

CULTURAL COMPETENCY AND WELL BEING IN THE GLOBAL GATHERING PLACE

A Thesis Submitted to the
College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts
In the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By

MARISSA LANA EVANS

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University of Saskatchewan
116 Thorvaldson Building, 110 Science Place
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ABSTRACT

Cultural competency is increasingly embraced in the provision of social and health services to newcomers to Canada. Cultural competency is a fluid process along a continuum which is present at any organization or institution which provides services to clientele with diverse backgrounds. This thesis presents the results of a three-month ethnographic project conducted in partnership with the Global Gathering Place (GGP) in Saskatoon. This research found that having access to services that accommodate newcomers' unique cultural backgrounds enhances well being and facilitates adjustment to a new home. This is largely accomplished through developing networks, minimizing isolation, and encouraging connections between newcomers and their community. This research was conducted from the theoretical standpoint of the anthropology of the good, which seeks to examine positivity and emerged as a resistance to dark anthropology, or a focus on suffering and the harsh dimensions of life. Well being is facilitated through several factors such as interpersonal connection, spirituality, and the ability to live "the good life." The good life is a concept intertwined with well being and one cannot occur without the other. Though both well being and the good life are subjective notions, participants shared similarities when conceptualizing both. This research finds that the GGP is a highly culturally competent organization and as a result, the clientele of the GGP experience high rates of well being. Further study into the role of cultural competency in newcomer well being is therefore recommended.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Pamela Downe, and my committee, Drs. Karen Lawson and Natalia Khanenko-Friesen, for their support and guidance throughout the thesis process. Thank you to my external, Dr. Terry Wotherspoon, and to my chair, Dr. Angela Lieverse, for their time and assistance. I will be forever grateful for your mentorship. I would also like to thank the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology for support provided as funding for this research. My utmost gratitude to the Global Gathering Place for allowing me to join and study their organization and to the participants of this research. Thank you for speaking with me, sharing with me, and, at times, feeding me. Your enthusiasm for my research made fieldwork an absolutely splendid experience. Finally, I would like to thank my parents and friends for their ongoing encouragement throughout the pursuit of this degree. Words cannot express my appreciation for your patience and reassurance.

DEDICATION

In memory of Patrick Garrity and Annie.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Global Gathering Place (GGP)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and Research Question

Cultural competency is recognized by most governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations in Canada as critically important to the provision of social and health services. Cultural competency is a process along a continuum whereby an organization or institution may become a safe space for the expression of diversity among those who access services. This process is fluid, not static, and position within the continuum may move forward or backward at any time. The main research question which guided my research is “How does culturally competent programming foster well being among newcomer populations in Saskatoon?” My research occurred at the Global Gathering Place, a non-profit organization which serves newcomers during the resettlement process. The Global Gathering Place was founded in Saskatoon in 1998 (LinkedIn 2018). The organization has refined their approach to service provision during these two decades of operation. I chose this organization as I had previously worked with them during an undergraduate project regarding newcomer oral histories and knew them to be highly placed on the cultural competency continuum. The staff members at the organization remembered me from this project, facilitating quick integration into the daily workings of the office. My familiarity with the Global Gathering Place as a culturally safe place for newcomers led to the study of the dynamics of cultural competency. As more newcomers, both immigrants and refugees, come to the city of Saskatoon, it is imperative that they have access to services which respect their unique cultural backgrounds and assist in providing a sense of well being as they adjust to their new homes. The 2016 Canadian Census found that, out of 246,376 citizens, 42, 640 were composed of immigrants and newcomers (Statistics Canada 2018). The municipal government of Saskatoon recognizes this:

If Saskatoon's economy is to remain dynamic and sustainable, all citizens will need to embrace and bridge our multicultural community. Your thoughts and actions today can make a difference tomorrow: appreciate and support your neighbours, your community and your culturally diverse city. (City of Saskatoon 2017)

The city clearly places the most emphasis on the economic factor of multiculturalism. Economic output and measurements of capital have been argued as having little to no bearing on the quality of individual life and well being (Fischer 2014). While economic status may form a foundation from which well being arises, the city's implication that economy alone is responsible for well

being is inaccurate. Weaver and Habibov (2012), as well as Jaikumar, Singh, and Sarin (2018) and Cai and Park (2016) argue that economic standing and well being are connected through higher educational attainment and income. Anthropology, according to Edward Fischer (2014), offers an approach to well being which takes note of factors often overlooked in the economic literature. Well being, however, is a concept that has been somewhat difficult to define concretely.

The Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW) considers well being to be a positive outcome resulting from the combination of fairness, diversity, equity, inclusion, health, safety, economic security, democracy, and sustainability (Canadian Index of Wellbeing). The CIW was introduced by researchers at the University of Waterloo in response to the narrow casting of economic well being as expressed by calculations of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). As they note, “GDP allows no insight into the quality of life of our people, our environment, our democracy, or other aspects of wellbeing that Canadians value” (Canadian Index of Wellbeing). The CIW, therefore, relies on a broader definition:

The presence of the highest possible quality of life in its full breadth of expression focused on but not necessarily exclusive to: good living standards, robust health, a sustainable environment, vital communities, an educated populace, balanced time use, high levels of democratic participation, and access to and participation in leisure and culture. (Canadian Index of Wellbeing 2016)

In my research, the dimensions of well being addressed are: vital communities, access and participation in culture, and diversity and inclusion.

1.2 Well Being in Anthropology

Well being is an important topic in anthropology, drawing particular attention in the last ten years. Health and wellness are often considered simply to be the absence of illness or disease, but this definition does not account for cultural process or content. Mathews and Izquierdo (2011:loc265) note that well being itself is commonly known as “the state of being healthy, happy, or prosperous” but also note that “American or Western conceptions of well-being are insufficient to understand well-being in a range of societies across the globe, and are thus insufficient as a basis for the cross-cultural comparison of well-being.” Most work examines what it is to be well across various cultural contexts, and defines wellness within these communities for a more comprehensive understanding of the subject.

Edward Fischer's work *The Good Life: Aspiration, Dignity, and the Anthropology of Wellbeing* (2014) is central in the anthropology of well being. "The good life", as Fischer presents it, is interconnected with economy and individual values. "We must take seriously not only material conditions but also people's desires, aspirations, and imaginations—the hopes, fears, and other subjective factors that drive their engagement with the world" (Fischer 2014:loc164). The corollary notion of well being is also value-laden, constituted in large part by ideas of "worth, virtue, what is good or bad, right or wrong" (Fischer 2014:loc155). The core elements of well being and the good life are adequate material resources, physical health and safety, and family and social relations but these alone are not enough to sustain a sense of positive well being.

Fischer argues that aspiration, opportunity, dignity, fairness, and commitment to a larger purpose must also be present for well being. Individuals must have the "capacity for aspiration as well as the agency and opportunity to make realizing aspirations seem viable" (Fischer 2014:loc172). They must be treated fairly, and while considerations of fairness vary, "the respect of others is crucial to subjective wellbeing" (Fischer 2014:loc201). This is critical to an anthropological exploration of immigrant health because many newcomers experience some form of discrimination when they arrive in Canada, and discrimination is directly linked to negative health and well being outcomes. Discrimination leads to a number of health impacts by various pathways: disproportionate exposure to hazardous environments, psychosocial stressors, inadequate medical care, economic deprivation, and social exclusion (Edge and Newbold 2013). When faced with discrimination, newcomers can find it extremely difficult to feel a sense of integration into their new communities and to feel as though their presence is valued within that community. As a result, the adverse health outcomes which arise could be poor physical health such as hypertension, poor mental health such as anxiety and depression, and undertaking risky lifestyle behaviours such as smoking and drinking (Edge and Newbold 2013). These potential outcomes serve to illustrate the importance of respect and fair treatment when considering newcomer health and well being.

It is important to note that health and well being are often referred to as joined or connected throughout this work, but they are not entirely the same. Carolina Izquierdo (2005) has documented the problems that arise when health and well being are conflated. Izquierdo points out that well being is a much more complex notion than health. Health is often considered to be

the absence of physical or mental disease, illness, or infirmity, but now also includes the ability to satisfy needs and change or cope with the environment (University of Ottawa). Health, therefore, facilitates, but is not tantamount to, well being. I have, therefore, connected these terms to demonstrate the intertwined nature of health and well being.

1.3 Broader Context

Sociocultural connections and context are important factors in maintaining well being and positive health among immigrant and refugee populations. Adjusting to a new cultural context is difficult without social supports. Low feelings of perceived social support are included in one study as a key concept which can contribute to negative outcomes among immigrant populations, which makes cultural competency in social services and outreach an important consideration (Jibeen & Khalid 2010). The lack of culturally appropriate care has been identified as a major barrier to newcomers' access to health services. There is a need for culturally diverse service provision to combat the homogeneity and Westernized nature of Canada's health system (Edge and Newbold 2013).

Immigrant health is an increasingly studied topic as more newcomers make Canada their home. Their health is affected by a number of influences, including language barriers, social supports, access to health services, and feelings of connection to the new community. For those who have just arrived in Canada and who have no connections in the country, accessing support services can be confusing and difficult. Without knowledge of where to go or what to ask for, newcomers can become lost within the complexities of governmental systems such as immigration and health care. Without an established network of support, newcomers experience decreased health and well being outcomes in difficult times. Isolation and loneliness affect mental health, exacerbating post-migration stressors such as unemployment or underemployment, discrimination, and turbulent financial situations (Sethi 2013). Women are especially affected by isolation when they are mothers, as childcare is often unavailable or unaffordable, leading to situations in which they must place the needs of their child over their own in order to maintain family health (Sethi 2013).

In order to alleviate some of the negative health outcomes among newcomers, it has been recommended that information be provided in languages familiar to newcomers and that services are provided by culturally diverse professionals who understand the unique needs and contexts of their patients. For women and mothers, having service providers who speak their languages and

are able to make house calls would be extremely beneficial (Sethi 2013). Socially, the most common recommendation is to facilitate more opportunities for newcomers to engage in Canadian society and meet Canadian-born individuals who can assist them in this period of transition.

1.4 Cultural Competency

Cultural competency is an approach to service provision that has origins in the discipline of nursing but has now found a place in anthropology and cognate fields. It is the practice of respectful and appropriate programming to ensure positive outcomes that accommodate cultural dynamics and contexts. Being culturally competent involves behaviours, attitudes, and knowledge that allows an individual to work appropriately in a cross-cultural context. Cultural competency is:

Ensuring equitable healthcare access and delivery for a diverse patient population...rooted in an acknowledgement of the importance of culture, a respect for cultural differences, and a commitment to minimizing the negative impact of those differences. (Muaygil 2018:15)

Important to note is that though Muaygil's (2018) definition focuses on healthcare and the origins of cultural competency are from nursing, cultural competency may be present in any organization or institution. Cultural competency is present wherever services are provided to clients of diverse backgrounds. Cultural competency exists on a continuum, and an organization may be fluid in moving along in this continuum.

1.4.1 The Cultural Competency Continuum

The stages on the continuum are: cultural destructiveness, cultural incapacity, cultural blindness, cultural pre-competency, and finally cultural competency. My understanding of these categories is influenced by the work of Patti Rose (2013): Cultural destructiveness is actively and maliciously working against the cultural designation of a particular group. An historic example of this is the residential school policy implemented by the early Canadian government as an effort to forcibly assimilate Indigenous children into a more European or Western lifestyle. Cultural incapacity is a lack of effective response to culture which may result in negative outcomes. The stage of cultural incapacity could exist as ignoring the individual nuances a client brings with them to the organization and therefore refusing to make necessary allowances in service delivery, or it might mean staff members stereotyping clientele based on food, clothing, and appearance.

Cultural blindness is attempting to acknowledge culture but doing so in a manner which erases the differences between various cultural groups. This may manifest as treatment of individuals from a certain part of the world as exactly the same despite myriad differences between them. For example, a staff member of an organization assuming that a Chinese client and Japanese client will have similar worldviews and norms in their lives, and therefore similar service needs.

Cultural pre-competency is the initial steps taken to improve service provision. An organization which occupies this stage of the continuum realizes the importance of cultural context in tailoring their services to each individual client and has begun making their organization a safe space for expression of diversity. Cultural competency involves providing non-biased and non-judgemental services. These organizations have succeeded in the pre-competency stage and often only need to add elaboration on the mandate of existing as a culturally safe space in their organizational policies. Staff members engage consistently with ongoing efforts and training to remain in the stage of cultural competency. Cultural proficiency is the ideal appropriate and respectful service delivery which results in maximum beneficial outcomes for clientele. An organization which occupies this space on the continuum will have staff trained to recognize the unique backgrounds of clientele and respect this diversity, be dedicated to presenting the space they occupy as a safe space for the interaction of multiple backgrounds and beliefs, and have concrete commitment to appropriate service provision outlined in organizational policy. The final point on the continuum is presented as the optimal goal for any organization. However, the process of cultural competency does not truly end, as placement on this continuum is never fixed (St. Onge 2009). An organization must make continued efforts to foster respectful and appropriate practices, especially when working with vulnerable and marginalized populations.

1.4.2 Criticism of Cultural Competency

Cultural competency, though it is intended to create spaces of mutually beneficial interactions, has also been criticized. The idea that an individual could be competent in other cultures, as though these were skills to be learned in the workplace, has been met with resistance. Heide Castañeda (2010) cautions against the potential pitfalls of cultural competency, primarily the oversimplification of culture:

These attempts reduce culture to a static set of characteristics based on ethnicity, while ignoring the dynamic interplay between history and power as recognized in the

anthropological culture concept. Furthermore, this emphasis on migrants' cultural beliefs as "other" implies a lack of recognition that... providers themselves also have culture, suggesting that providers' knowledge is the only valid knowledge and that concessions must be made to accommodate migrants' beliefs. (Taylor 2003). (Castañeda 2010:14)

Arthur Kleinman and Peter Benson (2006) also argue that cultural competency is merely fashionable to study but does not achieve understanding, functioning only as a fad within the discipline (Kleinman and Benson 2006). Instead, they assert that it has the possibility to perpetuate stereotypes and broad statements which incorrectly characterize a community.

Too often, note Kleinman and Benson, cultural competency is not the end result of the efforts (Kleinman and Benson 2006). Improper training can set an organization further behind than it was when it began to attempt to improve. They argue that culture is too often reduced to a technical skill that can be learned. Shafik Dharamsi (2011) also critiques the idea of cultural competency on the basis of the training programs available, noting that most are written with the implicit bias that service providers will always be white, and that "the challenges are assumed to arise only when these White doctors meet patients of different ethnic backgrounds" (Dharamsi 2011:764). Despite a reference to doctors and patients, the bias towards assumptions that white service providers will encounter challenges with diverse clientele can be placed in many organizational contexts. Kleinman and Benson advocate for a more ethnographic approach to cultural competency that does not make lists of traits but instead allows practitioners and service providers to connect and empathize with their patients and clientele.

1.4.3 Beneficial Approaches to Cultural Competency

A shift towards process-oriented approaches has been suggested to address the concerns with cultural competency. The process-oriented approach focuses on specific strategies and techniques pertinent to each individual accessing services, and a service provider who follows this approach is concerned equally with how results are achieved as they are with what results are achieved. Therefore, a process-oriented approach requires a service provider with a wide breadth of knowledge regarding client relations. These approaches would mean service providers need to be well trained in their disciplines, and confident enough in their practice as a result, to focus entirely on their client. This would then draw their attention to the experiences and deeper contexts present with their client. As a result, the service provider would discover the cultural nuances and dimensions which impact the client. Applying this approach to cultural competency

efforts would therefore limit the potential for reductionistic assumptions and interactions as it requires a great deal of focus on the context of each individual.

While some scholars, such as Dennis Wendt and Joseph Gone (2012), found that the process-oriented approach did not yield useful cultural information, the work of Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good and Seth Hannah (2015) elicited completely opposite results. Good and Hannah found that when service providers utilized an approach that elicited information on culturally relevant features unique to their clientele, they were also able to recognize when other processes (such as “racial profiling”) were relevant. Instead of a reliance on approaches which present culture as a set of technical skills and list of traits:

This result required neither a sustained training program to build cultural knowledge about patient population nor the development of emic, culturally based logics tailored to specific patient populations...All that was needed was a body of clinicians and support staff with the awareness that culture is an important factor to be built into how they conduct their work, but that culture is manifest at multiple levels of aggregation—in the unique lived experience of individuals, in the historical legacies of particular ethnic and racial groups, and in the emergent cultures that develop within institutional settings. (Good and Hannah 2015:212)

Thus, the process-oriented approach seeks to improve what began with cultural competency training by supporting individual awareness within the organizational system. DelVecchio Good and Hannah present a cataloguing approach within the process-oriented one, which differs from the more static and reductionist approaches to cultural competency.

The cataloguing approach examines “a broad spectrum of culturally relevant clinical dilemmas and solutions and focuses on common best practices regardless of cultural particularity” (Good and Hannah 2015:212). When the distinctions between racial, ethnic, and cultural lines become obscured, DelVecchio Good and Hannah’s findings suggest that:

High levels of general clinical competence and an awareness and appreciation for the importance and complexity of cultural experience can combine to develop ‘culturally competent’ treatment, but in unique and flexible ways. (Good and Hannah 2015:213)

The focus on best practice regardless of particularity does not, however, mean that the approach promotes what is termed cultural blindness according to the cultural competency continuum. Instead, DelVecchio Good and Hannah advance an approach which advocates for well-trained

and occupationally-competent service providers to gain better understandings of relevant cultural contexts. An example of the cataloguing approach could then be a settlement counsellor who is aware of how each client may have similar needs but tailors their services to accommodate the multiple contexts and individual circumstances, thereby relying on the counsellor's own combination of training, experience, and occupational competency. DeVecchio Good and Hannah specifically emphasize the importance of clinical or occupational competency as a building block for cultural competency in an organization.

1.5 Anthropology of the Good

My work falls specifically under the theoretical category of the anthropology of the good. The anthropology of the good emerged as a response to dark anthropology from scholars who were growing frustrated with the discipline's seeming fixation on suffering, deprivation, and other harsh dimensions of social life. Dark anthropology itself came to the forefront of anthropology during the 1980s, when anthropologists began to focus more consistently on themes of power and inequality. One of the theories which took notice of power was critical medical anthropology. Seven key concepts form the basis of critical medical anthropology: health, disease, syndemics, sufferer experience, medicalization, medical hegemony, and medical pluralism (Witeska-Młynarczyk 2015). Research in critical medical anthropology is grounded and applied, with an aim of exposing and combating social inequities and reducing social suffering. Contemporary critical thought focuses on "interaction between individual agency and social processes" and uses the critical theoretical framework to "unmask hidden sources of social inequality and ill health, both in the global and local dimensions" (Witeska-Młynarczyk 2015:386). Key scholars of critical medical anthropology include Hans Baer, Merrill Singer, and John H. Johnsen (1986), all of whom focus on how the state exerts power over population health and works through medical practice to reinforce social hierarchies.

Critical interpretive medical anthropology focuses on a system of three bodies and how these are present within social and medical interactions. The first body is the individual body, and it constitutes the "lived experience of the body-self" (Lock and Scheper-Hughes 1996: 45). The second body is the social body, the understanding of the body as a symbol with which to interpret interactions but also a model for interpreting social disharmony. The body in sickness and health provides an understanding of society, and society in the same state provides an understanding of the body. Finally, the body politic refers to the "regulation, surveillance, and control of bodies

(individual and collective) in reproduction and sexuality, work, leisure, and sickness” (Lock and Scheper-Hughes 1996:45). By focusing on the analysis of these three bodies, critical interpretive medical anthropologists have a concept for understanding cultures and societies as well as meanings of health and illness (Lock and Scheper-Hughes 1996).

1.6 Resistance to Dark Anthropology

Though the anthropologists who studied the main theoretical topics at the time (political economy, colonialism, gender) did not share each other’s views or standpoints, they all agreed that they must focus on “the harsh and brutal dimensions of human experience, and the structural and historical conditions that produce them” (Ortner 2016:49). Sherry Ortner (2016) notes that “dark anthropology (including both “dark theory” and “dark ethnography”) is at least in part a response to...the increasingly problematic conditions of the real world under neoliberalism” (Ortner 2016:49-50). For years, anthropologists focused their attention on these topics. However, this provoked strong reactions from those anthropologists who thought that this focus was a fixation on the negative.

Tobias Kelley (2013) gives this frustration a voice by asking “At what point does an ethnography of suffering turn into a voyeuristic quasi-pornography?” (Kelley 2013:213). I share this concern and I wanted to undertake research that studied the positive by seeking out what is being done well for newcomers to Saskatoon. Ortner agrees that it is important to ask after what gives life purpose and meaning, and that “anthropologists are almost certainly better suited to ask these kinds of questions, and to think deeply about the answers, than the survey researchers who seem to control much of the happiness research today” (Ortner 2016:59). According to Joel Robbins (2013):

The construction of notions of the good, the attempt to put them into practice in social relations, and the elaboration of models of time and change that support hopes for success in such endeavours – taken together, these areas of study give us a map for an anthropology of the good that highlights places anthropologists have already learned to locate. My hope is that if the light of the great cultural problems shines just a little more brightly on this terrain, we might be able to draw a route that connects them all, and that in doing so we might add a new way of doing anthropology to those we already have. The point of developing this new kind of anthropology would not be to displace the anthropology of suffering, which will continue for the foreseeable future to address

problems we need to face. It would be to help realize in a distinctively anthropological way the promise suffering slot anthropology always at least implicitly makes: that there must be better ways to live than the ones it documents. (Robbins 2013:458)

When I began my research, I asked: How can I focus on positivity within anthropology? How are services in Saskatoon connected to living better?

1.7 The Global Gathering Place

My research was conducted in partnership with the Global Gathering Place (GGP) in Saskatoon. The GGP is one of the non-profit organizations in the city of Saskatoon whose clientele is primarily comprised of immigrant and refugee populations. They have two locations in the city and I worked at the location where the majority of the programming is conducted. They work “in partnership with community and immigrant-serving agencies, Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), and a wide network of private and government funders” (Global Gathering Place). The GGP attempts to create a community where newcomers to Canada are fully engaged and valued, and their mission is to support immigrants and refugees to integrate and thrive in Canadian society (Global Gathering Place). The principles of respect, integrity, inclusiveness, relevance, compassion, and professionalism guide programming at the GGP (Global Gathering Place).

The GGP bases its work on a number of values: person-centered support, holistic approach, welcoming and friendly environment, respectfulness, responsiveness, partnerships, outreach, dignity, financial sustainability, diversity, and caring (Global Gathering Place). The GGP’s programs are intended to ease the transition into the larger Saskatoon community and to provide life skills such as English language competency, drivers’ education, and instruction on how to navigate and shop for essentials within Saskatoon (Global Gathering Place). They also offer family-based services, such as programming to foster child-parent interaction among vulnerable refugee mothers and children, referrals to Adult Mental Health Services in the Saskatoon Health Region, and guidance on how to engage with governmental systems such as health care (Global Gathering Place). The organization itself has a mandate of respect, integrity, inclusiveness, relevance, compassion, and professionalism. I kept these principles in mind while discovering how these values are in place and acted upon within the organization, and how the fulfillment of this mandate leads to culturally competent care and a sense of well being among clients.

In Saskatoon, the GGP is one of several organizations that provide services to newcomers. The other organizations present in the city are the Open Door Society, Saskatchewan Intercultural Association, International Women of Saskatoon, and the Newcomer Information Centre. There are also several ethnic interest groups which offer information and assistance, including the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Filipino-Canadian Association, Assemblée Communautaire Fransaskoise, and the Saskatchewan German Council. Within this group, the GGP is a typical example of a Saskatoon settlement agency. Programs they offer are similar to those in the other organizations, specifically those that focus on employment and language skills.

The Open Door Society and the Saskatchewan Intercultural Association also offer employment mentorship and government approved language classes. The Open Door Society offers family services which mirror those at the GGP, such as nutrition information programs, early childhood education, and men's and women's support groups. For youth, the Saskatchewan Intercultural Association has more programs available than the GGP, and they also sponsor initiatives for intercultural cooperation within Saskatoon. The GGP is also an organization which mostly has clients who come to access services after being referred or recommended, as opposed to the Newcomer Information Centre, which is advertised as the first stop for new Saskatoon residents. Also, unlike the Open Door Society, which has branches across Canada, the GGP is present only in Saskatoon. Within Canada's prairie provinces, the GGP is also a typical settlement organization. When compared with the example of Winnipeg's Immigrant Centre Manitoba, the GGP's programming and services are nearly identical. Classes offered at both organizations include: driver education, citizenship preparation, computer training, nutritional information, and language classes. Compared to an Albertan example, Immigrant Services Calgary, the GGP is also nearly identical. Immigrant Services Calgary offers many of the same programs, but instead of having driving education in common with the GGP, they share counselling services for newcomers. All three organizations also provide formal settlement intake and services and advocate for newcomers within their communities. Each organization serves an equally diverse group of clients within their city but in terms of size, Immigrant Services Calgary and Immigrant Centre Manitoba serve more individuals due to larger population growth in these cities. Overall, the GGP fits within the established norms of Canadian settlement service provision, making the organization an excellent location for research on newcomer well being.

1.8 Methodology

The research was ethnographic, involving both participant observation and interviews with participants. From June through August 2017, I conducted participant observation by contributing to the organization as a volunteer: assisting the staff with program operation, welcoming the newcomers to the organization and to Saskatoon, and performing any other required duties. Participant observation occurred in the various programs offered by the organization. I attended Coffee and Conversation on a regular basis. This is a weekly conversation circle in which Canadian volunteers provide newcomers with an opportunity to practice speaking English in an informal café-like setting. It provides socialization and reinforcement of lessons learned in language classes.

At first, the large number of clients attending this program made joining a group somewhat intimidating. However, I quickly settled into a routine circulating through the room each Thursday. Often, a room was not necessary to conduct the conversation, as the warm summer weather meant that a group could always be found on the front lawn of the GGP. The proximity of the GGP to the river made for an idyllic setting in which to converse, and one volunteer in particular always took the initiative to set up a circle of chairs outside. I have given all individuals involved in this research pseudonyms to protect their privacy. Bill could be found seated underneath the trees with a coffee in one hand and a (generously donated) cinnamon bun from a local bakery in the other. He ran his group like a gathering of friends, letting everyone speak their minds without fear of judgement. Bill was soft-spoken and encouraging, assuring the more nervous group members that they could express much more than they gave themselves credit. Each attendee had a chance to offer an answer to one of the questions of the day, and he frequently asked what I thought as well. Topics were suggested by attendees and ranged from small talk (“How is the weather in your hometown today?”) to deep philosophical explorations (“Why do people commit crime?”).

The first program I formally worked with was Citizenship Preparation, which is an educational program for those attempting to receive Canadian citizenship. It features modules based on various topics present on the citizenship test. I was introduced to the classroom as a student volunteer on my first day of fieldwork and was quickly initiated into the class. Kathy asked me to keep score for a game of team trivia and the spirit of competition within the small basement classroom was intense. The shouts of students echoed off the white, poster-lined brick

walls, making a dozen individuals sound more like one hundred. I was not spared their ferocity, being swiftly berated, though mostly in jest, if I waited too long to record the awarding of a point. Kathy structured this class based on feedback from previous clients and made certain to assess the needs of her current students based on linguistic abilities, time restrictions, and placement within the citizenship application process. Shortly after this program ended, I was placed with Women Exchanging Life Lessons (WELL), a women's only group for discussion of challenges and opportunities present in the lives of newcomer women.

WELL narrowed the concept of a safe space further in creating a safe space for newcomer women. It was meant partly for discussion and partly for education. Activities in WELL ranged from learning how to create homemade skincare products to a presentation on how to detect breast cancer. As with the other programs at the GGP, the women received no judgement for discussing any topics they felt relevant and pressing in their lives, and many noted that they felt empowered.

Twice, I had the opportunity to join Cooking Healthy Economical Food (CHEF), which runs once a month and provides education on how to find nutritious food at the supermarket and prepare it according to that month's recipe. The purpose of this program is to assist newcomers with finding ways to provide for themselves and their families without further jeopardizing valuable financial resources. Finance is intertwined with nutrition, and CHEF ensures that inexpensive options need not sacrifice health and well being. CHEF often runs for two days, and the first is instruction on how to know which products are of best value and nutritional content at the supermarket, followed by a trip in the GGP's van to the supermarket to buy the ingredients. The second day is spent preparing the recipe in the kitchen. Staff members in charge of CHEF are always careful in the selection of the recipe. They read it thoroughly for any items which may be forbidden to the program participants and make certain that these are absent before presenting it as an option.

The first time I joined CHEF, the staff member placed me in charge of one group searching for ingredients. That day our recipe was for honey-soy glazed salmon with sweet potato fries and dipping sauce. The ingredients seemed simple enough, but the shopping process was not. What was supposed to be a simple trip became an adventure, as I had no familiarity whatsoever with the store. My group quickly realized this, laughing both with me and at me as I roamed the supermarket, failing to recognize that a critical ingredient was placed right behind my

back. When we cooked the dish on the next day, the group insisted that we make enough to share with anyone present at the office.

As a change of pace from sitting at the main office, I was also placed at Swimming Without Fear, a program for those who never had the chance to learn how to swim and would like to learn now that they have settled. I was asked to assist with this program when it became apparent that I had previously taken courses on lifeguarding. My role in Swimming Without Fear was to work individually with participants who wanted extra assistance. It was wonderful to watch newcomers who had initially been afraid of stepping into the shallows float in the deepest part of the swimming pool with a lifejacket on. Swimming Without Fear is considered one of the life skills programs offered by the GGP. The GGP also asked for my assistance with Breaking Ground, which provides young adults with information on how to seek employment and education in Canada and how to formulate goals and plans for the future.

Due to funding stipulations, Breaking Ground could only provide assistance to newcomers under the age of 35. The lessons in the program began with a visualization exercise which asked participants to imagine their ideal life and career. After they had done so, Kathy asked them to create jars filled with glitter and water. She explained that shaking the jar was an analogy for stress and turbulence in life. The glitter swirled, obscuring the clarity of the glass. As the glitter settled, she said, so too would life. There was interest among the clients about the university and so we took a day trip to campus. As they all knew I was a student at the university, most of the questions the group participants had were directed at me. They also wanted to know where I worked and studied so I brought the tour to the Archaeology building and gave a brief explanation on what it means to study anthropology. Participants in Breaking Ground also learned how to formulate resumes and cover letters, how to appropriately answer questions during a job interview, and workplace etiquette.

Finally, the last program with which I was placed was BrightStart, a program for mothers to attend with their children in order to socialize and provide enrichment. BrightStart is equally for the mothers as it is for the children. The children gain a chance to play with their peers and learn new words, songs (adapted from lullabies such as “London Bridge is Falling Down”), and crafts. The mothers gain a chance to build critically-needed networks outside of their homes, to reduce isolation which can disproportionately affect newcomer mothers, and to bond with their children. BrightStart converts one of the basement classrooms into a daycare-like setting. The

floor is covered with colourful blankets and buckets of toys are placed in the centre of the room. The children can play for the first minutes or sit with their mothers. A usual day at BrightStart begins with sing-along songs, then games based on the theme of the day (seasons, weather, animals, etc.), progresses to a snack break, and then concludes with a mother-child craft session. The staff in charge were gentle and ensured a balance of learning and fun. I conducted 123 hours of participant observation across all of these programs.

Engagement levels were high within these programs, and many participants stated in their interviews that the enthusiastic leader, Kathy, was one of the main reasons they felt comfortable coming and also influenced how much they enjoyed the programming. I also witnessed the rapport that the staff have with their clients and felt included within the organization as soon as I arrived to conduct my fieldwork. A consistent engagement with the process-oriented approach enacted the principles of cultural competency in the programs. Staff never acted without taking the time to focus on the individual contexts of their clients, and programs were always tailored to the unique needs of the participants. Many programs had a set curriculum, but the curriculum was augmented or presented in a manner which took context into account. These programs demonstrated the commitment to continual assistance at the GGP as the organization maintained a supportive presence not only at landing but throughout the settlement process. Several staff members were newcomers themselves and were therefore uniquely poised to understand how the organization should relate to its clientele. Both staff and clientele were extremely supportive of my presence, and I had to expand my interview limit from fifteen to twenty participants due to the interest in the research. I was placed almost exclusively within Kathy's groups, Coffee and Conversation and BrightStart being the only exceptions, and I was able to see how she served as an example of the GGP's bond with those who access services from the organization. The other staff and volunteers also had opportunities to get to know me and we maintained contact after the fieldwork had concluded. In September 2017, I was invited to attend a citizenship ceremony hosted by the GGP and went to support the clients whom I had met on this important occasion. I continued to volunteer at the organization as I wanted to assist them in whatever way I could.

In January 2018, the GGP contacted me and offered a short contract of employment as they knew me and felt that they wanted to continue to have me participate in their organization. The employment ended on March 31st, but I was deeply honoured that they thought highly of my abilities even after my research had ended.

Participant recruitment was through informational posters and personal invitation. The majority of my participants were involved in this research through personal invitation at the programs which they attended. I interviewed 19 individuals regarding their understanding of the cultural bases of health and well being as well as how their engagement in the GGP fosters their sense of well being. To determine levels of social interaction and community engagement, we also spoke regarding the connection they feel to Saskatoon and Canada. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed using the NVivo Qualitative Research Software. I examined the interview content for common themes that arose regarding life in Saskatoon, perceptions of the GGP, and the perception of the relation between culture and well being. Quotes featuring this content were extracted from the interviews and grouped according to common sentiments. Through this analysis, I was able to determine shared thoughts regarding well being, “living a good life”, and how to cultivate these based on individual opinions and cultural influences. The analysis was enabled by first going through each transcript and coding it according to common content. When I coded these interviews, a total of 15 codes emerged from the data (Appendix B). Seven of the codes emerged as the backbone of my work, in that they were present in every interview conducted.

These codes are: connection or networking, emotion, GGP and comparison, place, references to culture, family, and money and economics. I chose these codes as significant based on both the emphasis participants placed on the topics and on the importance the topics carry within my theoretical framework. There was a shared recognition of the impact each of these factors has on well being. I used simultaneous descriptive coding to analyze my data, as the codes frequently overlapped to the extent that it was quite rare to have a statement without multiple codes ascribed to it. The occurrences of the codes were as follows: connection or networking was referenced 181 times; emotion was present 131 times; GGP and comparison arose 121 times; place was discussed 119 times; references to culture occurred 118 times; family was spoken about 96 times; and money and economics were brought up 69 times.

Connection and the GGP were often seen to be related in the transcripts, and emotion frequently involved in the discussion as well, usually through a positive emphasis on the benefits of attending GGP programming. References to culture, family, and money and economics were other codes which emerged as a coherent package instead of a separate discussion for each. I used

the Nvivo program to maintain an organized file for coding analysis, and later created another document for the qualitative analysis.

All research participants were over 18 years of age and had diverse cultural backgrounds. The interviews adhered to the protocol set out by the University of Saskatchewan's Research Ethics Board (approval BEH 17-108, given April 7, 2017). A copy of the thesis and research report will be made available to the GGP for their further use. This will be returned to the GGP in paper format, and a presentation was also made in December 2017 to the GGP regarding the findings.

1.9 Interview Structure and Demographics

The interviews began within days of starting my fieldwork and took place at the main GGP office. The interviews were semi-structured. I used a set of questions (Appendix A) to guide the discussion and also made use of floating prompts to focus the discussion on issues related to perceptions of well being and the place of culturally competent service provision. We used spare classrooms and offices for privacy and the interviews often lasted around 45 minutes to one hour. While these interviews were formally scheduled and planned, they were conversational. All of my participants were enthusiastic to speak with me, and many of them explained that their desire to help was borne of the own educational experiences. I offered a twenty dollar honorarium and a thank-you card at the end of each interview but did not advertise that this would be happening. I wanted it to remain a pleasant surprise instead of an incentive for participation. A few individuals gave the money back and told me that they did not want compensation, knowing they helped was reward enough.

Overall, twelve women and seven men participated, and countries of origin were Pakistan, Italy, Egypt, Hungary, the Philippines, Brazil, Iran, Sierra Leone, Morocco, India, China, and Nigeria. The average age of participants appeared to be in the mid-30s, and most had been in Canada for at least 3 months. All of the participants had used at least two programs at the GGP, and I met the majority of them in Coffee and Conversation, Breaking Ground, Citizenship Preparation, and WELL. The interviews were audio-recorded with the participants' permission.

1.10 Conclusion

In the following chapters, I present the literature which formed the basis for my theoretical influence, discuss the GGP and how the services are both culturally appropriate and key to the well being of the clientele. In the literature review, I discuss the anthropology of the

good and the anthropology of well being. I also consider the unique challenges faced by newcomers to Canada, before moving on to present my results regarding well being and how it can be affected by social connections, ability to achieve one's goals, ability to provide for family, and feelings of belonging. Finally, I examine what it means to "live a good life" based on the interviews I conducted. I demonstrate how this is intrinsically tied to ideas of well being when adjusting to a new home. Overall, this research presents a concept of well being defined by newcomers themselves and delves into how this is intertwined with respectful and appropriate settlement service provision. This is an examination of what is being done well and how this excellence can be further improved for the benefit of both the organization and the individual.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

There are several key works which influenced the collection and analysis of data. I applied the anthropology of the good to structure my research, and this theoretical standpoint was developed as a response to the emergence of dark anthropology. In critical interpretive medical anthropology, Margaret Lock and Nancy Scheper-Hughes' (1996) work was key in that it explores the interaction among individual, social, and political bodies that produce health, well being, and illness. Hans A. Baer, Merrill Singer, and John H. Johnsen (1986) explore the interrelationship among political power, social patterns, and well being. They note: "a dialectical examination of contending forces in and out of the health arena that impinge on health and healing becomes an essential task of building a critical medical anthropology" (Baer, Singer, and Johnsen 1986: 95). Both of these works are influential in the history of medical anthropology and the study of biomedicine and cultural practices (Baer, Singer, & Johnsen 1986).

2.2 Dark Anthropology

The anthropological focus on suffering and illness gave rise to "dark anthropology", which focuses on the "harsh and brutal dimensions" of the human experience. Dark anthropology rose to prominence in the late 1970s and early 1980s, just as the paradigms of the North American society were undergoing a shift. At this time, neoliberalism was spreading across the world. Sherry Ortner (2016) notes that this was essentially a "new and more brutal form of capitalism" pervading aspects of international and domestic life. In the United States, this meant that the economy "began what historian Robert Brenner (2006) has called "the long downturn" culminating in the near crash of the stock market in 2008, followed by a deep recession" (Ortner 2016:48). Ortner (2016:48) goes on to explain:

The banks had grown "too big to fail", were bailed out after the crisis with taxpayers' money, and promptly rewarded themselves with giant bonuses to their top executives. In addition, the gap between the rich and the poor in America increased steadily during this period, eventually exceeding the gap in place before the Great Depression of the 1930s—and economists are increasingly pessimistic about reversing this trend (Piketty 2014). Meanwhile, on the international front, the International Money Fund (IMF) and the World Bank pursued neoliberal economic policies that essentially crushed the economies of

some of the smaller and poorer nations of the world (Ferguson 1999; Duménil and Lévy 2004; Harvey 2005; Klein 2007; Ortner 2011).

With such monumental change in the world, anthropologists recognized the further need to study the sources of suffering which seemed rampant. The more prominent works which emerged within dark anthropology focused on economics and accumulation by dispossession; that is, the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer while the middle class barely keep their status quo, and governmentality, the regulations of populations and punitive governance which perpetuates state violence against citizens (Ortner 2016).

In some cases, the punitive governance and accumulation by dispossession overlapped. Ortner (2016: 57-58) explains that “although the downsizing of the US labor force was represented as a kind of necessary economic evil in relation to global competition, in fact it sometimes seemed to have a more irrational, almost cruel, motivation behind it.” In resistance to the overwhelming negative focus, some anthropologists established a new theoretical standpoint. Joel Robbins (2013) refers to the works of other anthropologists, such as Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman, when observing the commonality of trauma and the extent to which this is acknowledged in the discipline. Anyone anywhere can experience trauma and anyone, anywhere can recognize the effects it has on life. Robbins explains that an anthropology focusing on suffering was, in part, an effort to remain relevant as the world changed. However, this resulted in “a number of lines of inquiry that, while each still somewhat small or even marginal in themselves, may be poised to come together in a new focus on how people living in different societies strive to create the good in their lives” (Robbins 2013:457). Robbins continues, stating that while this may be an optimistic lens from which to view the world, optimism does not equal naïveté:

The point of this kind of work is not to define what might universally count as good, and its practitioners are neither so panglossian as to claim that any given society has in fact achieved the capital G Good, nor so Pollyannaish as to imagine that societies might achieve it on a regular basis if only we could identify what is it. Their more modest aim is to explore the different ways people organize their personal and collective lives in order to foster what they think of as good, and to study what it is like to live at least some of the time in light of such a project. (Robbins 2013:457)

2.3 Anthropology of the Good

The anthropology of the good turned towards topics such as well being, happiness, value, mortality, empathy, and hope (Robbins 2013). Ortner notes that anthropology cannot only focus on negative aspects of research and life. Instead, an examination of how people continue to persevere in the face of immense difficulty offers a needed positivity. With this, Ortner (2016) states, comes themes of love, triumph, resilience, and, echoing Robbins, hope. It is refreshing to see and study how life may be lived despite the interference of forces that would mitigate happiness and well being, and how positivity and well being may be felt regardless of the overwhelming focus on the negative. Ortner argues that the study of the good life as a theoretical paradigm emerging from the anthropology of the good. Headed by Edward Fischer, this subset of the theory is also critical for understanding how individuals define their well being and what they consider to be living well or living the good life.

Fischer discusses the concepts of aspiration, dignity, and the good life as they relate to an anthropological context. He presents two case studies to form the basis of his work, one of German consumers and the other of Guatemalan coffee harvesters. From these examples Fischer notes the commonalities of the idea of the good life. In both countries, the good life is intertwined with notions of morality, value, and hope. The necessity of economic situation arises, though not with the levels of prominence that would be expected from Western society. Fischer explains:

Happiness studies and multidimensional measures of poverty show that income is crucially important for one's ability to achieve a good life, but alone it is not enough. That is to say that income, wealth, and material resources are necessary but insufficient prerequisites for wellbeing. In fact, increases in happiness level off dramatically after people reach a relatively low income threshold. People need financial and material resources, but not in the proportion we might first imagine. Daniel Kahneman (2011: 397) observes that although being poor usually makes one miserable, being rich does not ensure experienced wellbeing. People who feel they contribute importantly to a larger project, those that possess the agency and power to effect change, are more satisfied with their lives. (Fischer 2014:loc226-234)

Thus, socioeconomic status becomes a foundation for an opportunity to feel increased well being but not the most important of building blocks for the experience. Once basic human needs are

provided for, the opportunity to take part in the larger projects Fischer mentions becomes the next possibility.

While money may not buy happiness, it can alleviate the pains of poverty. Morals and economics have often been considered at odds but ought not to be:

That morality matters in ordinary people's economic decisions and attitudes, and that values and norms are historically particular, is contradicted by market fundamentalists who view moralities and moral beliefs as superfluous, as nothing more than secondary explanations that detract from an objective account of natural laws: "morality represents the way we would like the world to work and economics represents how it actually does work" (Levitt and Dubner 2005: 50). In fact, how we want the world to work is just as important as how it actually does work in understanding what drives us toward a particular future and what informs visions of the good life. (Fischer 2014:loc379)

Well being is often driven by culturally informed conceptions of what constitutes a good life and how an individual can achieve this future.

2.4 Well Being

To understand the interaction between culture and well being, the work of the CIW is critical. The CIW found that, among Canadians, an overall sense of well being is increasing, including collective community well being. "Overall, the almost 15% increase in Community Vitality shows that Canadians pull together and feel they belong. Two out of three people have a strong sense of community belonging — an important factor contributing to both individual and community wellbeing" (Canadian Index of Wellbeing 2016). Among vulnerable and minority populations, this sense of belonging within the Canadian cultural context is especially important.

Naomi Adelson (2015) explores how well being is culturally understood among the James Bay Cree Peoples in northern Quebec. She states, "I take as a given that health is interpreted, idealized, and enacted in various ways. In other words, experiences and understandings of health and well-being are always historically and culturally mediated" (Adelson 2015:3). Adelson goes on to note that: "definitions of health (including my own) are laden with ideological nuances and can never be separated from cultural norms and values, regardless of how the latter are played out in our everyday lives" (Adelson 2015:3). Thus biases and impressions regarding what it is to be healthy and to have well being are constantly formed and informed by cultural context.

Many of the contributions to Mathews and Izquierdo's (2011) edited volume, *Pursuits of Happiness: Well-Being in Anthropological Perspective*, are instructive as well. Well being is described as:

An optimal state for an individual, community, society, and the world as a whole. It is conceived of, expressed, and experienced in different ways by different individuals and within the cultural contexts of different societies: different societies may have distinctly different culturally shaped vision of well-being. Nonetheless, well-being bears a degree of commonality due to our common humanity and interrelatedness over space and time. Well-being is experienced by individuals-its essential locus lies within individual subjectivity-but it may be considered and compared interpersonally and interculturally, since all individuals live within particular worlds of others, and all societies live in a common world at large. (Mathews and Izquierdo 2011:loc182-192)

Mathews and Izquierdo's definition of well being echoes the statements made by Adelson, emphasizing the subjectivity and variation present within considerations of health and well being. In my research, I contribute to an understanding of the intercultural bases of well being as it emerges through participants' engagement with the GGP.

The contrast between considerations of health and considerations of well being is also explored in Carolina Izquierdo's (2005) study of well being among the Matsigenka of the Peruvian Amazon. Although not based in Canada, her research offers some applicable insights. Izquierdo found that despite biomedical health outcomes increasing in positivity for the Matsigenka, they viewed their overall health as being diminished in large part because their way of life was perceived to be under siege from outside, colonizing forces. Matsigenka well being, then, was not associated with biomedical indices of disease prevalence but to broader notions of happiness, community cohesion, and cultural strength. Because well being can take various forms cross-culturally, it becomes important for anthropologists to identify the social and political forces that shape local expressions of it.

2.4.1 Newcomer Health and Well Being

The ways in which well being is expressed within immigrant and refugee communities in Canada are of central importance to this research. Jibeen and Khalid (2010) found that among Pakistani immigrants to Toronto, positive healthcare outcomes were associated with lower level of acculturative stress, a greater sense of coherence, use of problem-focused strategies, a higher

level of perceived social support and the demographic variable of a higher perceived income comfort level. Conversely, negative healthcare outcomes were associated with a higher level of acculturative stress, lower sense of coherence, low levels perceived social support as well as demographic variables including underemployment and family structure.

Ling Na and Dale Hample (2016) examined social integration in relation to health and well being among newcomers in Canada. They found that physical health was tied to a sense of belonging, among other factors. Na and Hample also found that a sense of well being was tied to ethnic homophily, or “the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people” (Na and Hample 2016:197). They note that:

Social network homophily was argued to promote health as a result of reciprocity:

Members benefit more from others with the same characteristics because of interpersonal similarity, and reciprocal relationships have a greater positive effect on health than asymmetrical relationships. (Na and Hample 2016:197)

Na and Hample also acknowledge that building connections outside of an individual’s ethnic group may have greater benefits than remaining solely among those who share a similar background. The reason for this, specifically among newcomers, is that “more intercultural ties positively affected immigrants’ psychological health because these ties represented more cultural adaptation” (Na and Hample 2016:197). They explain further:

Research on social capital also sheds light in favour of intergroup ties. Intragroup ties are bonding social capital, and intergroup ties are bridging and linking social capital. Bonding social capital has mixed health outcomes. Bridging and linking social capital, according to some authors, brings resources and opportunities from across a wide and diverse social network to improve an individual’s health. (Na and Hample 2016:197)

Na and Hample make a final statement that when considering newcomer and community health, programs that benefit the social, cultural, and health needs of these groups need to be operated in such a way as to improve integration and reduce isolation, and encourage links to be made between these groups and native-born Canadians.

2.4.2 Multiculturalism and Well Being

Peter R. Grant and Daniel W. Robertson (2014) examine the perceived benefits of multiculturalism among immigrants in Canada, echoing Na and Hample’s statements regarding integration and connection between groups of varied social and ethnic backgrounds. When

studying attitudes towards multiculturalism, Grant and Roberston note that debate consistently exists between those who view it as beneficial and those who view it as harmful. They explain:

On one hand, such policies provide a means through which a nation can allow minority groups to maintain their cultural identity and celebrate their heritage as full members of society. On the other hand, they may promote and essentialize cultural differences and, therefore, encourage members of the majority group to negatively stereotype cultural minorities and to hold prejudicial attitudes toward them. (Grant and Robertson 2014:209)

Despite the debate, members of cultural minority groups, including many newcomers, often view multiculturalism more positively. They see multicultural policies providing opportunities to “promote the unique value of their group’s cultural traditions, norms, and practices within society as a whole” (Grant and Robertson 2014:211). Canada boasts a national identity that is partially constituted by cultural diversity. This advances the notion that it is a supportive environment for people of all cultural backgrounds.

There is, however, an anthropological debate regarding policies of multiculturalism. Using Australia’s robust immigration intake in recent years as an example, Jock Collins (2013) examines whether or not multicultural policies and actions have actually resulted in successful newcomer integration. Integration into a community results in a feeling of social support, which is a key factor in maintaining and cultivating health. This, in turn, leads to a sense of well being. Australia, according to Collins, is the perfect example for this research as the country has been built by planned immigration and has been more successful in integrating newcomers into the broader community than other countries which also emphasize multicultural policies, such as Canada.

Historically, there has been some backlash against multiculturalism from the Australian populace, including the Cronulla beach riots in 2005. Therefore, one hypothesis regarding the immigration situation would be to assume that integration and, as a result, social support, are not as present in Australia as in other countries. However, this is not the result. Though there are areas in which immigrant minorities are disadvantaged and subject to all manner of discrimination, evidence suggests that the Australian population is welcoming to newcomers. Due to the multicultural policies and emphasis on cross-cultural cohesion as a result, Australia has positive outcomes where newcomer integration is concerned. The data, according to Collins (2013: 145), present the case that:

Despite the Cronulla beach riots, social cohesion is the norm and social conflict the exception. Immigrant youth in Australia...have broad friendship networks, feel ownership about their local area and are confident about their future in Australia. In the labour market, in education, in the realm of politics, sport and leisure, assessment of subjective and objective data suggest that most have fulfilling and successful lives in Australia.

Each of the aspects of newcomer life mentioned in the data factors into facilitating well being. By feeling fulfilled and successful, newcomers will experience better mental health outcomes, which then cause better well being outcomes (Na and Hample 2016). The integration and social cohesion felt as a result of the multicultural society suggests that multiculturalism continues to be beneficial. Integration and social cohesion also lend more social support to newcomers, which also affects health outcomes and feelings of well being.

2.4.3 Social Support as a Determinant of Well Being

Social support is a determinant of health and, furthermore, well being as it influences the use of health services, reactions to life transitions, and impacts of stressors. Despite having rates of physical health higher than that of the Canadian-born population, newcomers often face difficulties arising from having to rebuild social networks and dealing with downward social mobility. Having social support is “critical to reducing stress, maintaining health, and achieving eventual self-sufficiency and well being” (Simich et al. 2005:260). When service providers were questioned about the challenges facing newcomers, they responded by observing that “learning where to go for what” was exceedingly difficult for those unfamiliar with the Canadian health and social sector. Also:

Financial insecurity is also a source of stress, especially in the initial period, and particularly for refugees who have been unable to plan ahead or bring personal resources to Canada. Achieving permanent, regular immigration status in Canada in a timely manner also can be a challenge, especially for refugees who lack documentation. Family separation, intergenerational strains and gender role changes create special stresses for many newcomers. (Simich et al. 2005:261-262)

In the face of such stressful challenges, what can be done? Social support for newcomers must be informational, instrumental, and emotional. Culturally and linguistically appropriate services mitigate some of the mystery over where to go for what. Advice from other immigrants is consequently key to empowering newcomers to face the challenges that come with adjusting to

Canadian life. Supports can take many forms, from resettlement agencies, gender- and ethno-specific organizations, religious organizations, sponsors, and language schools to friends, relatives, and neighbours who may share the same ethnic group. Without these, newcomers may feel “increasing feelings of loneliness and social isolation, loss of identity, discouragement (e.g. about seeking employment), and lack of knowledge of available options” (Simich et al. 2005:263). The presence of social supports “helps newcomers by fostering a sense of empowerment, community and social integration, building networks, sharing experiences and problems, reducing stress, and contributing to physical and mental health” (Simich et al. 2005: 263).

Simich, Este, and Hamilton (2010) conducted a survey- and interview-based study with Sudanese refugees in three sites in Ontario and Alberta. Two hundred and twenty individuals participated in this study which concluded that “Sudanese attributed problems to cultural differences in Canada, post-migration gender role change and resistance to change, stress related to underemployment, and discrepancy between reality and expectations of a better life in Canada” (Simich, Este and Hamilton 2010:204). Immigrant and refugee well being is based in large part on individual and collective feelings of cultural belonging and a prevailing sense of home:

For Sudanese refugees in all three sites, narrative descriptions of home tended to be associated with four specific functional and psychological factors essentially related to the definition of home as a ‘node of social relations’ (Olwig 1998): emotional support; fulfilling social roles and meeting social expectations; solving problems and resolving conflicts; and dignity and growth. By contrast, refugees talk about home life in Canada as marked by absence of support from extended family; inability to fulfill social roles and meet expectations; increased family conflict and lack of means to resolve conflict; and lack of dignity and opportunities for growth. (Simich, Este and Hamilton 2010:204-205)

Understanding this literature is important to the background of my research, however, I also sought out information regarding policy and statistics which would provide greater depth of information.

2.5 Immigration Policy and Statistics

According to the Canadian Immigration Act, an immigrant is generally anyone from another country legally admitted to live in Canada. Canada has an open admission policy that can

be traced to several factors. George (2003) identifies a decline in population growth and a need for skilled labour as two main factors. Fertility rates in Canada are low: “should this low fertility rate continue—and all the indications are that it will—immigration will become essential for this country’s healthy growth and even, perhaps, for its survival” (Knowles, in George 2003:146). The need for skilled labour has existed for the entire duration of Canadian history. Early immigrants to Canada were involved in building the railways and industries such as mining, fishing, and lumber. At present, immigrants are involved in high-tech enterprises, building trades, and other industrial areas.

Permanent residents (also designated as landed immigrants) may apply to become Canadian citizens after three years, provided that they meet the residency requirements, have no criminal record, and pass the citizenship test. Landed immigrants are entitled to all rights and privileges of citizens, except that of voting, which follows once they have become full citizens. Refugees are those who must leave their homes and are admitted to another country on humanitarian grounds. Canada welcomes two separate groups of refugees: sponsored refugees and refugee claimants. Sponsored refugees are those who come to Canada through the support of the government or private sponsors, and have the same rights and privileges as landed immigrants. Refugee claimants arrive as visitors and apply for status. They must attend a hearing of their case before the Immigration and Refugee Board after explaining the persecution that they face in their home country. Once accepted, they have convention refugee status but must still go through the immigration process to become landed immigrants.

The data from the 2016 census provided an understanding of how Saskatoon’s newcomer population is distributed and identified some of the communities who would be accessing the services of the GGP. Of the total population (246,376), immigrants constituted 42,640: 3,285 were from the Americas; 7,460 were from Europe; 3,665 were from Africa; 27,995 were from Asia; and, 225 were from Oceania and other places of birth (Statistics Canada 2016). Economic immigrants totalled 25,260; 6,085 immigrants were sponsored by family; 5,925 refugees were given asylum; and 200 others arrived by different means (Statistics Canada 2016). In Saskatoon, 47,780 residents are from a visible minority population, defined by the federal government as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour” (Statistics Canada 2016). Saskatoon’s linguistic profile also demonstrates the expanding

newcomer community. The second most common language of origin in Saskatoon is Tagalog, illustrating the growing diversity of the city's population.

2.6 Cultural Competency

As noted earlier, cultural competency is a community-centered process which necessitates an understanding of history and community cultural context. The process of cultural competency should be one which enhances quality of life, and fosters opportunity for positive community engagement, thereby creating equal access to resources and initiating social change. Three key concepts are: (1) context, defined as “understanding historical and cultural realities that relate to the current situation” (St. Onge 2009:7); (2) community, “a group of people who face their own unique challenges and possibilities” (St. Onge 2009:7); and, (3) change, “altering conditions in ways that advance equity for people and communities of color” (St. Onge 2009:7).

Though the study of cultural competency has been adopted by medical anthropologists, the approach to service provision began within the field of healthcare in the United States during the 1980s as a means to improve interactions between healthcare personnel and non-English speaking patients (Clifford, et al. 2015). Angela C. Jenks provides an in-depth analysis of the origins of cultural competency, noting:

Cultural competence was positioned as a way to improve communication between patients and providers, thereby increasing patient trust in and compliance with provider recommendations, as a way to address the bias and prejudice identified by the Institute of Medicine as a contributing factor to health disparities, and as a continuation of the Civil Rights movement and other struggles for social justice. (Jenks 2011:214)

The related idea of cultural safety was championed by Irihapeti Ramsden, a scholar of nursing, in her New Zealand work with Maori patients (Ellison-Loschmann 2003). In Canada, cultural safety is also aligned primarily with the discipline of nursing and is promoted by Fjola Hart-Wasekeesikaw (2009).

Cultural competency is aligned with cultural safety, ensuring that culture is addressed in nuanced, rather than reductionistic ways. Cultural safety moves beyond the promotion of skills to understanding power differences inherent in service delivery and using education to redress these inequities. The aim of cultural safety is:

To improve health care access for patients, aggregates, and populations; acknowledge that we are all bearers of culture; expose the social, political, and historical contexts of health

care; enable practitioners to consider difficult concepts such as racism, discrimination and prejudice; acknowledge that cultural safety is determined by those to whom nurses provide care; understand the limitations of “culture” in terms of having people access and safely move through health care systems and encounters with care providers; and challenge unequal power relations (Hart-Wasekeesikaw 2009:2).

By aligning these ideas with the cultural competency continuum, a more contemporary and appropriate framing of cultural competency emerges. Though Hart-Wasekeesikaw writes primarily for the healthcare sector, these ideas are equally applicable to other organizations. As these ideas developed, more social scientists began to examine the effects cultural competence or lack thereof had on a certain population.

Dana and Allen’s (2008) work *Cultural Competency Training in a Global Society* also argues that cultural competency is necessary for the successful provision of health care and psychological services. They frame their discussion in a critical engagement with globalization, which is relevant to understanding the complexity of newcomers’ perspectives on health and well being because it widens the context in which individuals locate themselves and their sense of cultural belonging. Seligman, Wasserfall, and Montgomery’s (2015) work is complementary in that it examines how individuals experience the differences inherent among communities that are served by the non-governmental organization, *Communities Engaging with Religion and Difference (CEDAR)*:

CEDAR programs create new social and interpersonal spaces, broadening the range of possibilities to present a new way of “living together differently.” They do not seek to build a new community in which everyone agrees and shares the same assumptions, but rather to teach people how to live with their different understandings of home, life, faith, worlds of meaning, and belonging. (Seligman, Wasserfall and Montgomery 2015:loc427)

Cultural competency work is very similar to the programming of CEDAR. It creates spaces in which differences are acknowledged and addressed in a respectful manner. Reflexivity, or a critical self-examination of the organization and programming, features centrally in this work in order to guide intercultural care and service delivery.

2.6.1 Challenges and Issues of Cultural Competency

Heide Castañeda’s (2010) work *Im/Migration and Health: Conceptual, Methodological, and Theoretical Propositions for Applied Anthropology* examines cultural competency within the

broader sphere of culture and health as it relates to newcomers within the United States. Castañeda notes that while more awareness has been brought to culture's relation to health, it can be challenging due to the fact that "as anthropologists, we are often called on to be experts on culture, or to contribute "the cultural piece" to projects of medical or public health significance. This is especially the case, unfortunately, when culture is viewed as a barrier" (Castañeda 2010:7). Cultural competency is seen as recognizing the "need to examine multiple social, economic, and historic determinants of health disparities" and applied anthropologists are presented as those who can assist and prove that "biomedicine is not devoid of cultural values and influences" (Castañeda 2010:14). However, the concept of cultural competency is not without criticism.

Angela C. Jenks' (2011) work identifies issues present within cultural competency education. Jenks provides a background on the history of cultural competency before delving into these issues, noting that anthropologists "have long been critical of the approach to 'culture' that emerges in in cultural competence efforts" (Jenks 2011:211). While Jenks acknowledges this, she provides an ethnographic account of the nuances in current cultural competency education. A need for open-mindedness, Jenks states, arises from two critiques:

- (1) The need to move away from an essentialized, static notion of culture that is linked to race or ethnicity and (2) the need to move away from a focus on the culture of "Other" patients and to encourage providers to reflect on their own cultural positions and biases. (Jenks 2011:212)

The lack of attention to culture was what brought cultural competency into the consciousness of biomedicine and anthropology, but the reductionist operationalization of culture was swiftly decried. A concept of culture that "overemphasizes coherence and homogeneity, leading to understandings of communities as bounded and discrete and solidifying a dichotomy of self and other" drew sharp rebuke (Jenks 2011:214). Furthermore, and increasingly problematic to anthropologists, was the positioning of culture as a liberating force to lift individuals from the "homogenizing biomedical focus on the body" but, in the process, relying on "homogenous understandings of cultural groups" (Jenks 2011:214-215).

The notion of culture itself has problematic ties within some conceptions of cultural competency. For example, culture and race are tied together in St. Onge's (2009) work, despite it otherwise being a good manual for training and education. St. Onge, and other cultural

competency workers who adopt a similar approach reduce culture to static racial categories that are associated with fixed traits. Culture becomes equated with food, clothing, and physical appearance rather than a dynamic, shared, and variable worldview. There is an exaggerated universalism when culture is operationalized this way, limiting any service encounter to cultural incapacity or blindness. Ultimately, critiques of cultural competency and reactions to the criticisms on the topic highlight:

a central tension in cultural competence education over the relationship between a categorical approach, in which providers are taught information about specific groups, and a cross-cultural approach, in which the focus is on general methods for communicating with and caring for patients from diverse backgrounds. (Jenks 2011:216-217)

My intent is to join those anthropologists (such as DeIVecchio Good and Hannah) who rely on a more robust and dynamic understanding of how cultural contexts affect service delivery for newcomers. In so doing, I connect cultural competency with the more broadly focused work within cultural safety initiatives. I do not aim to advance a list of static cultural traits but instead to explore how research participants mobilize cultural worldviews as they seek the services of the GGP and how GGP staff accommodate those worldviews in their work.

2.7 Conclusion

The anthropological literature on well being, cultural competency, and newcomer health is shifting from the dark focus on suffering to a more positively-oriented focus on well being and “the good life.” Many anthropologists today relate well being to dignity, aspiration, and the agency to seek positive change in life. This is especially prevalent in the literature surrounding newcomer health.

The literature on newcomer health explores how change and social shifts affect health when in a new country. Social integration, access to services, the effects of multicultural policies, and the influence of individual cultural context are all prevalent and constant common themes in literature surrounding newcomers, both globally and locally in Canada. Cultural competency figures into this literature as the call for greater accommodation of cultural determinants of health is clarified. Despite the apt criticisms, cultural competency remains important because it encourages service providers to consider the unique contexts of the individuals they serve. The cultural competency continuum which also aligns itself with cultural safety provides a resource

for service providers to assess their actions, comprehend the importance of nuanced considerations of culture, and understand where improvements in their work should be made.

CHAPTER 3: CULTURAL COMPETENCY AND WELL BEING

3.1 Introduction

As noted earlier, my research centers on the question, “How does culturally competent programming foster well being among newcomer populations in Saskatoon?” The GGP was enthusiastic about working in partnership to examine the facets of newcomer well being. I chose this organization because they served a diverse group of newcomer clients and thus provided ethnographic material to assist me in investigating my research question. Working with newcomers was also an easy decision to make, as the upheaval of resettlement and global movement patterns are important topics of study (Na and Hample 2016; Grant and Robertson 2014; Collins 2013; Simich et al 2005; Simich, Este and Hamilton 2010; George 2003; Castañeda 2010). I wanted to understand how Saskatoon’s newcomers coped with the move required to live in the city, how they considered their well being, and what connection the GGP had with this sense of wellness.

The administration of the GGP initially placed me with the Citizenship Preparation class, and it was here that I met Kathy, one of the primary program facilitators. When interviewed, participants shared how they felt about the programming, and Kathy’s name was connected to feelings of satisfaction and a sense of being welcomed. Observations of Kathy’s interactions with the clients revealed that she always treated them as equals and worthy of respect. She made a remarkable and profound difference in the clients’ lives. This dedication and commitment to exceptional service provision was true of all the staff members at the GGP.

3.2 Cultural Competency

Whether staff met with clients officially or only saw them in passing, they never spoke condescendingly to the clients and took a genuine interest in helping to improve their new lives in Canada. The staff members would frequently put aside whatever task they had planned to assist their clientele in need. At the GGP, each client was treated as the most important person to visit the organization and the staff took measures to ensure satisfaction. The volunteers were mostly as respectful as the staff, but there were two interactions in which the volunteers’ behaviour was interpreted as problematic. In one instance, the volunteer used a raised tone of voice, speaking in demeaning and oversimplified language, and overacted a set of instructions. In the other situation, the volunteer made a comment that they could not tell that the individual they were addressing came from another country as they “looked Native.” The language used in this

interaction denoted inappropriate assumptions about cultural heritage. These were only a small number in an otherwise excellent group. To avoid this in the future, the GGP could provide training to volunteers so that those who work with newcomers are aware that sensitivity is required.

The GGP appears to be high on the continuum of cultural competency, moving well towards cultural proficiency. Services were certainly non-judgemental and non-biased. I found that all of the staff, and a majority of the volunteers, actively strived towards maximizing beneficial outcomes for their clients. The GGP understood each unique context for each client that they served, and the staff members were as diverse as their clients. When new clients were registered with the GGP, they were partnered with a staff member who had experiential understanding of the relevant cultural contexts. This created an environment in which all could feel welcome and safe. They were dedicated to providing respectful and appropriate services to all who may need them and consistently engaged with clientele in a manner that reflected their commitment to their values.

3.3 Engagement with Context

The GGP demonstrated a processual engagement with the notion of cultural context without becoming simplistic or reductionist in their operations. Clients were never characterized based on lists of traits or basic notions of the countries of origin. By pairing newcomers with a settlement advisor or counsellor who knew about the clients' unique contexts, the GGP acknowledged that each individual bears culture and made an effort to balance power relations that occurred at the organization. In keeping with the principles of a cultural competency aligned with cultural safety, the GGP consistently ensured that inequities which may arise in clients' lives were addressed and they encouraged safe explorations of cultural context and sociopolitical issues which face newcomers and the greater Saskatoon community through their programming.

The GGP held a special program in the spring called Room at the Table. The program was structured as an open seminar and discussion and provided an opportunity for newcomers to engage in a discussion with First Nations and Métis residents of Saskatoon. Together, the communities discussed the importance of language, tradition, and maintaining cultural practices to cultivate identity, as well as difficult experiences which have faced all three communities. Some of these experiences were shared, and some unique to each community. The discussion did not downplay difference but allowed inclusivity and respect to emerge. The GGP is committed to

enacting a relational understanding of cultural context that is built by experiences, interactions, and connections. The understanding of the complexity and nuance of culture ensures that the GGP maintains and encourages cultural competency and even cultural proficiency in all their interactions with clients. This dedication and ethical engagement has led to the GGP receiving excellent reviews from their clients, who also recommended that others attend services at the GGP rather than elsewhere.

3.4 Well Being

As noted previously, Mathews and Izquierdo (2011: loc183-193) define well being as an optimal state which is subjective and conceptualized differently based on each individual and their societal and cultural contexts but contains a degree of commonality due to the interconnected nature of humanity. Individuals learn how to navigate and consider life based on the cultural norms of the regions within which they were raised and where they live (Haviland et al. 2013). This extends to well being. Existing understanding of wellbeing—forged through enculturated and individual experiences—often shift during migrations. For example, if a newcomer has learned through formal and informal education that well being is collective, defined more by public health, resettling in a highly individualistic context may galvanize a shift in that understanding. Cultural context, therefore, plays a complex role in the formulation of an individual's conceptualization of well being. During the interview process, the participants identified connections they thought were important in forming an idea of well being. I identified and examined degrees of commonality among participants during the coding process by noting which themes were discussed with frequency. If a connection was discussed by several people at several points during their interviews, then it was noted to be a commonality within the cultural context of Saskatoon. I operationalize cultural context as fluid and malleable rather than a static, primarily location-based concept. Cultural context and the factors involved within it are influenced by interactions and experiences which shape the worldview of an individual, including migration. When participants discuss culture, this is therefore interpreted as their understanding of the cultural contexts surrounding them.

3.4.1 Factors of Well Being

The men and women participating in this research connected well being to time, to economics, and to interpersonal relationships. Time became a factor when participants felt that not having enough to live a balanced life would hamper well being. They wanted to be able to

spend equal amounts of time at work, on hobbies, and with people who were important to them, particularly family. One participant, Lino, explained the intersection of economics and time as factors to his sense of well being:

I could pay my bills, pay a private school for my daughter, private insurance, private healthcare, and all. But if you had asked me this question, “Are you feeling well?” Maybe I would answer, “Wow, strange but no.” No, because my life is so hurry, so busy. Even though I like so much of teaching my students, and all, wow. I wake up, travel, teach, go back, wow! I have no time for myself. And now, even considering that I left my professional, former professional, I’m not teaching anymore, I miss that. But I think I can answer that I’m feeling well. I’m feeling well because I can, for example, it’s just little thing, but I can wake up, take a breakfast with my family. I can take a ride for my daughter, drop off her school, and I parked the car 2, sorry, 20 to 30 minutes of walking distance to the university. In my walking way I passed through a beautiful park, wow. It’s a great life! Makes me feel so great, so great, because now I have time for myself, for my family. Okay, I miss teaching and all my students but I didn’t know what is to have spare time... now I know what is. So I’m feeling very well.

Despite leaving a successful career behind in South America and having more uncertainty in Canada, Lino did not define his well being according to the financial success he acquired. He described his house in his country of origin as being quite large, with room for his guitar collection. But these material goods did not provide him with a feeling that he was well in his life. To Lino, simply being able to have breakfast and spend time with his family, and to walk through Saskatoon’s parks was worth more to him than his former affluence.

Though Lino stated that he felt money was not as important to him as having time to focus on his valued activities, others stated that having money was deeply important to sustaining well being. They felt that if they could afford necessities such as housing, food, health insurance, and school fees, then a sense of well being would naturally follow. Barry explained:

To be well, to live well, first thing is that you have income. Then you, you have, I mean, the income to support your family, support your house, your car, your food, your entertainment, your kid’s education, and also your family health. So if have this basic elements, if have these basic elements that you can support, then can live well, I think it’s

can live well. So that means you have a good job, you have well education, you have no communication problem with others, you are, you can add much more money if you want. The difference between Barry's and Lino's understanding of well being highlights a difference between enculturated attitudes. All participants who came from China, as Barry had, noted the emphasis on financial stability. Some, also like Barry, agreed with the importance of having a strong economic standpoint to lay a foundation for well being. Others, like Lino, disagreed. They argued that a focus on finances was obscuring what they considered more important such as leisure time and family connections.

3.5 Economic Influence

The conflict between focusing heavily on economics and focusing more on other factors has also been an argument within the academic and theoretical debates surrounding the understanding of well being. Some scholars, such as the researchers responsible for Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW) at the University of Waterloo, argue that economic context and financial productivity, or lack thereof, cannot explain well being at all. Other researchers such as Edward Fischer, argue that economics must be considered as a basic underlying factor necessary for the facilitation of well being. The CIW refutes the equation of economic productivity with well being, commenting that "Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was never designed or intended to be a measure of social progress, or quality of life" and yet "over time, GDP has emerged as a surrogate for wellbeing" (Canadian Index of Wellbeing). However, anthropologist Edward Fischer would consider this a simplification of the situation.

Fischer (2014) argues that economic output and financial success must be included in considerations of well being as an individual's economic context does influence whether or not they consider themselves to be experiencing wellness. It is a simple prerequisite to well being but not enough when it is considered the only factor. There is, according to Fischer, a "curvilinear relationship between income and happiness" in which "more income produces proportionate advances in happiness up to a given point" (Fischer 2014:loc244). After this point—roughly \$75,000 US household income—an increase in income does not result in an increase in experienced well being. Lino is an example of this as he discussed how his affluence did not result in him feeling a sense of well being. Barry felt that income was necessary to providing life needs which would lead to well being, but did not mention at which point he considered that income to be enough. Each of them discussed capital, but in different ways. Lino placed his

emphasis on social capital, while Barry combined economic capital with social capital. Therefore, income is a consistent and common factor in the consideration of well being. Both Lino and Barry linked their discussion of the economic dimensions of well being to the interpersonal connections that are important to them.

3.6 Interpersonal Connections

Mina echoed Lino's and Barry's emphasis on interpersonal connection. She spoke of the importance of feeling welcome in Saskatoon, and the importance of feeling at home. Home is not simply a house in which to live, but a concept which extends beyond the material. The term "functions as a repository for complex, inter-related and at times contradictory socio-cultural ideas about people's relationship with one another, especially family, and with places, spaces, and things" (Mallett 2004:84). The notion of home can be one of a sense of comfort. Home is where one can feel as though they have truly come to belong. Feeling connected leads to a sense of satisfaction and safety, of fulfilment, and the ability to live with family and friends in a mutually beneficial positivity. Home, therefore, is a place where individuals can live and feel comfortable to pursue their aspirations, where they feel they have come to permanently belong, and where the interconnections among individual, family, and community all intersect. The increased feelings of comfort and connection were very important to how well Mina felt in her life. She said:

When I come to Saskatoon, I feel like I'm in my city... Because when I come here, I come in Saturday and Sunday I meet like people in a ceremony, a friend of my husband had a baby and I meet people, I meet a lot of people and I, like, feel like I'm in home. Then I become with him a friend, I see him, they come to me at my home, I visited him, that's it. And I love Saskatoon more. Sometime I travel with my husband, but when I come to Saskatoon, I said to him "Oh, finally, I'm home!" I feel comfortable in Saskatoon, not like in other city.

Maintaining the memory of her city of origin, meeting people who came from the same country as she did, and feeling as though she was finally home gave rise to a sense of well being in Mina's life.

The interpersonal connections that Mina included in her description of home became central later in our interview as well. She described a friend who did not have many opportunities to leave the house. Mina believed that this was detrimental to well being and would cause

feelings of isolation, depression, and loneliness. Mina felt it was paramount to meet others and go out, especially in a new country. Having Saskatoon feel like home for her made this easier, certainly, but regardless of location, Mina was adamant that interpersonal connections were essential to well being.

3.7 Spirituality and Well Being

Other participants connected spirituality to their notions of well being. Believing that something more powerful than oneself was watching over them and keeping them safe and secure lent a sense of peace to their lives. The presence of mental and spiritual well being as a foundation for well being, in general, was less discussed than finances or time but remained important. Participants noted that being well meant feeling well in all aspects of life, including mentally. Interestingly, Kerri described an imbalance between physical looks and mental feelings, explaining that it is common to pretend one is feeling well when they are not.

Spirituality helped to ensure an emotional well being that needs no such pretense. She said:

Being well to me is being well mentally, at least you start from being well mentally because if you're not well mentally or internally, you're not well at all. No matter how you look physically, you can be emotionally dead and that's not being well. And for me, my being well, like I told you, will always say my biblical principals is my guiding principals in life because God is the reason. I know here sometimes "Oh, don't mention God, don't do this when you" but I say it any day, any time, I'm alive today because of God. So my biblical principles, knowing God, is being well for me. Without Him, I'm sure I won't even be where I am today, so that's being well for me.

Like Kerri, several other participants connected their sense of well being to the will or protection of a higher spiritual power, such as God or the Buddha. Sean agreed with the importance of spirituality and belief, noting:

Being well? Being well is, to me, is being first of all spiritually grounded, you know, and being spiritually grounded, of course, takes effect the entire aspect of my life.

Emotionally, physically, psychologically, mentally, you know. So, um, being well to me is just, you know, waking up in the morning and just feeling that sense of peace and joy, and of course, you know, contentment no matter what is going on and you know, just being myself, you know. Being able to love myself as a person, you know, because even without it, I can't really know how to love other people around me or care for them, so

being well for me just being spiritually, physically, emotionally, you know...grounded myself.

A positive correlation between spirituality and well being has been well documented in the literature (Kashdan and Nezlek 2012; Daaleman, Cobb, and Frey 2001). Having goals in life and following a spiritual worldview are associated with greater life satisfaction and lower distress (Kashdan and Nezlek 2012). The connection between well being and spirituality is bi-directional. According to Kashdan and Nezlek (2012:1532) “on days when people feel that their lives are more meaningful or feel better about themselves, they also feel more spiritual.” This connection was even greater for those with a more established and concrete sense of their own spirituality. Much like the feeling of being watched over by a caring higher power, the feeling of well being can also appear to be omnipresent in life.

Henry also connected well being and spirituality. However, Henry extended this connection to include a sense of ethical duty that casts well being as both individual and collective:

According to me, being well, it means you should behave. You should observe good manners, and you should be good human being, and if you are not a good human being it means you are not a good being. And if you are not a good Christian, a good Muslim, it means you are not doing your job, which was assigned by your holy prophet. And I think it is a preaching of every religion to behave nicely, to honour others, to share the sorrows and worries of the other people. According to your resources, whatever you are, wherever you are, you should behave. You should have good habits, you should have a good behaviour, you should talk nicely, and you should honour others. So that's it, as far as I think.

The dimension of ethics and morality extends the sense of well being from that which is individually focused to that which contains a public duty to ensure that others feel well. Well being becomes an exercise in empathy, in sharing the events and emotions of fellow citizens, and through this a life becomes enriched. Well being also becomes justification for some people to surveil and judge others. Acting in accordance with beliefs not only fulfills a moral duty, it ensures collective benefit and a prevailing sense of public good. This is an ongoing process, not a static state. Well being, therefore, can be conceptualized similarly to cultural competency, as it is a process in addition to a state.

3.8 Well Being as a Process at the GGP

Much like the most positive point on the cultural competency continuum, well being is a goal, something for which to strive. Clients of the GGP experience this processual overlap through the services and programming they attend. The staff maintain a presence in their lives from the moment of intake until the point at which they no longer feel that services are necessary. The GGP follows clients and adapts programming suggestions based on how the immigration and personal process is progressing. For some participants, this included initial settlement counselling services, then employment education, then advice on how to purchase a house in Canada, and finally citizenship preparation study sessions. Much like this expression of cultural competency, the well being of clients is malleable and increases with both personal and organizational actions.

GGP clients report high rates of well being. Eighteen of 19 participants stated that they felt as though they had a sense of well being in their lives. The exception is one participant, who felt that a lack of well being was connected to personal financial circumstances and struggles with finding assistance from the provincial government. This participant commentary on the GGP, however, was as positive as that offered by others. All of the participants mentioned the accepting atmosphere of the organization and the respectful attitudes of the staff members. For example, Anette stated:

Trust me, Global is the best. I prefer Global than any other refugee or newcomer organization here in Saskatoon, and not only me alone, we are so many, so many newcomers or people who came like us, refugees, that believe and trust on Global Gathering because, like, when you are coming in Global Gathering, you are welcome to anything. Welcome to their classes, they support you.

Simon, a participant who was originally from the Middle East, mentioned that he promotes the GGP as much as he can to other newcomers. For him, the GGP assisted with both settlement and familiarity with the city of Saskatoon:

I like it and I do have my own web page like a small blog and I write a lot about them and their activities and I encourage people to come to Global Gathering because they are really- I think they are helping the newcomers to settle, not only to settle from work and housing point of view, also to know the city, know the culture, and they are very welcome, they are very friendly and yeah.

The settlement assistance in all facets, from work to housing to information on Saskatoon and Canada, is reasonably typical for Canadian settlement organizations. For example, other organizations in Alberta and Manitoba offer the same type of service. This is not to say, though, that the Canadian settlement context is so saturated with these types of programs that they are taken for granted. Every bit of assistance makes a difference in the lives of the clients and provides a key point of contact to the broader Canadian society. Cathie felt that the GGP was not only a service provider but a supportive place on the same level of importance to her as family. For her, the benefit from the GGP was not only educational but financial as the programming is almost entirely free.

As a single mother trying to settle in Saskatoon, the importance of having services which were relevant and appropriate to Cathie's context was paramount. Her sense of well being was fostered by how the GGP provided services, tied to the economic benefits associated with not having to pay for programming, and tied to the commitment each staff member maintains to serving newcomers in the best possible way. She said:

This place is like my second family and I am so blessed and I'm glad to know this such place, because I'm a single mom and through the programs that they're offering, I could take classes like, you know, affordable. I don't have to pay anything, I get free stuff. They give us, like, educational and informative classes, and this help me to build, you know, to meet my goals in the future, to build my, you know, to build our future.

There is no charge to attend GGP programming as they receive governmental funding. Keeping the classes and services accessible to individuals like Cathie is extremely important, as a lack of support can and will have dire consequences for newcomers trying to adjust after the upheaval of moving to a new country.

3.9 Connection to Community

The importance of connection to a new community was frequently brought up in the interviews. This sense of connection is different from the previously discussed interpersonal connections to the community. In the previous discussion, interpersonal connections were the longstanding relationships that participants maintained throughout the migration process. Here, I am suggesting an additional dimension to these connections: newly forged relationships that characterize well being in the participants' lives in Saskatoon. Henry commented that connection and learning were ways in which he felt his life was being enriched in Saskatoon. Education, both

formal and informal, and friendship were intertwined with Henry's idea of how to live well and cultivate a sense of well being:

So when you interact with others, you can understand them better, you can help them in a better way. So I love to make new friends, love to meet new people, and I love to learn about their culture and other different rituals. I like and I think it's good to increase my knowledge, because the learning concept never ends. One is learning even at the brim of the grave, he's learning. So that's why I'm of 70, and even now I take active part in different activities. I move in the Muslim community, I meet the Muslims from different countries, I talk to them, I ask them how may I help them. And sometimes they tell me something, and which I don't know, and it is a great thing that I learn from them.

Attending the programs at the Global Gathering Place provided participants like Henry with the ability to connect with other newcomers in a culturally safe and enjoyable way. Clients coming together from diverse backgrounds to share in the triumphs and struggles of their fellow newcomers provided a strong bond and sense of connection which provided more benefits than just new friendships. This provided a chance to feel welcome, to feel less isolated, and to feel valued when adjusting to a new city.

3.10 Maintaining Traditions

Maryam agreed with the importance of connection but also brought in the importance of maintaining cultural traditions. She contrasted what she perceived as the dominant opinions when newcomers resettle in other countries, saying:

There are two kind of thinking or beliefs, is that when you go to the new place, you should adapt yourself because of the opportunity that you have, or you should be strict about what you have...yeah. I think I'm that kind of person that I believe in learning everything. When you learn everything and you have so many things, you have opportunities to get and to take. I like my daughter to know both [her] culture and Canadian culture, and it helps her to treat the others. You know, we were talking about that, if you know one language you are one person, if you know two language and culture, you are two person. I like her to learn them both and it's good to know to get familiar with the other persons, as much as you can get people attracted to you, because you're aware of their culture, it's a way of attraction, for example, it's something like that, you are calling people at their first name. It makes them more familiar with you.

Adaptation to a new country and remaining adamantly couched within original cultural context may be ideologically at odds, but both can foster well being based on the opinions and paradigms to which an individual adheres. Maryam believed that it was better to experience a combination of both sets of cultural traditions in order to be a fully rounded individual. Familiarity with both would, therefore, lead to better chances to connect with others, and thus increase a sense of well being. The relational approach advocated for in the cultural competency literature can also apply to Maryam's casting of culture. It need not be a binary. Indeed, cultural contexts are often multiple. Maryam illustrates this well as she speaks simultaneously of her position in more than one cultural terrain. However, not all newcomers agreed with Maryam.

3.11 Attitudes Towards Connection

Maryam unknowingly highlighted a conflict that was occurring within GGP clients' attitudes towards connection. This conflict and disparity did not manifest itself at all among clients but became apparent in the interviews. Some clients, like Maryam, wanted to maintain a balance between the traditions of their home community and those of their Saskatoon community. Others wanted to distance themselves from Saskatoon's Canadian citizens and maintain contact only with others from their home community. Still others wanted to have no more contact with those who shared their ethnic background, preferring instead to associate with longstanding Saskatoon citizens. Others, like Mina, noted that the form the connection took was unimportant so long as the connection was there to prevent feelings of isolation and the depression which can happen as a result.

Shilpi felt that it was possible to lose connection with cultural context and connected this to a loss of self. She also felt as though it was important to maintain a balance between the customs of one's country of origin and the customs of the new country of residence. Shilpi explained:

Culture is very important in my life because culture bring root, that you have to keep a root, you have to remember where you from, and you have to remember that if you haven't done, if you haven't gone in a bad society, culture and roots brings you always, like it puts your mind together that you have to do what is taught to you when you were kid. So roots and culture and custom and traditional is very, very important to me in my life because I do wanna get a good life in Canada but if I raise my kids, I want them to learn my language... where they are connected where that they don't forget that their

mom is from there, but however they were born here, but culture is so important because sometimes if you lose the culture mentality in your mind, you can lost yourself here. And sometimes there is a good friends that they can bring you back, but sometimes you're just gone and because you don't have that traditional customs left in your brain, your just- it's so important to keep everything tie up in a root.

Specifically, the loss of self was tied to the new cultural context. A maintenance of tradition, then, became an unconscious and daily struggle against having parts of whom they are stripped away. Her statement that "sometimes you're just gone because you don't have that traditional customs left in your brain" brought a deep feeling of emptiness. This loss is a loss of self, of knowledge, and as a result, of the sense of well being. Keeping a remembrance of where one has been and their previous context was the key to Shilpi's description of the balance that is so pivotal to keeping well in Canada.

Cultural factors are therefore operationalized as binding agents which encompass all individuals in some way. From a cultural competency standpoint, this is a reminder that we are all bearers of culture (Hart-Wasekeesikaw 2009). This is also a reminder that culture is more than the tangible aspects, such as food or clothing, but a deep, inherent link binding an individual to the traditions, values, and norms they were raised to follow. St. Onge (2009) defines this as the two dimensions of culture. Visible, outward signs of culture such as language, art, food, and music are only one half, while invisible deeper meanings such as notions of modesty, concepts of beauty, and relationships with nature form the other (St. Onge 2009: 6). As we are all bearers of culture, and cannot separate ourselves from our own individual contexts, Shilpi's worry about losing culture can be better understood as losing or forgetting the values important to functioning appropriately as a member of that society. Culture cannot truly be lost and therefore this worry would be alleviated by understanding that individuals change, and worldviews will shift over time. This may mean that previous paradigms shift to make way or accommodate the new. Connection to what is deeply valued is often held by individuals for the majority of their lives. Connection to others whose worldview presents similar values will also reinforce these ideas.

3.12 The Importance of Neighbourhoods

A sense of neighbourhood and community was linked to a basic connection in general as well. The simple act of acknowledging one's neighbour could positively increase feelings of well being. Sean explained that:

Like, it's all about community, you know? I used to live in a house and, you know, when I came, and I just like, I know the neighbours very well. Like, you know, greetings and they wanna acknowledge you, they wanna be acknowledged, they wanna- it's just so much family-oriented and I'm just like, man! 10 years I was in Toronto, I never knew my neighbour! Nobody ever said hi or something!

Sean's disappointment was a logical outcome of no one acknowledging his presence in Toronto. More than disappointment, Sean could have become further isolated. Again, positive interpersonal connections are central to well being.

Despite the isolation that he felt when he lived in Ontario, Sean did not let himself become overly despondent. He went on to further explain that:

People were so busy! So man, sometimes I feel so sad, I said to myself "Oh, wasted years in Ontario" but no, and again I said "No, it can't be." Yes, Toronto or Ontario was maybe just to conserve myself, a better place to get all this degree and stuff, but here is a better place to settle. You know, that was how I just equated it and said "Wow, so far it has been good." And yes, um, I feel so connected with the people here, with the land itself, with, I can't even say enough. Saskatoon or Saskatchewan as a whole has been, so far, an awesome place to be. This I'm not saying, I'm saying it from the bottom of my heart. So far, yes, I enjoy the city, I enjoy the province so far.

Sean demonstrated fortitude in his search to find a place where he did not experience the same isolation he had previously felt. By moving to a smaller city, he was able to cultivate the connections critical for his well being. Others also connected Saskatoon's size to their sense of connection and well being.

Cities such as Toronto, Winnipeg, and Calgary were described as being too big to maintain close connections with neighbours, friends, and other acquaintances. They were also deemed less friendly, as the participants shared that the population of Saskatoon is perceived to be more likely to strike up a polite conversation with strangers at any given time. In Saskatoon, participants said, they could meet people who genuinely cared about their connection to the city and to the smaller communities within the city. Events in Saskatoon also facilitated the ability to establish interpersonal connections. Heather volunteered at the Jazz Festival in the summer and participated in a special concert which was offered free of charge. A musician played his music while concert goers did yoga in the park alongside him. Heather explained that it was:

Really fantastic! You can feel fresh air, you can feel sun, you can feel music, and you play yoga. And during the play yoga and in the yoga's, how to say, playing, also one or two music let you dance with your neighbour. You really feel you're alive! You are, how to say, have the active with your neighbour, actually is a stranger, you never know them before. You just play together and just like friends and families. This is the first, I play yoga for 9 years, this is amazing experience. This is the first experience what I have in Saskatoon, so after playing I say "I like Saskatoon! I love Saskatoon!"

The connection between strangers at this festival created a feeling of liveliness and joy that provided a better feeling of well being for Heather. Being able to meet new people while engaging in activities she enjoyed created a sense of belonging in Saskatoon and a sense of enjoying the city that perhaps would not have emerged as quickly without it. Thus the cultural and artistic atmosphere of Saskatoon is uniquely poised to facilitate positivity in ways that the busy activity of larger cities may have difficulties cultivating.

3.13 Environmental Influence on Well Being

Saskatoon's environment was also connected to the participants' sense of well being. Several mentioned the open spaces, clean air, and green space as beneficial to their lives. Having the ability to live in what the participants described as a healthy way—to be able to walk outside and enjoy the city, to live without complications which arise as a result of pollution—were connected to feeling well being. Studies have shown that being connected to nature is positively correlated to well being outcomes (Howell et al. 2011; Cervinka, Röderer, and Hefler 2011; Daams and Veneri 2016). In Cervinka, Röderer, and Hefler's (2011:384) work, factors of well being, particularly meaningfulness and vitality, were found to be "robustly correlated" with connectedness to nature. Howell et al. (2011) found that not only did increased interaction with nature and natural spaces bring an increase in the eudaemonic aspects of well being, but that those who connect with nature derive a meaningful existence from it. They note that exposure to green spaces is associated with health and longevity, and theorize that exposure to public parks and tree-lined streets increase physical and mental health and well being (Howell et al. 2011: 170). Participants' statements echoed the findings of the existing research.

Some participants noted that the natural spaces in and around Saskatoon brought them feelings of relaxation and peace which they did not feel elsewhere, whereas some connected the environment to their physical health and noted how their sense of well being benefitted from

being able to breathe freely and not have to worry about whether or not the city was affecting their health. Lino, Nora, and Heather all mentioned their lives having been enriched for the ability to conduct their leisure activities outdoors and be connected to the natural environment surrounding Saskatoon. Therefore, well being became tied not only to the attendance of the programs at the GGP and the satisfaction felt about these services, but also the simple act of living within the city of Saskatoon.

3.14 Conclusion

The role of the GGP in facilitating the participants' views and experiences of well being is strong. Clients are encouraged to strive for the factors that ensure well being. The GGP also presents educational programming on how to facilitate well being, such as the women's group, WELL, which features a weekly discussion on various wellness-related topics. As stated previously, health is a key factor in building a sense of well being. The discussion group Coffee and Conversation also provides the interpersonal connection the participants deemed necessary to building well being in Saskatoon. The regularity of the discussions provides a weekly opportunity to strengthen the interpersonal bonds created. One of the major goals of the GGP is to facilitate the inclusion of newcomers into the broader Saskatoon community, thereby reducing harmful isolation which could hamper an individual's ability to feel a sense of well being. By providing these services free of charge, the GGP also ensures that economic factors will not be an obstacle to accessing supports and programs.

Time and economics played a large role in how participants defined well being. More unexpectedly, spirituality and morality, as well as the environment, were also brought up in connection to having well being in their lives. Being driven by belief and the notion of "best self" also factored greatly into whether or not a person felt well being was present in their life. The cultural competency of the GGP also contributed to the well being felt by the participants. All of them said that they felt the GGP had a positive impact on their lives and was one of the reasons they felt a sense of well being. By treating their clients with respect, and taking into account each unique context and background in the service provision, the GGP creates an environment which fosters well being. The more I discussed well being with the participants, the more they mentioned "living a good life." In order to be well, many stated that they had to be living a good life or trying to live a good life. The concept of living a good life was brought up with frequency, and this concept will be further discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: THE GOOD LIFE

4.1 Introduction

“Living a Good Life” was a common phrase the participants employed in their descriptions of well being. In order to have well being, participants said, one must first be experiencing the conditions which make up the consideration of the good life. There was no notion that well being could occur if the good life was not being lived. This concept emerged early in the interview process, and in subsequent interviews I therefore asked: “What does living well mean to you? What do you need to live a good life?” Several participants noted similar or identical notions of the good life. It is a concept that appears to be collectively shared while also experienced individually.

4.2 Philosophical Explorations of the Good Life

Philosophy has long been concerned with the questions of “What is a good life and how is it lived?” The good life has been connected to happiness, freedom, spirituality, and, of course, well being. Goldstein (2006) reads Hegel as particularly concerned with the good life and notes that he conceptualized it differently from philosophers before him. He believed it connected to free will, agency, and freedom (Goldstein 2006). According to Goldstein (2006:145), Hegel advanced the philosophical discussion of the good life by exploring “how the good is already present...and how the human spirit comes to take possession of the good life through participation in these conditions of freedom.” A more recent example of the study of the good life has Mike W. Martin (2012) exploring happiness as a primary prerequisite for the good life, mentioning also the importance of authenticity, health, self-fulfillment, moral decency and goodness, and meaningfulness. Happiness, as a driving motivational force, leads individuals to pursue the good life so that they can attain a sense of satisfaction and contentment.

Martin (2012) outlined three elements which build happiness and therefore contribute to a good life: valuing, enjoyment, and sense of meaning (Martin 2012). To value lives is to “affirm them in their present configurations, which include our primary hopes for the future as well as our current activities and relationships, possessions and accomplishments, and values and ideals” (Martin 2012:4). A sense of meaning is “a nuanced set of attitudes that are revealed in what we care about and enjoy” and brings together “having values” and “finding our lives intelligible” (Martin 2012:7). The concept of enjoyment includes “pleasurable emotions and moods, pleasant sensations and thoughts, enjoyable activities and relationships, and attitudes of being pleased

about things” (Martin 2012:5). There is also a moral component, Martin stated, in that individuals will feel satisfied by doing what they consider to be right and good. By feeling fulfilled, individuals will consider their life to be good.

Yet this examination of the good life raises more questions. What do we consider to be good? Is goodness the same for all individuals? In many cases, the answer is that there is no concrete answer as the idea can vary widely between individuals and groups. Can one individual or group truly speak for the rest of the world? Some might take umbrage if definitions of happiness and living well were foisted upon them. What influence does cultural context have on conceptions of the good? Cultural contexts are often ignored by those putting forth definitions of “the good life,” but these contexts are critically important to anthropologists.

4.3 The Good Life

Most anthropologists agree that the good life is not an objective definition, but a constellation of subjective experiences. The good life is often connected to well being, and it fits centrally within the anthropology of the good. In Fischer’s (2014) work in Germany and Guatemala, these domains come together to constitute the good life:

First, there are objective material conditions as measured by income, health, and physical security. Second, there are the more subjective factors of agency, fairness and dignity, and meaningful life projects. Third, there are the intermediary and more instrumental social elements of opportunity structures and family and community networks. (Fischer 2014:loc3538-3547)

Instead of positing a universalizing definition, Fischer suggests that there is a “complex interrelationship between the elements” of the good life and the most important factors vary from circumstance to circumstance (Fischer 2014:loc3547).

In Cheryl Mattingly’s (2014) work with children with chronic illnesses, these factors become tied to morality and responsibility. Mattingly studied the moral complexities of care among African American families in Los Angeles who were attempting to ensure proper care and support for their ill children. In this study, the good life is not only one of finding satisfaction and well being but a life concerned with being a good parent, and ensuring a good life for that child despite limitations or suffering which may arise as a result of the illness. At times, the conceptions of the good life come into conflict. Families move through many moral spaces, such as schools, churches, clinics and neighbourhoods. Each reveals something different and distinct

in the notions of the good life which emerge from these environments. Mattingly explains that as these spaces are navigated by parents, the good life becomes more complex:

They encounter and must navigate multiple moral normativities and authorities, including ones that clash with their own sense of a “good life” for their children or for their families. Following families and children into a variety of moral spaces that make distinct and authoritative claims about the “good life” reveals in a particularly vivid way that moral resources for self-making are...drawn from an uneasy coexisting “assemblage” of ideals and practices. Moral pluralism characterizes ordinary life. (Mattingly 2014: 8)

Mattingly drew on Aristotelean philosophy in order to explain how flourishing is “better understood as something like leading a ‘life worth living’ or a ‘good life’” (Mattingly 2014: 9). She states that the topic of flourishing is best understood from a first-person perspective, but it can also be effectively applied to the collective as well.

4.4 Flourishing

Martin Seligman (2011) defines his core criteria for flourishing as including relationships. Therefore, the concept of flourishing cannot be isolated to one first-person perspective. Indeed, Seligman notes that limiting measures of flourishing, well being, and the good life to one individual only, to just the first-person perspective, is neither objective nor “democratic” (Seligman 2011: 239). Edward Fischer (2014) also presents the two examples of collective flourishing from Germany and Guatemala, furthering the argument for the importance of understanding the concept from the broader group perspective. The flourishing of the individual can be greatly influenced by the flourishing of the group, therefore reinforcing the need to examine both for a comprehensive study of well being.

For Mattingly, flourishing and living are more properly conceptualized as the individual acting within the situation with which they are engaged. Mattingly used the example of a mother with a son who plays wheelchair soccer to illustrate her point. The mother does not wonder about statistical probabilities while watching her child play. Instead, she is concerned about how allowing her son to play is consequential for her and for those for whom she cares (Mattingly 2014). Therefore, to live the good life is to have a stake in what is happening around us. This manifests in the human experience:

To be human is to care about who we are, what we do, what happens to us. Existence just is care, Heidegger said. It is this feature of our existence that makes it impossible to

adequately characterize humans without adopting a first person starting point...we respond to the categories that “name” us and the social practices we participate in. This first person experience is an inextricable aspect of what makes these categories “real.” (Mattingly 2014:12-13)

In bringing our experience to the world around us, in defining the good life according to our own morality and expectations, we flourish and live. Despite threats of moral tragedy and uncertainty, people do not always abandon their efforts to maintain happy and flourishing lives. Striving to live the good life is a complex undertaking full of subjectivity and meaning. It changes based on the individual and the multiple contexts they occupy.

4.5 Formation of the Good Life

In understanding the complexities of how the good life is formed, we then understand that to focus on one element of the good life is to perform a disservice to the good life as a whole. Assuming the importance of one factor over another or assuming reliability in action is impossible when studying how individuals aspire towards a good life. In comparing Germany and Guatemala, Fischer noted how individuals acted even against their own ideals to achieve the good life:

These folks improvise and adapt and sometimes act against their own “better judgement” and their own values. And their values can well include improving their own financial situation and material circumstances. We may all want to be better off (according to that elusively relative standard), but we also want to be part of larger, meaningful projects. (Fischer 2014:loc3680)

4.6 Context and the Individual

What I learned from the participants at the Global Gathering Place aligned with many of Fischer’s arguments. They shared a framework for how a good life can be understood and pursued. Although descriptions of the good life varied among participants, it was consistently grounded in their individual contexts and individual as well as collective experiences. Many of these experiences rest on basic life needs: food, shelter, health, and income. Barry, for example, noted that income was the primary concern for him:

To be well, to live well, first thing is that you have income. Then you, you have, I mean, the income to support your family, support your house, your car, your food, your entertainment, your kid’s education, and also your family health. So if have this basic

elements, if have these basic elements that you can support, then can live well, I think it's can live well. So that means you have a good job, you have well education, you have no communication problem with others, you are, you can add much more money if you want. Barry also said that a key element of a good life was freedom. He believed that an individual must be free to express themselves without fear of persecution. The ability to speak freely on any topic without being censored or persecuted was something Barry noted as integral to his consideration of whether he was living the good life or not.

4.7 Living Respectfully

During her interview, Cathie discussed her concept of the good life as connected to respect, both being respected and respectful:

Being well, like having a comfortable life, you are respected in many ways, yeah. I believe the more important is the way how you treat people, and the way how, the way how you treat people and how the people treat you back. And that makes me more comfortable, because if there's no respect, right, it will put you in very big trouble or many issues will come up, things like that. And then, yeah, comfortable life, you have a good shelter, you eat three times a day, you have a job that sustain all your needs, you have, yeah, beautiful family, and then you live happily with your family and friends.

Though income and shelter were factors in Cathie's description, they were not as prominent as in other participants' conceptions of the good life. Instead, Cathie highlighted on aspect of what she saw as an inherent morality to living a good life.

Another participant, Henry, also spoke to this when he said that well being was connected to living by the principles of one's faith. In treating others by the rules of etiquette and fair treatment specific to their cultural context, both Henry and Cathie felt that they were living a good life. Respect would lead to comfortable relations with others and a feeling that one has acted in the best interests of all. For some, however, actions were less important than the conditions in which one lives.

4.8 Health and the Good Life

Diana stated that the good life was intertwined with physical, mental, and emotional health. This was the primary building block of the good life and of well being. She explained:

The first thing is health, I think you must be in good health so you don't need to see the doctor, don't need to take medicine and you are good to go anywhere, you don't need to

worry about your health, so this is the first one. The second is feeling. You need good relationship between families and between relatives and friends and coworkers, this is need for your heart. Yeah. The third one is money, I think. If you don't have money, don't have enough income, you will be struggled every day, yes. So if you have money you don't worry about your life and don't worry about your children, and retirement.

The lack of anxiety regarding health, interpersonal relationships, and income is the key to Diana's opinion of the good life. Her conception of health is one concerned primarily with symptoms. Lack of symptoms and a lack of need for care are what make a healthy life for Diana. Mental health manifests itself as a statement of not needing to worry, therefore primarily concerned with anxieties about future events. Personal notions of the good life, like Diana's, were often informed by a multitude of factors. For many, but not for all, the idea of the good life was something personal mixed with what their culture had deemed as necessary.

4.9 Influence of Norms and Values

Many participants believed strongly in the values and norms with which they had been raised. An equal number of others preferred to draw their idea of the good life from both their previous and current contexts, creating an amalgamation of values. Luca was among those who relied on an amalgam to imagine a good life. In Europe, he said, he found that it was primarily related to having a good job and being recognized, that most people were concerned with the monetary aspect of life. However, he felt that he could live a good life by having peace and quiet, and a strong support network from family and friends to assist him in his endeavours. Lino also felt that his peers in his home country were too focused on how much they could earn and that he did not feel a sense of well being when he tried to engage with this style of living. Much like Luca, Lino felt that his good life was more connected to whether or not he could spend time with his family and take moments to enjoy his surroundings and leisurely hobbies.

4.10 The Importance of Leisure

Leisure and time were just as important to living a good life as to considerations of health and income. The ability to set aside a section of the day in order to enjoy something recreational or artistic allowed many participants to feel that they were in the process of living a good life. Luca spoke at length about how the ability to enjoy meals with his family and take time just to walk and enjoy Saskatoon's natural features helped him feel that he was living a good life. Heather connected her sense of the good life to being able to volunteer and take part in new

activities, such as musical yoga at the Jazz Festival. Shilpi noted that she felt she was living well because she did her best to ensure that she had 10,000 steps on her Fitbit every day. Therefore, in order to live the good life, they felt that there had to be some engagement with activities other than those required to attain income and maintain basic health. While most of these leisure activities also maintain health, the participants did not characterize them in such a way. To them, these activities were something purely for enjoyment, a way to connect with the hobbies they enjoy and take some time to cultivate satisfaction in their lives. However, the idea of the good life was still portrayed differently across the testimony of the participants.

4.11 Generational Differences as a Challenge

Some participants characterized the idea of the good life as being divided generationally. Maryam explained that, in her opinion, the attitude of her country of origin regarding the good life is split between the generation who grew up with the internet and the generation before them. She noted the heavy emphasis on financial prosperity:

Everyone wants to be a richest one and, but they're not aware that time should pass. They say "Okay, this night when I sleep-" it's a kind of, I don't know, it's not realistic. "I sleep and in the morning I should be rich." And it makes them to have fake jobs and not doing good, and they say "Okay, I'm not wealthy, I can buy a home, for example, for myself, 170 meters, I should have travels abroad, for example, once or twice a year, and I want my kid to attend the bilingual school and learn to play piano, learn to play guitar, I want her to be best." It's not good, because you put so much pressure on your family, on your kids, on your wife, or wife even on husband. It's changing in my country. The definition is going to be changed, but, for example, your dad. Your dad has still that kind of thinking. And of course they are getting old, but you as the youth say "No, it's not accepted Dad!" And they said "No, I have everything I want, I'm okay. I don't want a bigger house, I don't want to go, for example, to have my vacations on beach in Barcelona, I'm okay here. It's not crowded."

Hard work and perseverance are also factors in Maryam's narrative of a good life, in that one cannot expect to have rewards and success without first putting an effort forward to reach these goals. The generational change in attitudes in her region also mirrors shifts occurring in other countries as well. At the GGP, this shift can often be seen when families access the services. A common point of discussion in BrightStart, the group for mothers and their children, was whether

or not to teach the children the values and ideas of the parents' generation or those of younger generations. The counselling services offered at the GGP also advertised parenting advice and relating to a child who may acculturate themselves more easily to Saskatoon society as one of the topics for which clients could seek help. The GGP understood that this was an important point of discussion which needed to be explored and provided ways for all clients to join the discussion. The ideas of the older generations transitioning towards the concerns of the younger generations was something echoed in other conceptualizations of the good life, such as Jason's.

Jason discussed the fact that, in his hometown in South Asia, living a good life was connected to being well situated socially and starting a family. He explained that he especially felt pressure from older members of the community in this regard. However, the shifting societal attitudes meant that this pressure became less and less acceptable. Jason said that the good life meant:

Well placed, in a sense you having a good job, getting married, you know, I got married when I was only 32 but then I believe guys there, 28, it's like "Yeah, you better get married!" And you probably already know that most of our marriages are arranged. So it's something that's there, it's changing now with the younger ones. I definitely can't tell my younger one to, he's gonna "No way dad! Think about it!" It's changed, it's changing now. Though what happens now is they come home, they tell you, and then you make an arranged marriage. But then it's like those days are changing, it is changing, the whole value, culture, that's what I said, as the whole generation standard is changing, but still, yeah. It would be you should have a proper job, you should be married, and preferably with kids. You don't have kids, a big time issue back home! It's like "Why is it? What's happening?" You get surprised, and why are others so interested in something so personal to you?

Jason felt that the previous attitudes and the lack of privacy made the good life unreachable. He told me that the younger members of the community were beginning to push back against the potentially invasive interest in personal affairs and conflict was ensuing.

4.12 Generational Differences as a Necessary Influence

Heather explained that she saw the generational difference not as a disagreement between the old and the young but as diversity in how the good life is experienced. Of course, she said,

fighting to secure a stable financial position was important, but there were other factors which she would recommend for young adults to live a good life:

There's two different target. For example, my son, for him to come here is a good period for the high school because here is quiet, is not big town, sorry, it's a city, but for me idea is a town. But he can very quiet focus on his study, and although the basic function is completed, so we can have all this function, but after he graduated from high school, I think for his life it's better to go abroad or go other cities to learn in a university, to have some other experience in other cities. Because for the young people, they need to open eyes. They need to experience different culture, different cities, different technology, different concept. Then they experience it, they can make comparison, they can certainly find what they needed. If they all the time in this city or this town, they will not have too much thinking, because they have no idea to compare it, to choose it, which is better.

While experiential learning is the way for young adults to live the good life, Heather noted that this is limited by age. For older individuals, she stated, the focus shifts to emotion and connection. Heather said that once an individual is established in life and no longer needs to concern themselves with gaining valuable education and experiences, the definition of the good life changes:

I think for this age, I still have 20 years, after 20 years, maybe I really 100 percent enjoy the rest of life. No work, no volunteer, and meantime when I, how to say, become more in a relaxed life, then I think about, how to say, relationship, the emotion. Because in the past 20, 25 years I'm just working very hard to earn the money and to feed the family, my son, but now I do not need to working so hard. So I will spend more time think about emotion, who I can spend my emotion...So longer elder I will be, I will think more about emotion. Friends, classmate, colleague, most of them they have their family, most festival they will stay with their family, and how can they do it? So I need to find different organization, and need to contribute myself, and during this period, maybe I will find some peoples, we can very close, keep very close relationship. Even sister or brother and we can sit together when we getting older and older. We can talk each other...So I just thinking become elder and elder, we need emotion, we need to be close to the peoples which you like. This is the life I will be.

Therefore, to have a good life as one grows older, there must be beneficial emotional connections to stave off isolation. There must also be a social engagement to maintain these connections in order to facilitate the sense of closeness and comfort.

4.13 Belonging and Connection

The sense of belonging and connection was important to all participants, and so I explored how they felt in Saskatoon. Did they think that a connection to the communities within the city facilitated a good life? The answer is, generally, yes. Heather compared the social atmosphere of Saskatoon to her city of origin in Asia and stated that she felt more welcome in Saskatoon. She noted how open the citizens of Saskatoon were compared to people she met previously:

So although I am a newcomer here just for less than half years, I see all the people just like your friends. They will talk a lot of things deeply to let you know, and very very open, so this is different from our countries, and also it's different from [other] peoples. Maybe...the past 30 years grow so fast, it's booming, so goods things has all happened, and bad things has always happened. So lot of people, they are very well protected, so they do not like to talk with people, they do not like to help people, they want to protect themselves. So when I meet all the people, local peoples here, it's totally different experience, I like this experience very much.

Heather's experiences with Saskatoon residents were shared by others. Participants agreed that the friendly nature of the city made the good life possible. Diana said:

The people are really nice, they always want to help you. If I can't, don't know what to do, I ask people, they will very welcome to help me. I think that is, that is a reason that I want to stay at Saskatoon, because always there is also... people move from Toronto and Vancouver and they said people in Saskatoon is more warm-hearted and more nice than the big cities.

The view of Saskatoon being friendlier than other cities in Canada has been shared by other newcomers in order to promote the city. As previously stated, the outgoing and inviting attitudes improved well being outcomes among the newcomers interviewed. This notion was also shared by Kerri:

Yeah, either wanted Winnipeg or Saskatoon or Alberta because when I looked at everything, I found reviews, I found that Saskatoon was a bit more quiet, a smaller city,

and truly speaking, I have lived in Winnipeg, Winnipeg is also nice, but I've also lived in Toronto a bit, but I'm not that busy busy. Too big a city for me, I just wanted a smaller place to settle where I meet people easily and just, you know, settle down properly. It's better for us to come to a smaller city than go to a bigger city. That's why I chose Saskatoon...And then for the people I would say that living in Winnipeg and a big part of Toronto, I can't say I know too many places in Ontario, but here I felt welcomed. Cause every time you meet, especially the elderly people, they are so warm, always so, you know? Sometimes ready to hug you, even in churches. You don't know them, you've never met them, but they are always so welcoming. I didn't really get that from Toronto. I'm not trying to lie but I didn't really get that from Toronto, so for me, Saskatoon is like home for me. Initially when we came, we're like "Okay, we just stay a bit and move on to Alberta or somewhere." But I think I'm changing my mind, I want to stay here. Yeah.

The good life, therefore, is comprised of four key factors. The first is connection to friends and family as well as to the broader community. The second is living according to what one believes and values most. The third is maintaining overall emotional, physical, mental, and spiritual health. The fourth is balancing time to pursue both goals and leisure. I identified the degree to which constituent parts were shared among participants during the coding and analysis. By separating interview sections and coding them according to theme, I was able to note which topics were discussed most frequently and by whom. The most frequently discussed codes then came together during the analysis to form the summary of the good life according to the participants. This definition is affected by both life experiences and the cultural competency of the GGP services.

4.14 Cultural Competency and The Good Life

As cultural competency is a process, so too is the pursuit of the good life and well being. Both concepts are something for which to strive. By accessing services which recognize the unique backgrounds of clients, instead of engaging in cultural blindness or cultural incompetency, an individual will feel valued and safe. Cultural competency is a process that can remove obstacles and barriers, ultimately allowing individuals to pursue and attain their good life with dignity. Through being served by respectful and safe services, an individual is given a space in which to formulate goals for the good life.

The GGP's engagement with the principles of cultural competency and cultural safety means that staff also stand behind their clients in support. GGP staff recognize that, at times, there is a need for extra support in helping newcomers achieve their aspirations. The organization provides services to facilitate well being in all facets, from educational sessions regarding physical and mental health to groups meant to foster connection for those who may not have other opportunities to make connections. The GGP staff also provide for the economic building blocks necessary to build the good life by holding sessions on entering the Canadian work force. There is also assistance with the bureaucratic struggles that may arise as newcomers settle into life in Saskatoon. Settlement counsellors at the GGP teach clients how to advocate for themselves in Saskatoon when navigating essential services such as doctor's appointments, housing purchases, and tax filing. In all, the culturally competent staff at the GGP have an active and well recognized role in facilitating the clients to live their good life.

4.15 Conclusion

Medical anthropologists have long been concerned with idioms of distress and disease. This began as a study simply of how other societies explain disease and distress using their own idioms and traditions (Rivers 1926, Evans-Pritchard 1976). Then, anthropologists became concerned with the cross-cultural interactions that could have grave effects on the health of an individual (Fadiman 1997). The use of narrative to understand how people conceptualize risk and disease also came into anthropological focus as more epidemics began to emerge (Goldstein 2004). As the discipline entered the era of neoliberalism and capitalism, this study shifted to understanding how political situations and the aforementioned systems affect distress and disease (Farmer 2005). Medical anthropologists have begun to explore idioms of goodness, pleasure, and well being only relatively recently.

Naomi Adelson (2000) was among the first to do so. She studied health and well being as they are conceptualized by the Whapmagoostui Cree of James Bay. Being healthy was understood as *miyupimaatisiin*, or "being alive well" by the community. Adelson found that this "has everything to do with life on the land, and more broadly with 'being Cree'" (Adelson 2000:60). This is connected to land, identity, and health. Instead of just understanding the idea as being healthy alone, "*miyupimaatisiin* fundamentally implies that someone is 'alive well' or 'living well'; and this connotes a set of meanings that are contingent on Cree beliefs and practices" (Adelson 2000:61). Conceptually, this is inseparably tied to "a way of life imbued with

robust connections to the physical and spiritual northern landscape” (Adelson 2000:62). The concept of “being alive well” encapsulated the good life for the Whapmagoostui Cree of James Bay. The good life, as imagined by the GGP participants, similarly encapsulates a broader sense of connection with collective histories, family strength, security, and belonging.

The good life is configured differently among GGP clients because of their diverse backgrounds and yet it still functions similarly as an idiom of well being. This is relevant to GGP services because participants note the GGP as a key factor in the promotion of their good life. The connection and support received at the organization plays a large role in the greater need for connection in the lives of newcomers. The GGP recognizes the ways in which the clients define the good life and strives to provide opportunities to aspire towards this positive state through programs such as the women’s wellness group, the mother and child wellness group, and the conversational group. The good life is inseparable from well being. The good life is aspirational and a motivational force in life. The positive dimensions of the good life make well being—in all its facets—possible. The participants of the Global Gathering Place unanimously agreed that their well being and their good lives were facilitated by the care and respect they received at the organization as well as the experiences had outside of the Global Gathering Place.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

My thesis is an examination of the question “How does culturally competent programming foster well being among newcomer populations in Saskatoon?” I conducted a three-month ethnographic study at the Global Gathering Place (GGP), a non-profit settlement organization. The theoretical background which I apply to my work and use to contextualize and interpret the data is the anthropology of the good, which emerged from critical medical anthropology. The anthropology of the good is a move away from dark anthropology, which is characterised by a focus on difficult topics such as suffering and oppression. The anthropology of the good resists the fixation on the negative and instead places the emphasis on the aspiration, dignity, and hope. Through 123 hours of participant observation and 19 in-depth interviews, I gathered the data to answer the research question. The participants who took part in the interview process were from diverse cultural contexts and countries of origin, and the average age of participants appeared to be mid-30s.

My research was undertaken through several programs: citizenship preparation, Breaking Ground, Swimming Without Fear, Cooking Healthy Economical Food (CHEF), and Women Exchanging Life Lessons (WELL). I also attended Coffee and Conversation, which is the longstanding Thursday drop-in conversational group. Throughout the months of program placement, I took particular note of staff-client as well as volunteer-client interactions. It appears as though the GGP is within the stage of cultural competency and is moving towards cultural proficiency. The staff are committed to respectful and appropriate service provision, as are the majority of the volunteers. There were only two instances in which volunteers acted in what could be described as an inappropriate manner towards the clients. However, to simplify cultural competency only to the actions of the staff is to do the concept a disservice. Cultural competency an encompassing concept drawing action together with attitude and policy.

Cultural competency itself has often been criticized for simplistic and reductionist approaches to culture, but despite the criticisms cultural competency is a valid approach to understanding organizational operations. The cultural competency used in this research is neither simplistic nor reductionist, but one which draws principles of other approaches such as cultural safety to form the proper standpoint. Cultural competency is best understood as being combined with notions of cultural safety to create a nuanced approach to the constant presence of culture

within an organizational context. Therefore, cultural competency permeates the operations, policy, and actions of an organization to create a safe space for clientele which acknowledges that all individuals are bearers of culture.

5.2 Recommendations from Interviews

At the end of every interview, I asked participants if they had any recommendations to give the Global Gathering Place so that they might improve on their services. There were three common recommendations that were raised. The first was for increased childminding services during programming. Participants explained that this would facilitate attendance for more mothers who would not be able to join without having secured care for their child. By expanding the child care options, this would ensure that programming reaches a broader audience. This would also help to ensure that newcomer mothers do not become socially isolated when they move to Saskatoon. Given that there is a documented possibility that maternal isolation might occur if there is no assistance in caring for children as well as other responsibilities (Sethi 2013), this recommendation has direct relevance to the wellbeing of newcomer mothers.

The second recommendation was to open more attendance slots to newcomers who are not permanent residents, such as those on work permits or student permits. The recommendation was made in the interest of accessibility. Currently, certain GGP programs have slots reserved only for permanent residents due to stipulations placed by governmental authorities. The reason for this restriction is that the funding the GGP receives from these authorities comes with the caveat that it be used for programming for permanent residents only. In order to facilitate services for individuals on work or study permits, and for those who simply have not received permanent residency yet, the solution would be to seek sponsorship and funding for their program placement elsewhere. Private donors could be lobbied to support the slots for these individuals, or a fundraiser could be held with the proceeds going towards this effort. It would also be prudent to inform the governmental authorities that this funding practice excludes a large number of individuals and should be reviewed. Providing services might induce more individuals without permanent residency to consider applying for this status, as they would have previously experienced support by the province and the country and feel positively towards settling in Saskatchewan.

Finally, participants recommended greater visibility of services. This could be accomplished by expanding the online presence of the GGP in order to inform more people about

the events and programs happening and reach more potential clients. The GGP has a website with information on the purpose of their programs and the guiding values and principles of the organization, with occasional blog posts from their clientele about experiences they have had in Saskatoon. They also have a calendar with a list of events occurring for that month and a list of pertinent resources and organizations on every page. Additionally, the website has a copy of the GGP newsletter, but it is out of date. Upon selecting a specific program from the calendar, an individual will be informed as to when the program occurs and a brief description of the program can be found under the services page. There is potential for online registration to occur, and the newsletters should be kept up to date in order for clientele to have a better idea of what is happening at the GGP. The GGP also has a Facebook page, which contains more recent information regarding the events of the organization. They could link their Facebook page to their website to alleviate any confusion over what program is beginning or ending and when.

5.3 Recommendations from Observations

In addition to the participants' recommendation, I suggest that volunteers be trained in cross-cultural interactions and sensitivity. This would maximize respectful and positive interactions between clients and the organization. Currently, prospective volunteers fill out a form which asks what cross-cultural experiences they have had, but there is potential to increase training in cross-cultural relations. Twice yearly meetings would be a start to educating current and new volunteers on how to appropriately work with diverse newcomer clientele. From these meetings, they would learn how to consider each individual's unique cultural context and how to avoid any unintentional misunderstandings or inappropriate behaviours and commentaries. Engaging professionals who are well-versed in cross-cultural relations and who have the knowledge to train volunteers, including anthropologists, would be of great benefit to the GGP. There should also be regular check-ins with volunteers to see how the duties are being performed and if the staff note anything which could be improved or should be lauded for excellence. By following up on this point, the GGP could ensure that their current interactions with clients are increased to a superior level of positivity. Indeed, the topic of newcomer well being and a survey of the organizations which serve them is emerging as something to be considered in-depth.

5.4 Potential Results Arising from Recommendations

These recommendations would support and enhance the capacity for cultural competency at the GGP by expanding the breadth of their service provision. It would help ensure that staff

and volunteers are aware of how interactions affect the well being of the clientele. These recommendations would also help ensure that a greater amount of newcomers are able to access beneficial services, thereby reducing their potential for isolation and enhancing community engagement. It would provide a greater awareness of the work the GGP does within the community and would strengthen the bonds which have already been forged between staff, volunteers, clients, and the city of Saskatoon.

For future researchers, a study on the subject of newcomer well being in Saskatoon could be expanded to include all organizations which provide settlement services in order to gain a full understanding of how the civic capacity for cultural competency. A future study might then be expanded to take examples of organizations across Western Canada to understand how service provision varies from province to province and how this affects the well being of clients accessing these services. This would give an understanding of how newcomers across Western Canada conceptualize their well being, and if there are similarities across community boundaries. This would also lead to an understanding of how each organization operates and how these operations affect the lives of the newcomers. The regionally expanded research could then be used to develop a set of national guidelines and policies on best practice regarding the well being of Canada's newcomers.

5.5 Conclusion

Well being is connected to physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual health. The factors which increase or decrease well being vary from individual to individual but have many commonalities across individuals and contexts. Well being is also connected to the notion of the good life, which, in turn, is comprised of the ability to strive for goals and aspirations. By living the good life, a person may experience a better sense of well being, and through experiencing a better sense of well being, the individual may feel they are living the good life. The Global Gathering Place facilitates a sense of well being in newcomer clients by providing opportunities to increase social engagement, build networks, reduce isolation, and by providing respectful and appropriate services. The cultural competency of the Global Gathering Place leads to feelings of belonging, being welcome, and having unconditional support within clientele who access services through this organization.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Tell me about yourself: Where are you from? How long have you been in Saskatoon? Have you been other places in Canada? Tell me about your family: Who is here with you?
- What brings you in to the Global Gathering Place?
- What programs do you use at the Global Gathering Place?
- What made you want to use these programs?
- How often do you come to the Global Gathering Place?
- How connected do you feel to Saskatoon, the people and the place?
- How connected do you feel to Canadian society?
- How does the Global Gathering Place help you feel connected to Saskatoon?
- How is culture important to your daily life?
- What does being well mean to you?
- What does being well mean to your culture?
- What do you do to feel connected in Saskatoon?
- What do you do to feel well in Saskatoon?
- How does the Global Gathering Place help you feel well?
- What do you enjoy about the Global Gathering Place?
- What is the best part of using programs at the Global Gathering Place?
- What do you think that could they do better?

APPENDIX B: CODES

- Connection or networking = 181 references, in all 19 interviews
- Emotion = 131 references, in all 19 interviews
- GGP and comparison = 121 references, in all 19 interviews
- Place = 119 references, in all 19 interviews
- References to culture = 118 references, in all 19 interviews
- Family = 96 references, in all 19 interviews
- Money and Economics = 69 references, in all 19 interviews
- Leisure = 61 references, in all 19 interviews
- Language = 47 references, in 17 interviews
- Spirituality = 41 references, in 11 interviews
- Diversity = 38 references, in 17 interviews
- Time = 38 references, in 12 interviews
- Travel = 35 references, in 15 interviews
- Safety = 28 references, in 14 interviews
- Food = 15 references, in 10 interviews