own' the initiative.
- An LMI could provide training to workplaces to ensure greater receptivity to Aboriginal and newcomer workers. If an LMI is to serve the Aboriginal community, it must consider cultural reclamation and decolonization training for both clients and employers.
- A neighbourhood-based LMI must establish relationships beyond the neighbourhood. It would be wrong to assume that a neighbourhood-based LMI could best serve its community by only offering jobs in close proximity, given that the career and life aspirations of multi-barriered people differ.
- An LMI must be a central entity that gathers information about who is training whom, who has the skills and how to support the training organisations. It would also offer centralized coordination of the wide diversity of options now offered by CBOs. This would make it easier for people to find the resources they need and would offer a consistent place to return for additional resources as their employment needs and skills change.
- An LMI must not jeopardize the training offered currently by CBOs but instead complement and enhance this training.
- An LMI must integrate and make available a wide range of pre-existing training options to its clientele rather than offering these services anew. This may involve establishing a part time 'itinerant' service provision at the LMI.
- An LMI must be cognizant of potential perceptions of favouritism or cutting into an organization's client and funding base.
- While drawing strict boundaries around a clientele is difficult, the LMI must be highly visible and physically anchored in the geographical community that is the intended beneficiary of the services.
- As much as possible, the LMI must facilitate connections with CBOs already offering 'in house' services. The LMI must fill in the gaps.
- An LMI must be more than simply another referring service.
- An LMI must have resources to enable it to adequately track clients to give them, CBOs and policymakers a clearer understanding the reality that the path of multi-barriered job-seekers is not a linear path that results in quick, quantifiable and easy to measure outcome
- Time and resources are required for social development and academic training.

- There is no one template that each program participant follows. Training simply is not the same for each participant, and participants will find themselves utilizing multiple services at different times throughout program. For a multi-barriered clientele, there is no linear path towards employment.
- Given that there remains a disincentive to undertake training or seek employment if this jeopardizes one's ability to receive Employment and Income Assistance, the availability of career building, family supporting jobs would provide a greater incentive for clients to pursue training and employment.
- An LMI could be helpful in coordinating the various needs of employment seekers and program participants (for example: housing, childcare, necessary services).

Governance and Organization

Lessons and Principles

We conceive of the LMI as a central manager of networks of CBOs, government, employers and relevant unions. It requires dedicated personnel. It must be highly-visible and well-connected to its focus neighbourhood(s).

It is successful by leveraging the contribution, training opportunities, programs and expertise of contributing partners. The partnerships involved in establishing the LMI should be co-ordinated, consistent and complementary in focus. This latter point means that organizations see value in participating in the structure, as it offers an opportunity for their clients to benefit from a broader range of services and programs. An LMI is not meant to be an impediment or threat to organizations, their funding, and their existing programs.

In order to successfully transition multi-barriered individuals from little to no employment to being successfully employed in meaningful

employment, a range of services is required. A successful LMI would have to either directly or indirectly offer these services.

We envision a governance structure that is driven by the participating CBOs and employers. The LMI must be seen as complementary to these organizations' existing programs and having the capacity to enhance their work. The LMI is best conceived of as an institution that enhances and does not detract from the work and existing programming of CBOs.

The following governing principles are consistently applicable regardless of the final form of the organization. The LMI will:

- Build on the long established relationships of trust and familiarity established between CBOs and the target population
- Simplify relationships between employers and the range of participating service organizations
- Simplify relationships between government and CBOs by filtering information, reporting and expectations
- Have personnel dedicated to managing the multiple referrals and services that any one individual may require
- Establish an advisory board with receptive people in a number of institutions, including advocates beyond simply human resource personnel
- Dedicate resources to ensure that multiple organizations can offer services and input without being overtaxed
- Enshrine cooperation and non-competitiveness in the governance structure.

Possible Models and Their Potential Benefits and Challenges

From our research we were able to determine six potential LMI models, each with benefits and challenges to consider. These are:

1. An Aboriginal-serving labour market intermediary
2. A newcomer-serving labour market intermediary
3. A single, neighbourhood-based labour market intermediary
4. A case worker model
5. A neighbourhood-based/decentralized case-worker model
6. 'Community' focused decentralized case-worker model

Model One: An Aboriginal-serving labour market intermediary

This entity would serve the Aboriginal community. It may or may not prioritize those living in the communities in question. It may have a comprehensive cultural training component for both clients and employers. It would leverage the existing training services offered by CBOs while having enduring relationships with employers and the capacity to direct clients to a full range of services and training. It would have the capacity to track an individual's development over time. This model is predicated on the understanding that the particular challenges facing Winnipeg's inner-city Aboriginal community necessitate a separate entity.

Benefits:

- Could potentially best reflect needs of Aboriginal community and be legitimately 'owned' by the Aboriginal community
- Could incorporate a robust cultural reclamation program for employment seekers and anti-racism training for employers
- Can leverage contributions of existing Aboriginal organizations
- May contribute to employers' strategies for Aboriginal human resource development

Challenges:

- Could be difficult to draw firm geographical boundaries around an Aboriginal-serving LMI
- The Aboriginal focus would ignore the needs of other multi-barriered job-seekers and therefore that gap would not be filled

Model Two: A newcomer-serving labour market intermediary

This entity would serve the newcomer community, with a particular focus on refugees and immigrants with multiple barriers. It may or may not prioritize serving those living in the communities in question. It may have a comprehensive cultural training component for both clients and employers. It would leverage the existing training services offered by CBOs while having enduring relationships with employers and the capacity to direct clients to a full range of services and training. It would have the capacity to track an individual's development over time. This model is predicated on the understanding that the particular challenges facing Winnipeg's inner-city refugee and multi-barriered immigrant community necessitate a separate entity.

Benefits:

- Could potentially best reflect needs of newcomer community and be legitimately 'owned' by the community
- Could incorporate a robust anti-racism training
- Can leverage contributions of existing newcomer-serving organizations
- May contribute to employers' strategies for newcomer human resource development

Challenges:

- Could be difficult to draw firm geographical boundaries around a newcomer serving LMI

- Newcomers is a general category comprised of both refugees and immigrants. These two groups have substantially different employability and acculturation concerns
- Immigrant service provision in the city is already coalescing around Manitoba START program — how would such an LMI fit in with this schema?
- The newcomer focus would ignore the needs of other multi-barriered job-seekers and therefore that gap would not be filled

Model Three: A single, neighbourhood-based labour market intermediary

This entity would serve the entire population of the Central Park, Alexander, and Centennial neighbourhoods. It would be highly visible and have the mandate to increase employability of neighbourhood residents. It may have separate arms to serve the Aboriginal and newcomer communities. It may incorporate principles of community economic development and develop a comprehensive plan for neighbourhood employment and economic growth. It would leverage the existing training services offered by CBOs while having enduring relationships with employers and the capacity to direct clients to a full range of services and training. It would have the capacity to track an individual's development over time. This model is predicated on the belief that a comprehensive, neighbourhood-based employment and training strategy is required and has the capacity to serve all of those who enter its doors irrespective of background. It may serve as a host to training offered by CBOs.

Benefits:

- Comprehensive
- Capable of incorporating principles of community economic development
- Non-discriminatory in serving neighbourhood clientele

- Best positioned to lead to comprehensive impact in neighbourhood in question
- May offer satellite services and training of participating organizations
- May have the capacity to become a stable, highly visible neighbourhood entity in time

Challenges:

- May be difficult to restrict services to neighbourhood residents alone
- May be difficult to adequately serve the needs of Aboriginal, newcomer, and non-Aboriginal, non-newcomer population due to specific challenges facing each group
- May be difficult to avoid redundancies and duplicating services offered elsewhere

Model Four: A case-worker model

This entity would be comprised of intensive case-worker services, whereby employees of the LMI would manage and direct clients to a range of services over an extended period of time. It is predicated on the understanding that a multi-barriered individual may require a range of services, training and referrals that are too complex for that individual to manage alone. Furthermore, it is predicated on the understanding that no individual CBO can offer the complete range of services that an individual may require but that an LMI can be successful directing individuals out to these services. It may or may not be focused exclusively on a particular geographical area and workers would ideally have a degree of mobility to serve a broad geographic base. This may be conceived of as a component of the other suggested models.

Benefits:

- Could serve the needs of a multi-barriered clientele by managing the multiple systems and referrals used by a client

Challenges:

- Runs the risk of becoming another referral service

- Lacks the highly visible community presence of neighbourhood-based LMI

Model Five: Neighbourhood-serving/ decentralized case-worker model

This is essentially a hybrid model that takes into consideration the complex and diverse needs of multi-barriered job-seekers described throughout this paper, while also considering the needs of employers and CBOs. It can *focus on* particular neighbourhoods, with the populations of these neighbourhoods being the intended beneficiaries. However, it would not be *limited to* the neighbourhoods in question in terms of who is eligible to access services and where employers/ participating CBOs are located.

This hybrid model would see the establishment of a stand-alone organization with the characteristics described in Model 3, but responding to the unique needs of Aboriginal, newcomer and others by hiring case-workers who would be deployed to work with specific organizations and individuals based on their needs. This model would be governed by a board representative of participating employers, CBOs and key government departments. It would employ a complement of case-workers who would spend a portion of their time at CBOs where they would build relationships with CBO staff and clients. The central role of the case-worker would be to work with employers and employees, easing the transition into the workplace. Once employment is accessed, the emphasis of the LMI caseworker role would shift from the CBO environment to the workplace environment, providing ongoing support to their clients as they make their transition to work.

The role of the LMI Executive Director would be to identify employers willing to work in collaboration with the LMI and to act as a liaison between employers and CBOs.

In this model, the provision of service is clearly defined. The LMI does not provide onsite training or pre-employment supports but rather di-

rects and re-directs clients to training at CBOs as appropriate to their needs. The LMI may provide onsite training more specific to job-search and job retention where gaps exist, but this role would be more clearly defined by the board of directors (Diagram 1 illustrates the core functions of the LMI and how it would relate to the various stakeholders).

Benefits:

- A comprehensive model that operates from CED principles
- Efficient and less likely to duplicate services of other CBOs given the day-to-day collaboration build into this decentralized model
- Decentralized case-worker aspect would best respond to diverse needs of Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal and newcomer clients
- Best able to respond to issues and challenges identified by all stakeholders
- Eliminates risk of overlap as programming provided only where gaps have been identified by employers/CBOs

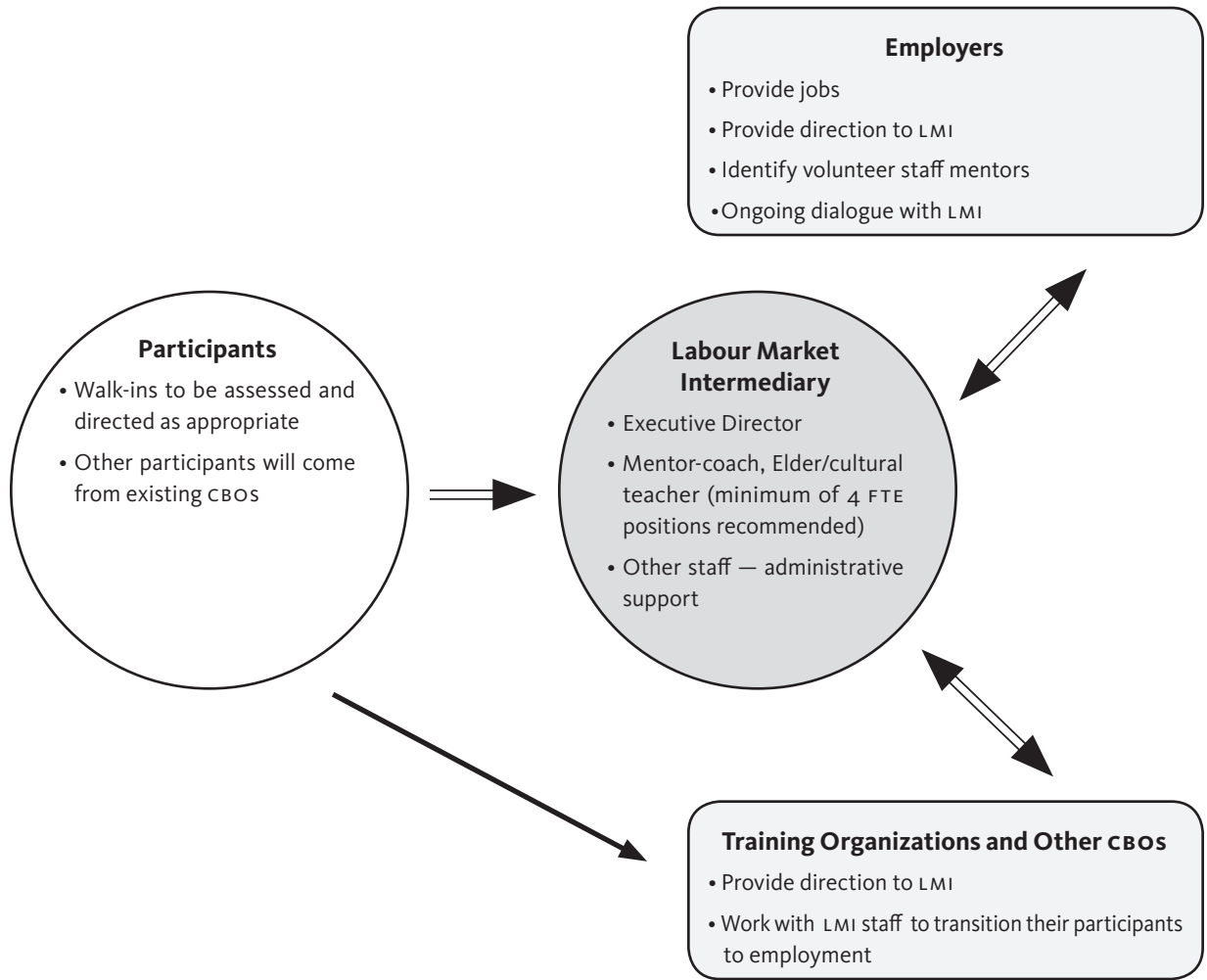
Challenges:

- Decentralizing staff may be difficult to manage. This model will require significant cooperation between CBOs and LMI.

Model Six: ‘Community’ focused decentralized case-worker model

While we believe that the hybrid model described above moves us closer to a model that sufficiently responds to the issues raised by CBOs, employers and employment seekers through this and other research conducted by CCPA Manitoba, we have also come to believe that the unique needs of different groups require very different and focused interventions. For this reason we conclude that the community-based relationship building features of Model 5 would be most

**FIGURE 1 LMI “Hybrid” Service Model
Decentralized Case Worker Model**



effective if focused on the specific needs of individual communities such as those described in Models 1 and 2.

Given the over representation of Aboriginal people among those most disadvantaged, and the fact that the Aboriginal population is much younger and growing at a faster rate than the non-Aboriginal population, we propose that an LMI based on the hybrid model described in Model 5 be established in Winnipeg specifically focused on Aboriginal employment placement and development.

Cost and benefits:

We estimate an annual budget of the LMI model recommended to be approximately \$500,000 per year. We propose an ongoing funding commitment from multiple stakeholders including the federal and provincial governments and quasi government agencies and crown corporations, all of which have equity hiring objectives that could be better met through the service of an LMI. This amount would cover the core operating costs including staffing, We estimate a minimum complement

of staff to include an executive director, one administrative assistant and four caseworkers. If additional programming needs are identified by CBO partners, additional staff will be required.

As described in this paper, the benefits of establishing a LMI far outweigh the costs. A LMI would provide an important resource for em-

ployers, training organizations and job seekers that we know is much needed.

Our research tells us very clearly that a gap in service currently exists. Our research also tells us that filling this gap by supporting a single community-based entity, could be an effective way to improve employment outcomes for multi-barriered job seekers.

Conclusion

All of the representatives who participated in this feasibility study agreed in principle that multi-barriered job-seekers have a great deal of difficulty finding and keeping employment. The reality is that employers have very specific needs and want employees who are 'job-ready'. However many of the individuals that CBOs work with are nowhere near job-ready and CBOs that are funded to provide training do not have the capacity to provide the kinds of supports many job-seekers require as they transition into employment.

Most of the representatives who participated in this study agreed in principle that the concept

of an LMI is one that could be of benefit to them and their clients. However, they were adamant that they would like to be fully involved in the design and governance of such an entity. They were also adamant that an LMI must not provide programming that overlaps with the work that they do nor should it take away from their funding.

Finally, they noted that in order to be effective over the long-term, such a model will require ongoing government funding so that board members and staff are not spending valuable time seeking funding to continue operations.

Bibliography

- Abt. Associates, Inc., 2006. *Cultural competence in workforce development: The jobs initiative experience*. Baltimore: The Annie E. Casey Foundation.
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (AECF), 2001. *Taking the initiative on jobs and race: Innovations in workforce development for minority job seekers and employers*. Baltimore: The Annie E. Casey Foundation.
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (AECF), 2007. *Strengthening workforce policy: Applying the lessons of the jobs initiatives to five key challenges*. Baltimore: The Annie E. Casey Foundation.
- Austin, M., K. Lemon and E. Leer, 2005. "Promising practices for meeting the multiple needs of low-income families in poverty neighborhoods." *Journal of Health and Social Policy*, 21 (2), 95
- City of Winnipeg, 2009. *City of Winnipeg Neighbourhood Profiles*. City of Winnipeg. Accessed at www.winnipeg.ca.
- Fleischer, W. and J. Dressner, 2002. *Providing the missing link: A model for a neighborhood-focused employment program*. Available on AECF website.
- Giloth, R. 2004. "Introduction: A case for workforce intermediaries." In R. Giloth, ed. *Workforce intermediaries for the twenty-first century*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Pp. 3-30.
- Harrison, B. and M. Weiss. 1998. *Workforce development networks*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publishing.
- Loewen, G., J. Silver, M. August, P. Bruning, M. MacKenzie, and S. Meyerson. (2005). *Moving low-income people in Winnipeg's inner city into good jobs evidence on what works best*. Winnipeg: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives - Manitoba.
- MacKinnon, S. (2011). *The effectiveness of neo-liberal labour market policy as a response to the poverty and social exclusion of Aboriginal second-chance learners*. PhD Dissertation. University of Manitoba.
- Silver, J. 2006. *In their own voices: Building urban aboriginal communities*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Appendix A — List of Employment and Employment Related Services

The following is a list of employment and employment-related services located within or situated close to the neighbourhoods under study or servicing the populations of these neighbourhoods. It does not necessarily reflect the extent of community-building activities undertaken by the CBOs, nor the long-term engagement and support the CBOs offer their clients through a variety of informal means.

1. Building Urban Industries through Local Development (BUILD)

- Class 5 Driver's License
- WHIMS training
- Asbestos Removal training
- First Aid/CPR Training
- Tutoring
- Ongoing support and mentoring
- Soft skills and life skills training: Interpersonal Customer Relations Skills and Punctuality/Attendance training
- Basic carpentry training:
 - Framing
 - Power tool use
 - Measuring
 - Insulating
- Basic plumbing training:

- Replacing toilets, shower heads and faucet aerators

2. The Central Park Women's Resource Centre

- Sewing club
- Women's international craft group
- Computer training
- Child minding
- Cooking training
- Peer support
- Global market

3. The Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development (CAHRD)

- Essential skills training — six week training involving literacy, upgrading and life skills development
- Job search and placement, job coaching with employees and employers through employment liaison
- Post-secondary and industry-based training through Neeginan Institute of Applied Technology
- Childcare, kindergarten and housing for students
- Outreach services to multiple locations

4. Education and Employment Preparation Services (EEPS)

- Job attainment services
 - Pre-employment services
 - Employment plan development
 - Employment maintenance assistance
 - For unemployed persons with a learning disability

5. Employment Projects of Winnipeg

- Employment and career counselling services to immigrant employment seekers

6. Employment Solutions for Immigrant Youth

- Work experience and career counselling
- 8 week in classroom based program consisting of:
 - Career planning — needs assessment/self-assessment, speaking development/interview skills, workplace skills/marketing tools/networking
 - Lifestyle management — communication/group work, change/stress, customer service, assertive/aggressive/passive behaviour, Winnipeg tips/Canada presentations
 - Education — apprenticeship, RPL (PLAR)/credential recognition, education institutions/presentations/timelines, vocabulary, essential skills
 - Employment — task maps, portfolio, newspaper articles/job ads, what employers are looking for...
 - Computer familiarization — technology for life and the workplace, keyboarding skills, email/internet, MS Office 2007 applications, résumé/cover letter/thank you letter writing/memos — practical work.

(Source: employmentsolutionsforimmigrant-youth.mb.ca)

7. Employment Solutions for Immigrants

- Employment preparation program

- Career coaching
- Career development
- Employment preparation

8. ENTRY

- Orientation services to newly-arrived immigrants
 - Employment/education
 - Laws
 - Health
 - Navigating city

9. Gordon Bell High School

- “Fresh Start” Project
 - Literacy/academic development
 - Life style education
 - Cultural activities
 - Volunteer and leadership experience
 - Employment readiness
 - Apprenticeship training/work training experience
 - Supported job search and employment

10. The Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM)

- Newcomer Literacy Initiative: adult EAL literacy class for immigrants and refugees who are unable to access other programs due to childcare and mobility challenges. On-site childcare is provided
- Community Resource Program: a multi-faceted program designed to build capacity and life skills of newcomers
 - Cultural integration through the Family-to-Family host program
 - Job search & finding relevant education/skills training opportunities
 - Community consultations and meetings
 - Life skills training (renting in Canada, health & safety precautions, etc...)
 - Health, family & parenting in Canada
 - Educational workshops
 - Community greening program

- Community recreational programs
- Conversational English programs
- Translation & interpretation of important documents, posters, letters
- Third stage house search assistance
- Tenant volunteers

(Source: www.ircom.ca and IRCOM 2009-2010 Annual Report)

11. Immigrant Centre Manitoba

- Immigrant Employment Assistance Services
 - Career counselling
 - Job search skills
 - Employment preparation workshops
 - Refer to education training opportunities
 - Refer to English language training

12. Job Works

- Youth Build Program
 - Building construction skills
 - Work experience
 - Classroom instruction, counselling, evaluation and mentorship
 - Soft skills: life stability and positive work habits

13. Ka Ni Kanichihk

- Honouring gifts program
 - Pre-employment training involving life skill and culturally authentic education component in safe and welcoming environment
 - Receive certification in:
- Workplace Hazardous Materials Information System (WHMIS)
- Food handlers certificate
- First aid/CPR
- Customer service
- Suicide intervention
 - Goal setting; 'our ways of being' (life skills); explore career options with up to three internship opportunities; increase

exposure to workplaces, careers, educational options

- Information and office administrative assistant program
 - 12 month program accredited by Red River College, in partnership with Neeginan Institute; program is the joint curriculum of Red River College and Ka Ni Kanichihk
 - Students may continue on to second year of the Computer Applications for Business Diploma program at RRC

14. Knox Property and Management Corporation

- Hospitality and Retail/Light Industry Training Programs
 - Employability workshops
 - Work experience placements

15. Manitoba START

- Centralized intake service for newly arrived immigrants to Winnipeg, providing referrals to employment, orientation, language and settlement services

16. Ndinawemaaganag Endaawaad Inc.

- Child and Youth Care Worker training program
 - Life skills, cultural awareness training
 - Counselling
 - Academic and professional training

17. Newcomers Employment and Education Development Services (NEEDS)

- Education program
- Employment preparation programming

18. New Directions for Children, Youth and Families

- JobSolution
 - Vocational and educational assessment
 - Employability and job readiness training

- Work experience
- Job search and placement
- Training Resources for Youth (T.R.Y.) Program
 - Pre-employment
 - Develop productive lifestyle
 - Life skills classroom component
 - Work assessment
 - Work placement

19. Opportunities for Employment

- Job Search Preparation
 - Job coaching and consultation, résumé development, job search techniques and interview skills
- Employ-Ability Skills Program
 - Life skills learning and pre-employment skill development for clients lacking a solid or steady work history
- Computer Literacy Modules
 - Computer Access: Windows Operating Environment and Internet Usage
 - Microsoft Word Basic, Intermediate and Advanced
 - Microsoft Excel Basic, Intermediate and Advanced
 - Microsoft Access Basic and Intermediate
 - Microsoft PowerPoint Basic and Intermediate
 - Microsoft Outlook Basic and Intermediate
- Employment Development Certificates
 - Lift Truck Theory Online
 - CPR and first aid
 - Serving it Safe, Responsible Service and Safety Program
 - Safe Food Handler's Certificate
 - Workplace Hazardous Materials Information System (WHMIS)
- Mature Worker Program
- Community Home Services Program
 - Provide training to income assistance

- participants to bridge them into long-term sustainable employment
- Stage of Change — Persons with a Disability
 - Pre-employment services and employment facilitator services offered to persons with disabilities

(Source: www.ofe.ca)

20. Patal Vocational Schools

- PC Service Technician/Network Management training program
 - Academic upgrading
 - Technical skills training
 - Employability training
 - Work experience
- ISP Community Technician training
- Computerized accounting
- Level One Cooking
- Hospitality and Tourism training
- IC3 Internet and Core Computing Certification
- Continuing on the Red road for Empowerment (CORE)
 - 24 week course to improve employability for 18-30 year old youth

(Source: www.patalvoc.com)

21. Salvation Army Weetamah Community Services

- Work Readiness Program
 - Employability skills
 - Life skills development: communication skills, appearance, time management, budgeting, stress/anger management
 - Computer skills development

22. SEED

- Ethno-Cultural Social Enterprise Development program
 - Training to develop social enterprise
 - Business management
 - Accessing funding and supportive services
 - Counselling

23. Society for Manitobans with Disabilities

- Ethno-Cultural Program
 - Services and supports for immigrants with disabilities, whose first language is not English.

24. Taking Charge!

- Career/vocational counselling
- Pre-employment/personal development workshops
 - Career search, peer support
- Taking Charge! of Opportunities
 - Pre-employment soft skill development, training and employment readiness, planning, decision making and communication skills
- Paving the Way
 - 12 week personal development, interpersonal skills and learning foundations program
- EAL Proven Workers Program
 - EAL training for immigrant women who have lived in Canada for many years
- Literacy and academic upgrading
- Computer lab classes and tutorials
 - AZTEC Learning Software
 - Intro to Windows
 - Intro and Advanced Word
 - Intro and Advanced Excel
 - Intro to PowerPoint
 - Intro to Internet
 - Career Cruising
- Taking Jobs!
 - Employment counselling
 - Career exploration
 - Résumé/cover letter preparation
 - Computer training
 - Internet access
 - Faxing services
 - Job leads

(Source: www.takingcharge.org/programs)

25. Urban Circle Training Centre

- Adult Apprenticeship and Employment Program (11 months)
 - High school diploma program
 - Pre-employment: life skills, cultural awareness, academic upgrading
 - Apprenticeship trade skills
 - Employment – paid work experience
- Educational Assistant Program (10 months)
 - Pre-employment training
- Health Care Aide/Health Unit Clerk Training Program (10 month)
 - Pre-employment training: course work, professional training and cultural awareness
 - Clinical experience
- Family Support Worker/Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder Program (11 Month)
 - Skill development and academic and professional training
 - Practicum placement
- Early Childhood Educator Diploma Program (2 Years)

26. Welcome Place (MB Interfaith Immigration Council)

- Settlement services
 - Orientation
 - Needs assessment and referral to appropriate services
 - Life skills training
 - Advocacy, assistance and support to refugee claimants
 - Temporary housing

27. West Central Women's Resource Centre

- Settlement services
- Sewing circles
- Child minding training program (plus first aid, CPR and employment supports)

28. Winnipeg English Language Assessment and Referral Centre

- English language assessment and referral

29. Winnipeg Boys and Girls Club

- Personalized Employment Preparation (P.E.P.) Program
 - Employment skills workshops
 - Personal development workshops
 - Computer literacy training
 - Academic skills upgrading
 - Job search and placement

30. Youth Employment Service

- Promote and facilitate employment of unemployed youth
 - Employability assessment
 - Job search strategies and assistance

31. YM-YWCA of Winnipeg

- Employment Training Services
 - Life skills
 - Work experience: recreation, early childhood education, building maintenance
 - Supported job search
 - Mentoring

The Government of Manitoba

- Department of Advanced Education and Literacy
- Department of Education
- Department of Housing and Community Development
- Department of Entrepreneurship, Training and Trade
- Department of Family Services and Consumer Affairs
- Department of Healthy Living, Youth and Seniors
- Department of Labour and Immigration
- Department of Local Government

Appendix B — Sample Questions to Community-Based Organizations

1. What employment services do you offer?
 - Pre-employment soft-skill training (job preparedness; expectations of the workplace, etc.)
 - Job search and placement
 - Hard skills (training)
 - Remaining in the job/advancement?
2. How are these programs funded?
3. What length of time do you provide services to your clients?
 - Pre-employment?
 - Attaining employment?
 - During and post-employment (remaining in work/career advancement/training)?
4. How do you recruit clients for your employment-related programming?
 - Do you feel as though you are successful in reaching 'hard to reach' people?
 - If so, what contributes to this success?
 - If not, what can be done differently?
 - Do they successfully complete your training/programming? Why or why not?
5. Do you have repeat contact with a client after he/she has initially used your services?
6. Are you aware of employment they receive and/or challenges that they face after working with your organization?
6. Is there a cultural component to your work:
 - Do you target or predominantly serve clients from a particular cultural group?
 - Do you have different training programs for different cultural groups?
 - Do you cater to a 'multi-cultural' clientele?
 - Do you experience challenges in offering culturally-relevant programming?
7. Do you serve multi-barriered or disadvantaged clients?
 - If yes, what are the challenges associated with this?
 - What are the best practices associated with this?
8. Is there a geographical component to your work:
 - Do you target or predominantly serve clients from a particular geographical area?
 - Why or why not?
 - If yes, how do you do this?

9. Are there additional services you would like to offer your clients that you cannot offer at present? What are these?
10. How do you find what jobs are available for your clients? How do you connect with employers?
11. How do you measure whether or not your clients are successful in the training they have undertaken with you? Do you or your funders have performance indicators for your employment programming? Do your clients meet these?
12. Do you feel that a neighbourhood-based Labour Market Intermediary — that is, one that services both job seekers and employers from a particular neighbourhood — would be successful? Why or why not?
13. Would you be willing to participate in a Labour Market Intermediary? What kind of role would you envision for your organization? Would you have any concerns about your participation in a Labour Market Intermediary?
14. Can you recommend other area employers or service providers that we should speak with on this matter?

Appendix C — Sample Questions to Employers

1. How many employees do you have?
2. What range of jobs do you offer, and what qualifications do you seek?
3. What is your employee turnover rate?
4. Do you have a multicultural work place?
5. What is the gender ratio of your workforce?
6. How do you meet your human resource needs (advertising; job-listing services, etc.)?
7. What challenges do you have in meeting your human resource needs?
8. Have you ever targeted the local (neighbourhood) population to meet your human resource needs?
 - If yes, what did you do?
 - Were you successful?
9. Do you have contact with organizations in the neighbourhood?
10. Have you targeted people from disadvantaged communities (Aboriginal; 'multiple-barriered'; low-income?) in your hiring practices?
 - Why or why not?
11. If so, would you deem this successful? Are there associated challenges?
12. Have you ever sought input and/or assistance from employment service agencies?
 - If yes, what sort of input/assistance did you seek? (pre-employment 'soft-skill' training; job search and placement; hard skills?)
 - Was this successful?
 - Were there challenges associated with this?
13. Do you think that a Labour Market Intermediary could assist you in meeting your human resource needs?
14. Would you be willing to commit your input into this organization over time?
15. What additional services would you utilize or wish to see?
16. What could be done to successfully introduce initiatives aimed at hiring people from disadvantaged communities?
17. Will union obligations affect the nature and scope of the LMI?
18. Can you recommend other area employers or service providers that we should speak with on this matter?

Endnotes

¹“Defined loosely as the capacity to interact and function appropriately in the workplace, soft skills can include everything from dress to language, communication styles, and levels of motivation. Some employers see black and Latino men as lacking in soft skills, a factor that has prevented those men from securing and maintaining family-supporting work” (AECF, 2001). The soft-skills gap, while important, should not be overstated: one must gauge whether an employer’s concern over the lack of soft-skills is a tactic to avoid hiring workers from a particular demographic or community (AECF, 2001, p. 5).

² Populated areas

³ This category includes Métis, North American Indian, Inuit, Multiple and Aboriginal responses not included elsewhere.

⁴ 15 years of age and older

⁵ 15 years of age and older

⁶ Male, Female and Total

⁷ Refers to the percentage of people who moved within Winnipeg, within Manitoba, within Canada or internationally.