

French-speaking immigrant teachers living in Francophone minority communities: Understanding and facilitating their professional integration pathways

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Acronyms

B.Ed.	Bachelor of Education
FMC	Francophone Minority Community
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
PLAR	Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition
TRB	Teacher Regulation Branch

Abstract

This study was conducted for the purpose of documenting the trajectories of French-speaking immigrants living in Francophone minority communities as they entered and were integrated into the educational profession. The knowledge gained through the research enabled us to identify the specific challenges this population faces, but also to understand the elements of best practices we can draw from their professional journeys and changes that can be made to ease the integration of immigrant teachers into their profession. The analyses are based primarily on data collected in 35 interviews with French-speaking individuals who were born in another country, who live in a Francophone minority community, and who are working or studying in the area of education in four areas: Vancouver, Northern Ontario, Ottawa, and Halifax. In general, completing the process of having their credentials recognized led them to a bachelor's degree in Education. The immigrant participants we interviewed were generally successful in their program; however, the teaching practicum was a more sensitive stage of the process, and issues related to the cultural competence of the host community sometimes arose. Furthermore, while the workforce is favourable to hiring French-speaking teachers, the time it takes them to obtain a permanent position seems to be longer, especially for racialized persons. Several informal initiatives introduced by the staff of schools and Francophone school districts make strong contributions to the sense of belonging to and inclusion in their school community felt by a number of the people we interviewed. Nevertheless, since there are few official measures in place for the hiring or integration of immigrant teaching staff, considerable gaps remain. We recommend that IRCC reflect on possible actions and implement measures to facilitate better access of immigrant teachers to the profession through incentives, culturally sensitive educational programs, and measures to assist in their integration into the teaching field.

Summary

Background

Based on the knowledge that integration into the workforce remains a more arduous process for immigrants in Canada, that the language barrier facing French-speaking immigrants outside Quebec represents an additional obstacle in their integration, and that many Francophone minority communities experience a shortage of teachers, this study was conducted for the purpose of documenting the trajectories of French-speaking immigrants living in Francophone minority communities as they entered and were integrated into the field of education. The knowledge gained through the research enabled us to identify the specific challenges this population faces, but also to understand the elements of best practices we can draw from their professional journeys and changes that can be made to ensure that the integration of immigrants into the teaching profession will be fairer and more equitable in comparison to that of the Canadian population as a whole.

Some figures to help us understand the professional integration of the workforce in Canada outside Quebec

- Between 2006 and 2016, the proportion of the French-speaking immigrant population working in the teaching profession increased, while the proportion of the total immigrant population working in the teaching profession remained stable.
- In 2016, the immigrant population was over-represented within the French-speaking population working in the teaching profession compared to the immigrant population in the French-speaking population as a whole.
- In 2016, the immigrant French-speaking population working in the teaching profession more often held a higher degree or credentials than a bachelor's, a master's, or a doctoral degree compared to the non-immigrant French-speaking population or the total immigrant population working in the teaching profession.
- In 2016, the proportion of the French-speaking immigrant population working in the teaching profession whose major field of study was Education was smaller than that of other immigrants or of the French-speaking population as a whole.

Methodology

In the course of our research, we conducted 35 interviews with French-speaking individuals who were born in another country, who live in a Francophone minority community, and who are working or studying in the area of education in one of four regions: Vancouver, Northern Ontario, Ottawa, and Halifax. Most of the people we interviewed are women (20), were born in Africa (22), and lived in another country before settling in Canada (23). Slightly less than half of the people we interviewed had arrived in Canada within the last five years (10) and feel their professional situation is not as good as that of people born in Canada who have similar experience (12).

More than 10 interviews were conducted with other stakeholders in the field of education. In order to contextualize the comments collected in our interviews, a review of the literature was completed and census data was interpreted.

Recognition of prior learning and foreign qualifications

Most of the people we interviewed completed a process to have their education and qualifications recognized, through a Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) process. Even though they had little professional experience in teaching, they were, at least, given recognition for the bachelor's degree they completed abroad. The recognition process seems longer and more complicated in British Columbia than in the other two provinces studied. While the entire process can be completed in French in Ontario, it must be done primarily in English in the other two provinces. Some participants felt a sense of injustice, especially after they had studied in Africa or lived in a conflict zone, because some of the documents they required were impossible to obtain. On the whole, the process of having their education and qualifications recognized seems to be used mainly to determine the salary level of the teacher rather than to reduce the time it takes to become a teacher in Canada.

Studying in an education program

The post-secondary educational program preparing students to become elementary or secondary school teachers is similar in the three provinces studied. Students must first complete a bachelor's degree in the field of their choice, then complete a program equivalent to a bachelor of education; the duration of the Bachelor of Education program ranges from 11 months (British Columbia) to two years (Ontario and Nova Scotia). In general, immigrant students were successful in the program. However, the teaching practicum was a more sensitive stage of the process, and during this period issues arose for some students. On the one hand, we recognize that programs to support teacher candidates and teacher mentors during the practicum would benefit from being better adapted to their needs and more customized, especially for teacher candidates who have recently immigrated to Canada. It would be beneficial for the roles of the teacher mentor and the teacher candidate to be better explained and integrated into conversations of a triad that also includes the supervisor. On the other hand, we recognize that the unique constructivist and inclusive approaches to education in Canada come across strongly to immigrant candidates during the practicum. It would be worthwhile to explore different ways to improve the teaching and resources available to them in order to facilitate the implementation of these principles.

Obtaining a teaching job

Opportunities for French-speaking teachers looking for jobs have been numerous in recent years, and in general, immigrant teachers benefit from the vitality of the job market. In schools with a high multi-ethnic student population, such as those in Ottawa, hiring immigrant teachers is not an issue. However, the situation can be different in other areas. Some principals feel that a racialized teacher fits in less easily in a school far from a large city, or in a classroom where most students are Caucasian. Although measures have been introduced in Ontario to reduce the bias and favouritism during the hiring process, gaps remain in Ontario and elsewhere, particularly when it comes to interviews for permanent positions. Barriers to hiring may also be related to certain competencies (what to do and how to do it) and attitudes (how to behave), which are less easily attainable for people who have not grown up in a French-language educational system in one of Canada's provinces or territories.

Integrating into the workplace

The high number of teachers who resign from the profession reminds us that the issues faced by French-speaking immigrant teachers must be viewed in the broader context of excessive

workloads, a lack of professional collaboration or collegiality, and challenges in classroom management which no doubt affect every teacher in the system. This said, French-speaking immigrant teachers rarely receive specific support to help them take ownership of the professional culture, for instance, through a culturally adapted mentorship. We recognize that principals could play a larger role, knowing that they are involved in establishing tones and atmospheres in their schools. To date, they have not adapted very many concrete measures designed to integrate new teachers who are immigrants.

Recommendations

1. Explore opportunities to introduce incentives to encourage access to the teaching profession.
2. Assess possibilities for supporting French-language Education programs in Francophone minority communities so they can improve the support and the resources they offer to the immigrant student population.
3. Encourage co-operation between immigrant employment services and education programs to create optimal supports for immigrants seeking employment in the teaching profession.
4. Assess possibilities for opening up dialogue, for example with the Department of Canadian Heritage, to identify and share best practices for mentorship programs to support and integrate immigrant teaching staff.

1. Background

1.1. Francophone immigration in a minority language context

Canada is internationally recognized as an exemplary host country, particularly for skilled workers, as noted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): “It is widely perceived as a benchmark for other countries, and its success is evidenced by good integration outcomes. Canada also boasts the largest share of highly educated immigrants in the OECD as well as high levels of public acceptance of migration. In addition, it is seen as an appealing country of destination for potential migrants. (2019)” The report associated with the excerpt from this news release also identifies several areas where Canada would benefit from improving its immigration system. That said, the report did not analyze immigration in language minority communities. Thus, the OECD’s diagnosis does not take into account the linguistic dynamics at play in the Canadian immigration system.

Other studies have shed light on the specific characteristics of migration pathways in Francophone minority communities (Traisnel et al., 2019; Veronis and Huot, 2017; Socius, 2017; Sociopol, 2018; Traisnel and Guignard Noël, 2017). For some immigrants with limited English-language skills, living in French is seen more as a spontaneous and reassuring path, whereas for many others, the “voluntary” nature of life in French quickly becomes apparent because of the efforts that must be made when establishing French-language living spaces. Obstacles to Francophone immigration pathways in minority communities highlighted in the literature include the following:

- the Francophone community’s lack of visibility;
- limited availability of French-language services for immigrants;
- the need to be proficient in English to integrate into the labour market;
- greater confusion about administrative procedures caused by having to deal with municipal, provincial and territorial governments mainly in English; and
- the complexity of planning the reception and retention of immigrants for a Francophone minority community.

1.2 Employment integration of French-speaking immigrants outside Quebec

We know that immigrants have a harder time integrating into the Canadian workforce than people born in Canada because immigrants have higher unemployment rates, lower employment rates and lower earnings (Yssaad and Fields, 2018; Statistics Canada n.d.). We also know that systemic discrimination in hiring and workplaces continues to affect ethnocultural minorities in Canada (Fry, 2018).

In fact, numerous studies identify the more difficult contexts for immigrant integration into the workforce, but those addressing French-speaking immigrants in Francophone minority communities are still fragmented and exploratory. Factors that especially affect the professional integration of this population include difficulty in obtaining recognition of prior learning and foreign qualifications (PLAR), limited English language skills, discrimination in the workplace, a

lack of Canadian experience and weak social networks (Knight, 2015; Mugwaneza, 2011; Zellama et al., 2018).

The employment integration conditions and economic performance of French-speaking immigrants in Francophone minority communities have been studied less (Fourrot, 2016). We do know that their earnings are similar or slightly higher than their English-speaking counterparts (Houle, 2019) but still lower than those of people born in Canada. However, immigrant unemployment rates are higher than for their English-speaking counterparts and those born in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016 Census).

1.3 Purpose of research

Aside from the distinct economic performance of French-speaking immigrants, little is known about the conditions of their integration into the workforce. In a context where Francophone minority communities (FMC) are experiencing a shortage of French-speaking teachers, it seems important to document the professional integration pathways of French-speaking immigrants in the field of education. As such, the knowledge gained in this study enabled us to identify the constraints and challenges facing this population, but also the elements of best practice of certain pathways and the changes that can be adopted in order for the integration of French-speaking immigrant teachers into their profession to be more just and fair, next to that of the Canadian population in general.

The professional integration pathways of French-speaking immigrants studying or working in the field of education have been the subject of some interest in the literature, with many of the studies involving interviews with members of this population. Studies identifying the barriers facing this population have focused mainly on Ontario (Duchesne, 2017, 2010 and 2008; Jabouin, 2018). In Ontario, studies have been carried out to identify strategies to adopt in order to better oversee the professional integration of these individuals (Gagnon and Duchesne, 2018; Gravelle and Duchesne, 2018). The difficulties experienced by future visible-minority French-speaking teachers studying in Alberta have also been studied (Multris and Skogen, 2012), and the representations and identity construction of immigrant French-speaking teachers in British Columbia have been analyzed (Laghzaoui, 2011). To date, no study has adopted a comparative perspective between various FMCs, as this study does. The originality of this study also lies in its inclusive approach, which takes into account the pathways taken and the solutions proposed.

For the purposes of this study, 35 interviews were conducted with French-speaking immigrants living in Francophone minority communities and working or studying in the field of education. Interviews were also conducted with other stakeholders in the area of education. At the same time, census data was interpreted. In order to contextualize the conditions of professional integration, four regions were focused on: Vancouver, Northern Ontario, Ottawa and Halifax.

After problematizing the dynamics of the professional integration of the population studied and analyzing the 2016 Census data, this report proposes an interpretation of the data obtained through the interviews and from the literature based on the main integration nodes experienced: PLAR, training, hiring and employment integration. Recommendations are made to the Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) and its stakeholders.

2. Figures to understand the professional integration of the French-speaking immigrant labour force^{1, 2}

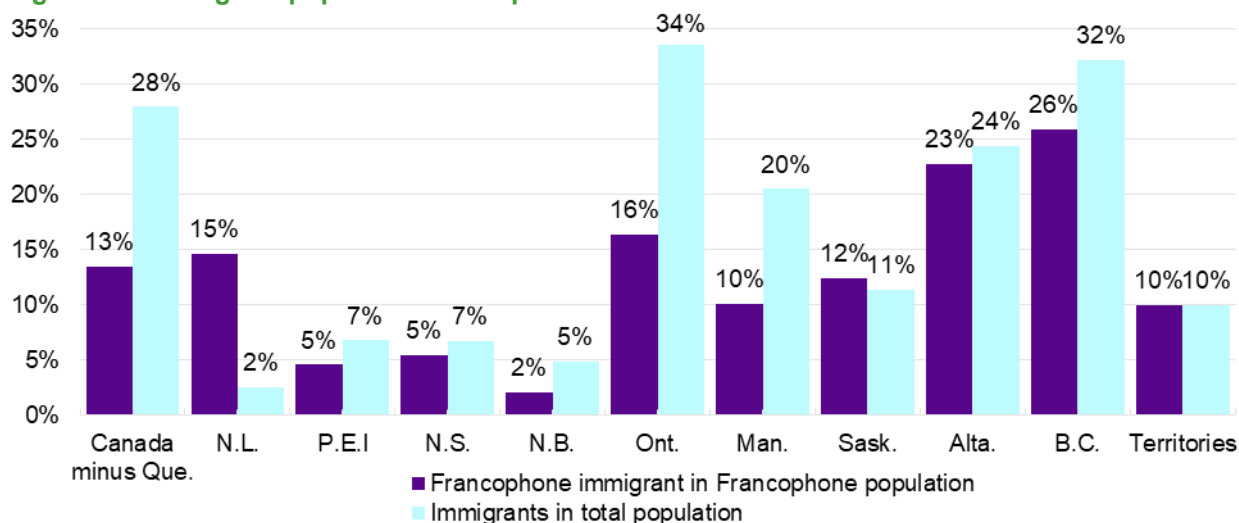
2.1 Characteristics of French-speaking immigrants

Lack of French-speaking immigrants

There is a significant gap with regard to the number of French-speakers in minority communities within Canada's immigrant population. This gap is increasing in the labour force³ due to the fact that the Francophone population in minority communities is aging at a faster rate. According to the 2016 Census, immigrants make up 27.9% of the Canadian labour force outside Quebec, with this proportion dropping to 13.5% in the Francophone labour force. Another way of emphasizing this gap is to point out that the proportion of French-speaking immigrants in the immigrant labour force (1.9%) is also lower than the proportion of Francophones in the total Canadian labour force outside Quebec (4.0%).

In this area, provincial pictures generally mirror the national one. Although it is surprising that the proportion of French-speaking immigrants in Newfoundland's Francophone community is higher (14.6%) than the proportion of immigrants in the total population (2.5%), it should be noted that Newfoundland is also the province with the lowest number of Francophones (2,058). Conversely, the provinces with the most Francophones (471,413 in Ontario and 202,378 in New Brunswick) also post the greatest gaps between the proportion of immigrants in French-speaking population (16.3% in Ontario and 2.0% in New Brunswick) and the proportion of immigrants province-wide, with the gap being more than twice as great (33.6% in Ontario and 4.9% in New Brunswick).

Figure 1: Immigrant population in the provinces and territories



¹ The first official language spoken variable was used to identify Francophones. In the census data, a Francophone is defined as the total number of people having only French as their first official language spoken and half of the people having at least French as their first official language spoken. The method used by Statistics Canada to derive the first official language spoken takes the following into account: first, knowledge of the official languages; second, mother tongue; and third, language spoken most often at home.

² The data analyzed in the following section refers to the following table: Statistics Canada (2019). Data tables, 2016 Census. Product n0 1b_j4069646.

³ The labour force corresponds to people 15 years of age and over who were employed, unemployed or had recent work experience.

Such data point to Francophone immigration remaining modest in the years to come, with a more rapid decline in the Francophone population to be expected given that the demographic growth of the Canadian labour force is essentially based on immigration and that this trend is set to grow in the coming years (Conference Board, 2019; CSF, 2018).

Lower pay among the racialized immigrant population

Immigrants earn less than non-immigrants, regardless of linguistic group. As for Canada's Francophone immigrant population outside Quebec, their earnings are similar or slightly higher than those of their Anglophone counterparts (Statistics Canada, 2019a). However, in terms of earnings, racialized immigrants fare less well in the labour market than non-racialized immigrants (CCPA, 2019). Similarly, among racialized persons, those who identify as Black are the group with the highest unemployment rates and wage gaps (CCPA, 2019). According to the 2016 Census,⁴ members of the immigrant labour force in FMCs were more often born in Africa (38.3%) than the total Canadian immigrant population (23.0%).

2.2 Characteristics of the French-speaking immigrant population that has studied or worked in education

2006 to 2016: low immigrant representation in education jobs

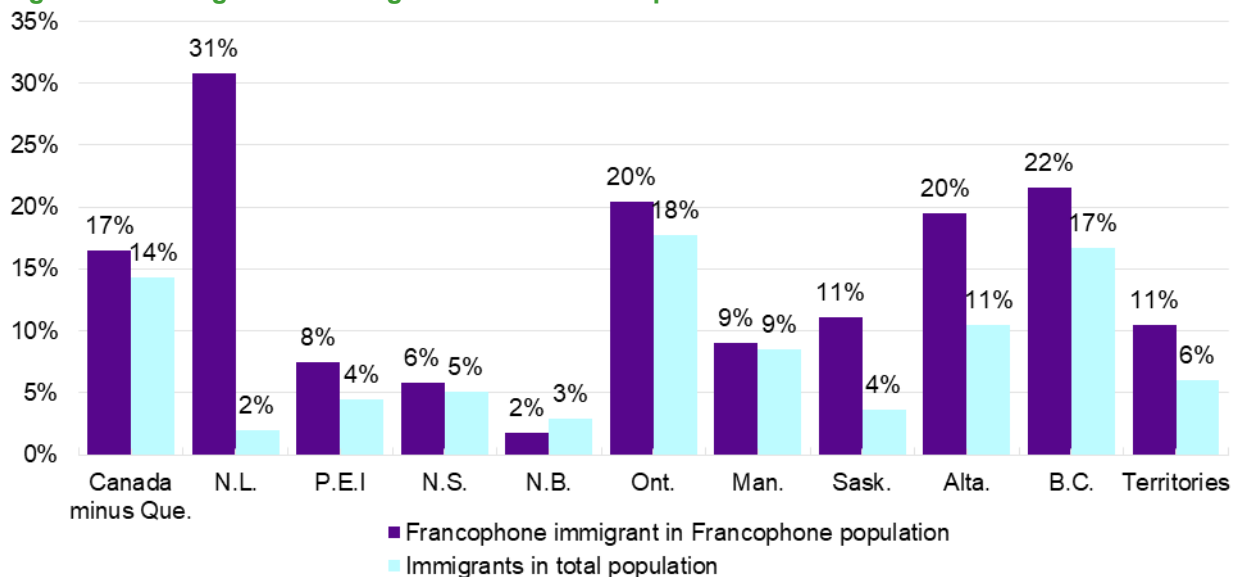
For the 2006 and 2016 Censuses, the National Occupational Classification groups together people working in the field of education, more specifically, secondary, elementary and kindergarten teachers, and guidance counsellors. In this category, a significant increase in the proportion of French-speaking immigrants working in education was observed between 2006 and 2016. Whereas the proportion of immigrants in the Francophone population working in education was 11.5% in 2006 in Canada outside Quebec, it rose to 16.5% in 2016. This increase must be paralleled with the fact that in Canada outside Quebec, for the same period, the proportion of immigrants in the total population working in education remained stable (about 14%). The provincial picture is more mixed: between 2006 and 2016, the proportion of immigrants in the Francophone population working in education decreased in Nova Scotia (from 7.0% to 5.8%) but increased in Ontario (from 14.6% to 20.5%) and British Columbia (from 18.3% to 21.6%).

Strong presence of French-speaking immigrants in education-related jobs

First, it should be noted that the immigrant population is under-represented in teaching-related jobs, given that, in 2016, it accounted for only 14.3% of teaching staff in Canada outside Quebec. By comparison, immigrants make up 27.9% of the total immigrant population in Canada outside Quebec. Second, in Canada outside Quebec, the proportion of immigrants in the Francophone population working in this employment category is slightly higher (16.5%) than the proportion of immigrants in the total Francophone population (13.5%).

⁴ The table used to show birthplace is different from the one used for the other statistics in this section: Statistics Canada, 2017. Data table, 2016 Census, product no. 98-400-X2016086.

Figure 2: Immigrants working in education in the provinces and territories

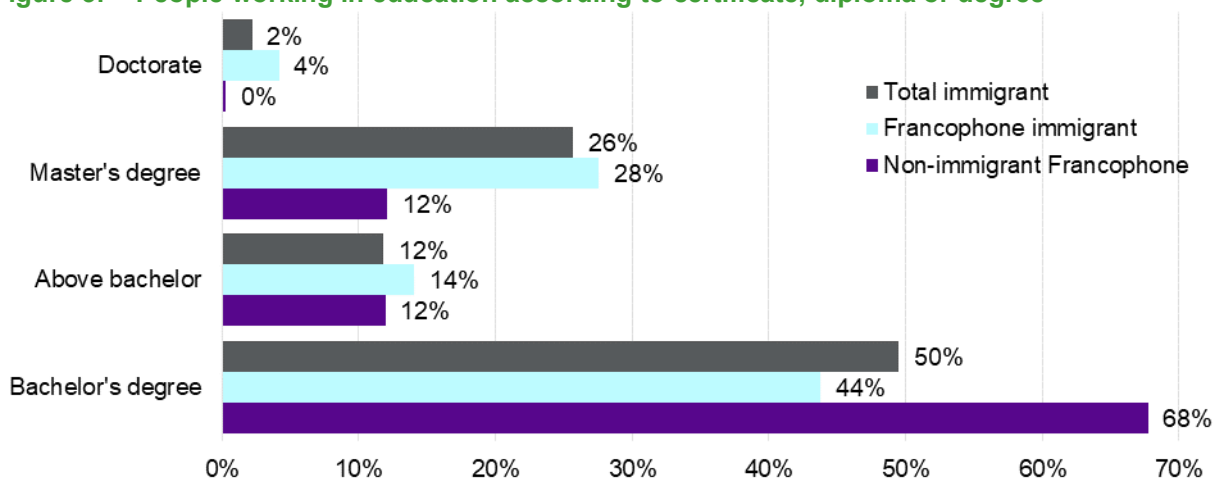


The picture becomes more nuanced when comparing the proportions of immigrants working in education (Figure 2) to the proportions of total immigrant populations in the provinces and territories (Figure 1). For example, in Ontario and Nova Scotia, the proportion of French-speaking immigrants working in education is higher (20.5% in Ontario and 5.8% in Nova Scotia) than the proportion of French-speaking immigrants in the total Francophone population (16.3% in Ontario and 5.4% in Nova Scotia). However, in British Columbia, a smaller proportion of French-speaking immigrants work in this field (21.6%) compared to the total Francophone immigrant population (25.9%).

Higher level of schooling

In teaching-related occupations (secondary, elementary and kindergarten teachers and guidance counsellors), French-speaking immigrants were more likely to hold a graduate diploma or certificate (14.0%), a master's degree (27.6%) or a doctorate (4.2%) than the non-immigrant Francophone population or the total immigrant population working in education in 2016.

Figure 3: People working in education according to certificate, diploma or degree



Under-representation when the main field of study is education

In order to situate the employment integration of the immigrant population, we sought to calculate labour force education-employment match rates. That said, it is important to note that the categories proposed in the 2016 Census did not accurately cross-reference fields of study and occupations. First, the “main field of study” category implies that studies may have been done in other fields. Second, the “education” category refers to a broader range of occupations than the occupation category used here, which includes elementary and secondary school teachers and guidance counsellors.

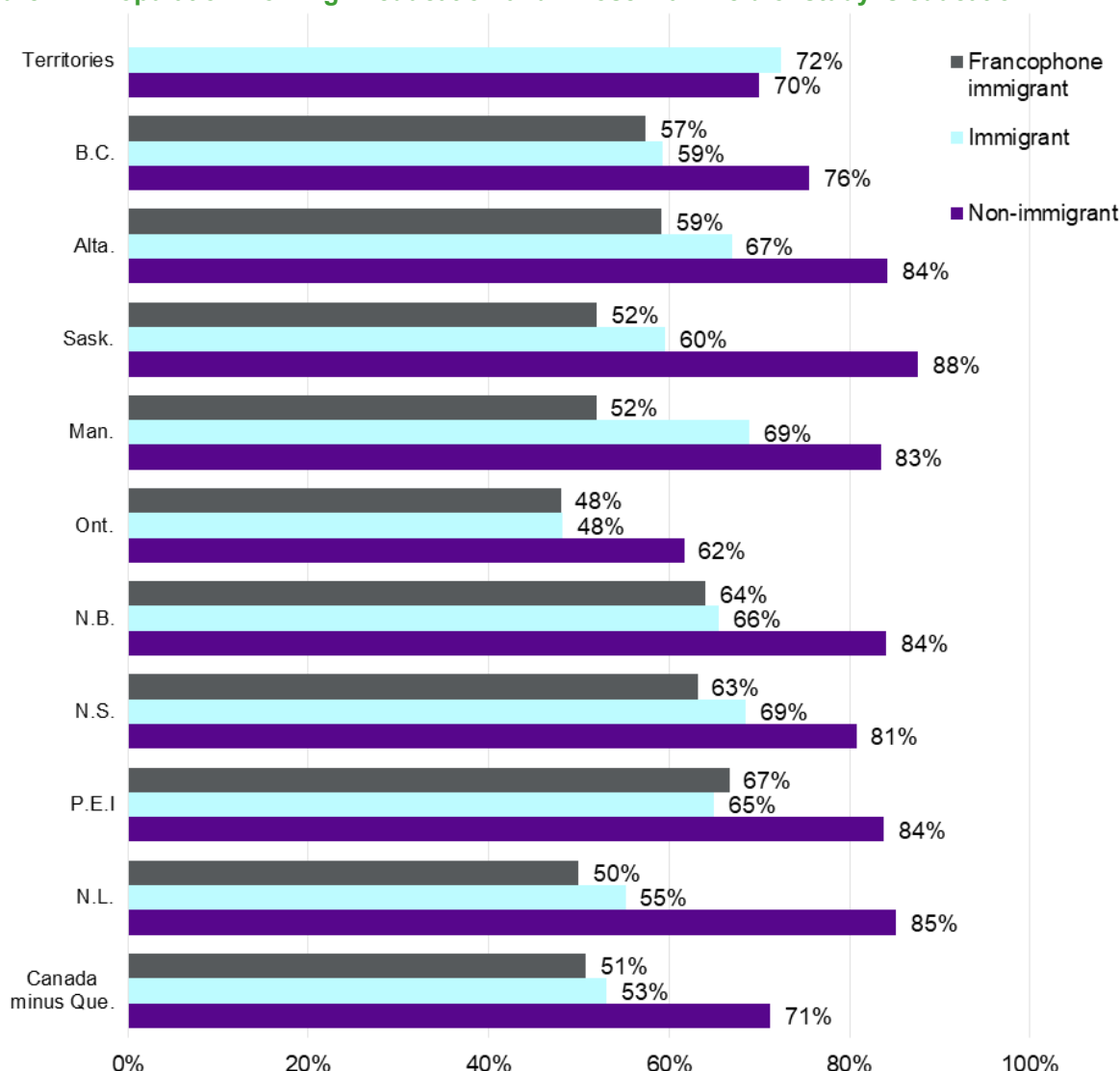
First, 3.6% of the Canadian population outside Quebec indicated that education was their main field of study. Within this group, 22.1% also reported having an immigrant background, which is lower than the proportion of immigrants in the total population in Canada outside Quebec (27.9%). With respect to the Francophone population having studied in the field of education, the proportion of immigrants (13.1%) is similar to the proportion of immigrants in the total Francophone population (13.5%).

Weaker match between occupation and studies for French-speaking immigrants working in education

With respect to the main field of study of individuals who reported working in education, 71.2% of non-immigrants in Canada outside Quebec also reported education as their main field of study. Conversely, only 53.1% of immigrants and 50.8% of French-speaking immigrants who work in education also reported education as their main field of study. Immigrants and French-speaking immigrants working in education are therefore proportionally less likely to have studied in education, and therefore work in an occupation that does not correspond to their main field of study.

That said, these Canadian averages mask significant differences among the provinces. Ontario has the lowest match rate between occupation and studies in education for non-immigrants (61.7%), immigrants (48.2%) and French-speaking immigrants (48.0%). While the match rate between occupation and studies in education is highest for non-immigrants in Newfoundland and Labrador (85.1%) and Saskatchewan (87.5%), it remains low for French-speaking immigrants in Newfoundland and Labrador (50.0%) and Saskatchewan (52.0%).

Figure 4: Population working in education and whose main field of study is education



Similar match between occupation and studies for French-speaking immigrants whose main field of study is education

A look at the opposite situation can also provide information on employment integration contexts for the French-speaking immigrant population. Here, we first isolated all those whose main field of study is education; then, from that group, we retained only individuals whose occupations are teaching-related (elementary and secondary school teachers and guidance counsellors). Looking at this subgroup for Canada outside Quebec, little difference is noted: the proportion of non-immigrants whose main field of study is education and who worked in this field was 39.0%, compared with 37.7% for French-speaking immigrants. However, this proportion is half as high for the total immigrant population (16.9%). Employment prospects, which were generally more favourable for individuals teaching French or teaching in French in 2016, be they immigrants or not, weighed in favour of French-speaking immigrants. This favourable labour market has become even more so in recent years. The data may also suggest that there are fewer hiring barriers for French-speaking immigrants, but a detailed analysis of the condition of the labour market would be required to explore this hypothesis.

3. Methodology and approach

This study was conducted using a mixed methodology combining quantitative and qualitative elements. Interviews were conducted with French-speaking immigrant teachers who were either in training or employed, and served as the basis for the study. In addition to this, a literature review and stakeholder interviews were then conducted. Lastly, quantitative data, most of which were from the 2016 Census, were interpreted.

3.1 Selected regions

Given the varied contexts of professional integration in Canada and the fact that education is a provincial jurisdiction, geographic areas were selected for the purpose of conducting the interviews: the Halifax region in Nova Scotia; the Ottawa and Northern regions in Ontario; and the Vancouver region in British Columbia. These areas were selected because they represent geographically diverse Francophone communities in Eastern, Central and Western Canada. Furthermore, their differences in terms of the density and number of Francophones and in terms of immigration characteristics make it possible to identify issues specific to the areas' distinct demographic profiles and approaches that are tailored to them. A common thread among these regions is that they all offer teacher training programs in French. In addition, all three regions have been experiencing shortages of French-speaking teachers for a few years now, making this study especially relevant from a social perspective. Although all FMCs seem to be struggling to recruit French-speaking teaching staff, the provinces studied appear to be particularly affected.⁵ Information on the number of French-language schools and students in these provinces is presented in Appendix B.

3.2 Interviews

Teaching staff. The non-probability sampling method was used to select the French-speaking immigrant interviewees. Specifically, we reached out to employees of French-language school boards first. They then forwarded our recruitment tools to members of their respective school boards or wrote directly to those who fit the desired profile. In British Columbia, this method was supplemented with messages posted on Facebook groups for French-speaking teachers or immigrants. In Eastern Ontario, the Coopérative Enseignants Pas À Pas⁶ was involved in the recruitment. Snowball sampling was also applied, with interviewees being asked whether they knew of other teachers or teacher candidates who fit the profile. The approach used in the interviews with immigrant teaching staff follows the principles of a retrospective survey, with the interviewees being asked to talk about past events that relate to their career paths and migration journeys. In-depth interviews were conducted, facilitating the interviewee's subjective reconstruction of the events experienced and the obstacles encountered. Where relevant, the interviews wrapped up with a broader projective reflection where the interviewee was asked to think about potential improvements, taking into account the problems experienced. The questionnaire in Appendix A was developed in a detailed manner with a view to highlighting how

⁵ See, for example: Dubé, J.-P. (2018, May 4). [Pénurie d'enseignants francos: les organismes partent à la recherche de solutions](#). *L-Express*; Pierroz, S. (May 16, 2019). [Pénurie des enseignants francophones: un envers du décor parfois explosif pour les étudiants](#). *ONFR+*; Holly Conners. (May 9, 2019). [La pénurie d'enseignants suppléants se fait sentir en Nouvelle-Écosse](#). *Radio-Canada*.

⁶ The members of this co-operative are Francophone ethnocultural teachers. This co-operative aims to support students and families with special needs. It also supports immigrant teachers in their efforts to integrate professionally.

the sequence of steps is experienced, identities are presented, roles are assigned, conflicts arise and are resolved, suggestions revolve around structures, and so on.

Stakeholders. The interviews with stakeholders followed the themes in the interview guide, but in this case sought to gain a good understanding of the interviewees' organizational environment (school board, university, associations, government department), the measures implemented concerning employment integration and the experiences of immigrant teachers, and to find out their ideas on how to improve the professional integration pathways of immigrant teachers.

3.3 Descriptive and analytical categories

The issue of professional integration is addressed here as a series of challenges, that is, as confrontational situations involving people or things. In addition, the challenge is revealing; it allows us to situate the state of the existing forces. And while the challenge is always an individual experience, it also has a social dimension in that its description provides information about institutionalization patterns and cultural environments (Boltanski and Chiapello, 1999; Perez-Roux, 2016).

Professional integration also involves a juxtaposition of values, i.e. pluralistic values are promoted at the same time as being a concern for social cohesion within the teachers' professional environments. In considering the interviewees' points of view, it was therefore a matter of highlighting elements affecting respect for cultural differences, the interdependence of professional relationships and inclusion within the profession. In this regard, the interviews sought to gather information on the modalities of professional socialization in the country of origin and in Canada, but also on power dynamics within organizations, organizational traditions, discrimination, procedures relating to professional bodies, and so on.

An intersectional approach was adopted, acknowledging that several identity markers intersect in a given individual and affect his or her experience. For this reason, we looked at how various identity factors—particularly language spoken, gender and visible minority status—combine to shape the interviewees' experiences, including discrimination.

4. Profile of immigrant teachers surveyed

4.1 General characteristics

A total of 35 interviews were conducted with immigrants working or studying to work in education. The majority of respondents were immigrant women (20), representing 57% of our sample. Immigrant women are under-represented, considering their strong presence in the occupation in general (68%).

Table 1: Breakdown of the study participants by region

Region	Visible minority	Female	Unfavourable situation	Total
Halifax	7	5	3	10
Ottawa	8	3	2	8
North	5	3	3	5
Vancouver	6	9	4	12
TOTAL	26	20	12	35

Ten people have arrived in Canada within the last five years (29%), whereas twelve people have been in the country for more than eleven years (34%). Two of the interviewees were in the process of completing their teacher training. All those working in public schools had obtained a degree in education after completing a French or bilingual training program at a Canadian educational institution.

4.2 Ethnic roots

Immigrant interviewees were asked where they were born. Most were from Western Europe, either from France (9) or Belgium (1). A number of them (9) were from North African countries, such as Algeria and Morocco. While several individuals were from Central Africa (7), in particular from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Cameroon, various West African countries (6) were also represented. India (1) and Malaysia (1) were the only Asian countries of origin. Most of the respondents (23) had lived in other countries before immigrating to Canada, many of them having first lived in France (11).

4.3 Comparison of professional situations

Participants were asked if they felt their current work situation was comparable to that of other Canadians with similar education and work experience. Most of them, varying in age, gender and region, said that their work situation was comparable. The four people who felt that their employment situations were better were women, three of whom are of French origin and work in British Columbia. Among those who rated their work situation as worse, nearly all were visible minorities (11 out of 12). These individuals arrived in Canada either very recently (7 months) or many years ago (21 years).

4.4 Relationship to the language

French was the mother tongue of approximately half (18) of the interviewees. That said, a large majority (31) said that French was their preferred official language. While four people listed English and French as their preferred official languages, three of them lived in British Columbia.

4.5 Recruitment influence

Recruitment in British Columbia was more successful through Facebook groups. This method led us to recruit more people working in private schools in the province (4) than in Nova Scotia (1) or Ontario (1). Since recruitment in Nova Scotia was essentially supported by the Conseil scolaire acadien provincial, nearly all the participants (11 out of 12) work for this school board. In Eastern Ontario, the Coopérative Enseignants Pas À Pas, whose members are Francophone ethnocultural teachers, was very supportive of our recruitment, which also affected the profile of the teachers, all of whom stated that they belong to a visible minority. Lastly, although school boards were more involved in the recruitment in Northern Ontario, all the interviewees also stated that they belong to a visible minority.

5. Immigration and the choice of a career in education

The migration plans of the interviewees went far beyond their plans to enter the teaching profession. For many, teaching at the elementary or secondary level emerged as a very interesting path after unsuccessful attempts to find a job in line with their work experience or studies, relating to other areas of employment. In some cases, the barriers were related to insufficient knowledge of English.

I have a master's degree...and I wanted to find a job in [name of field of employment].
But English was a major barrier.

That said, nearly all of the individuals also noted that teaching had always seemed like a career path of interest. Teaching at the primary and secondary levels appeared to be a way to make use of various expertise or interests in a novel way. For example, a computer engineer helped develop various projects related to his primary expertise at his school.

While at least four individuals immigrated to Canada through the Mobilité Francophone program, only one of them arrived here with a job offer to teach in a French-language public school in British Columbia. As this was a first for the school board that welcomed this teacher, the latter has faced various challenges and his journey has not been a positive one, particularly because of the complex requirements of the Teacher Regulation Branch (TRB) in British Columbia. Also, this path is not suitable for the recruitment of foreign-trained teachers, despite the fact that this individual had taught in France and holds a secondary school teaching diploma from that country named “Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second degré” (CAPES).

Overall, it seems that many of the interviewees lacked accurate information about how to become a teacher in Canada and about the PLAR process ahead of them. Facebook groups can sometimes be of great help to future immigrants. For example, in British Columbia, several interviewees had found it useful to consult “Le guide du Croutard,” a Facebook page for people holding a permit under the Working Holiday Program as well as for immigrants from France and other countries, informing them of resources and activities in Vancouver. However, the information on this page was unclear for prospective immigrant teachers.

Nova Scotia: If you go to the Immigration francophone site, you won't find any information for teachers.

British Columbia: I have friends who'd like to give it a shot, but you have to really want it because you can easily give up once you find out about the education requirements, how equivalencies work, etc.

I didn't know you can't teach without a licence.

What would be nice is to have a blog with teachers explaining the process. And that they help people connect with others. I would have loved to be put in touch with [name of an immigrant teacher] who is Belgian and who has gone through the same experience.

6. Recognition of prior learning and foreign qualifications⁷

Despite the great deal of interest in the PLAR process, both in terms of research and public policy,⁸ the process continues to pose major challenges for foreign-trained teachers who try to resort to it. In fact, many immigrants continue to see their skills and expertise in the field of education acquired abroad devalued (Reitz, Curtis and Elrick, 2014; Cheng, Spaling and Song, 2013; Marom, 2017). A study published in 2014 by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) made the following recommendations regarding foreign-trained teachers: (a) better access to information before they arrive in Canada; (b) orientation sessions; (c) financial support for accreditation and professional development; and (d) mentoring programs (Government of Canada and CMEC). Yet systemic and cultural barriers persist and the PLAR process remains complex.

In the provinces studied, PLAR requirements and steps are posted on the websites of the organizations responsible for regulating the teaching profession. They are:

- British Columbia: Ministry of Education, through the Teacher Regulation Branch
- Ontario: Ontario College of Teachers
- Nova Scotia: Department of Education and Early Childhood Development, through the Office of Teacher Certification

Most of the interviewees were able to share their experiences in the PLAR process. Many did not necessarily have valid teaching certificates in their countries but were nevertheless trying to find out whether some of their foreign training or experience could be recognized and reduce the length of their training in Canada. That said, most of those who resorted to this process still had to complete all the required training, as do all future teachers in their province. This means that although their bachelor's degrees were recognized in principle, very few, if any, credits related to teacher training were.⁹ Stakeholders point out that the low PLAR is in large part due to Canada's different approach, which is based more on constructivist pedagogy than on content-based, transmissive teaching.

Obtaining the information requested. Table 3 in Appendix B outlines PLAR requirements, which vary from one province to another. In all cases, several documents are required and must be translated into either English (British Columbia, Nova Scotia, Ontario) or French (Ontario), at an additional cost. For many countries, particularly African countries, the detailed information required (e.g. number of hours of classes, lesson plan) cannot be easily obtained. For example, some people have to go back to their country of origin to talk to the right people and make sure that the documents produced are compliant.

What was difficult, however, was that the university in [name of a city in an African country] had to send sealed envelopes, and that is not at all a practice in [name of an African country]. And I had to go there in the summer, right before I started my B.Ed.

⁷ The recognition of professional qualifications is defined as "the process of verifying that the knowledge, skills, work experience and education obtained in another country is comparable to the standards established for Canadian professionals and tradespersons (Forum of Labour Market Ministers, 2009)." In addition to the recognition of qualifications, we have added the broader recognition of prior learning given that the assessment process goes beyond professional qualifications to include, for example, language skills.

⁸ For example, see [A Pan-Canadian Framework for the Assessment and Recognition of Foreign Qualifications](#).

⁹ For each of the provinces, an undergraduate degree is a pre-requisite for a bachelor's degree in elementary or secondary education, which lasts 11 to 24 months. Discussed further in section 6.1.

So I had to contact my teachers in [name of country] and ask them to describe their course syllabuses in detail. Which, with [name of country] administrations, is impossible. It's a major battle getting a transcript with your degrees. So I tried, but I quickly gave up.

Sometimes, however, the requested documents prove impossible to obtain, especially when the political situation in the country is unstable. Therefore, for some individuals, university degrees remain unrecognized in the PLAR process as well as when determining salary level.

Negotiating in English. The language of the certifying authorities is clearly English in Nova Scotia and British Columbia. The Ontario College of Teachers distinguishes itself with many instructions posted in French on its website, staff who are able to respond quickly to questions in French, and forms available in French. In addition, the clarity of the explanations provided on the Ontario College of Teacher's website seems to make the PLAR process smoother. Indeed, interviewees reported few problems with the PLAR process, although, as elsewhere, very few were exempted from taking courses as part of their bachelor's degrees in education (B.Ed.).

6.1 Provincial characteristics

While there are similarities in the approaches, requirements and challenges among the provinces, there are also differences.

British Columbia. In this province, the Ministry of Education claims to recognize teacher equivalencies from 21 countries, only 2 of which are French-speaking: France and Switzerland. However, during the interviews, it was noted that these equivalencies are not easy to obtain. For example, two individuals licensed to teach in France because they held a CAPES¹⁰ had to take and pass university courses totalling 12 and 21 credits, respectively, to obtain their teaching certificates in British Columbia (the full teacher training program totalling 60 credits). Thus, based on our interviews, the official recognition of certain training paths only partially reduces the steps that individuals from France have to take to have their prior learning recognized.

That said, the general red tape and administrative delays of the PLAR process, which appear to be more significant in this province, were the barriers most often mentioned by interviewees. This complexity can be shown in different ways. For example, as shown in the comparison table in Appendix B, the TRB is more demanding and more documentation is required. Some interviewees therefore wonder, for example, why notarized copies of birth certificates and passports are needed. There are also lengthy delays in file processing as well as communication difficulties. At several points, interviewees pointed out that each of the bodies that they had to deal with—the university, the TRB and the Teacher Qualification Service (TQS), which is responsible for determining salary levels—requested documents that were difficult or costly to obtain and that it was not possible to transfer information among these bodies.

Personally, I'm a bit disappointed because it's the same process I've already gone through. I find it inconceivable that these institutions can't work together! I don't get it, I just don't get it.

You contact the people at the TRB and nobody answers the phone. So you can send them an e-mail, but they aren't able to answer in French. That's a problem...Because, for us Francophones, when we know that we have to speak English, we still have that

¹⁰ Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second degré [secondary school teaching certificate].

immigrant complex and we don't have the same confidence as when we ask for things in French.

I started my application last year and yesterday they answered me, congratulating me on being certified. It takes a lot of time, you have to show a lot, a lot of paperwork.

Nova Scotia. Unlike the other provinces, the Office of Teacher Certification is also responsible for determining teachers' salary levels. The ability to share the documents required for these two processes appears to make it easier for interviewees. In addition, employees of the Conseil scolaire acadien provincial seem to be more supportive of teachers' efforts, which is a real advantage, for example, when it comes to having a degree recognized. This support, which can take the form of advice but also direct interventions, also tends to foster engagement and a sense of belonging to the Francophone community.

A significant problem was nevertheless raised by several interviewees in this province, which was resolved by the Department of Education and Early Childhood Development in January 2019. As such, teachers trained abroad or in another province could be granted a Bridging Teacher's Certificate and secure a teaching position but at almost half the salary of someone trained in Nova Scotia. For example, an individual with a Canadian graduate degree and a B.Ed. from another Canadian province was still awarded a Bridging Teacher's Certificate even if offered a permanent position. A deep sense of injustice emerged from the interviews with those affected by this rule, but the individuals were also relieved because they now had the same salary and professional status as their colleagues.

Nova Scotia: I have four licences here in Canada because I've worked in four provinces. But I didn't have a teaching licence here. I had a Bridging Teacher's Certificate. That's not a teacher! You're not even a teacher, you're on your way to becoming one! I thought that was a bit absurd.

Going forward, individuals holding recognized teaching certificates from another province or country will be able to receive a Bridging Teacher's Certificate that will allow them to earn the same salary as other teachers, while having three to five years to successfully complete university courses and obtain the credits required, which appear to be few in number.

7. Studies in a teacher education program

Most of the employed teachers interviewed held a B.Ed. obtained in Canada. In the three provinces studied, the training paths for teaching at the elementary, junior high school and high school levels are similar. In each of these provinces, at least one university offers the equivalent of a B.Ed. in French: Université Sainte-Anne (Nova Scotia), University of Ottawa and Laurentian University (Ontario) and Simon Fraser University (British Columbia). The University of British Columbia, for its part, offers a bilingual program that makes it possible to teach in French-language schools. Each of these institutions offers the opportunity to take consecutive programs: individuals must first obtain an undergraduate degree in any discipline (90–120 credits) and then obtain the equivalent of a bachelor of education.¹¹ While the B.Ed. in these three provinces consists of 60 credits, the duration of these studies generally varies between 11 months (Simon Fraser University in British Columbia), 16 months (University of British Columbia) and 24 months (University of Ottawa and Laurentian University in Ontario, and Université Sainte-Anne in Nova Scotia).

Four interviewees in British Columbia had chosen not to complete their B.Ed. and as a result were working in private schools where their French-language skills were valued. All of them had extensive teaching experience and several university degrees, which is why they chose not to return to school. We believe that such profiles could have been found in the other provinces as well, but since the methods used to recruit interviewees were more focused on French-language school boards, we were unable to interview this type of person. All these teachers, like others with extensive professional experience in education and several degrees, mentioned that they were disappointed, even frustrated that their expertise was not recognized in Canada.

British Columbia: I found the training far too expensive. Besides, I very much like the school I'm at, even if I can only teach basic French at a private school. I already have a bachelor's in English and a master's in education. I just didn't see myself doing it all over again.

None of the interviewees had completed any training specifically for foreign-trained teachers, despite the fact that a large majority of them had enrolled in a PLAR process. That said, such training is rare in Canada (Marom, 2016). Where it does exist,¹² courses are offered in English only. A large majority of interviewees obtained their B.Ed. in French, with a few choosing to study in the bilingual environment of the University of British Columbia.

7.1 Finding information

Many began their studies in education a few years after arriving in Canada. Some were sorry that this path had not been suggested to them earlier. Others were happy that they did not do it right away, pointing out that this time allowed them to acquire different Canadian experiences to better understand the cultural codes and methods of operation, evaluation and interaction to which they had to adapt during their studies or practicums.

In general, interviewees had rarely resorted to employment services either because they did not know about them or because they did not consider them useful. In Nova Scotia, the idea or plan to go back to school was sometimes planted or made possible by a school staff member, usually

¹¹ At Simon Fraser University, this training is known as the Professional Development Program – French Module.

¹² For example, at the [University of Calgary](#) or the [University of Alberta](#).

in administration. For example, three of the women interviewed said that it was while talking to the staff at their children's school about employment opportunities at the school, such as teaching assistant or kitchen staff, that they learned how they could return to school to obtain a B.Ed. and move on to a more challenging and more financially rewarding job that was more in line with their experience. These women were grateful for this advice, which they found useful and positive.

On a few occasions, some interviewees pointed out that they did not understand the Canadian education system when they first began learning about the teaching profession, such as what it means to earn credits. In this regard, in British Columbia, the importance of the information sessions offered at Simon Fraser University, which are widely advertised, was stressed in order to follow the various stages of the training. The fact that French is spoken in some post-secondary institutions is an advantage, especially when considering the barriers related to the PLAR.

British Columbia: I chose SFU [Simon Fraser University] because all the information was in French on their site. There's also the BAFF [Bureau des affaires francophones et francophiles], which handles the French program, and it makes things much easier when you don't have perfect command of the English language.

British Columbia: When I got here, I didn't find places where they said very, very clearly, "If you're French and you get here and you want to teach, here's what you have to do." No.

They should really take the time when they get new teachers who come from abroad. In other words, prepare, not just talk, but prepare a session with all the big issues and take the opportunity to talk about equivalencies, what to do, courses: what a course is, what a credit is. People don't know. And why we're doing this teacher training. Then, by extension, the education system, what the expectations are here, and what minority community means.

It was also mentioned that for a few years now, Ontario universities have been systematically informing students enrolled in the first year of the B.Ed. program of the steps to take to have prior learning and foreign qualifications recognized and to ensure that they obtain their teaching licence upon graduation. Dissemination of this information also appears to have improved in British Columbia, a province that has had significant gaps in this regard.

7.2 Taking on a new professional identity

Overall, the training as such is viewed positively by the interviewees, who mentioned that it helped them understand the context of teaching in minority communities and in Canada. Moreover, it is mainly from the pedagogical point of view that they retained the importance of training. They recognize that the pedagogy in Canada is different, if not very different, from what they experienced as students or teachers outside of Canada. They note, for example, that children's special needs are taken into account more in Canada or that the relationship with the child should be based on trust rather than authority. This discrepancy is amply documented in the literature, which notes that Canada favours child-centred constructivist approaches, whereas in Africa and France, in particular, there is more emphasis on teaching "in a teacher-centred, transmissive mode in which learning takes place essentially through memorization of the concepts studied in class" (Duchesne 2017a, p. 4).

Yes, absolutely. I had to [get a B.Ed.] since I came from another context, another country. So it was absolutely necessary to better understand this province's culture, to better understand the teaching context, and to better understand what French was like in a minority community, because that was a new concept for me.

I realized that there were differences with the way I was working in [name of country]. It was worth it for me to do the training here. I felt it was an important step...

The school reality here is very different from the one I knew in [name of country], where it's very rigid, very strict and very authoritarian. So, paradoxically, it's been very helpful to me. I've met other people. It gave me a chance to make friends and to start to understand the culture here. Also, to understand the philosophy of teaching: what is school here? In a minority community? How do you evaluate learning? The fact is that you're learning to compare to the standards you had before. It's true that it wasn't easy for me to accept. So it took me a long time to let go of my standards and beliefs about teaching. But that doesn't mean that I've let it all go...I tried to find a balance.

Here, in Canada, you are a teacher, elsewhere you are a professor. The definition of the two words serves completely different purposes. Now that I understand that, I know what's expected of me at school. I am there to guide students in their learning process.

Adopting a humanistic approach to manage a class is new to me. For example, you don't sit on the floor in [name of the country]. It's just not done. You have to sit like this, straight, strict. Here you use a lot of strategies and projects.

That said, while most of the interviewees recognize the added value of the Canadian approach, they did experience adaptation challenges during their practicums or in their jobs, and are aware that it takes a long time to adjust.

7.3 Duration, format and cost of training

The duration of the B.Ed. was generally considered adequate, even in Ontario, where it increased from one year to two years in 2015. Those who were more critical of the length of the training already had extensive teaching experience or graduate degrees.

Ontario: You need at least one year of training. But two years is too much. It's enough to be in the system, because even now, the training continues.

British Columbia: The training was interesting in order to learn about skill-based teaching and Aboriginal issues, but a year of training wasn't really necessary.

Several respondents also stressed the importance of quickly getting into the classroom, either through a practicum or a job, pointing out that they could learn more there. Thus, we recognize that learning how to teach continues long after the training and that increasing support measures for new teachers would be more useful than extending the training time.

Most of the interviewees liked the condensed, intensive nature of the training, as they wanted to quickly enter the labour market. However, some immigrants with families and bigger financial responsibilities complained about the lack of flexibility in the training offered, especially in Ontario and Nova Scotia, where it takes longer to complete. The part-time formula offered by the University of Ottawa could be helpful for teachers with this type of profile. Only a few respondents said that they had worked during their studies. These respondents had dependents and had already completed teacher training or graduate school.

Nova Scotia (refugee): The government paid for my education for two years, but I accumulated \$20,000 in debt over those two years. And I have to pay it back today. I worked as a [name of position] while I went to school. I earned \$500 every two weeks and the family could survive.

As for the cost of the training, the scholarships offered in British Columbia are seen as major incentives. The British Columbia Ministry of Education expanded its bursaries to students enrolled in the French B.Ed. program in 2018, with students receiving at least \$1,000. That said, tuition fees remain high in British Columbia, ranging from \$12,000 to \$16,000 for permanent residents, which are nevertheless lower than in Nova Scotia and Ontario, where they are about \$20,000.

7.4 Relationships: between curiosity, solidarity and discrimination

During their time at university, interviewees felt accepted overall. At both Laurentian University and the University of Ottawa, at least half of the cohorts are immigrants and visible minorities. This suggests that both male and female students are less likely to experience discrimination in the classroom. At Université Sainte-Anne, the small cohort size seems to encourage solidarity among students.

Nova Scotia: People ask a thousand and one questions about everything related to your culture and personal development because they don't necessarily know the realities. There's a curiosity. But it was very easy to make friends.

However, a study of students enrolled in an education program reveals that the quest for recognition and legitimacy and the difficulty in building relationships are significant issues for most visible minorities enrolled in an education program (Mulatris & Skogen, 2012). In our sample, only two respondents, who are members of visible minorities in British Columbia, reported experiencing forms of discrimination. They hesitated in their responses as they could not categorically say that they had been discriminated against. They spoke of being left out by colleagues and being treated differently by teachers. In all cases, the impression of having experienced discrimination was reported much less at university than in the workplace, i.e. during practicums or on the job.

7.5 The importance of personal and professional networks

Studies clearly show that social isolation undermines immigrant health (Battaglini et al., 2014). While the interviews confirm the importance for the interviewees to feel connected, they also show that their networks benefit from being made up of people who were born in Canada or who have lived here for a long time. Several respondents mentioned that one or more members of their entourage were instrumental to their gaining an understanding of administrative requirements and cultural codes during their training. Immigrants who came to Canada to join their spouses seemed to fare especially well in this respect, both in their academic and professional endeavours.

Those who had been put directly in contact with French-language schools also seemed to do well. In general, while, for example, having been involved at one's child's school was helpful, volunteering in the classroom seemed to be the best route. Yet few respondents took it.

Ontario: I signed up and got in. And right away, I started volunteering to understand the Franco-Ontarian system.

7.6 Desired adjustments to the training

Two areas of knowledge were mentioned as needing further development in the university training of future teachers. First, the importance of students learning more about issues related to cultural diversity in the classroom is noted. Several respondents said that this topic needed to be discussed more with everyone, but with particular sensitivity to immigrant teachers, who could be directly involved in the educational process. Such teaching is seen as useful, particularly in ensuring that Canadian-born teachers demonstrate openness to diversity in the classroom and among school employees. If this topic is addressed, it is acknowledged that it is often from the perspective of celebrating diversity. However, the literature shows the importance of exploring the areas of discomfort raised by learning how to live together in a multi-ethnic society (Jacquet, 2009). In addition, the literature that is critical of multiculturalism stresses the importance of addressing power dynamics, socioeconomic inequalities, racism and colonialism in discussions on cultural diversity (St. Denis 2011; Malrom 2016). It has also been suggested that curricula be revised to include reflections, for example, on the socially constructed nature of the notion of marginalization of racial minorities, given that they form a numerical majority (Chase et al., 2012).

What I understood is that we need to dig deeper into the cross-cultural issue. It's a bit too superficial, folkloric. The school's mission is to prepare future citizens who will live with people from different cultures.

Cultural diversity..., some teachers talk about it, but not often. When you teach, all the children are the same. We talk about inclusion, but it's more in terms of different forms of learning.

The development of content tailored to Francophone minority communities is not new. For example, teaching identity building is one of the original contributions of education training for French-language schools in FMCs. Although many adjustments have been made, particularly to this concept, in response to growing cultural diversity, it is important to bear in mind that immigrant teachers are taking their first steps in a professional environment that is in the process of being redefined. Considering the scope of the changes under way, it is worth noting the theoretical and practical difficulty of fostering, on the one hand, attachment to a strong cultural identity and, on the other hand, openness to cultural diversity, as well as, on the one hand, attachment to the French language, and on the other hand, inclusion of exogamous families.

Moreover, although constructivist approaches were recognized as valid and visible both in jobs and in training, some mentioned that these topics should be explored in greater depth during training. The constructivist approach results in, for example, new relational modes that require different practices and learning content. Again, the missing tools seemed to relate to future teachers but possibly with additional content accessible to those newly introduced to such approaches.

Nova Scotia: Students are different today. You have to meet their needs to be able to deliver the material. That's the difference. But the training is still too focused on how to deliver the material. I think that something like a bridging course needs to be offered. Now that you have the knowledge, how are you going to relate to the students so you can teach? Even...the Nova Scotia teachers told us that the training is no longer adequate.

The Ontario College of Teachers' Transition to Teaching (2018) report echoes this view, with early-career teachers noting that they could have used more support in areas such as classroom management and organization; mental health, addiction and wellness; parent involvement for students with special needs; special education; and First Nations, Métis and Inuit history, culture and knowledge.

7.7 Role of Ontario's Coopérative d'Enseignement Pas À Pas

Some interviewees shared positive experiences related to the work done by the Coopérative d'Enseignants Pas à Pas, two of whose main roles are to forge ties between ethnocultural French-speaking teachers and to develop their expertise as teachers in the Canadian context. This co-op conducts many activities, mainly in Eastern Ontario, although initiatives are under way elsewhere, particularly with Laurentian University (Northern Ontario). For instance, a few low-cost workshops are offered at Laurentian University and the University of Ottawa to complement university courses. These workshops address the unique challenges experienced by immigrant teachers or the characteristics of the Ontario education system. Faculties of education help organize these events but do not generally contribute financially. Similarly, co-op representatives participate in conferences, develop tools and organize informal meetings to equip teachers from ethnocultural minorities and facilitate their integration.

7.8 Practicums

Teaching practicums are an important step in the training as they often awaken education students' interest in their future profession, while providing them with a first opportunity to experience the provincial school system and to lay the groundwork for a new professional identity. Although a majority of interviewees reported positive or fairly positive practicum experiences, many acknowledged that they had to work harder to establish their legitimacy and to have their accomplishments recognized.

A decade or so ago, Franco-Albertan immigrants studying in education revealed that they faced similar challenges related to a quest for recognition and legitimacy (Mulatris and Skogen, 2012). At the time, it was noted that mentor teachers seemed to be monitoring the integration of these future teachers more closely but also, that school students were challenging the cultural identity and authority of the future teachers. In addition, it was acknowledged that these teacher candidates were at a disadvantage in the practicums compared to students educated in Canada since childhood because they were unfamiliar with the educational practices in the Canadian school system (Duchesne, 2010). And while the need to better prepare these individuals more closely for Canadian educational practices has long been recognized (Duchesne, 2010), they still do not seem sufficiently prepared.

Overall, the difficulties experienced in the practicums raise issues of self-confidence and professional identity, increasing the risk of leaving the teaching profession. Specifically, those who experience difficulties risk not completing their B.Ed. and finding a job.

The roles of teacher candidates and mentor teachers. Mentor teachers have an important role to play in the teacher candidate's journey. Yet, they are ill-prepared for their task and receive very little guidance in this regard, even less so for teacher candidates with an immigrant background. In some cases, culture shock can be significant on both sides.

It can be difficult when the student teacher is from an immigrant background. Both sides must be understanding of each other. The teacher must understand that the teacher candidate is there to practise. Sometimes they set the bar too high. This is often a concept that mentor teachers have trouble grasping. On the other hand, we have the teacher candidates trying to teach while staying within their comfort zones. They're trying, but they're not at ease.

In [name of region], there are very few people with immigrant backgrounds, so when they get a teacher candidate, it annoys them.

In some cases, generic materials are distributed and practicum supervisors may go so far as to verbally review detailed information with teachers, but at the same time, these supervisors complain that not all their colleagues do this. As well, mentor teachers rarely, if at all, teach the foundations of cultural, intercultural and cross-cultural competencies. Although such competencies are part of the curricula of future teachers or professional development (ACELF, 2019), they do not seem to be systematically implemented. Moreover, how to implement these competencies among professionals is not usually part of the content developed for practicums. For example, the guides developed by the Association des enseignantes et des enseignants franco-ontariens for mentor teachers and teacher candidates do not address this topic (AEFO, 2015a; AEFO, 2015b). Above all, how such competencies should be taught would benefit from further investigation.

Additional documentation can also be provided to teacher candidates to more clearly define what is expected of them. The interviews especially reveal that there is no formal space for discussion between the teacher candidate, the mentor teacher and the practicum supervisor—neither in dyads nor triads—to address potential intercultural issues. Ultimately, the result is that ambiguity persists as to what behaviour and attitudes are expected on both sides and how to deal with misunderstandings.

I have a letter of introduction and some documents that I give to all my mentor teachers and we go over them in detail in person. This is a best practice, but there are still many who have not adopted this practice.

At one point, there were courses on how to be a mentor teacher, but they were dropped because it cost money.

There should be training for teachers who are going to get student teachers.

The sometimes difficult situations experienced by teacher candidates are also a reminder that mentor teachers have two potentially contradictory roles. They act both as mentors and evaluators. Some respondents considered it important to have a third party, such as the practicum supervisor, play a greater role in supporting the teacher candidate and the mentor teacher. For example, the practicum supervisor could have the leeway and legitimacy to take more action when an issue is brought to his or her attention. It would also be helpful to reduce the number of mentored students in order to increase the involvement of the practicum supervisor, particularly in situations where the risks are higher, such as when a mentor teacher is supervising a recent

immigrant teacher candidate for the first time or when the teacher candidate has had little contact with the Canadian school system.

I, at one point, failed a student, but I didn't know who to turn to for advice. They just relied on my comments. There needs to be a broader dialogue.

When they fail, we don't tell them what to do to improve.

Discrimination. A few people reported having experienced discrimination or racism more directly during a practicum. In each case, these stories seemed to be associated with experiences that were more traumatic than those in the workplace. The fact that these situations occur at times when these individuals are more vulnerable and are likely to have a lasting effect on their career or migration plans may have an impact.

British Columbia: It was difficult, sometimes... sometimes she scolded me in front of the students. She had no right to scold me in front of my students, even if I did something wrong... If I had succeeded in the first practicum, it would have been a curse more than a blessing because I wasn't ready. Except they treated me badly.

Ontario: The teacher just gave me a 0, saying I didn't know how to teach. The word she used was "incapable" of teaching. I went to show this to the university... The practicum supervisor went to the principal of the school where I did the practicum and said this was racism and discrimination. The principal agreed. The school saw that I was doing quite well in the classroom.

Relationships with students. Practicums do not appear to provide sufficient opportunities to develop close relationships with students. Yet, the interviews revealed that the inclusion strategies of Canadian schools push new teachers, even those educated entirely in Canada, into situations where they need to "know" how to interact with children from widely differing cultural, socioeconomic, and learning backgrounds. During practicums, teacher candidates could be offered the opportunity to guide children with difficulties in order to learn different teaching strategies and how to build relationships with them.

Nova Scotia: Something is needed for future teachers, for everyone, but especially for immigrants, to understand the student. The student teacher has to be able to give support to the child, whether it's after school or whatever, to really understand how to be with the child... During practicums, you often teach, but you don't necessarily have a relationship with the students... And there are very few opportunities to work with children with special needs or from disadvantaged groups.

8. Finding a job as a teacher

Most immigrant teachers who studied in French and who recently obtained a teaching certificate turn to the French-language school boards in the province where they studied. Some of them head to immersion schools, but fewer seem to do so since strong English skills are required at the time of hiring.

8.1 Good job prospects for teachers

The shortage of teachers, either in French-language schools or for the teaching of core French in French immersion programs, has been noted in the literature (Kline-Martin, 2018; Brynaert, Brennan and Associates, 2018; OCT, 2018) and has been widely reported in the media (see footnote 5 on page 16). The higher unemployment rates, particularly in 2013, have decreased gradually and more sharply in French-language schools and among immersion staff. We have a more accurate picture of the employment situation for Ontario's French-language teachers.

Ontario. According to the Ontario College of Teachers: “Just seven per cent of English-language program graduates without FSL qualifications gain permanent teaching contracts in their first year. This compares with 31 per cent of FSL teachers and 64 per cent of the graduates of French-language teacher education programs (OCT, 2018, p. 8).” In addition, and exceptionally, this report states that no graduates of teacher education programs at the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University reported being unemployed in 2017 and 2018. This report also shows that the full employment rate rose sharply between 2016 and 2018 for new-to-Canada teachers, from 21% to 40%. However, it is still much lower than that of the other groups,¹³ which ranged from 57% to 78% (OCT, 2018).

This favourable context for teacher recruitment is consistent with the responses gathered in the three provinces. In fact, most people who started their careers in the last four years reported finding jobs quickly. While many went through the traditional route of first being hired as short-term occasional teachers, many were offered long-term occasional or even permanent positions.

I found a job very quickly, in May.

I applied for five jobs and within two weeks I was teaching.

I got the job through word of mouth. I contacted the principal and it all happened very quickly.

A few exceptions to this favourable context were noted, for example, in the Greater Sudbury area, where there were fewer offers of permanent employment and where there are more graduates because that is where Laurentian University is located.

Despite this favourable context, interviewees reported barriers to hiring. Although those who graduated more than five years ago, particularly in Ontario, recounted more situations where being an immigrant or being associated with a visible minority group worked against them, challenges remain.

¹³ The other groups compared in this report are: U.S. border college graduates; graduates from another Canadian province; Ontarians educated elsewhere abroad; and Ontario university graduates.

8.2 A sociodemographic context that is (sometimes) favourable to hiring

Several articles point to the growing importance of cultural diversity in the classroom and the fact that the diversification of the student ethnocultural profile is being accompanied by more sustained efforts to diversify the teacher profile. These articles recognize the value of hiring immigrant teachers for the success of immigrant students since these teachers serve as role models and facilitate these students' integration. They also contribute to the development of education that fosters openness to cultural diversity (Niyubahwe and Jutras, 2013; Schmidt, Young and Mandzuk, 2010; Marom, 2017). This changing context of French-language schools in minority communities thus forces us to redefine their mission (Cavanagh, Cammarata and Blain, 2016). This raises new questions about hiring strategies, which would benefit from promoting an ethnocultural "balance."

Nova Scotia (an immigrant teacher): We have to think about the Acadians because there are many students who don't speak the language. There's language insecurity too. There have to be Acadian [teachers] to make the children feel safe, to speak the language. This is completely normal. That's what the CSAP does. And the English boards where there are a lot of African-Nova Scotian children are trying to do the same thing so that the students can find value in seeing or listening to people who look like them. You're looking for a balance. You have to find a balance.

That said, the interviews show that this approach, which favours descriptive representation¹⁴ of Acadians or ethnocultural minorities, tends to reduce the contribution of immigrant teachers to classes where students come from diverse sociodemographic backgrounds. While stakeholders or school principals point out the added value of immigrant teachers in French-language schools, based on the student body's more diverse ethnocultural profile, some teachers say they feel less welcome in schools where there are few immigrant students, such as those outside urban centres. Such reflections remind us of the limits of descriptive representation and the need to make education staff more aware of their tendencies.

I remember a few years ago, in 2014, I went to the interview and the principal of an immersion school said to me—it was a teachers' fair: "I'm not sure if you fit the demography of the school." I said: "What? What? Why?"

Somebody told me, a Francophone from here: "You do good work, you're very good. But you won't find a job here. You should move because there are people of colour over there." I thought it was pathetic. But he was right.

8.3 Personal trajectories and crucial skills

The stories of the interviewees highlight the importance of developing certain skills but also the influence of certain contexts when it comes to understanding their journeys. Certain contexts make it easier for people to connect but also to develop knowledge and skills that are crucial when creating and seizing employment opportunities.

¹⁴ Descriptive representation refers to a representation where the characteristics of the representatives are similar to those of the represented. It presupposes a shared cultural, social or geographical identity between the representatives and the represented.

Influence of practicums. The practicum experience, whether positive or negative, often has a major impact on the employment integration process. When a practicum does not go so well but the person succeeds all the same, the challenges encountered will have repercussions when they look for a new job. This is because it is customary to provide the names of mentor teachers as references. Although not all the school boards surveyed refer to these references when placing occasional teachers, a majority does seem to consider them. Consequently, a problematic relationship with the mentor teacher can reduce professional integration opportunities, or at least make them more complicated. Although this can happen to any teacher candidate, the impact is greater for an immigrant with limited Canadian experience.

Conversely, those who have been able to establish positive professional ties with their mentor teachers and with the staff of the school where they completed their practicum seem to fare better both in terms of finding employment and understanding cultural codes and educational practices.

Networking, taking initiative and confidence. The importance of networking in the professional environment is well documented, particularly in the education sector (Morrisette et al., 2014). While establishing professional relationships is a strategy used both abroad and in Canada, how networking is conducted is dictated by cultural norms. For instance, in some cultures, it is inappropriate to spontaneously approach people of higher professional status. However, such a practice is common and even valued in Canada.

In the Jabouin (2018) study as well as in our interviews, some people expressed gratitude for the support they have received from people in the education system who wanted to see them succeed.

Before I started my studies, I worked as a project officer at [name of organization]. That's how I got my foot in the [name of the school board]. I met everyone: the board of directors, the director general. It helped me a lot afterwards.

I've always criticized the "ethnics" for this: we don't get involved enough! The others [those who are not "ethnics"] try to contact the schools and reach out to everyone they know to get placed. Our people wait for the practicum supervisor to place them.

English skills. French-language schools do not require future teachers to take English-language tests in the school boards where we conducted our interviews. However, Ontario teachers reported that they were asked questions in English during interviews for permanent positions, with principals seeking to ascertain their ability to interact with English-speaking parents. The fact that some teachers, particularly those of African origin, have difficulty speaking English and have a different accent appears to hinder their chance of succeeding in the interviews. Beyond abilities and accents, these interview questions are seen as a means of disqualifying (intentionally or unintentionally) immigrants from permanent positions. The result is that some lose confidence and prefer to continue working as occasional teachers.

I have colleagues who speak English, but they said that when you get to the interview, as soon as you start to speak, they go: "It's okay, it's okay, it's okay."

Those with stronger English skills can also be hired by schools offering immersion programs. However, this path is not open to many French-speaking immigrants.

There's no chance of getting full-time work as a substitute. I saw that the odds were better in immersion schools. My documents were quickly regularized in these schools. There were two, three schools that were ready to hire me. They almost made all the arrangements to remove the English level, but they didn't succeed. My level of English was not acceptable.

8.4 Less frequent but persistent gaps

A sense of discrimination was reported more often by those hired more than a decade ago in Ontario than those hired more recently. For example, in Ontario, the recruiting system used to allow for more cronyism, whereas now, occasional and permanent positions are offered based on an automated seniority list. That said, the responses indicate that there is still bias and favouritism, particularly during job interviews for permanent positions, since the criteria for success are more subjective at this stage. Schmidt (2016) points out that school boards, whether English- or French-language, pride themselves on hiring the “best teachers” yet avoid accurately, openly and collectively defining the criteria to define them.

Of course we can go over the questions, how we ask them.

There is often a question about contribution and the focus is often on Francophone culture. But it would be worth looking for anything related to diversity in that response.

An individual of French origin in British Columbia: I'm sure that if I had been a Quebecer, I would have been immediately placed as a substitute.

They were born in it. They have all the tools and vocabulary to answer the right question at the right time. I didn't have the tools or I still don't have the tools.

The problem is that when there is a job, if there are three white people and one person of colour applying, the person of colour is the first to be disqualified. But I'm not convinced it's prejudice. I don't know. (Interviewer: do you think it's an unconscious reflex?) Yeah, yeah, something like that, an unconscious reflex.

You have to trust these people. They have experience. Sometimes they have difficulty explaining their experience. But once they're in the classroom, you can see they can do it.

Let's say he's shy. It's a cultural issue. The person has to dig to find out your skills. It's a cultural issue, we don't like to show off.

9. Integrating into the workplace

The professional integration challenges faced by teachers go far beyond the issue of immigration. As an example, the literature (Leroux, 2014; Jabouin, 2018) cites environmental difficulties related to job insecurity, work overload, lack of professional collaboration or difficult student management as elements likely to affect all teachers new to the profession. Individual factors such as isolation, feelings of incompetence or stress can also hamper their successful integration (Leroux, 2014; Kamanzi, Da Costa and Ndinga, 2017). These integration challenges are all the more worrisome because a high proportion of young teachers are leaving the profession: 25% to 40% depending on the study (Schaefer, Long and Clandinin, 2012; Letourneau, 2014; Dalley, Gani and Lebel, 2019). In addition to leaving the profession, the professional disengagement of teachers is also of concern and tends to be greater in schools located in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, where the majority of pupils hail from ethnic or cultural minorities (Karsenti, Collin and Dumouchel, 2013). Tardif (2012) makes the following observation:

Canadian society and provincial governments are putting teachers under pressure and imposing increasingly heavy and complex demands on them: ensure academic success for all, compensate for learning difficulties resulting from poverty, integrate culturally diverse students into a common curriculum, avoid conflict and eliminate violence in the classroom, impart knowledge and educate but also prepare students for society and the workplace, promote new community values such as ecology, multiculturalism, etc. In short, what is required of teachers today has little in common with what was required of them just 30 or so years ago.

Although it is difficult to qualify and quantify the extent of the difficulties experienced by teachers, the literature suggests that unique and significant integration challenges mark the paths of immigrant teachers (Morrisette and Demazière, 2018; Schmidt, 2016 and 2010), with French-speaking teachers facing specific challenges (Duchesne, 2008; Jabouin, 2018). The following discussion shows that this desired integration involves different groups within the school—collectives, staff, principal, students and parents—and must juxtapose them to create an atmosphere conducive to inclusion. And to make such an environment possible, both those born outside of and in Canada must acquire certain soft and hard skills.

9.1 Gradual adaptation to the multicultural environment of schools

Across Canada, the growing number of immigrant students and staff in schools is creating a shift in the demographic landscape that is not without its challenges (Schmidt, 2016). Although many address difficulties related to integration and discrimination in French-language schools, the interviews also reveal an apparently lower prevalence of environments that are resistant to immigration. Incidents of discrimination and racism tend to diminish according to those who have been working in the school environment for 15 years or more. Most important, the discrimination experienced seems to be more on an individual basis than due to a systemic atmosphere or procedures, although these still exist.

It took longer for the mentality to change at the high school level. It was racism back then (the 1990s), but we didn't see it that way.

With newcomers, since they have a different way of life, you have to be aware of that. And it took a while to properly train the principals.

...the more you hire, the less reluctance there is.

9.2 Immigrant teachers have to adapt

Faced with this uneven adaptation of the school environment to the culturally diverse landscape of its staff, immigrant teachers have always had to adapt quickly to their contexts. Indeed, they understand that it is in their interest to appropriate the host country's school culture in order to develop a new professional identity that can mesh with their identity and culture of origin (Duchesne, 2017a and 2017b). For immigrant teachers, this adaptation process involves adopting the attitudes and behaviours of the Canadian educational environment to meet the expectations of their new community. A successful adaptation process thus provides immigrant teachers with the professional recognition and legitimacy they need to ensure their integration (Mulatris and Skogen, 2012; Duchesne, 2017a). That said, Duchesne also points out that this necessary adaptation strategy requires constant efforts to position and reorganize the professional identity (2017).

Someone who's white doesn't have to prove himself so much...there are some white people who are incompetent, but you don't see it as often.

A teacher with seven or eight years' seniority in a school still feels the same pressure as if he had arrived yesterday...as soon as you change direction, they become kind of stressed.

Immigrants of colour always have something to prove. Someone told me: "Working in administration is not for you." We have to prove ourselves. We're capable too.

People often think you got this job because you're a person of colour, not necessarily because you have the experience.

It's going better today because I showed them I can do it. And so they don't trust you right away. You have to prove yourself...It takes a long time. So I accept these rules of the game because I'm an immigrant, but it took a lot of patience and sacrifices.

9.3 The need for beneficial relationships and the lack of structured support to build them

Rapport with colleagues

Relationships with colleagues are crucial for any new teacher because they provide opportunities for sharing teaching resources, advice on classroom dynamics, an understanding of school traditions, and so on. The teaching staff interviewed who had at least one long-term occasional teaching assignment most often described these relationships positively. In fact, when asked to describe integration into the school, the support of colleagues was quickly identified as an important factor to successful integration.

At first, I was completely out of the loop. Then I connected with my colleagues, even if at first it was difficult to understand them...So the whole first week, during meals, I didn't understand, really, I didn't understand the discussions...I was also so completely overwhelmed by everything that was going on at the same time so I listened and observed a lot, I kept a low profile. Then I started asking them a lot of questions to find out the differences with my country and they said: "Well, if you like, I can give you this and this, I can help you." And, in the end, I have the best colleagues in the world because they gave me absolutely everything, everything: all their work, all their support, all their activities. They gave me everything, willingly, without my asking. It was really great!

I opened up to my colleagues, I didn't hide my problems at all. If you speak up, if you're open, [integration] is okay.

Based on the stories, it appears that subtle, but valuable learnings emerge from informal discussions among colleagues. Ultimately, the literature points out that these relationships, based on exchanges of teaching materials and information, also help raise awareness of other ways of thinking about education and teaching (Jabouin, 2018; Morrisette, Diédhiou and Charara, 2014), as well as give new teachers confidence. While this support sometimes takes the form of formal mentoring, particularly in Ontario under the New Teacher Induction program, it is generally associated with more informal relationships.

Sometimes, however, caring or helpful relationships are more difficult to establish among colleagues. More often than not, relationship problems are targeted, associated with one or more people in the school. In other cases, the issues appear to be more systemic. For example, in Ontario, people working in different schools raised the issue of staff lounges, where obvious divisions are created between visible minorities and other teachers. This example was raised as an illustration of an unhealthy division in relationships within schools.

...It's covert. Even when we go to the staff lounge, we're here, and they're over there. It makes me uncomfortable. So I don't like going down. Because it's striking, it's really obvious. And no one is doing anything about it. It bothers me.

Two of my colleagues talk to me and others don't even say hello.

Well, for example, when it comes to sharing resources, the Quebecers share with each other, especially the women, but if you're French, then no.

When schools are smaller, teachers point out that it can be difficult to develop mentoring relationships for two main reasons: the lack of the required expertise within the schools, especially in smaller schools, and the lack of proactive measures to facilitate communication among teachers in different schools within board schools.

Relationships with students

The relationship that a new teacher establishes with the students is critical because it is the foundation for the transmission of knowledge. For the most part, respondents felt that their relationship with the children was positive. Furthermore, some interviewees were proud that this relationship seemed to help reduce the distance between students from different cultures. In general, the presence of an immigrant teacher could facilitate a culturally sensitive teaching approach and help to reduce stereotypes (Jabouin, 2018; Morrisette et al., 2014; Niyubahwe et al., 2013).

It changes our approach. It also changes the students' approach. I think that young people, now, little by little, with teachers who come from elsewhere, can ask questions: What is Ramadan? Like that, they can learn a bit about a culture. Maybe someone who comes from China can tell them about the Chinese calendar. Especially because young people are all connected: it's the digital age, they have friends all over the place. Even in schools, they try to take trips. I think it's really great. It helps them open up to other cultures.

On the other hand, immigrant teachers working in less mixed environments report that they are quickly noticed by the children. Characteristics such as accent, skin colour or other distinguishing features may be noted by the child in an attempt to get to know new teachers and form a relationship with them. Several of the teachers interviewed enjoyed recounting anecdotes about their curious students who asked them questions. In some cases, however, it is clear that the children's lack of cultural sensitivity can be hurtful and would be less prevalent in a school environment and pedagogy that are more open to cultural diversity.

I know it's curiosity, but to me it's still inappropriate, like, do you shower with your scarf over your head? Something like that. I understand there are no bad intentions behind that kind of remark, but it still affects me, because it reflects how strange I am in these people's eyes.

When I talk about Africa, no one dares say that I'm Black. It makes the kids uncomfortable. The parents write to me afterwards. I was proactive with my new students this year to show them that I'm "normal." Some kids want to touch me. If you're sensitive at heart, if you're not prepared, that can be stressful. They ask me if they're dirty after...That's classroom-wide.

There were times when they would make inappropriate comments, when they would get angry because I took action... Or they would say, "Oh, miss, you know these words?" And it was not a nice word. But it didn't affect me too badly. I don't know why.

The first few times, they were surprised to see a Black teacher: "Where are you from, sir?" I had to constantly justify myself. In French-speaking schools, students were able to pick up the accent more easily. In immersion schools, it was harder.

Relationships with parents

Although they are not as central as relationships with children and colleagues, connections made with parents are an important anchor for the professional integration of the teachers interviewed. Generally, however, for immigrants who have already taught in their country of origin, the importance of parents in the Canadian school system is often seen as new (Niyubahwe et al., 2013). There is also sometimes a lack of understanding of the importance of parent-school relationships in the Canadian education system that appears to be a barrier to the integration of immigrant teachers into the profession (Morrissette et al., 2014).

No, my training didn't prepare me for how to act or interact in front of parents who aren't very happy... Naturally, there were several courses that dealt with discipline issues, class management and all that, but not parent management, no... Then I started to understand the parents' expectations better: as long as the children aren't complaining, everything is fine. They don't want to know anything. So I had to change over time so I wouldn't burn out. Because it's not easy to face that kind of situation every day.

That said, the parent-teacher relationship can also be a stressor for parents as well, who are likely to be prejudiced about the skills of immigrant teachers. It seems that distinctive elements such as accent, headscarves and skin colour increase parents' concerns and complaints, while at the same time being likely to reduce their co-operation with immigrant teachers, whose status is often precarious (Morrisette and Demazière, 2018; Laghzaoui, 2011). While better support for teachers on how to build good relationships with parents and how to react to parental interventions is considered important, the parents' awareness of cultural diversity also merits attention.

I'm pretty sure that wearing a headscarf created a barrier between me and the parents and the students at some point. I always had to explain myself. People made comments.

We should train the parents. Educate the parents. Every year I get requests to have their children change classes because they say that the kids don't understand my accent.

9.4 Importance of a proactive, responsive and inclusive principal

School principals have a mandate to provide all the tools necessary to create an atmosphere conducive to cultural diversity (Leurebourg, 2013). Overall, in the literature as well as the interviews, school principals are recognized as the pillars for building a school culture conducive to the integration of student diversity and creating an environment conducive to the onboarding and integration of new immigrant teachers. The respondents mentioned the influence of principals, both positive and negative, on their integration experience in their schools. In this regard, onboarding and support initiatives supported by the principals were cited as being key factors for facilitating integration. Mentoring is considered to be the most widespread professional integration strategy (Jabouin, 2018; Gagnon and Duchesne, 2018).

My principal took the initiative to tell everyone, during my first days at the school, "When I arrived from France, I had to adapt culturally and I think (name of person) will need you to support her. So I'd like to start a mentoring program." And he asked my colleagues if they were willing to do that. They both said yes. So I had free periods during my classes where I would go and observe my colleagues' classes and they also took time off to come to my classes and give me specific feedback and advice on how to improve. That advice was invaluable!

Resources for new immigrant teachers are not systematically put in place and offered or supervised by school principals, however. According to the interviews we conducted, it appeared that, on the contrary, if initiatives were put in place, most of the time they were not very structured or completely unstructured.

Just because we graduated from university doesn't mean we're completely operational. The difference is that when Canadians graduate, they're supported. Naturally, because it's their environment. Us, we don't know anyone.

I had to find the documentation on my own. After I asked and asked my colleagues, they found some documents to give me. But I had a hard time getting teaching support. I would have liked the principal to show me: here's the material you have to teach with.

I needed coaching. If I put myself back in the situation I was in at the time. If I had had someone next to me for 3-6 months, it would have helped me a lot. I was just tossed in... The environment was a challenge as well as the adaptations within the class: routines, where to start, how to do it...

I am a great believer in on-the-job support and coaching. I'm going to talk about mentoring. Could we raise awareness among the principals...to prepare them to provide coaching?

It has been established that coaching and mentoring measures, when implemented in schools, reduce stress and feelings of professional isolation, particularly among immigrant teachers. When such measures are not present, immigrant teachers appear to develop greater anxiety (Morrisette et al., 2014) and feel that implementing them is necessary and even indispensable. Such measures also seem more important for new immigrant teachers who, for example, may be less skillful or more timid about seeking support (Gagnon and Duchesne, 2018) and who may have more difficulty applying what they learned during their training.

Beyond the onboarding and support measures, it may seem obvious that school principals benefit from adopting an exemplary inclusive attitude and establishing an environment that fosters communication. For example, the literature emphasizes the need for principals to be available to new employees, thereby encouraging the development of good communication practices (Morrisette et al., 2014). The interviews reveal, however, that this type of good practice also requires proactive measures on the part of principals to encourage a mix of teachers from all backgrounds within the school.

We need to develop a culture of tolerance. That has to be acknowledged. We have to show that it is not okay. If the principal doesn't have a problem with it, it's not going to change. If you don't defuse it, it's going to explode.

In all the boards, I stopped going to the staff lounge. Because when you hear a colleague say that he doesn't understand why they're bringing in occasional teachers because they're all very stupid and unable to follow the program that's been left for them...

Everyone noticed his behaviour (the principal's behaviour) toward me. Yes, it's obvious. But it's the principal, so, well... It was the first time I felt discriminated against.

Such proactive measures require, for example, attention to gender relations, which may be perceived differently in other cultures (Gagnon and Duchesne, 2018). Some individuals pointed out how important it is for principals and colleagues to be sensitive to the different perspectives on gender relations.

Men who have just arrived sometimes act differently. We have to help them break away from those behaviours, get them to accept that there are more women than men in the schools and that women are not inferior to men.

Consequently, thought should be given to the principals' responsibility to support new immigrant teachers in order to review the training provided to school principals and the way they are made aware of these issues. In addition to training and awareness, people in positions of responsibility say that the problem with thinking strategically about onboarding and integration also relates to a lack of resources and time.

We could reduce the administrative burden on principals. The more training the principals get, the more time they find to go into the classroom. That leads to inclusion. Training is probably more valuable in the long run than resources.

If I had the money, I'd like there to be more support.

You still have to be flexible. When you see what's at stake. You meet with the person. We'll say you can observe another teacher and here are our expectations of the school.

Importance of diversity in positions of responsibility

Another factor that was highlighted in the interviews with teachers and stakeholders and that may compensate for the lack of measures in some environments is the presence of people from diverse backgrounds serving as principals and on school boards. As mentioned earlier with regard to the importance of immigrant students being able to benefit from having a teacher from abroad, it seems equally important for teacher integration that cultural diversity be reflected in administrative positions (Jabouin, 2018; Gravelle and Duchesne, 2018). This strategic approach helps reduce the prejudice, discrimination and ignorance of individuals who have influence over the school's employees.

9.5 Building diversity in school boards

First, it is worth noting that French-language school boards should work to promote and develop the French language and culture by collaborating with communities and providing quality education that meets the needs of their populations. Since school boards are generally responsible for the hiring process, it goes without saying that many of the issues mentioned above apply to their processes and approaches.

More generally, it is important to specify here that the school boards we contacted had no specific strategies for diversifying school or school board staff or even for supporting schools in the integration of immigrant teachers. Although all school boards are concerned about diversity in their schools, when diversity is the specific responsibility of a school board employee, it primarily applies to children and, sometimes, their families. Diversity among human resources is not a specific responsibility.

Moreover, as in other areas of employment, positions of responsibility are more likely to be held by men who are not members of visible minorities, especially in Ontario. Given the significant diversification in classrooms, some interviewees expressed concern that the issue of ethnocultural diversity still has little resonance in school board strategies, particularly in terms of human resources.

What are the school boards doing? Are there people from minority groups and women in junior positions who will one day be in a top position?

But to have someone on the Board supporting immigration and for that person to be an immigrant... Immigrant teachers need support.

There are measures but not enough. We have [number] educational counsellors for our [number] schools. And our schools are hundreds of kilometres apart. There is a mentoring system. But I don't think it works.

British Columbia: We need more training resources, more mentoring. And there is also a need for housing: some school boards offer subsidized housing because the main problem is the cost. Especially for families, it's very difficult. People regularly go back east because it's less expensive.

10. Conclusion

An analysis of the 35 interviews conducted with French-speaking immigrants studying or working in the field of education in Nova Scotia, Ontario and British Columbia revealed a journey fraught with obstacles but also marked by pride in being able to enter the teaching profession in Canada. For many of the interviewees, the teaching profession was a legitimate way to leverage expertise and qualifications from a variety of fields, and more and more people are choosing the teaching profession, especially in Ontario. Despite the complexity of the PLAR process and some inequities, such as when the required documentation is difficult or impossible to obtain, the interviewees were relatively confident from the outset about their chances of obtaining their teaching certificate. However, there seemed to be more red tape in British Columbia. Going to university to earn the equivalent of a Bachelor of Education was a relatively positive step, except with regard to practicums, which are more affected by various issues related to the appropriation of the behaviours and methods of the Canadian school system and the onboarding and supervision provided to teacher candidates.

Although the job market is favourable to the hiring of Francophone teachers outside Quebec, many still feel that it is more difficult for immigrants to obtain permanent positions, particularly in Ontario. Once in the schools, immigrant teachers found that they rarely received support to help them adopt their new professional culture, such as mentoring tailored specifically to immigrants. It was also acknowledged that principals generally played a positive role, particularly in Nova Scotia, but that they could be more proactive, such as by creating an atmosphere promoting openness among school staff. The French-language school boards surveyed for the purposes of this study still appeared to have little capacity to implement diversity management strategies in their schools and among their staff.

Several examples mentioned by the interviewees or gleaned from the literature have helped identify measures and programs that would facilitate the career progression of immigrants who wish to enter the teaching profession. While the foregoing analyses contain many courses of action that could be employed by French-language schools, school boards, faculties of education and other stakeholders, the following recommendations pertain more to IRCC.

11. Recommendations

1. Explore opportunities to implement incentives to encourage entry into the teaching profession.

The shortage of teachers in French-language schools in FMCs—and in immersion programs—highlights the need to develop ways to not only smooth the career paths of future immigrant teachers but also encourage access to the teaching profession. Given the value of education in building a society, the increased presence of French-speaking immigrants in regular teaching and school management positions could help strengthen the vitality of FMCs and encourage the inclusion of immigrants within these communities. Some practices could be systematized, such as international recruitment strategies and scholarships specifically for immigrants. IRCC could explore the possibility of discussions with French-language school boards and the Department of Canadian Heritage to identify strategies to encourage access to the teaching profession. In all these situations, it is important to align the incentives with the support models suggested in the next recommendation.

2. Evaluate the possibility of supporting French-language faculties of education in FMCs to improve support and resources for the immigrant student population.

The data from interviews with French-speaking immigrant teachers and the literature in their regard suggest that it would be beneficial to put a variety of measures into place in the training and practicums to help them adopt the professional culture and acquire the knowledge and soft and hard skills required to work in Canada's provincial and territorial school systems. This study also points out that the content taught could be improved so as to better align diversity and identity building issues. The expertise of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada in immigrant inclusion in FMCs could be used to initiate a discussion with faculties of education and possibly other stakeholders, such as the Coopérative Enseignants Pas À Pas in Ontario or school boards, on the measures to implement to facilitate the professionalization and inclusion process of future immigrant teachers. Three avenues of improvement could be addressed.

First, a range of resources could be developed, beginning with mandatory workshops, virtual resources and access to mentors. In practicums, support could be provided for the systematic sharing of knowledge about the way schools function, the development of the cultural competencies of everyone involved in the school and mandatory interviews between the teacher candidate, the practicum supervisor and the mentor teacher.

The content taught could also be revised, particularly the concepts of inclusion, identity building and cultural pedagogy. People involved in the teachers' and students' appropriation of identity building point to a need to thoroughly rethink the ways that Franco-Canadian histories, the promotion of Canadian and international Francophone cultures, the recognition of existing power dynamics and the collective construction of a shared Francophone identity and community are interconnected. Immigrant teachers should be more involved in this type of discussion, to generate output that can be used to provide teachers in French-language schools with diversity tools, starting in entry-level training and in professional learning communities. The pilot project under way with the Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française, the Association des collèges et universités de la francophonie canadienne and the Canadian Teachers' Federation, which aims to develop information workshops on identity-building resources and offer them to students in three faculties of education (University of Moncton, Laurentian University and University of Regina), could serve as a fulcrum for the implementation of such measures.

Finally, thought could be given to ways of optimizing the training of school principals so that they contribute more directly to creating environments that promote ethnocultural inclusion in the schools. A discussion involving faculties of education, school principals and teachers could be initiated to drive change and establish a consistent approach in FMCs. A review of best practices in diversity training for principals could provide input for such an approach.

3. Foster collaboration between immigrant employment services and faculties of education to optimize employment services' guidance toward the teaching profession.

Establishing a dialogue between immigrant employment services and the faculties of education in post-secondary institutions in FMCs could help develop professional integration pathways for future teachers, with steps that are specific and easily accessible in French. This kind of collaboration would help to develop both the capacities of employment service staff and the tools and resources available to facilitate the professional integration of immigrants. The profile of the teaching profession could also be promoted to immigrants.

4. Consider initiating a dialogue, such as with the Department of Canadian Heritage, to identify and disseminate best practices in mentoring programs for the onboarding and integration of immigrant teachers.

Mentoring new teachers is seen as beneficial in the literature, and the findings of this study support this view. However, mentoring remains poorly supervised and is not systematic. Mentors do not necessarily take mentor training and employers leave little time for mentors to perform mentoring tasks. While mentoring is a more formal practice in Ontario thanks to the New Teacher Induction program, it is often more informal elsewhere, and mentoring tailored to immigrant staff (e.g. triad mentoring with an immigrant teacher and a Canadian-born teacher) that provides explicit support for cultural diversity is not provided anywhere at this time. Resources and procedures could be developed to identify best mentoring practices and guide all French-language school boards in their implementation so that they can contribute more directly to the professional integration of immigrant teachers.

Since the issue of culturally differentiated gender representations was raised as an issue for some people in this study and in the study of Gagnon and Duchesne (2018), it would be appropriate to ensure that the knowledge developed for mentoring relationships includes cultural mechanisms related to gender representations and how to address them dynamically.

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Appendix A: Interview guide for immigrant teachers or students

Employment integration and job retention

Objectives: To understand the context of the job held in education at the time of the interview. To understand the employment integration pathway for the position. To understand the effect of the Francophone immigrant experience—and, to a lesser extent, the experience of visible minorities and women—on the employment situation.

1. Tell us a little bit about your current position.
2. How long have you been in this position?
3. What qualifications were required for the position you currently hold? Do you feel that you have all the skills required for this position? Please explain.
4. If applicable, can you explain your onboarding process?
5. If applicable, can you explain the obstacles you had to overcome during the first few days at work that could be related to the fact that you are an immigrant and/or Francophone and/or a woman?
6. How would you characterize the work atmosphere or environment as it relates to immigrants and visible minorities?
 - How would you describe your relationship with your colleagues?
 - How would you describe your relationship with your supervisors?
7. As an immigrant/visible minority/Francophone, did you feel that you had to “adapt” to your work environment? For example, in terms of terminology? Communication with the children? Your colleagues? etc. Please explain.
 - Can you think of any initiatives where your colleagues/supervisors/school helped you adapt? Please explain.
8. Overall, is your employer committed to cross-cultural awareness, diversity, etc.? Please explain. (Try to determine whether—and how—diversity in the classroom is differentiated from diversity among colleagues.)
9. Since you have been working, have you had to overcome any barriers that you feel were caused by a lack of cultural sensitivity? Or by the fact that you are Francophone?
10. Generally speaking, as a French-speaking immigrant, how could your work experience or your job integration experience have been made easier? Do you have any suggestions for improvements?

Job search

Objectives: To understand the different job search experiences, the resources used, the facilitators and barriers encountered. To understand how the experience of French-speaking immigrants—and, to a lesser extent, the experience of visible minorities and women—affects the job search experience.

11. Tell me a little bit about how you went about finding your current job.
 - Was it easy to find this job?
 - How has being a French-speaking immigrant made it harder or easier to find work?
12. What were your biggest challenges in finding a job?
13. If applicable, how was this job search different from your initial job search experiences when you first arrived in Canada?
 - What networks did you use?
 - What resources (e.g. websites, organizations, applications) did you use?
 - What training have you taken: EN/FR language training, CV development, interview preparation, labour standards workshops, networking experiences, etc.?
 - Was this training offered in French? Why did you choose one type of training over another?
 - Was the training accessible? Useful?
 - How could it have been improved?
 - Did you encounter any barriers?
14. Can you think of other resources that could have been useful in your job search?
15. Do you feel that your English language skills were (or have been) an issue for you in finding or integrating into a new job? Please explain.

Training

Objectives: To understand the background relating to post-secondary education and credentials obtained, if applicable, in Canada and abroad. To identify facilitators for training experiences in Canada and related issues. To understand how the experience of French-speaking immigrants—and, to a lesser extent, the experience of visible minorities and women—affects the training experience in Canada.

16. Can you tell me the post-secondary degrees you obtained, in chronological order? For each diploma or degree earned, please specify: field of study, level of study, location, year, language of study.
17. How have these diplomas and training been helpful in your job search in Canada?
18. Please state whether your career plans have changed due to Canadian labour market requirements.

For foreign-trained teachers:

19. How many years of experience did you have in your profession before coming to Canada?
20. Have you attempted to have your degrees or credentials recognized in Canada?

21. If so, can you please tell me about your experience in having your prior learning recognized? Courses taken, costs, exams, resource people who guided and informed you, etc.
- Did you have to take bridge training? If so, how would you describe this experience?
 - Did you have to write an exam? If so, how was the experience? Do you feel you were well prepared?
 - What were the biggest challenges and obstacles?
 - What helped the most?
 - Did you have to do any practicums during your training?
22. Please state whether the costs associated with the training you did in Canada seemed appropriate. Or did they pose a challenge?

For international students:

23. (If applicable) Were you already planning to immigrate to Canada when you began your studies?
24. What resources (e.g. readings, programs, organizations, consultants) did you make use of when you began your immigration process?
- Were these resources easy to find?
 - Are there any other resources you feel would have been useful?
25. Do you think you could have been more effectively supported in your training? Or in your plans to immigrate? How?
26. Did you encounter any particular challenges because you were an international student (e.g. application processing time, understanding of procedures)? If so, can you explain the nature of these challenges?

Practicums

Objectives: To understand the Canadian education practicum experience. To understand how the experience of French-speaking immigrants—and, to a lesser extent, the experience of visible minorities and women—particularly affects the practicum experience in Canada.

27. Can you tell us about your practicum experience(s)?
28. Were there any initiatives, organizations or individuals that made your practicum experience easier? Please explain.
29. How did the fact that you are a Francophone with a different accent or vocabulary make your practicum experience easier or more challenging?
30. How did being an immigrant make your practicum experience easier or more challenging?
- Did you notice any cultural sensitivity among the practicum coordinators or in your practicum environment? What effect did the presence or absence of cultural sensitivity have on your practicum experience?
31. Did the practicum experience lead to any particular financial challenges?
32. In hindsight, can you think of tools, methods or coaching that would have improved your practicum experience?

Migration plan

Objectives: To understand the migration pathway before and after arrival in Canada. To understand the facilitators and barriers along this path.

33. Under what circumstances did you begin your settlement process in Canada?
 - What country were you born in?
 - Did you live in other countries before coming to Canada?
 - What motivated you to come to Canada?
 - How did you hear about Canada's immigration policies?
 - In hindsight, do you think you had all the information you needed to make an informed decision about your migration plan?
 - What diplomas? What refresher training? What are the job market conditions? What are the costs?
34. Did you arrive in Canada as a permanent or temporary resident?
 - If permanent resident: Was it through economic immigration, family reunification or as a refugee?
 - If temporary resident: Were you a worker, student or visitor?
35. What activities did you do on arrival in Canada that were most helpful for entering the labour market?
 - What other activities might have been useful on your arrival in Canada?
36. For foreign-trained professionals:
 - Were the language levels required to have your credentials and diplomas recognized problematic? In English? In French?
 - Did you know what to do to get your credentials and diplomas recognized?
 - Are there any resources that could have made the recognition of your credentials and diplomas easier?
37. Once settled in Canada, did you live in any provinces or territories other than the one where you are currently living?
 - If so, what made you change provinces or territories?

Appendix B: Tables

Table 2: Information about French-language schools in the provinces studied

Province	Nova Scotia	Ontario	British Columbia
Number of French-language school boards	1	12	1
Total schools	22	455	37
Total pupils	5,274	103,492	5,691
Kindergarten	543	8,314	629
Elementary	2,823	66,263	3,494
Junior high school	751	13,439	769
High school	1,159	23,770	799
Teaching staff	488	7,953	432

The statistics in this table were provided by the ministries of education of the provinces concerned: 2016–2017 school year (British Columbia, Nova Scotia); 2015–2016 school year (Ontario (except for teaching staff, 2014–2015)).

Source: ACELF. (2019). *Voyage en francophonie canadienne. Écoles francophones au Canada*.

Table 3: Comparative table of steps in the Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) for foreign-trained teachers (2019)

Steps	British Columbia	Ontario	Nova Scotia
Language for filing documents and for communication	English	English or French	English
Listed time for file assessment process	3 months	4 months	3 months
Fee for assessing the file of a foreign-trained individual	\$395	\$512	\$106.15
Minimum requirements for obtaining accreditation			
Have obtained a university degree from a recognized academic institution	4 years / 120 credits	3 years	90 credits
Have successfully completed a professional training program in education	Yes	4 semesters	60 credits including 15 weeks of practicum
Documents required			
Registration form	Yes	Yes	Yes
Proof of identity (e.g. birth certificate, passport)	Notarized copy of birth certificate and passport	Photocopy	Photocopy
Proof of name change (if applicable)	Yes	Yes	No
Marriage and divorce certificate (if applicable)	Yes	No	No
Personal declaration of professional conduct and explanation, if required (include an explanation if the answer to any of the questions in the declaration is "yes")	No	Yes	No
Criminal record check report	Yes	Yes	Yes
Teaching certificate (from the official educational authorities in the jurisdictions where the training was received and where the person worked as a certified teacher)	Official document	Photocopy (include teaching certificate if available)	Photocopy
Proof of French language proficiency (e.g. French-language education) (where the proof is not accepted, the person is required to write a French language proficiency test)	Yes Not required for countries where French is an official language	Yes Not required for 15 Francophone countries	No
Official transcript issued by the university	Yes	Yes	Yes
Official transcript (with seal, sealed and sent directly to the organization) from the education program (e.g. dates, grades, credits earned)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Statements of professional standing	No	Yes	Yes
Proof of professional teaching experience (if applicable)	Yes	No	Yes
Two letters of reference	Yes	No	No
Organization responsible for determining the salary grade	Teacher Qualification Service	Qualifications Evaluation Council of Ontario	None
Pay scale for teachers in French-language schools as of May 1, 2019	\$46,898 to \$89,287 Varies by school board	\$39,803 to \$99,944 Eastern and Northern Ontario school boards	\$48,101 to \$94,607 Same scale for entire province

Table 4: Data on Francophone immigration–total labour force

	Francophone immigrant population	Francophone population	Francophone immigrant population in immigrant population	Francophone population in total population	Francophone immigrant population in Francophone population	Immigrant population in total population
Canada minus Que.	119,298	885,198	1.9%	4.0%	13.5%	27.9%
N.L.	300	2,058	2.8%	0.5%	14.6%	2.5%
P.E.I.	190	4,153	2.4%	3.5%	4.6%	6.8%
N.S.	1,423	26,283	2.7%	3.4%	5.4%	6.7%
N.B.	4,095	202,378	13.4%	32.6%	2.0%	4.9%
Ont.	76,940	471,413	2.1%	4.3%	16.3%	33.6%
Man.	3,540	35,238	1.7%	3.5%	10.0%	20.5%
Sask.	1,573	12,708	1.6%	1.5%	12.4%	11.4%
Alta.	15,875	69,768	2.0%	2.2%	22.8%	24.4%
B.C.	15,065	58,268	1.2%	1.5%	25.9%	32.2%
Territories	295	2,943	3.5%	3.5%	10.0%	9.9%
Halifax	928	8,975	2.7%	2.7%	10.3%	10.1%
Ottawa – Ont. portion	24,005	144,528	11.5%	17.9%	16.6%	25.8%
Greater Sudbury	508	36,108	5.6%	26.5%	1.4%	6.6%
Vancouver	10,995	29,160	1.2%	1.4%	37.7%	46.1%

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Table 5: Labour force in the teaching sector (Category 403)

	Francophone immigrant population	Francophone population	Francophone immigrant population in immigrant population	Francophone population in total population	Francophone immigrant population in Francophone population	Immigrant population in total population
Canada minus Que.	4,383	26,545	7.9%	6.8%	16.5%	14.3%
N.L.	n/a	65	13.8%	0.9%	n/a	2.0%
P.E.I.	n/a	200	15.0%	8.9%	n/a	4.5%
N.S.	48	815	7.5%	6.5%	5.8%	5.1%
N.B.	63	3,558	21.6%	36.0%	1.8%	2.9%
Ont.	3,215	15,708	8.6%	7.5%	20.5%	17.7%
Man.	130	1,443	7.5%	7.1%	9.0%	8.5%
Sask.	63	563	9.9%	3.3%	11.1%	3.7%
Alta.	435	2,225	8.1%	4.4%	19.6%	10.5%
B.C.	388	1,793	4.2%	3.2%	21.6%	16.7%
Territories	n/a	190	13.8%	7.9%	n/a	6.0%
Halifax	25	300	6.0%	5.6%	8.3%	7.7%
Ottawa – Ont. portion	745	4,043	28.7%	25.1%	18.4%	16.1%
Greater Sudbury	n/a	1,093	10.5%	41.2%	n/a	3.6%
Vancouver	235	833	3.6%	2.8%	28.2%	22.4%

Statistics Canada (2019). Data Tables, 2016 Census. Product no. 1b_j4069646

Table 6: Female labour force in the teaching sector (Category 403)

	Non-immigrant women	Immigrant women	Francophone immigrant women	Non-immigrant women in non-immigrant population	Immigrant women in immigrant population	Francophone immigrant women in Francophone immigrant population
Canada minus Que.	248,395	41,460	2,960	75.0%	74.7%	67.5%
N.L.	5,460	125	n/a	77.7%	86.2%	n/a
P.E.I.	1,615	75	n/a	75.6%	75.0%	n/a
N.S.	8,895	470	38	75.1%	74.0%	78.9%
N.B.	7,360	205	45	76.9%	70.7%	72.0%
Ont.	128,930	28,160	2,198	75.0%	75.7%	68.4%
Man.	13,455	1,175	55	72.5%	67.7%	42.3%
Sask.	12,645	405	23	76.4%	64.3%	36.0%
Alta.	34,475	3,975	283	76.3%	74.4%	64.9%
B.C.	33,945	6,785	293	73.8%	73.1%	75.5%
Territories	1,605	85	n/a	71.3%	58.6%	n/a
Halifax	3,850	305	n/a	77.6%	73.5%	n/a
Ottawa – Ont. portion	10,240	1,925	540	76.3%	74.2%	72.5%
Greater Sudbury	1,945	65	n/a	76.1%	68.4%	n/a
Vancouver	16,765	4,855	178	74.6%	73.7%	75.5%

Statistics Canada (2019). Data Tables, 2016 Census. Product no. 1b_j4069646

Table 7: Main birthplaces of the immigrant labour force

	Americas		Europe		Africa		Asia	
	Total	Francophone	Total	Francophone	Total	Francophone	Total	Francophone
Canada minus Que.	14.6%	16.9%	23.8%	29.0%	6.6%	38.3%	54.0%	15.6%
N.L.	19.3%	9.5%	32.3%	48.4%	11.0%	35.8%	36.8%	2.1%
P.E.I.	19.8%	22.2%	33.9%	46.7%	4.2%	18.5%	41.8%	17.0%
N.S.	20.1%	18.2%	36.8%	40.7%	7.4%	23.8%	34.6%	16.3%
N.B.	30.9%	42.6%	31.2%	23.4%	8.4%	26.8%	28.6%	6.9%
Ont.	16.9%	17.6%	25.5%	26.6%	6.3%	38.8%	51.0%	16.9%
Man.	14.7%	7.5%	21.6%	29.5%	7.7%	56.9%	55.7%	6.3%
Sask.	9.9%	7.3%	19.4%	21.7%	8.8%	55.9%	61.2%	15.4%
Alta.	12.5%	15.8%	20.5%	21.7%	11.0%	50.8%	54.7%	11.5%
B.C.	9.3%	10.7%	21.3%	50.8%	3.7%	19.4%	63.1%	18.5%
Territories	13.7%	8.0%	28.8%	39.0%	10.5%	32.0%	45.5%	25.0%
Halifax	16.3%	15.5%	31.6%	37.1%	9.1%	25.4%	42.1%	19.3%
Ottawa – Ont. portion	16.4%	27.7%	23.9%	16.4%	14.2%	40.6%	45.0%	15.2%
Greater Sudbury	17.0%	11.5%	42.1%	26.7%	8.3%	54.2%	31.7%	7.6%
Vancouver	7.3%	10.9%	16.2%	45.7%	3.5%	21.1%	70.4%	21.7%

Statistics Canada (2017). Data table, 2016 Census, product no. 98-400-X2016086