Official Languages and Immigration:

Obstacles and Opportunities for Immigrants and Communities

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Names of individual immigrants were changed to protect their privacy.

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Foreword

Every year, between 200,000 and 250,000 people are making Canada their new home every year. This constant influx of immigrants is of great value. It helps the country to prosper economically and maintain its demographic stability. It should also reinforce the social and linguistic fabric according to its core values. Unfortunately, this is not always the case: the specific focus of this study are communities where an official language is spoken in a minority context and where there are currently too few immigrants compared with the national average. At present, this shortfall of immigrants is a major concern for Francophone minority communities. In these communities the proportion of immigrants is less than one quarter of the proportion within English-speaking communities.

But looking at immigration only in terms of numbers is like seeing the world as it appears from an airplane. You get a great overview but can make out very little detail. The overview approach is necessary and useful but it often fails to give us a taste of what life on the ground is really like. Immigration means thousands of families from all over the world setting foot in Canada, often for the first time, and having to contend with the challenges that a largely unfamiliar environment presents to them. It means thousands of people having to find new homes, schools, jobs, places of worship and medical care. And many of them will also have to contend with a new linguistic environment.

This study touches on the policies and demographics of immigration but is mostly focused on the stories behind the immigration experience. While it gives broad statistical overviews and reviews recent changes to immigration legislation, it is mainly concerned with the lived experiences of new immigrants and the communities into which they settle. The author conducted close to 60 in-depth interviews with immigrants, community members as well as community leaders and government representatives.[1] Some of these interviews only took an hour but many lasted considerably longer. A planned short meeting with one member of an immigrant family can easily turn into an entire evening with additional family members providing their perspective. Such an ethnographic approach provides a researcher with more than just information. It is an occasion to empathize with an immigrant's journey to and then in Canada, while maintaining a critical distance.

What emerges is a composite picture of immigrant and community experiences. Across some differences occasioned by region and type of community a clear pattern evolved of the major challenges faced by

1 In-depth interviews were conducted in New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia. This selective approach reflected the desire to include Canada's major regions but was obviously constrained by the resources available. The report is also not an exhaustive overview of all services available to immigrants but highlights some examples of promising initiatives. The general tendencies outlined and observations made in this study are, however, of importance to most official language minority communities.

most immigrants as they settle into an official language minority community. Additional information from government sources and community organizations confirmed that the settlement phases and dimensions that are profiled in this study capture the path of many immigrants across the country.

The study addresses itself to three different audiences for two main purposes:

- *Immigrants,* who will see their own struggles reflected in the personal stories showcased here.
- *Official language minority communities,* who should be able to better appreciate the challenges and opportunities that immigration presents to their communities' future.
- *Government representatives,* who will gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of immigration within official language minority communities.

The dual purpose of this study is to produce an enhanced awareness and sensitivity to immigrant realities in minority communities while providing concrete proposals as to what governments and communities should do to attract and retain more immigrants. A clear understanding of immigrant realities, it is hoped, will produce the kind of personal commitment and institutional mobilization that is needed to ensure that immigrants and communities become new partners. If dialogue and cooperation prevail and each other's sensitivities are well-understood, immigrants, communities and Canadians in general will be able to accomplish the objective which is common to all of us: strong and vibrant communities whose diverse membership is united in its commitment to giving daily and vocal expression to Canada's linguistic duality.

Chapter 1:

Immigrants Urgently Needed

The first chapter addresses four, mainly demographic, issues related to immigration and official language minority communities.

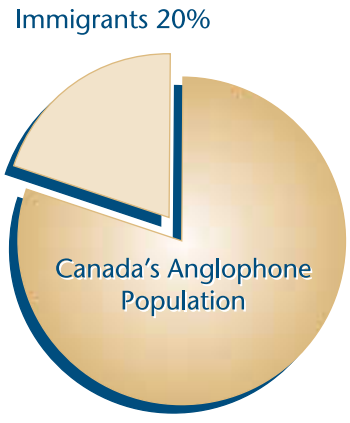
- It discusses the demographic gap that has developed between Francophone and Anglophone communities in terms of their "immigrant-richness."
- It focuses on the origins and linguistic attributes of immigrants presently settling into these communities.
- It offers an overview of measures that have already been taken in order to increase the number of immigrants.
- It specifies how many immigrants are needed to join these communities in the future in order to close the existing demographic gap.

Examining these issues will allow us to situate the specific experiences of immigrants and the institutional approaches to immigrant integration, which are the focus of subsequent chapters, within the broader confines of Canada's immigration policy and its policy towards official language minority communities.

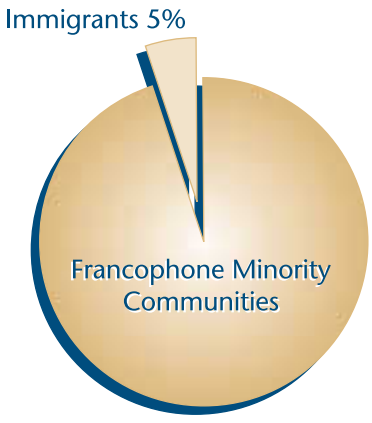
A Wide Demographic Gap: Immigrants in Francophone Minority Communities

Looking at Canada through the eyes of a new immigrant yields images of high expectations, dashed hopes, eventual adjustment but seldom regret. Some 13,000 of the 250,000 immigrants who arrived in Canada in 2001 were in a rather special position: they were English-speaking newcomers heading to the province of Quebec or French-speaking newcomers settling in other Canadian provinces. An English-speaking civil engineer from India may, for

Immigrants Within Canada's Anglophone Population



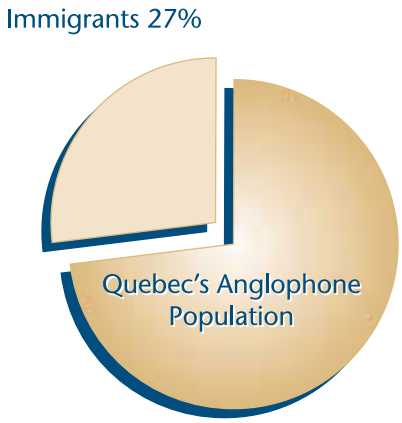
Immigrants Among Francophone Minority Communities



(Source: 1996 Census of Canada)

Immigrants Within Quebec's Francophone Population

Immigrants Among Quebec's Anglophone Population



(Source: 1996 Census of Canada)

example, move to Quebec as part of a company transfer, while a Francophone technician from Morocco decides to settle in Manitoba. The difference between the two: the Indian engineer who moves to Quebec can call on an Anglophone minority that has a well-established tradition of integrating immigrants. Quebec's Anglophone society is immigrant-rich. More than one in four Anglophones in Quebec were born outside of Canada. The Moroccan immigrant, on the other hand, will face a minority community that has not yet had much experience with the integration of immigrants.

Francophone minority communities are failing to attract the number of immigrants that correspond to their own weight: close to one million Francophones live outside of Quebec but only 44,000 of them are immigrants. Not even one in twenty minority Francophones is, in fact, an immigrant. There should be four times as many if we take the proportion of immigrants among Canada's Anglophone population as a guideline. Minority Anglophones in Quebec, on the other hand, have been a host community to immigrants for a long time. In fact, the proportion of immigrants in the Anglophone community far exceeds that within the Francophone majority of the province.

Immigrants, governments and communities are the three key players who co-determine the success of immigration into official language communities. Especially for minority Francophone communities, diversity is a new phenomenon. In the past, these communities have maintained themselves mostly by relying on their own close-knit networks and, in certain areas, by the arrival of Quebecers, who are of similar origin as themselves. Suddenly, they are confronted with immigrants who

share the French language with them but come from very different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

By engaging with the stories of these immigrants, both the communities and government representatives will better understand the aspirations of immigrants and the barriers that they often face. Some testimonies by immigrants are filled with disappointment and dissatisfaction at the inability of the official language minority community to accept them. But it can also be the community that experiences frustration when an immigrant family that they have assisted and hoped would reinforce the local community decides to move away or slowly integrates within the majority community.

The reader, whether a government representative, an active member of an official language minority community or a newcomer to Canada, will gain an appreciation that immigration into minority communities involves two parties who are in a sensitive position: the community, by virtue of its minority status and the newcomers, by virtue of their starting a new life in an unfamiliar environment. Immigration is never an easy journey but it is a highly worthwhile one.

We participate in the Francophone struggle but when it comes to sharing the fruits of that struggle, there is no room for us. You feel like "une mouche dans un verre de lait" (a fly in a glass of milk).

(East-African immigrant)

Essential Ingredients for Immigrant Success: Tenacity, Networking and Flexibility

Ahmed Shabani came from Eastern Africa to Canada in 1994. Asked about his experiences since immigrating to Canada, he laughs and wants to know how much time we have to hear his very own Canadian odyssey.

Ahmed makes it clear that his family was not forced to leave their country. Both he and his wife held good jobs. They are university-trained and Ahmed holds a Master's degree in biology from a university in France. The most difficult year in Canada, Ahmed explains, was definitely the first one. The savings he and his wife had put aside to see them through the initial adaptation period vanished far more quickly than they had anticipated. "Getting an entire family dressed up for the Canadian winter is no small expense," Ahmed says. While their savings dwindled, all attempts to find work came to little or nothing. Both were determined, however, not to allow frustration to set in and reassessed their situation. If it should turn out to be impossible to find work in their own profession, they could either wait and keep trying or they could resign themselves to accepting a position for which they were overqualified but which would, they hoped, at least provide an entry into the Canadian job market. Thus, they started to work in a local literacy centre. Outside work, both became active in local Francophone activities and Ahmed's wife was elected to sit on the board of the local Francophone college.

About a year later, funding for the literacy centre was cut and both faced unemployment. At that point their volunteer involvement and networking within Francophone institutions turned out to be important. Ahmed's wife became aware of teaching positions that were opening up inside her college. Her status as a board member, however, prevented her from being employed. With a family to support, it did not take her long to decide. She resigned from the board and was able to apply for a teaching position, which, given her credentials, she was able to secure easily.

Ahmed kept trying to find work as a biologist but soon realized that the Master's degree he had earned in France was not readily accepted and that employers were looking for professional experience in Canada, a prerequisite that hardly any new immigrant is able to fulfil. "I enrolled at university to get a second degree in biotechnology. I am passionate about science, but at the end of the first year of this two-year program, I had little choice but to give it up because there was just not enough money to take care of my studies and my family." Ahmed again reassessed his options. Four years after arriving in Canada, he put his hopes of working as a scientist aside and took advantage of a government subsidized program that paid 50% of the course fees to become a computer administrator.

His first assignment after completing the course took him to Prince Edward Island's Evangeline region where a Francophone community institution was looking for someone to carry out a feasibility study on linking their various sites in a computer network. Had it not been for his networking within the Francophone community, Ahmed would probably never have heard of this position. His active involvement within the Francophone community had paid off. With a few years of work experience under his belt now, Ahmed is confident about the future. When the family moved to Toronto recently because his wife accepted a new position, he had no trouble finding work as a network administrator. Says Ahmed: "There is a shortage of Francophone personnel in Toronto. So, for someone who has much-needed qualifications like computing skills and who knows French, it's not hard to find work."

Ahmed's very own Canadian odyssey has not left him stranded. He and his wife have achieved the kind of success most immigrants hope for. They are both gainfully employed, have a social network that includes members of their own ethnic and linguistic community and beyond, and their children are doing very well at the public French school they attend. "It's not at all unusual for us to deal with a number of different languages. We speak an African language and French at home, and English with those around us. I think Africans have a more functional relationship with languages." Ahmed explains that he is not afraid of assimilation as he believes that different

languages, serving different purposes in one's life, cannot only exist alongside each other in the present but that they can continue to coexist, as many languages have in Africa, across generations.

Many African newcomers fail to achieve the level of comfort and well-being that Ahmed and his family have reached. "To know French in Ontario is a definite advantage but English is still essential and many Francophones don't realize this until much too late," Ahmed explains. The second obstacle is the difficulty in having one's skills and education recognized. Many immigrants feel let down by an immigration system that selects them on the basis of points awarded for their education when that very same education is then not recognized by private employers or even the government itself. The most pernicious hurdle, however, is what is called Canadian experience. Many immigrants feel they cannot work without Canadian work experience and without work they are unable to obtain such experience. As Ahmed's story shows, the only way out of this conundrum is to accept jobs well below one's level of qualification. But many refuse to accept this initially and become isolated, which further aggravates their situation. "The result is that Francophone immigrants become increasingly resigned here in Canada," Ahmed feels. He believes that three messages should be communicated to newcomers: they must learn English, they must try and have their credentials and professional experience validated and, above all, they must not isolate themselves but make contacts with as many people as they possibly can. Arriving in Canada, Ahmed concludes, is only a first step and often turns out not to have been the most difficult one. ■

New Source Countries: Who Counts as a Francophone?

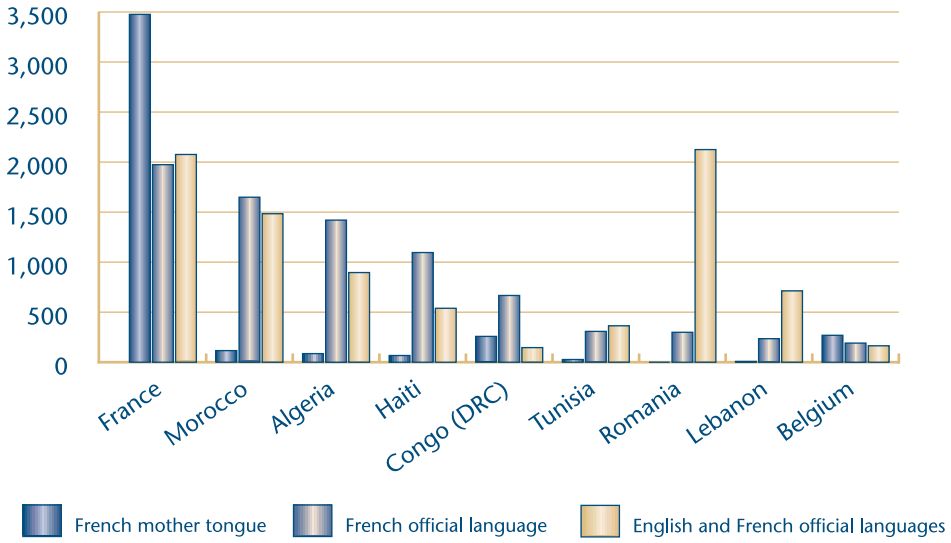
The number of Francophones or Anglophones in Canada has traditionally been determined on the basis of a person's mother tongue. For a growing number of newcomers to Canada, however, this is problematic. Many Francophone immigrants have grown up speaking languages such as Arabic, Creole, Lingala, Somali or Tshiluba but were educated in and have worked most of their lives in French. Most of these immigrants do, in fact, consider themselves to be Francophones. The definition of a Francophone that is based solely on a person's mother tongue clearly does not capture today's complex linguistic realities.

A more accurate understanding of the number of Francophones can be obtained by considering the official languages spoken by immigrants. Someone whose mother tongue is Arabic but who speaks French at home would therefore still be counted as Francophone.

Official Language Knowledge: a more inclusive measure of language background than mother tongue.

Table 1 shows that the number of Francophones from African and Caribbean countries would be severely underestimated if we only considered the mother tongue of immigrants. In the case of Morocco, Algeria and Haiti, for example, there are very few people who speak French as their mother tongue but many who know French or even both official languages.

Table 1: Francophone Immigrants by Mother Tongue and Knowledge of Official Languages (2001)



(Source: Canada 2002a)

Francophone by Choice: An Immigrant in B.C.

"Nous tous un soleil" (One and all) is a small theatre group in Vancouver. The group acts out short plays in Francophone schools in Vancouver as part of an intercultural education program. Each performance is followed by a discussion on issues related to multiculturalism and difference. One member of "Nous tous un soleil" is Shiva, an immigrant from the Middle East. What motivates a young woman of Arabic mother tongue to join a Francophone theatre group? Shiva explains: Before leaving her home country she had studied French at university. Upon arriving in Vancouver, she sought out Francophone services and activities, driven by a desire to meet and socialize with Francophones.

Shiva's first contact with the local Francophone community was through Éducacentre (see also pg. 27) where she took a career development course, English language classes and made use of the job database of this Francophone training centre. She found work with a local high-tech company not long after.

While she regrets not being able to make use of French at her workplace, her leisure-time activities and social network provide her with ample opportunities to lead a Francophone life. Apart from performances with "Nous tous un soleil," she works as a freelance journalist for "The / La Source," a biweekly bilingual publication that focuses on multicultural topics in Vancouver and she attends events at Vancouver's "Maison de la francophonie"—all Francophone spaces in which to pursue an important part of her linguistic identity. ■

The Commissioner Intervenes: More Points for Bilingual Immigrants

Since June 2002 the rules for entering Canada as an immigrant have changed. For the first time in twenty-five years, a new immigration law has been enacted, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act.* More than two-thirds of immigrants enter Canada as Skilled Workers.[2] They represent the largest share of Canada's annual intake of newcomers. During the drafting phase of the new immigration rules,[3] the Commissioner of Official Languages intervened in Parliament and with the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to ensure that the new law would support the vitality of Canada's official language communities. Citizenship and Immigration Canada showed itself to be highly cooperative and accommodating. The Commissioner also succeeded in ensuring that French and English language skills of new immigrants to Canada will now be objectively evaluated and that knowledge of both official languages is given more weight in the selection grid.

Before focusing on the language aspects of the new law, it might be useful for those who have not gone through the immigration experience themselves to briefly assume the position of an immigrant and see how they would fare under the new point system. Six factors are used to evaluate an application. The reader may just want to take a moment to see approximately how many points he or she would score under the selection grid. You should first consider your language skills and assign yourself points under the Evaluation Grid for Official Language Skills on page 14. Then complete the Skilled Worker Selection Grid on page 12. As most skilled worker immigrants come to Canada without arranged employment, you should score points without assuming that you have arranged employment. Also, as many immigrants come to Canada without any prior connec-

2 This refers to the proportion of Skilled Workers to other immigrant classes (mostly family-related immigration), excluding refugees.

3 What is referred to here as "immigration rules" consists of the new *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations. The regulations specify the details of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act.*

tion to the country, the sixth factor "Adaptability" should be scored without assuming previous studies, work experience or family in Canada. An easier way to check whether you would qualify for immigration to Canada is to go to the CIC website and take the interactive online Skilled Worker Self-Assessment test at www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/assess/Education.asp.

Just like many applicants for immigration to Canada, you may find that you are just barely above or below the "magic" pass mark of 75.

Skilled Worker Selection Grid

Factor One: Education (maximum 25)		You
You have a Master's Degree or Ph.D. and at least 17 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	25	
You have two or more university degrees at the bachelor's level and at least 15 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	22	
You have a three-year diploma, trade certificate or apprenticeship and at least 15 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	22	
You have a two-year university degree at the bachelor's level and at least 14 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	20	
You have a two-year diploma, trade certificate or apprenticeship and at least 14 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	20	
You have a one-year university degree at the bachelor's level and at least 13 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	15	
You have a one year diploma, trade certificate or apprenticeship and at least 13 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	15	
You have a one-year diploma, trade certificate or apprenticeship and at least 12 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	12	
You completed high school.	5	
Factor Two: Official Languages (maximum 24)		
1st Official Language: Possible maximum (see additional table for calculation)	16	
2nd Official Language: Possible maximum (see additional table for calculation)	8	
Factor Three: Work Experience (maximum 21)		
1 year	15	
2 years	17	
3 years	19	
4 years	21	

Factor Four: Age (maximum 10)		You
21 to 49 years at time of application (less 2 points for each year over 49 or under 21)	10	
Factor Five: Arranged Employment in Canada (maximum 10)		
You have a Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) confirmed offer of permanent employment.	10	
Factor Six: Adaptability (maximum 10)		
Spouse's or common-law partner's education	3-5	
Minimum one year full-time authorized work in Canada	5	
Minimum two years full-time authorized post-secondary study in Canada	5	
Have received points under the Arranged Employment in Canada factor	5	
Family relationship in Canada	5	
YOUR SCORE (maximum total is 100 points, pass mark is 75 points)		

(Source: CIC)

You will quickly realize that any additional points can make the difference of a future in Canada or not. The points achieved under the second factor "Official Languages" can therefore be crucial.

In the past, the immigration officer evaluated an immigrant's language abilities during the personal interview with the immigrant in a Canadian consulate or embassy. This practice has now changed. Citizenship and Immigration Canada informs future applicants that "officers will not assess your language skills at any interview."[4] Instead, immigrants have to take an approved English and/or French language test.[5] The only other option is for immigrants to submit proof of education, training or work experience using English or French. Such proof will then be used by the immigration officer to assess the language abilities of the applicant. Citizenship and Immigration Canada makes it very clear, however, that it prefers applicants to demonstrate their abilities through objective language tests.[6]

This new language grid does, in fact, accord greater weight to official language knowledge than the grid that had been proposed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada during the initial consultation phase.

4 www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-3-2.html.

5 Citizenship and Immigration Canada has established equivalency charts for scores obtained under the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and the Canadian International Language Proficiency Index Program (CELPIP) for English language tests. The Test d'Évaluation de Français (TEF) is used for French. Having taken these tests, immigrants can determine exactly how many language points they will receive by using the equivalency charts.

6 "**Note:** We **strongly recommend** that you take an official language test if you are claiming skills in a language that you have not used from birth." [www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-3-2.html]

Originally, 16 points had been set aside for high proficiency in the first official language but only 4 points for high proficiency in the second. The Commissioner intervened and the number of points for the second official language was increased to 8. This modification is particularly important for immigrants intending to settle in Canada's official language minority communities. As will be discussed below, especially for newcomers heading to these communities, it is important to be functionally bilingual.

Evaluation Grid for Official Language Skills

First Official Language				
	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing
High proficiency	4	4	4	4
Moderate proficiency	2	2	2	2
Basic proficiency*	1	1	1	1
No proficiency	0	0	0	0
Second Official Language				
	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing
High proficiency	2	2	2	2
Moderate proficiency	2	2	2	2
Basic proficiency*	1	1	1	1
No proficiency	0	0	0	0

*Note: A maximum of only two points in total can be given for basic-level proficiency.

(Source: CIC)

Taking the test when you are not an immigrant yourself will make you sensitive to how immigrants feel when they come to Canada. As with any test, you will feel proud to have succeeded and, what is more, you will feel that Canada is telling you that it wants you because you have what it takes, in terms of the languages that you speak and the skills that you possess, to be a successful immigrant. Try to remember the feeling of privilege if you have succeeded in the selection test as you read through the rest of this document, particularly when reading the immigrant testimonies. You will understand much better why the initial immigrant euphoria sometimes turns to frustration.

Shaping the Future of Linguistic Duality: Setting Concrete Targets

The careful selection of new immigrants to Canada has two major objectives: to ensure that immigration benefits the country as well as its new immigrants. Unfortunately, what has been a win-win situation for the country as a whole and for most immigrants, is a losing proposition to Canada's Francophone

minority communities. Canada's Anglophone population relies heavily on immigration for its demographic growth but very few immigrants have been attracted to Francophone communities. The unintended effect: immigration inadvertently reduces the demographic weight of these Francophone communities. In order to maintain their demographic position, they need to attract and retain a percentage of immigrants that corresponds to their own demographic weight. Currently, about 4.5% of Canadians outside Quebec are Francophones, which means that at least the same percentage of all new immigrants outside Quebec should be and continue to be French-speaking. Otherwise Francophone minority communities will pay the demographic price for Canada's increasing reliance on immigration.

In the 2001 *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* the Canadian Government has, for the first time, made the development and vitality of official language minority communities an explicit immigration objective.[7] Such commitment was urgently needed in order to ensure that Canada's Francophone minority communities will from now on receive their fair share of French-speaking immigrants.

Two types of statistics can be used to illustrate the current demographic situation:

- Citizenship and Immigration Canada reports on the languages that immigrants can speak when they arrive in Canada.
- Statistics Canada reports on the proportion of immigrants within each of Canada's two language communities. This gives us a general picture of how "immigrant-rich" each language group is.

"Immigrant-richness" is not only a sign of diversity within a community but, at a time when population growth increasingly depends on immigration, indicates the extent to which a community is successful in boosting its ranks through the integration of newcomers. Therefore, if 4.5% of the population outside Quebec is Francophone, it follows that the same percentage of immigrants arriving outside Quebec every year should not only be Francophone at the time of arrival but continue to speak French, i.e. not be absorbed into the Anglophone majority community. Sending one's children to French schools and taking part in activities of the Francophone community are some indicators of an immigrant's continued attachment to the minority language.

Some progress can, in fact, be detected: over the past three years, the number of Francophone immigrants has been increasing and currently stands at 3.1%.

7 "3. (1) The objectives of this Act with respect to immigration are (...) (b.1) to support and assist the development of minority official languages communities in Canada." And also: "(3) This Act is to be construed and applied in a manner that (...) (e) supports the commitment of the Government of Canada to enhance the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada." (*Immigration and Refugee Protection Act,* S.C. 2001, c. 27) [http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/I-2.5/index.html]

Table 2: Francophone* Immigrants Settling Outside Quebec

	Total newcomers outside Quebec	Francophone newcomers outside Quebec		Expected long term retention (50%)	
1999	161,000	3,220	(2.0%)	1,610	(1.0%)
2000	195,000	5,570	(2.9%)	2,785	(1.5%)
2001	214,000	6,722	(3.1%)	3,361	(1.6%)

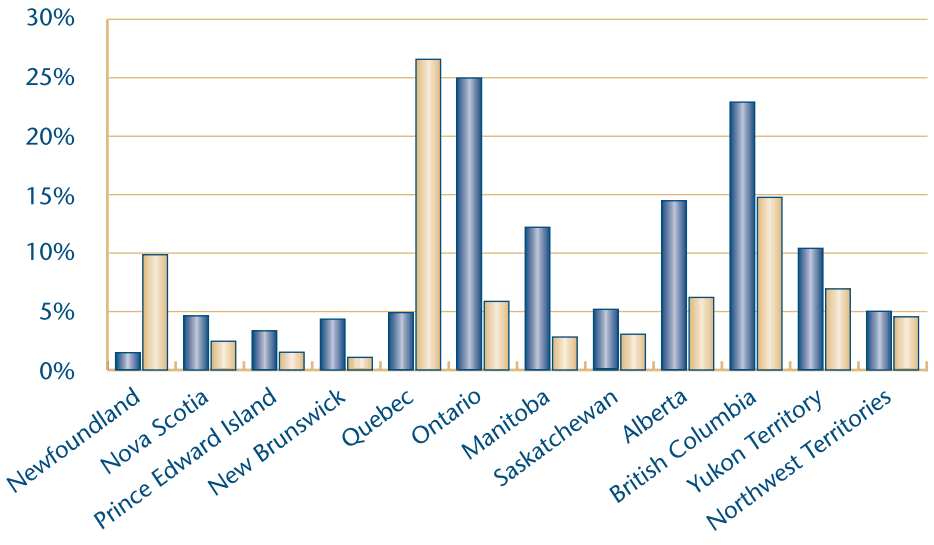
(Sources: Canada 2002a; Commissioner 2002)

*Includes immigrants with knowledge of both official languages.

While the percentage of Francophone new arrivals has increased from 2% in 1999 to 3.1% in 2001, based on present language transfer trends among immigrants (Commissioner 2002) only half of these 3.1% or 6,722 immigrants are likely to remain within the Francophone community. In other words, only 1.6% or 3,361 immigrants can be expected to stay Francophone.

Consider the imbalance that has already arisen. Apart from Quebec's Anglophone community and the small Francophone community in Newfoundland, the official language minority groups in all provinces lag severely behind the majority community in terms of their immigrant-richness.

Table 3: Comparison of Immigrant Percentages Within Anglophone and Francophone Communities by Province/Territory



(Source: 1996 Census of Canada)

In **Ontario** 6% of Francophones are immigrants. However, compared to the percentage of immigrants among Anglophones in Ontario (25%), Ontario's Francophones are still only about a quarter as immigrant-rich as Ontario Anglophones. In **Quebec**, on the other hand, the province's Francophone majority only counts 5% immigrants whereas the province's Anglophone minority consists of 27% immigrants.

British Columbia's francophonie is quite immigrant-rich. 15% of Francophones in B.C. are immigrants. This means that they are well on their way to approaching the immigrant proportion among B.C.'s Anglophone population, which stands at 23%.

Chinese in Quebec: Innovative Approaches to Credential Recognition

Most Chinese immigrants who settle in Quebec know neither English nor French, but among those who do know at least one official language, English is by far the more commonly known language. At least ten percent of immigrants from China know English but less than half of one percent know French (Canada 2002a). This makes the Chinese immigrant community certainly more Anglophone than Francophone, at least as far as newcomers are concerned.

Service à la famille chinoise du Grand Montréal (SFCGM) is the largest organization serving Chinese immigrants in Montreal. Mr. Su Zhao works as a consultant for SFCGM in the area of employment. He admits that language is a major hurdle for newcomers, especially when they are unable to receive certain services in English. Most immigrants have between two and four years of post-secondary education, particularly in the fields of computer science, chemistry, electronics and engineering. He cites the lack of prior work experience in the Quebec labour market and employer demands for bilingual personnel as the two biggest hurdles for his professional clients.

But two programs are particularly promising with regard to overcoming these hurdles: the *Programme d'immersion professionnelle*—CAMO-PI (Service à la famille chinoise du Grand Montréal 2001, pg. 18) and the initiative *Access to the Order of Engineers.* The former gives professional immigrants a first opportunity to work in Quebec, which, in most cases, leads to permanent employment. The latter is an initiative to help Chinese engineers join the Quebec Order of Engineers. Su Zhao's only complaint is that there are not enough places in these programs. In 2000, his organization offered employment counselling services to approximately 1,200 immigrants. But over the past four years, available spots on the *Programme d'immersion professionnelle* have only increased from five to 20. The program matches each participant with an employer who takes on the immigrant for a period of 30 weeks. The employer only pays half of a normal salary. The other half

is subsidized by the Government of Quebec, but the money is paid out by SFCGM. This ensures, Mr. Zhao explains, that immigrants attend regular counselling sessions with him to guarantee that the integration into the new professional environment is proceeding smoothly and that any potential problems can be cleared up with SFCGM's help. The success of the program speaks for itself: 85% of those placed through the program are hired into permanent positions by their employers. Mr. Zhao estimates that one third of his 1,200 annual clients could benefit from this program with similar rates of success.

SFCGM has been very proactive and now works together with the Université de Montréal where a small number of Chinese engineers (8 participants in the year 2000) are taking special French-for-engineers classes. SFCGM's former director, Ms. Cynthia Lam, explained the particular problems her organization's clients are experiencing during a hearing of the Commission permanente de la culture of Quebec's National Assembly on September 13th, 2000. In her remarks, she makes reference to both employment programs:

[our translation] "We have the employment seekers' database. There are currently 550 people in it—job candidates that are highly qualified, newcomers. And according to our analysis about 50% of these people are from the engineering sector. (...) We are also a community partner for the CAMO-PI program. As part of this program the Government of Quebec allows us to offer salary subsidies when employers are looking for professionals. (...) About forty employers have already hired candidates from our database." (Quebec 2000)

The words of Ping Fang, one of the first participants in the project, are encouraging:

"The project *Access to the Quebec Order of Engineers* is just like a door suddenly open to me. At last, I will be able to contribute to Quebec society in my own field! Employers in Quebec will also be able to take advantage of the expertise of immigrants who are qualified professionals." (Chinese Family Service of Greater Montreal 2000)

While Mr. Zhao hopes that his organization will be able to secure more money to place immigrants into subsidized internship programs, he is also proud of his organization's achievements. Very few Chinese immigrants, he says, move on to other parts of Canada once they have begun to make an investment into learning French while maintaining English and their children are happily attending school. Life in the Chinese community in Montreal is truly multilingual: While knowledge of Canada's two official languages is a requirement for working in many professional fields, SFCGM now also offers Mandarin classes in order to help Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong become proficient in the variety of Chinese that is most in use on the Chinese mainland. ■

Alberta contains the third largest number of Francophone immigrants outside Quebec after Ontario and B.C., with just over 3,000 persons. This elevates the percentage of Francophone immigrants to just over 6%, which is about two and half times below the percentage of immigrants on the Anglophone side, which stands at 14.5%.

New Brunswick deserves special attention as more than one third of its population is Francophone. It should be of great concern that in a province with a Francophone population five times the size of Alberta's there would, in fact, be fewer Francophone immigrants (only 2,590). This makes New Brunswick the province with the lowest Francophone immigrant share of all Canadian provinces at just over 1%. It should be added, though, that even among New Brunswick's Anglophone population only slightly more than 4% are immigrants.

Recent efforts in **Manitoba** to entice more immigrants to settle there are very much needed if we consider the low percentage of Francophone immigrants in that province. Only 2.8% (or 1,285 persons) are immigrants compared with 12.2% among the province's Anglophones. This makes Manitoba the province with the widest gulf in immigrant-richness between Anglophones and Francophones.

Nova Scotia, **Saskatchewan** and **P.E.I.** combined have only slightly more immigrant Francophones than Manitoba (1,450). Their percentage of immigrant Francophones ranges from 1.5% in P.E.I. to 3% in Saskatchewan, and is in each case about half the immigrant Anglophone percentage.

The Province of Newfoundland & Labrador, linguistically Canada's most homogenous province, has a total Francophone population of only 2,180 people, or 0.4% of the province's population. It is also the province with the lowest proportion of immigrants at only 1.6% of the general population. Somewhat surprisingly though, the Francophone population is far more immigrant-rich than the population in general: almost 10% of Newfoundland Francophones are immigrants. While the absolute numbers are small at 215, this makes Newfoundland the only Canadian province where the Francophone minority population has a greater proportion of immigrants than the Anglophone majority. Professional Francophones living in the capital of St. John's with origins in Europe or the nearby French islands of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon are likely to account for the bulk of the immigrant Francophone population (Butt 1998).

The **Yukon** and the **Northwest Territories** (which included **Nunavut** at the time the census was taken) have a combined Francophone population of 2,400, 135 of whom are immigrants. This puts the share of immigrant Francophones in the Northwest Territories at the same level as immigrant Anglophones (5%) and at about two thirds of the Anglophone equivalent in the Yukon (immigrant Francophones: 7%, immigrant Anglophones: 10.5%).

The new immigration legislation is an opportunity to ensure that all Canadians, Francophone or Anglophone, rural or urban, are benefiting in equal measure from the arrival of newcomers to Canada. In order to achieve this objective, however, more targeted selection and integration efforts must be undertaken, and the success of any such efforts must be closely monitored to show their effectiveness.

Conclusion

While this chapter has clearly shown the need for more Francophone immigrants both inside and outside Quebec, what is equally important is that these newcomers are retained within the communities where they are needed. Particularly for fairly homogeneous, rural communities and communities in smaller centres immigration has an important role to play in ensuring their continued vitality. This is also true for Anglophone minority communities in Quebec outside of Montreal. While Quebec's Anglophone minority community has been able to attract immigrants in fairly large numbers, more and more of these immigrants are heading exclusively to Montreal and thus depriving smaller communities of the benefits of immigration.[8]

Attract and Retain (Recommendation 1)

The Federal Government has made a commitment to supporting the development and vitality of official language minority communities under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act.* The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration must establish long-term selection and retention targets for immigrants to official language minority communities. These targets must not only reflect the demographic percentage of these communities within the general population but also compensate for inequitable immigration rates in the past.

8 64% of Anglophone immigrants before 1961 settled in Montreal, between 1991 and 1996 this percentage had risen to 82% (Commissioner 2002).

Chapter 2:

Closing the Gap Between Immigrants and Communities

Immigration is a process that takes place along two major axes: time and intensity. Ideally, as the number of years that an immigrant has been in a country increases, so should his or her attachment and feeling of belonging. This chapter proposes four phases and three dimensions to capture the integration of immigrants into official language minority communities. It also suggests that immigrant integration should not be a one-sided process of assimilation but that both immigrants and communities are transformed in the process. As a result, some attention here is focused on the minority community itself and how it may need to change its own collective identity in order to become a host community capable of successfully integrating new members.

Understanding the Phases and Dimensions of Immigration

The path that immigrants take from their first interest in moving to Canada to their integration into Canadian society can be broadly separated into four phases: selection, settlement, adaptation and contribution. While selection takes place in the immigrant's home country, the remaining three phases take place once the move to Canada has been made. **Selection** refers to the time before an immigrant actually arrives in Canada, **settlement** encompasses the time immediately following arrival when an immigrant needs to find housing, schooling for children and first-time employment. This period is often characterized by dependence on newcomer services. Immigrants move from the settlement phase into the **adaptation** phase when they have met all immediate needs and begin to plot and put in place their long-term strategy in Canada, e.g. deciding where to live long-term and which professional path to pursue. This phase is characterized by increasing autonomy. Immigrants attain the final **contribution** phase when they have achieved their goals with regard to social status, employment and a feeling of being at home where they live. At this point they no longer rely on institutions for support but are able to contribute to them on a voluntary basis. At any of these stages, three dimensions of integration are of importance: language, employment and community. **Language** refers to the ability of the immigrant to communicate at a satisfactory level with his or her linguistic environment. **Employment** refers to the immigrant's ability to earn a living at a level appropriate to his or her skills and **community** refers to the social integration of an immigrant.

Table 4: Phases and Dimensions of Immigration

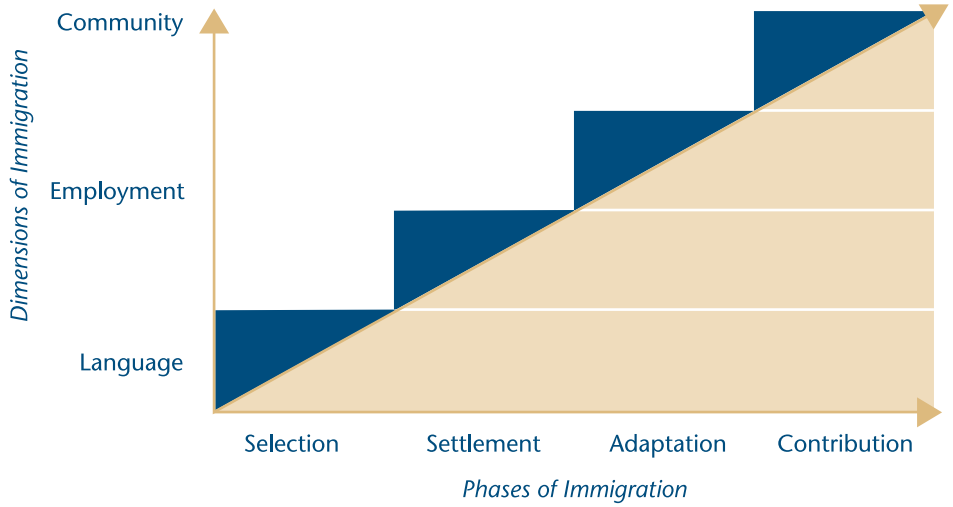


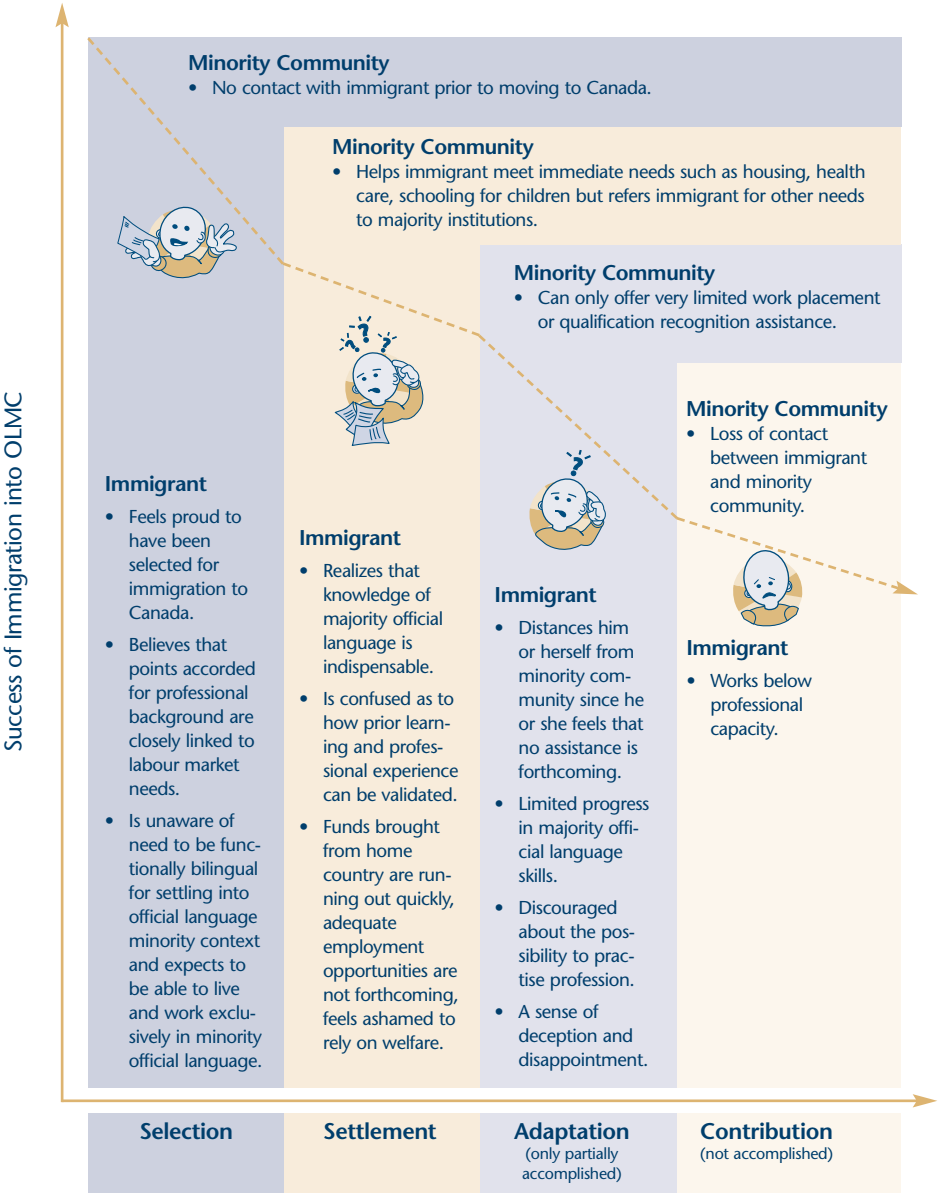
Table 4 shows how dimensions and phases build upon each other. During the selection phase, i.e. while immigrants are still in the home country, preparing themselves for the new language environment in an official language minority community is crucial as it often requires a functional degree of bilingualism. During the settlement and adaptation phases employment becomes an additional focus. And as immigrants move from adaptation into the contribution phase, they should be comfortable enough linguistically and economically to be able to start to contribute to the community.

The three most frequently cited obstacles faced by immigrants who settle in a minority language context are the following:

- The extent to which majority official language skills are needed.
- Severe hurdles in having prior learning, credentials and professional experience recognized in Canada by professional associations and employers.
- No record of prior employment in Canada (no "Canadian experience"), which causes many employers to be hesitant when hiring immigrants.

Table 5 is a composite picture derived from accounts by immigrants who have not completed the immigration process successfully.

Table 5: Reasons for Unsuccessful Immigrant Integration into an Official Language Minority Community



What is particularly frustrating if an immigrant's path develops as outlined in Table 5 is the fact that it is so full of promise and potential at the beginning and disintegrates in spite of the immigrant's and the community's best efforts. While the community is often able to help an immigrant through the settlement phase, it is at the point when an immigrant realizes that he or she will not achieve the anticipated professional standing that the initial enthusiasm for Canada can turn to quiet desperation. Often, the immigrant's hope for a secure economic

future is then projected onto the children. Personal economic failure causes many immigrant parents to conclude that they have little to gain from any type of involvement with an official language minority community. This is a loss both for the minority community and the immigrants. Even if, after a number of years, immigrants meet with the success they had initially hoped for, in the intervening time they will have distanced themselves from the community to such an extent that it is very unlikely that they will ever be won back.

We will now consider each of the phases and dimensions of immigration in more detail. For an overview of all phases and dimensions, please see appendix I.

From Morocco to Manitoba: A Successful Transition

"Of course, the Ouateli family is our model immigrant family," says Robin Rooke who is with the Francophone literacy and employment resource centre Pluri-elles in St. Boniface. Youssef Ouateli works as an aeronautical technician for Air Canada and moved with his wife and their two children from Casablanca to Winnipeg in March of 1999. Their story is, indeed, one of immigrant success. They have become dynamic participants in Manitoba's Francophone community. In 1998, Daniel Boucher, president of the Société franco-manitobaine (SFM), gave a presentation to prospective immigrants in Morocco. Youssef Ouateli was one of those who attended. Having heard Mr. Boucher's presentation, Youssef became curious and started to find out more about immigrating to Canada. One and a half years later, curiosity had turned to reality and the family arrived in Winnipeg.

If one were to paint a rosy picture of the positive contribution immigration can make to French-speaking minority communities in Canada, Mr. Ouateli's story would certainly be one to focus on. However, speaking with him and his wife in their new home in a leafy suburb of Winnipeg, they tell us that their story is something of an exception. Both are proud to have turned their immigration to Canada into a success but caution everyone to think that this is an experience shared by every Moroccan immigrant. "Among the roughly fifteen Moroccan families we know here, I am the only one who works in his own profession," Youssef Ouateli says. His wife, for example, is taking a course at the Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface to become a health and home care assistant. In Morocco, she had worked as a fashion designer. When she tried to find work in her field in Winnipeg, all she was offered was work as a seamstress. During interviews a supervisor would hold a stopwatch in his hand to check her skills on a sewing machine. Because she had enjoyed

helping out in her brother-in-law's medical practice in Morocco and health sector workers are in demand in Manitoba, she decided to pursue a different path and become a health care professional.

Both Ouateli children are happily attending Francophone schools. The local community's efforts to ensure that children of Francophone immigrants attend French schools are, indeed, impressive. As soon as new immigrants arrive, the school bus serving Francophone schools is alerted from the first day after the immigrant family's arrival and picks up the children at one of the motels, which is often their first temporary place of accommodation. This allows the parents to look for permanent housing without having to worry about their children. As they go apartment hunting, a map they receive from the SFM will show them the Francophone school bus routes so that they don't end up in a part of town where their children won't be able to attend school in French.

Few immigrants expect an easy ride in Canada and when asked what he would recommend to new Francophone immigrants coming to Manitoba, Youssef is very clear: "You absolutely need basic English skills as well as a lot of patience and tenacity, especially during the first year. You must not become discouraged." ■

The Selection Phase: Great Expectations

Moving to Canada is complex enough a venture. Moving into a minority community adds another level of complexity. A successful approach to immigrant integration really begins at the selection phase with an immigrant who knows what awaits him or her. This includes information about the opportunities that a minority community has to offer in areas such as education, services and community activities. But the community also needs to paint a realistic picture of the challenges, such as the need to know the majority language and the difficulties of finding suitable employment. Minority community members often do not realize the extent to which their bilingualism facilitates their lives, both in terms of social contacts and economic activity. While Francophone minority communities associate English with the danger of assimilation, they do, at the same time, take knowledge of this language for granted and need to realize what it means for an immigrant not to be able to communicate in that language.

It is a misconception that the danger of an immigrant assimilating linguistically to the majority community is reduced if that immigrant does not speak the majority language. Based on the interviews conducted for this study, the opposite is the case. Francophone immigrants who settle into a Francophone minority community and have little or no

Functional bilingualism, employment and community integration: essential elements for settlement success in an official language minority community.

knowledge of English will have the need to learn English so overwhelmingly thrust upon them that they are much more likely to send their children to an Anglophone school out of the simple and understandable, although unfounded, fear that a Francophone education will not provide the requisite English language knowledge. Francophone immigrants, on the other hand, who speak English, will be in a far better position not only to become settled more easily but also to recognize the advantages of maintaining French for their children.

Honest information about these realities means that an immigrant will not arrive with unrealistically high hopes. It is essential that prospective immigrants and minority community members be in contact with each other as early as possible and provide one another with broad information about each other. This enables the community to provide proper guidance well before immigrants and their families make their final jump to Canada.

Up-to-date Information on Communities (Recommendation 2)

In 1999, the Commissioner had recommended to Citizenship and Immigration Canada that current information about official language minority communities be made available to immigration officials. The Commissioner maintains her recommendation and further proposes that a website be created to provide information about official language minority communities which would also serve as a three-way interactive communication tool facilitating direct contact between minority community representatives, immigration officials and potential immigrants.

Éducacentre: Language and Settlement Skills for New Francophones on Canada's Pacific Coast

Many Francophone immigrants make use of Éducacentre, British Columbia's key Francophone institution for adult education and training. Founded in 1992, it now has campuses in four locations across the province: Vancouver and Victoria as well as Abbotsford and Prince George. All of Éducacentre's clients receive a case-by-case evaluation of their needs and are then presented with a choice of appropriate courses (offered by Éducacentre itself or at other institutions). Éducacentre caters to the typical mix of Francophone newcomers in B.C.: Francophones from Quebec, Europe and Africa.

[our translation] "Éducacentre becomes a cultural meeting place and we cannot but be very content to see this happen. We have also noted that the French language is mastered perfectly by people from countries where French is not even an official language." (Chevalier 2000)

Éducacentre's activities are focused in three main areas:

- Assisting clients in their employment search
- Teaching English as a Second Language
- Basic computer training and training for specific occupations

Prendre sa carrière en main (PCM) is certainly the program which stands out. It records the highest enrolment figures and has been running since 1996. Funded entirely by Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC), it offers students basic computer training, takes them to the resource centre at Vancouver's public library, helps students to draw up and keep current their résumés, and videotapes students as they participate in mock job interviews. All of these program units are accompanied by intensive English language training. More than one third of Éducacentre's job seekers find employment after their session at the school.

English language training is an important course component at Éducacentre. More than half of its clients have difficulty speaking English. Especially professionals, such as engineers and nurses, come to take these classes as they are required to pass an English language test for accreditation in their professional organization.

The tourism program *Superhost Fundamentals,* developed in cooperation with BC Tourism, provides training in this second-most important industry in B.C. All courses are given in French but prepare students to take any required certification tests for occupations in the tourism industry in English.

Éducacentre has also reached out to other Francophone organizations. In collaboration with the Société de développement économique de la Colombie-Britannique, a course for young entrepreneurs is offered (*Initiation à l'entrepreneuriat*). It teaches participants to work out a business plan and organizes meetings with a counsellor from the Société to ensure that theory is put into practice.

Still, many of Éducacentre's successful clients will not work at the same professional level as in their home country. One of Éducacentre's counsellors talks about her frustration at having to tell her clients that they need to lower their professional expectations, at least initially. A source of even greater frustration, though, is when clients appear eager and active one day, making extensive use of Éducacentre's resources and counselling, but suddenly disappear never to be heard from again. Such behaviour can have a strong demotivating effect on the staff since they wonder whether the effort as well as personal and emotional investment they are making will be in vain. That is why follow-up is extremely essential. Éducacentre staff spend considerable energy staying in touch with former students so that they can track their integration success. Such information helps to evaluate the efficiency of their programs and make the necessary adjustments to ensure that Francophone newcomers enrich the Francophone fabric of Canada's Pacific Coast. ■

The Settlement Phase: Credentials and Canadian Experience

One of the great tragedies of Canada's immigration policy is that we invite thousands of highly skilled professionals and trades people to immigrate from other countries and then we forbid them from practising their skills in Canada.

(COSTI, Toronto-based education and social service agency, 1998)

The settlement phase is a trying time for any immigrant. Settlement means looking for accommodation and completing essential administrative tasks such as obtaining a health card. For an immigrant family, it also means finding a school for the children and ensuring that everyone in the family weathers the experience of being uprooted and having to fit into entirely new social networks as smoothly as possible. For most immigrants this is a time when the financial clock begins ticking away. Many bring a reasonable amount of money to survive for a limited period of time but the uncertainty over how long this period is going to last can be very difficult to cope with. At this point the community should play a role similar to that of a family physician and ensure that the immigrant's and his or her family's basic needs are being met. This includes help with housing, schooling for children, health services, and employment. For services that the community cannot offer itself, it should ensure that the family sees the "specialists," i.e. services only offered in the majority community. Immigrants need to be told, for

example, where to go for majority language training. If such training can be provided within the framework of the minority community, it will provide an immigrant with additional confidence because he or she will be able to learn within a linguistically familiar environment. If, on the other hand, there are only majority language institutions offering language classes, the minority community can still play the vital role of ensuring that such training responds to the immigrant's needs.

Making Newcomers Stay: Moncton's MAGMA

"We have been able to keep more immigrants here this year compared with past years but the majority of our clients still move away." The director of Moncton's main settlement service organization MAGMA (Multicultural Association of the Greater Moncton Area, Inc.) is glad to see the tide turning at least somewhat. She has seen many Francophone immigrants and refugees pass through her organization's doors. Unfortunately, many end up leaving the province, after sojourning in New Brunswick for a few months only.

"The biggest concern for all the staff is the large number of secondary migration. Last year only 2 families out of 11 families destined to Moncton remained in our community." (MAGMA 2001a)

New Brunswick needs Francophone immigrants but this province with almost a quarter of a million French speakers has the lowest percentage of Francophone immigrants in the country. In their search for greener pastures, many Francophone newcomers give in to the lure of moving to Quebec, forgoing many personalized services that a small organization like MAGMA can offer. MAGMA has, for example, set up a small daycare centre with a full-time childcare worker since many newcomer families have small children. As a result, both parents can come for English classes or employment orientation, while their children are being looked after just across the hallway. This type of integrated service offering is much more difficult to find in large urban areas where service providers are struggling with high rents and large numbers of newcomers. What is more, in smaller cities that are less familiar with immigration, the resident population is often more curious and willing to set time aside to meet with new families that have come to join their community. MAGMA's CIC-supported HOST program, for example, is an excellent opportunity for much needed personal contact between Canadians and immigrants. The program pairs up families from the local community with newly arrived families (MAGMA 2000). New immigrants understand their new environment by learning about it from the inside perspective of local

residents and by establishing personal friendships. Local volunteers find it to be such a rewarding experience that they often ask to be able to help other newcomers when the individual or family that they are presently helping becomes sufficiently independent or, as is still all too often the case, leaves the province. ■

With respect to the three dimensions of immigration—language, employment and community—the immigrant first needs to be directed to appropriate language instruction to ensure that he or she attains a level of functional bilingualism as quickly as possible. Next, employment is the biggest hurdle to successful integration. Official language minority communities must be enabled to take "special care" of "their" immigrants. It is important, for example, that employment counsellors from the minority community inform and accompany the immigrant so that his or her professional qualification is recognized. This means that immigrants need to find out about credential assessment organizations and regulatory bodies in their province. It is also important that counsellors explain the difference between credential assessment and professional licensing. Credential assessment refers to the translation of documents and establishment of equivalencies for these credentials within the Canadian system. Credential assessment is non-binding and only assists employers when assessing a candidate's qualification. This is different from professional licensing, whereby an individual obtains the right to exercise a regulated profession such as nursing or engineering.[9]

Francophone Business Immigrants in B.C.

"Some people just don't take the time to prepare themselves. They act without enough reflection," says René Digard, who is responsible for business and tourism at the Société de développement économique de la Colombie-Britannique (SDECB). He sees many Francophone business immigrants who do not properly prepare their business venture. Especially people who break their ties with their country of origin by selling all assets and moving to B.C. expecting to be able to start up their business with relative ease are often faced with a much harsher reality than they had anticipated. It is far better, he says, to test the waters first, work out a business plan with the help of SDECB before making the final jump to Canada. One positive example that René Digard recalls is that of an air transport entrepreneur who visited B.C.

9 Of course, qualification recognition is not an issue that is restricted to immigrants settling into official language minority communities but one that affects a large number of immigrants to Canada.

five times to ensure he had all proper flying and operating licences before making the final move to the province to set up his business. It is also an example of the major focus and growth sector for SDECB's activities, which is tourism. Of the out-of-country Francophone immigrants who come to B.C. to set up a business, René Digard estimates that 80% are from France, the rest mainly coming from other parts of Europe and the Maghreb. Many of these new businesses, which add to the existing number of roughly 4,000 Francophone-owned companies in the province, are active in the tourism industry. The role of SDECB is, in fact, not only to assist those Francophones who want to set up shop in B.C. but also to advise tourists and those working in the tourism industry to find out about the services available when visiting theprovince. To this end, the organization's website was launched in November 2000 (www.sdecb.com) and a CD-ROM has been produced which allows the user to take an interactive journey through the province. Generating demand for Francophone services also generates demand for French speakers and René Digard is proud that it is now possible to organize trips throughout B.C. with most services being available in French.

Do successful Francophone immigrants in B.C. have any particular characteristics? René Digard replies that those who want to set up a business have an easier time because once they have taken the immigration hurdle, they are free to pursue their goals. Professionals such as doctors, engineers or architects find it much harder because they need to go through a long process of being recertified by B.C. professional associations. Some have the stamina to go through the process while others reinvent their career: a friend of his who used to practice medicine in France now runs a travel agency. Not an ideal situation but one which showcases the strong commitment of many immigrants to make life in Canada work. ■

Under current conditions, many immigrants eventually give up the attempt to have their qualifications recognized. Instead, they return to school to obtain a Canadian qualification. This often adds years of study to a person's life when they are already qualified professionals, not to mention the financial strain of tuition fees and lost revenue. Assisting immigrants efficiently in this matter may prove to be the single most important service official language minority communities can offer to immigrants.

The second often cited hurdle during the settlement phase is the reluctance of many employers to hire immigrants who do not have "Canadian experience," meaning a record of employment in Canada. As a consequence, many immigrants are forced to work below their qualifications or to engage in volunteer work in the hope of obtaining references, which can then be used as proof of "Canadian experience."

Given the proper tools and commitment, the minority community would be able to assist new immigrants to find initial, basic level employment. Immigrants have to become integrated into the work force as quickly as possible, even if this happens at a level that is below the immigrant's qualification. Canadian employers put a premium on the ability to verify an applicant's workplace experience in Canada and are rarely willing to contact previous employers overseas, especially if there are additional language hurdles. Businesses owned by members of the minority community can fulfill an important bridging function here. Not only should they be encouraged to hire immigrants into their first Canadian jobs and thus act as a future reference on the immigrant's career in Canada, but given their language skills, they can also much more easily verify an applicant's prior employment record overseas if such verification requires the use of English or French.

The Power of Gentle Persuasion

"Is he from around here?" is a question that the employment coordinators at the Centre d'information 233-Allô in St. Boniface (formerly Centre de ressources communautaire) often hear as they try to place Francophone immigrants with employers in Winnipeg and the surrounding areas. Of course, they cannot force any employer to take the well-qualified candidates in their database. Commenting on the reasons why employers are reluctant to give immigrants a chance, one of them says: "Yes, there is a bit of discrimination in all that but it's mostly the fear of the unknown." So, gentle persuasion is combined with a touch of cunning to give unemployed Francophone immigrants a chance at getting a job. First, the coordinator will make sure that the résumé highlights professional experience truly relevant to the position. If someone has worked in senior management and is now applying for a junior position, the ability to work in a team may need to be emphasized more than his or her leadership skills. Another difficult hurdle is obtaining Canadian references for an immigrant who has never held a job in Canada. Initially, the Centre's policy was not to act as a reference for any prospective employers since they had no experience of the job seeker's professional performance and abilities. Realizing, though, how important it is for a prospective employer to have someone Canadian who could comment on the candidate's personality, the employment coordinators decided that they could, at least, comment on their experience with the immigrant. "I cannot comment on his or her professional abilities but I can explain to employers the determination that it takes to immigrate," says one of them. This already makes a difference to many employers and when the employment coordinator adds that the candidate has always been on time for appointments, the chances are much higher that a job interview will take place. While many Francophone-owned

businesses initially still prefer someone with a traditional French-Canadian name, an increasing number of new and positive experiences with Francophone newcomers are slowly but surely changing employer attitudes.

Winnipeg's Success Skills Centre (SSC) also provides assistance to professional immigrants. A mainly Anglophone organization, its one Francophone counsellor explains that SSC's main objective is to ensure skilled immigrants obtain workplace experience. Manitoba's Ministry of Labour and Immigration has a program which fits this objective: the *Credentials Recognition Program.* It assists immigrants in gaining experience in their professional field in Canada by offering wage assistance, counselling and referral services to both immigrants and businesses. The province pays 40% of the gross wage per employee over a six-month period up to a maximum of $4,500. These positions must, however, be continued after the six-month period. Applicants must have completed at least a two-year post-secondary program outside Canada and be in a situation where their credentials and work experience are not formally recognized in Manitoba. SSC's Francophone counsellor feels that it is unfortunate that there is no program specifically targeted at Francophones. What is also disappointing to him is that few Franco-Manitoban employers have thus far shown an interest in the *Credentials Recognition Program.*

(Centre de ressources communautaire 2001) ■

The Adaptation Phase: Planning for the Future

Adaptation means increasing self-reliance. As immigrants move from the initial settlement stress to taking a more active and better informed part in planning their own future, they gain a feeling of being in control. If, for example, additional language classes for specific professional purposes are needed, the immigrant should know where to find these and how much effort it will take to acquire the desired proficiency. Immigrants also need to make decisions as to whether to pursue original professional plans or, if these turn out to be unrealistic, which alternative career strategy to adopt.

Together with a career counsellor, preferably from within the minority community, professional employment options have to be reviewed. Obstacles and opportunities should have become clearly identified and a realistic integration plan should be emerging. If the immigrant pursues the recognition of his or her qualifications, any required retraining steps and timelines on the way towards exercising the desired profession should have been established. If employment at a lower professional level is accepted, there should, nonetheless, be a clear sense of which purpose this will serve in the long-run, such as obtaining employer references or the opportunity to plug oneself into a professional network.

A minority community that is still closely involved with the immigrant's progress during the adaptation phase is well on its way to gaining a new member.

Immigrants at this point need to be able to determine the affiliation with the community themselves, rather than depending on it. A typical sign of increasing independence and becoming a stakeholder within the community is when an immigrant begins to participate in parent meetings at the local school.

For the community, the adaptation phase means ensuring that the immigrant has not "fallen through the cracks" but is comfortable with the majority language, begins to establish a Canadian employment record and is actively implementing a strategic career plan. An immigrant, on the other hand, who still clings to unrealistic and ill-defined career plans as he or she tries to enter the adaptation phase, is at an increasing risk of integration failure. A widening gulf between expectations and the reality of available opportunities can lead to a growing sense of helplessness. Table 6 summarizes the best- and worst-case scenarios for immigrants as they are about to enter the contribution phase. On the left hand side, you can easily see why successful integration from selection to adaptation will allow an immigrant to contribute, while, on the right hand side, successive failures combine to make an immigrant's contribution back to the community fairly unlikely.

Table 6: Success or failure? Two Outcomes for Immigrants and Francophone Communities

Success			Failure	
Immigrant	**Community**	**Phase**	**Immigrant**	**Community**
Clarity: • Knows what to expect.	**Responsibility:** • Involved in selection process. • Presents to immigrant both challenges and opportunities.	Selection	**Lack of information:** • More hope than realism.	**Exclusion:** • Immigrant selection beyond its control. • Community presents only opportunities upon first contact with immigrant.
Orientation: • Knows which services are available from Francophone institutions, which are available from the majority community and which steps have to be self-initiated.	**Direction:** • Plays the role of a family physician who refers patients/clients to specialists (for example for English courses, training, etc.). • Temporary work placement with the help of Francophone companies. • Develops a personal strategy with the immigrant to have qualifications recognized and/or effect a career change.	Settlement	**Confusion:** • Immigrant feels overwhelmed and disappointed. The distribution of responsibilities is unclear.	**Resignation:** • Due to a lack of resources community institutions are unable to respond adequately to the needs of immigrants but try to keep them within the local francophonie rather than direct them to Anglophone institutions. • The distancing of immigrants is seen as a failure of community efforts.
Decision-Making: • Pursue the career originally envisioned or abandon the project (too many obstacles to have qualifications recognized) and retrain in another field.	**Verification (in cooperation with government institutions):** Has the immigrant... • learned English? • found work? • followed his personal strategy?	Adaptation	**Indecision:** • In spite of difficulties with the recognition of qualifications, the immigrant still believes that not all options have been explored.	**Distancing:** • Contact between immigrant and community in jeopardy.
Yes!		Contribution?	**No!**	
The immigrant feels integrated as regards housing, employment, social services and children's education. Is able to move beyond immediate economic needs and ready to contribute to community activities.			The immigrant remains trapped in a phase of transition and uncertainty as regards his or her professional future. Feeling of dissatisfaction and disappointment given the impossibility to lead his or her life in French. The immigrant possesses neither the ability nor the willingness to contribute to community activities.	

Francophones living in culturally diverse urban areas see themselves, individually and collectively, very differently from Francophones living in relatively homogeneous rural areas.

(FCFA 2001, pg. 11)

The Contribution Phase: Integration in Both Directions

As we enter the final phase of immigrant integration, a time when language and employment needs should have been resolved for the most part, immigrants will need to truly feel at home within the minority community in order for them to be able to contribute back to the community. Finding a place for newcomers in a community's collective identity is a long-term process. To illustrate some of the difficulties that a process of reciprocal identification involves, let us consider a seemingly innocent question: Can an immigrant become a Canadian? The answer seems so obvious that one hardly dares to ask the question. After all, much of what Canada is about is the ability for immigrants to become Canadians, and in ways that far exceed carrying a Canadian passport.

But ask yourself whether an immigrant can become Acadian, and you might find yourself hesitating—and you probably do so for a good reason: integrating into or even only participating within a minority community is never as easy as doing the same within the majority community,[10] even if, for example, one speaks French and lives in New Brunswick. By way of example, we will focus here on two communities—Francophones in New Brunswick and in Manitoba—in order to understand the challenges of integrating diversity into a community's identity.

An immigrant from Ivory Coast who has lived in New Brunswick for more than 20 years spoke very candidly when he said: "Acadian nationalism is so strong that I will never be accepted as an Acadian." For any minority community who is deeply attached to their collective identity, diversity can be problematic. As long as assimilation into the majority society is considered a threat, there is a natural tendency to try and maintain the community from within. And particularly where such a community's history is one of injustice, as is the case with Acadians, community boundaries are likely to be drawn even more vigorously. Therefore the prospect of a community's identity being redefined through immigration can be daunting. But so can be inaction. New Brunswick's Francophone population has the lowest percentage of immigrants of any Anglophone or Francophone provincial population in Canada at 1.08%. And it receives less than half the number of Francophone immigrants that Alberta receives, even though Alberta has a Francophone population one-fifth the size of New Brunswick's. Change, therefore, is not only needed but inevitable—and it is already taking place.

10 The diversity within the Anglophone minority community in Quebec may appear to contradict this statement but as part of the large Anglophone majority in Canada and North America, their collective identity as Anglophones is far less precarious than that of Francophone minorities outside Quebec, causing them to feel less of a need to delimit their community.

New Brunswick's SAANB (Société des Acadiens et Acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick) is taking concrete steps towards the integration of Francophone newcomers. The SAANB and New Brunswick's Conseil des minorités multiculturelles Francophones have jointly established a working committee and in June 2002 held a first focus day on settlement and integration issues of Francophone newcomers. The goal was to give a platform to the voices of multicultural Francophones and to plan concrete steps towards better integration. During the committee's first meeting, attended mainly by immigrants from Africa and the Middle East, everyone expressed their desire to strengthen and support the Francophone cause in New Brunswick, but voiced doubts as to whether an Acadian identity could ever truly encompass them. Asked what could be done to promote a more integrated Francophone community, they agreed that a sense of inclusion in the networks of local Francophones must be achieved, particularly in order to address the central concern of immigrant employment. As one participant put it: "Immigrants get a sense of self-worth from their work." The difficulties are not unfamiliar to SAANB's president, Jean-Guy Rioux: [our translation] "Not having a strategy for when immigrants arrive obviously does not help. Immigrants are left to their own devices and they end up going to large cities because that's where they find their communities of origin who are already settled there." (Ricard 2002) The SAANB's focus day concluded that Francophone networks need to be opened up to Francophone immigrants in order for them to succeed economically and develop a sense of true belonging to the Francophone community.

The challenge is now to initiate a dialogue between newcomers and Acadians that will allow both sides to retain central aspects of their origins while finding enough common ground to forge a complimentary and less ethnically exclusive identity for all Francophones in New Brunswick. This is not, however, just a demographic issue born of the need to entice more Francophone immigrants to come and stay in New Brunswick. A truly pluralist community will accept and welcome heterogeneity and renewal as an essential element of its existence.

Immigrants cannot successfully enter the final contribution phase of integration, unless the community is ready to receive their contribution. In this sense, contribution is much less about the mechanics of integration like the three prior phases and much more about the spirit of integration. For immigrants to contribute to a minority community the community needs to see the inspiration and sometimes challenges that new members provide as a healthy sign that their community is not standing still, but evolving and progressing. Immigration is, after all, a process that redefines both the newcomer and the community.

[our translation] There are problems with inserting oneself and belonging to the Francophonie because the community's fragmentation and legitimating ideology of its institutions leads to their [the immigrants'] exclusion (which itself is the result of these institutions having become the protected property of French-Canadian Francophones). Some [immigrants] therefore prefer to associate themselves with Anglophones.

(Chambon et al. 2001, pg. 5/7 on the Haitian community in Toronto)

[our translation] The Acadia of the 21st century is much different from the cliché of "Gabriel and Évangéline." (...) The first nationalists said: "We are Acadian, we are French and Catholic!" But now, who are we? (...)

The Catholic values of yesteryear are less likely to seduce youngsters. (...) We should not underestimate the importance of this new Acadian culture. It allows one to feel Acadian and international at the same time.

(Roussel 2001)

One particularly encouraging example comes from Manitoba: In the autumn of 2001, about one hundred and fifty representatives from a variety of community groups, including Francophone newcomers, came together for a focus day that had been organized by the Société franco-manitobaine. Their goal was to find an answer to the challenging question under which the meeting took place: How to enlarge the Francophone space in Manitoba? The objective was to create an enlarged Francophone space that would bring together three groups that have traditionally occupied separate spaces within the local francophonie:

- Traditional Francophones,
- Francophone immigrants, and
- francophiles.

The last group may include families where only one parent is Francophone or bilingual Anglophone Manitobans who are sending their children to French Immersion schools.

The plenary session clearly identified the tasks:

1. Develop a capacity to become involved with the new demographic groups without losing the "heart" of the Francophonie.
2. Adopt new ways of being and living in French that are distinct from current community responses.

   [our translation]

(Société franco-manitobaine 2001)

In these two statements we can clearly see the difficulties inherent in the maintenance of an historically evolved community ("the 'heart' of the Francophonie") and its redefinition as a more linguistically defined community ("new ways of being and living in French that are distinct from current community responses"). One of the initiatives discussed at the gathering was, not surprisingly, the possibility that the community rename itself:

[our translation] ... there may be a need to revisit the Franco-Manitoban identity, which in the eyes of some people suggests a particular ethnic and cultural origin. Instead, a wider and more inclusive theme could be explored such as "Francophones of Manitoba" or "Manitoban Francophonie."
(Société franco-manitobaine 2001)

Follow-up Report to Manitoba's Focus Day

[our translation] "Becoming familiar with Franco-Manitoban culture is not something that happens overnight. It can be difficult for people from the outside who enter an environment where people have known each other forever or are living the life of a highly connected extended family. (...) Over the past decades Franco-Manitobans have worked very closely together to safeguard their accomplishments and obtain more rights in a minority context. This has created tightly knit communities of established Franco-Manitobans that are characterized by great tenacity. The arrival of an increasing number of immigrants is a new reality. We find ourselves facing this reality with very little information and we have only very limited tools to act upon it. We are relatively unprepared in spite of a great desire within our community to welcome newcomers."

(Therrien and SFM 2002) ■

Francophone minority communities across the country are at varying stages on their journey to embracing diversity. This is a sensitive process in which nothing can be accomplished through recrimination and everything has to be based on greater knowledge and appreciation of the realities of the other.

But will more diverse minority Francophone communities stand the test of time? Will the children of today's Francophone immigrants continue to lead their lives in French and contribute to the community? The signs from Canada's metropolitan centres are encouraging. Children of immigrant Francophones are beginning to

It is essential for newcomers to be aware of the history and challenges that their host society is facing if they wish to become truly integrated.

(Comment made by a participant at SAANB's focus day, SAANB 2002)

More and more young Acadian women have children with members of visible minority communities and are worried for the future of these children. The children are in danger of encountering the same problems as their fathers if there isn't more openness and dialogue within the Acadian and Francophone community.

(Comment made by a participant at SAANB's focus day, SAANB 2002)

create their own Francophone media and organizations that respond to the specific challenges that they are facing. The conditions under which this new francophonie will flourish are different from those under which Canada's francophonie has existed to date. Not only does the new cultural and ethnic diversity change the appearance of the community, this new community also needs to address difficult socio-economic circumstances. On the other hand, it offers the opportunity to build bridges with the countries of origin of its new members.

An eloquent symbol of this new Francophone space is a magazine launched in Toronto in 2002. *Taloua* meaning "young woman" in Agni, a language spoken in Ivory Coast, is specifically targeted at the realities of young immigrant Francophone women in Canada (www.taloua.com). The leading editorial of its first issue captures the spirit of a francophonie that allows young Francophone immigrant women to feel included:

[our translation] In a world undergoing deep changes, the cultural origins of young women are varied, demanding and complex, and so are their needs. That's why we felt the need to start up a new publication for women. (...) *Taloua* will be an efficient response to the needs of a readership that is increasingly demanding and wide-spread. (...) I want to send you a message of hope because, yes, it is possible to realize one's dreams if you have the courage and the tenacity and if you know how to surround yourself with honest and competent people to help you bring your projects to fruition. (Tchatat 2002, pg. 5)

While directed at young Francophone immigrant women, the message of hope that *Taloua* sends out, is, in fact, not an unfamiliar one for Canada's minority Francophones: after all, is it not courage and tenacity that have allowed minority communities to flourish across time and distance in Canada?

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the steps that immigrants take as they integrate into their new Canadian home. But as much as a home is never a finished product but always a work in progress, the arrival of newcomers inevitably changes what Canada means to old and new Canadians. Canada's new Francophone spaces will not be the same as the French-Canadian communities of yesteryear. The French language increasingly becomes a bridge that allows new and established Francophones to build new communities. These new communities will be composed of Francophones with many different identities; they will be heterogeneous groups with a common linguistic thread. As these changes take place neither should established communities disappear nor newcomers need to sacrifice cultural aspects connected to their own Francophone worlds. Both can co-exist and com-

plement each other to bring about new ways of leading one's life in one of Canada's official languages. Yet it is only with such a common linguistic umbrella in place that Francophone newcomers and their children will be able to reach the final yet crucial stage of immigration and be in a position to contribute to the common project of a shared francophonie.

Centre des jeunes francophones de Toronto

Located in the heart of Toronto at the corner of Yonge and College, the Centre des jeunes francophones de Toronto (formerly known as the Groupe jeunesse francophone de Toronto and the Regroupement des jeunes filles francophones de Toronto) occupies a couple of second-floor offices. Most of the young people targeted by the Centre's activities come from Francophone visible-minority immigrant families. Creating economic opportunities and promoting social integration are the main issues focused on by the Centre. There are no membership fees and the Centre receives funding from all levels of government and private foundations. As much as possible, the young people are called upon to contribute their skills back to the organization. The extent of the talent pool represented by those young volunteers is evident in the professionally designed leaflets and website. The Centre can be reached at www.mounas.com. The Centre's director, Léonie Tchatat, highlights two programs she is particularly proud of. *La Clé du succès: Programme d'excellence pour les jeunes Francophones des minorités raciales et ethnoculturelles* is an extracurricular program that was started in January 2001 as a pilot project. It targets mostly black Francophone high school students at three Francophone public schools in Toronto. Successful black Francophone professionals are invited to speak at Francophone high schools where they become both mentors and role models for students. In their presentations, they explain to students what it takes to become successful. Léonie is convinced that the motivational boost has been immeasurable. Among the first group of 71 students, their teachers noted a marked increase in self-confidence. Most of them come from disadvantaged family backgrounds. The program has instilled positive attitudes towards studying and made them more interested in undertaking volunteer work. The mentors continue to act as personal resources in the students' career planning.

The second program targets young women who are beyond high school age and would like to work in the customer service industry. *Pas à pas – La clé de votre réussite* is an integrated work-study program that started in the fall of 2001. Participants will spend 35 hours in the classroom and 45 hours working as cashiers and other service personnel in retail shops with whom the

Centre has established partnerships. Training covers basic customer service techniques, business English, simple calculations, basic computing skills and the drawing up of a résumé.

From 1999 until October 2002, the Centre (and its predecessors) more than doubled the annual number of young people reached through its activities from 3,000 to nearly 6,000. ■

Chapter 3:

Roads to Success

Having traced some obstacles and opportunities in an immigrant's journey, we now need to take stock of where communities and governments as well as individuals can make a difference to ensure integration success. A comprehensive turnkey strategy that will help all communities is difficult to envision since the realities of Canada's official language minority communities are so diverse.

Bilingual Moncton, for example, contributes its proud Acadian traditions to Canada's francophonie but now needs to reconcile these with the presence of new Francophones. Immigrant-rich Toronto has accumulated a long experience in mediating between old and new Francophones but faces the challenge of holding both of them together under a common roof. Outward-looking Winnipeg is the only city where Francophone immigrants live who have been actively recruited by the province's Francophone institutions while Vancouver's Francophone community is determined to create cohesion in a diverse community. These are but a few examples. Every official language minority community finds itself in special circumstances and will need to adapt solutions to its specific context. In Quebec, minority status is a matter of perspective as the Francophone majority is a minority within Canada itself and it is the Anglophone minority that has achieved a much higher level of immigrant richness than the Francophone majority population. Immigration can only make a positive contribution if it respects the specific linguistic context within each province.

Monitoring Immigrant Retention

Beyond the variety of contexts, however, certain guidelines can be established. Table 7 provides an overview of some selection and integration measures, suggesting new roads and enhancing the effectiveness of existing ones.

Successful immigration depends on two broad factors: a) selecting an adequate number of people who are likely to succeed and b) giving them the kind of support that will ensure their successful integration. Successful immigration also means that the community that is meant to benefit from it actually does. Table 7 proposes different areas of intervention, each with a target and a verification mechanism.

On the selection side, there should be a general focus on the overall number of Francophone immigrants entering the country. Clear targets by province/territory ought to be established for each year and then be compared with the number of people actually landed. But this is not enough. In order to be able to verify success, one needs to understand how many official language minority immigrants have actually remained within their communities over the years.

Even if it may seem difficult to measure immigration success and an immigrant's participation within

Table 7: Verification of Immigrant Retention

Selection

1. General selection

Target:	Verification:
Set a number of official language minority immigrants to be landed in province/territory.	Verify number of official language minority immigrants who have successfully and permanently settled into the minority community in each province/territory.

2. Foreign students

Target:	Verification:
Set a number of official language minority foreign students to become permanent residents at the end of their studies.	Verify number of official language minority students who have stayed within the minority community in each province/territory.

3. Provincial Nominee Programs

Target:	Verification:
Set a percentage by province/territory of official language minority immigrants to be selected under the program.	Verify number of official language minority immigrants who have settled into a minority community as part of this program.

Integration

4. First Canadian work experience

Target:	Verification:
A number of immigrants who will be given their first Canadian work experience through the direct assistance of the minority community (e.g. wage assistance for participating official language minority employers).	Number of persons successfully placed and still employed.

5. Access to francophone minority schools

Target:	Verification:
All official language minority immigrant children should be French schools.	Compare enrolment data from French schools with the total number of target immigrant children.

6. Qualification recognition

Target:	Verification:
As part of comprehensive efforts to bring about changes in qualification recognition, professional associations establish specific mechanisms allowing official language minority immigrants to become easily licensed.	Annual review of official language minority immigrant professionals having been admitted to professional associations.

7. Regionalization

Target:	Verification:
Set a percentage by province/territory of official language minority immigrants to be settled in rural areas.	Verify number of official language minority immigrants who have successfully and permanently settled in rural minority communities.

a community's infrastructure, it is essential for gaining at least an understanding of whether immigration is working to the benefit of Canada's linguistic minorities. To this end, Citizenship and Immigration Canada should consider establishing an *Immigrant Retention Index* which would help to verify the measures proposed in Table 7. Such an index would be based on regular surveys among immigrants who are at different stages in their integration process. The following information would help to estimate integration success:

- Number of children of immigrants enrolled in minority schools.
- Government services being used by immigrants.
- Community services (social services, health) being used by immigrants.

These indicators, obtained from school boards, government offices, service providers and researchers, would provide the type of information that could be summarized in a region-specific *Immigrant Retention Index*. It would indicate, on a longitudinal basis, the number of newcomers who have stayed actively attached to their official minority language community.

Settlement Monitoring (Recommendation 3)

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of attracting immigrants into official language minority communities, the Federal Government should establish a long-term monitoring mechanism. Such a mechanism would not only allow it to report on the number of newly arriving immigrants but would be able to assess the retention of immigrants within official language minority communities.

As we conclude this study, let us review three promising approaches that governments and communities should be considering to increase the number and retention of official language minority immigrants.

- Provincial Nominee Programs: more targeted selection through community involvement.
- Regionalization: greater geographic dispersion through employment incentives.
- Qualification recognition: Faster contribution through faster economic integration.

Provincial Nominee Programs

One initiative in which minority communities should actively participate is the *Provincial Nominee Program* (PNP). Citizenship and Immigration Canada has signed agreements with nine provinces and territories:[11] Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, the Yukon and Alberta. The most recent one was signed in August 2002, with Nova Scotia.

These agreements allow the provinces flexibility in selecting immigrants according to each province's needs and interests.[12] While these interests have been defined as primarily economic, Canada's new immigration legislation specifies that immigration policy must benefit official language minority communities. Both the federal and provincial governments need to ensure that a fair number of candidates selected under the Provincial Nominee Program are Francophones. What is more, official language minority communities should themselves become active and propose candidates for immigration who may be able to fill labour shortages and whose linguistic profile is such that they are likely to become a productive member of the linguistic minority community.

The *Provincial Nominee Program* is an excellent opportunity for communities to avail themselves of a more targeted recruitment mechanism. However, greater efforts are required as the current reality in two provinces shows.

The New Brunswick Government signed its agreement for provincial nominees with Citizenship and Immigration Canada in February 1999, giving the province for the first time the power to establish its own selection criteria and identify qualified candidates. According to information from New Brunswick's Ministry of Immigration, Multiculturalism and Advocacy Services, the province is eager to attract immigrants through this new program and has even taken out advertising in various countries, including France, to promote it. 93 applicants were approved in 2000 and 2001. Among these only nine were Francophones, and thus less than one third of the number that should have been achieved if the Francophone percentage of New Brunswick's population is taken as the objective. Interestingly, five of these were already in New Brunswick as students.

Manitoba is currently the leader in attracting provincial nominees. More than three quarters of all

11 Under Quebec's agreement with the Federal Government on immigration, the province already selects most of its own immigrants.

12 "Provincial nominees allow the provinces and territories to select immigrants for specific skills that will contribute to the local economy. The Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations establish a provincial nominee class, allowing provinces and territories that have agreements with CIC to nominate a certain number of workers. Nominees must meet federal admissibility requirements, such as those related to health and security." [http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/you%2Dasked/section%2D08.html]

provincial nominees who come to Canada every year are nominated by this province. In 2000 and 2001, approximately one thousand provincial nominees (including family members) arrived in Manitoba, and the province is negotiating for an increase in these figures.[13] The success of this program has not, however, reached the Francophone community yet. While Manitoba's Jewish community has sponsored Jewish immigrants to settle mainly in the Winnipeg area, Manitoba's Mennonites have sponsored provincial nominees in their mostly rural settlement areas. But according to the Manitoba Government, the Francophone community is now actively considering their own involvement in the *Provincial Nominee Program*. It is an opportunity that needs to be explored with some urgency: less than one percent of the more than 2,500 provincial nominees that have settled in Manitoba since the start of the program are Francophones (Canada 2002b; Manitoba 2002).

Provincial nominees differ from other immigrants as the community commits itself to assisting the immigrant during settlement, which often includes having a job ready for nominees as soon as they arrive. Usually, interested individuals who have secured the assistance of an employer or a community will contact the provincial government which will then evaluate the request and, if approved, transmit the names to Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The selection procedure is, in fact, slightly less demanding than the regular CIC process. The reason is that immigrants have very clear support structures and settlement plans in place when they arrive in the country. This translates not only into an easier settlement process but also means much greater long-term retention of provincial nominees in the province where they first arrived.

Particularly promising is the latest PNP agreement with Nova Scotia. It specifies that the Francophone minority community is to be actively consulted as the agreement is being put in place in order to ensure that the Francophone community is a dynamic participant in the recruitment process. In addition, new immigrants are to be monitored for a period of five years after their arrival in Nova Scotia in order to evaluate the efficiency of the program with regard to integration success and the retention of immigrants in Nova Scotia. Francophone communities, in particular, will benefit by finding out how many immigrants have joined their ranks and with what degree of success.[14]

13 News release, *Canada and Manitoba discuss immigration issues and expand the provincial immigrant nominee program,* March 11, 2002. [http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/press/02/0204-pre.html]

14 Canada-Nova Scotia Agreement on Provincial Nominees (2002).

Provincial Nominees and Minority Communities (Recommendation 4)

The Federal Government should ensure that any existing and/or future agreements regarding Provincial Nominees are executed in ways that safeguard and strengthen the vitality of official language minority communities. Representatives from these communities must participate actively in the annual recruitment process so that an equitable number of Provincial Nominees settle into official language minority communities.

A strong Francophone community in Sudbury means: contact with the predominantly English-speaking environment is not as sudden and overwhelming as it would be in other contexts. Immigrants can use French in their professional and social life, while exploring and becoming increasingly familiar with English.

Regionalization

Settling into rural communities is not the first choice for newly arriving immigrants but it can be an enticing alternative when the conditions are right. An immigrant who had spent a few years in Northern Ontario puts it this way: "I'd rather be exotic in a small community than unemployed in a big city." While rural communities cannot match the range of services available in cities, they are able to offer more personalized attention which differs from the often anonymous treatment in large cities. A report (Harry Cummings & Associates 2001, pg. 21) commissioned by Citizenship and Immigration Canada echoes the immigrant's sentiment by reporting findings from rural Manitoba which indicate that "Despite the lack of resources, many communities (...) would be willing to assist in language, employment and social services. (...) The research revealed a strong desire among communities to develop the necessary support services and assistance to attract immigrants and retain them in rural areas." Quoting Montgomery (1991, pg. 108) the report points out that "if decent jobs are available, and if extended family members can be housed in the smaller municipalities, much of the relocation to large urban centres may not occur." Immigrants are very mobile at the beginning of their integration into Canada. If they do not find satisfactory employment during this time, whether in small towns or large cities, there is a great likelihood that they will move. However, as time progresses, immigrants change from being extremely mobile to becoming even more sedentary than the average Canadian.

Official language minority communities in a rural context who are interested in attracting immigrants should benefit from the renewed interest that Citizenship and Immigration Canada is placing on a wider geographic dispersion of immigrants. While the federal government is likely to announce specific measures to increase settlement in rural areas, Manitoba already awards points under its *Provincial Nominee Program* to candidates committed to settling in a rural area. Points for what is called "Regional development" can be obtained by immigrants if they

demonstrate that they have unique ties to a rural community. Such ties may be religious as in the case of the Mennonite community, but it may be feasible to use the French language as a way to recruit French-speaking immigrants to rural Francophone settlements, provided, of course, that some employment opportunities exist.

Successful initial settlement experiences in a rural context are the best guarantee that immigrants will stay within rural communities.

Francophone Immigrants Outside the Big Cities: African Professionals in Sudbury

"Many Francophone immigrants end up taking a close look at Sudbury," explains Bululu Kabatakaka, Director of Boreal International. Sudbury was not Mr. Kabatakaka's first destination when he came to Canada but in his professional capacity he is now very much involved in making sure that others find their way to Sudbury more directly. In his experience, African Francophones typically head for Quebec first. For them it is a natural choice because of the French language and the fact that many immigrant networks exist there. The enthusiasm about a vibrant Francophone environment, however, all too often turns to frustration when much time and effort is spent in a futile search for employment. Mr. Kabatakaka is blunt about what drives Francophone immigrants to Sudbury. "They come here because there is work. I know at least 15 professors of African origin, like myself, who teach at Collège Boréal, at Cambrian College or at Laurentian University. But there are also numerous immigrants, not necessarily Francophones, who work in the health sector here in Sudbury after having been unable to find jobs in Canada's big cities."

Moving to a place where you can work and afford your own home is very enticing. But what about forgoing the big city with its networks of ethnic immigrant organizations? Mr. Kabatakaka laughs. For most immigrants, he believes, it is important to become involved with their local community and Sudbury has a fair number of Francophone organizations, among them even those targeted specifically at African Francophones such as ACPAS (Association culturelle et professionnelle des africains de Sudbury). Plus, a strong Francophone community in Sudbury means: contact with the predominantly English-speaking environment is not as sudden and overwhelming as it would be in other contexts. Immigrants can use French in their professional and social life, while exploring and becoming increasingly familiar with English.

Are Francophone immigrants concerned about the fact that Sudbury is not close to any large metropolitan area? Not according to Mr. Kabatakaka. Sudbury has much to offer in its own right, he believes, and the fact that many big city distractions are absent from Sudbury is actually an advantage. The Collège Boréal, for example, has partnerships with educational institutions in Tunisia and France. When potential students and their parents need to be convinced that Collège Boréal is the right place, Mr. Kabatakaka points

out to them that Sudbury offers the opportunity to focus on one's studies in French in a small city, combined with a chance to learn English at the same time. This combination, he says, has brought an increasing number of foreign students to Sudbury to study health sciences and information technology.

"Still, many Francophone immigrants end up leaving Sudbury," he cautions. As many university teachers and other professionals are married to equally qualified partners, it is these partners who are often unable to secure a position and cause both partners to look elsewhere. Organizations like Contact interculturel francophone and ACPAS are, however, are creating a network through which any opportunities that do open up within Sudbury become known about so that the new Francophone immigrant community continues to grow. ■

Qualification Recognition

The new joint [UNESCO] convention stipulates that mutual recognition of qualifications must be granted by contracting states unless significant difference can be proved. The burden of proof lies with the competent authorities of the receiving country.

(Note: Canada has signed but not ratified the new convention. Only upon ratification does the convention become legally binding. For more information see iwww.cicic.ca/factsheets/factsheet3eng.stm.)

Given an increasingly global employment market for skilled workers, the issue of qualification recognition has broad international dimensions. It cannot be handled properly if, at the national level, it is approached without coordination between the federal and provincial level. In cooperation with the provinces and regulatory bodies, a national solution needs to be found that respects the rights of the various jurisdictions but works towards the goal to which Canada has committed itself in international treaties. The portability of occupational and educational credentials has been addressed by UNESCO and Canada has undertaken to work within an international framework on these issues.

Canada has committed itself to facilitating international mobility and, with the cooperation of the provinces and territories, created an organization to promote the recognition of foreign credentials: the Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (www.cicic.ca). CICIC was created in 1990 following Canada's ratification of the first UNESCO Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees concerning Higher Education. It distributes information and supports the recognition and portability of Canadian and international educational and occupational qualifications.[15]

In spite of the objective of the agreement, many professional associations in Canada continue to be almost autonomous in their power to admit or refuse new members. Many immigrants, however, are unaware that if they intend to practise a regulated profession, such as engineering or nursing, the recognition of such credentials for the purpose of immigra-

15 For further information, see also: www.unesco.ca/english/CultureofPeace/PeaceKit/sheet12.htm.

tion is entirely separate from their recognition by professional associations. As a result, the recognition, or often rather non-recognition, of foreign credentials is a painful experience for many immigrants.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada's latest form[16] indicates that immigrants are now at least being informed about the potential hurdles to professional integration in Canada:

I understand that if I wish to work in a regulated occupation, it is my responsibility to obtain information on the licensing requirements from the appropriate regulatory body in Canada and that should I be issued a permanent resident visa for Canada, I am not guaranteed employment in Canada in my occupation or in any other occupation.

Clearly, the future for credential recognition can only lie in better intra-Canadian coordination and in closer international cooperation. Immigrants need to know which, if any, retraining steps they should undertake in order to become licensed, so that they will be able to practice their profession as soon as possible after their arrival in Canada.

An opportunity exists for official language minority communities to play a role in working with professional associations to ensure faster recognition of immigrant credentials. Given the links of Francophone professionals with their associations, pilot projects could be explored that would fast-track minority language immigrants through the licensing procedure. Professionals within the minority community should lobby from within professional associations to achieve greater openness towards the acceptance of foreign-trained professionals. The advantage would be felt immediately by Francophone communities if, for example, medically underserviced areas with a need for Francophone doctors and nurses would be able to draw on foreign-trained Francophone health professionals who presently find it very difficult to be licensed to work in Canada. Minority communities can draw inspiration from existing initiatives, such as the B.C. *Foreign-Trained Engineer Pilot Project*. It is the result of cooperation between British Columbia's Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services and the Canadian Council of Professional Engineers. The plan is to allow immigrant engineers to write licensing exams soon after their arrival in B.C. (Godfrey et al. 2001) The project helps un- or underemployed engineers acquire the work experience they need to qualify for a professional licence and assists engineering associations to improve their accreditation policies. Official language minority communities should explore similar projects with the help of professionals in their own ranks which could specifically target areas where there is currently a shortage of minority language professionals.

16 Skilled worker immigrant application form [http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/kits/forms/imm0008_1e.pdf].

Qualification Recognition (Recommendation 5)

The Federal Government, in cooperation with the provinces and territories, needs to pursue its commitment under the UNESCO Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees concerning Higher Education so that immigrants can exercise their professions in Canada. In its efforts, the Federal Government must ensure that immigrants settling in official language minority communities are not disadvantaged due to the origin and language of their credentials, which may differ from the majority of immigrants in a given province or territory.

Outlook

Canada competes for highly skilled immigrants with other countries around the world. But even once immigrants decide to move to Canada, the competition does not stop. Canada's regions compete with each other for the arrival of the best and the brightest Canadian immigrants. And the minority and majority language communities compete with each other for the immigrant's civic commitment in terms of his or her choice of schooling and community involvement.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada is currently considering ways to regionalize the flow of immigration, which would oblige immigrants to settle and remain in regions outside Canada's major centres for a period of time in the hope that initial settlement will turn into long-term attachment. This is to help rural communities obtain a fair share of immigrants. Official language minority communities are in a similar position: here, too, mechanisms must be devised to orient immigrants towards these communities. These mechanisms must then be backed up by favourable settlement conditions which will turn newly arriving immigrants into fully contributing members of the minority community.

The challenge for minority communities is to offer immigrant guidance and support at a level that not only equals what is available from the majority community but exceeds it. It is not necessarily the number of services that counts, but their quality. An immigrant, for example, who arrives late at night with his or her family at the airport, is greeted by a representative of the community, taken to a motel, told that his or her children will be picked up by the school bus the next morning and the next day receives a brief introduction to all the important first steps to get settled in his new home is likely to want to become a committed participant in that

province's linguistic minority community. All too often, though, as immigrants move from settlement to adaptation and on to the contribution phase, the challenges become more complex, the minority community's assistance less targeted and, as a result, the immigrant's link with the community begins to weaken. Continued assistance and contact with immigrants throughout their initial years is crucial if the community is to eventually benefit from the presence of immigrants when they have reached the contribution phase.

CIFODE: Spicy Sauces and Effective Job Training in a Cooperative Environment

Few people will have heard of Belldajia. Belldajia is a Somali expression, means community sharing in the mother tongue and... is a sauce. Once a week, immigrant women from Francophone parts of Africa gather in an Ottawa community centre and produce a tasty, spicy sauce made from a variety of vegetables. It can be used to enhance anything from pasta to hamburgers and is sold through a network of small corner stores. The sauce is prepared by the women. For food distribution and marketing, "les mamans" rely on their French- and English-speaking children who have grown up in Ottawa, know the city well and speak both official languages.

Like a prism, this small, cooperative community venture provides an insight into some of the creative solutions Francophone immigrants in Ottawa have devised to overcome the challenges of settling in a new country. Some immigrant women actually bring considerable commercial experience to the Belldajia project as they were successful small business owners in their countries of origin. The most successful among them earned the title "Mamans Benz," since they were able to afford cars. Upon arrival in Canada, few of them could apply their commercial skills, being left to care for the children as their husbands are the first to go out and look for work. Belldajia is a small but important arena where these women can apply their skills and experience. Another aspect of the Belldajia project is its cooperative structure. The experience which these women have had in communal activities in their home countries is being applied in Canada and has helped them to establish a small, self-sustained business enterprise.

Belldajia is, in fact, only one of many projects being supervised by CIFODE, a small non-profit organization in Ottawa. Founded in 1996, the Centre d'intégration et de formation en développement économique has provided professional training and created employment opportunities for immigrant Francophone women. Maryan Bile, director of CIFODE, explains.

"As far as training is concerned, we are focusing on two programs. One is called *Cashier and Customer Service Training.* Twelve weeks of classes are followed by four weeks of practical training at companies like The Bay or Your Independent Grocer. This program has been running since 1999. Out of 30 participants 20 are currently employed in the service industry. The second program is called *Bilingual Training for Office Assistants* and helps immigrants find an administrative position in the public or private sector. This training program is offered in partnership with the Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton. The program starts with 12 weeks of teaching covering topics like word processing, formal letter writing skills as well as English and French language training. Afterwards, the participants complete a twelve-week internship program in the public sector."

One cornerstone of CIFODE's activities is the conviction that "integration is only possible through employment and financial independence." CIFODE recognizes that there can be many obstacles for immigrants on the road to becoming fully integrated into Canadian society, but removing these obstacles is a long-term process. What immigrants need is immediate assistance. Once they gain a foothold in the labour market, the more pernicious hurdles, such as the non-recognition of educational experiences gained outside Canada or systemic discrimination, can be tackled from a position of moderate success.

CIFODE has been able to act as a catalyst for success with few resources. On a recent program, they asked an unemployed computer technician to teach participants in the administrative training program some basic computing and word processing skills. The participants received professional instruction while the technician completed a traineeship with CIFODE and was able to put this down as valuable work experience in Canada. In the end, he was able to find a job because CIFODE was able to provide him with a reference for future employers.

Maryan Bile is proud of the partnership CIFODE has been able to establish with federal and municipal partners: "Without the commitment and cooperation of the Public Service Commission of Canada and the City of Ottawa, the *Bilingual Training Program for Office Assistants* would never have seen the light of day. We were very pleasantly surprised to work with civil servants who were respectful of diversity, open, professional and had a keen sense of ethics and values."

In June 2002, CIFODE held its largest ever diploma awarding ceremony. As close to 50 graduates walked onto the stage in a Vanier community centre to receive their diplomas, many had moving and encouraging messages to relate about their *Bilingual Training Program for Office Assistants.* For many the course was the long-awaited light at the end of a tunnel. "When you are on

welfare, you have no dignity," is how one person described his experience before the course. Fortunately for him and about 70% of the other graduates, he has now found employment and feels that he is finally able to contribute and participate fully as a French-speaking Canadian in Ontario. ■

Beyond integration services, communities need to become mobilized and committed to making immigration a success, and enlist federal and provincial government support to help them do so. Progress depends on comprehensive strategies but also on the many small initiatives that individuals or small groups can take. Progress also means greater communication between official language minority communities on immigrant integration across the country. The establishment of a *Clearinghouse for Minority Official Language Immigration* would allow local initiatives across the country to explore and build upon existing approaches in other communities, instead of each one working in isolation at the risk of "reinventing the wheel." A clearinghouse would act as a platform where information on minority official language approaches to immigration is stored and then made available to communities across the country. The clearinghouse would also host regular encounters for those working with immigrants in each community.

The first steps towards a more concerted approach have already been taken: In February 2001, the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne (FCFA) published the report of its Dialogue Task Force, encouraging communities to reach out and become more inclusive. In March 2002, a Steering Committee was created which brings together representatives from Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Francophone minority communities. In order to help the Committee draw up an action plan to promote the settlement and integration of more francophone immigrants outside Quebec, a study was commissioned to investigate the capacities of six cities across Canada to offer settlement services to Francophone newcomers. These are encouraging signs that a definite momentum is building to ensure that the needs of Francophone communities for more immigrants and better integration are being taken seriously.

Above all, though, official language minority communities should understand that immigration offers them an opportunity to build on core Canadian values. Canada has set itself firmly on a course of building a united country out of its diverse linguistic and cultural origins. Through the vitality of its two official languages, Canadians support an understanding of diversity that goes beyond the celebration of one's heritage. It means giving daily and vocal expression to one's linguistic

As more and more Canadians are expressing the unique combinations of their backgrounds and see themselves as carriers of multiple identities, the role of communities is changing. They are increasingly becoming vehicles for the expression and promotion of interests and identities (such as language) that one has chosen freely (Quell 2000). The consequence for official language minority communities is that they need to embrace multifaceted identities. Under the roof of a common language, many other identities can coexist.

and cultural identity. Canada's youth is not only fortunate to grow up in a country that values its linguistic duality and ethnic pluralism but, as a consequence, is also eager to explore other communities and cultures. While English-speaking Canadians have enjoyed the enrichment that follows from the integration of immigrants, it is now Canada's Francophones who need to be given the tools to benefit from such pluralism. As Canada reaches out and seeks to attract immigrants who will contribute to the vitality of English and French spoken in a minority context, it must be prepared to offer these precious newcomers as smooth a path towards successful integration as possible. Francophone minority communities, in particular, can ill afford for immigrants to have settlement experiences which will cause them to "passer du côté anglais," as one interviewee put it. "Passer du côté anglais" means that Francophone immigrants are giving up on the capacity of Francophone communities to assist and guide them on the way towards successful integration. It means that immigrants are taking their children out of Francophone schools because integration in Anglophone schools is seen as easier. In the final analysis, it means that immigrants are giving up on the prospect of an inclusive, multicultural Francophone community. Canada owes it to its history and values that this does not happen.

In 2004 Canada will celebrate the 400th anniversary of the arrival and first explorations of Samuel de Champlain and the establishment of the first French settlements. Looking back, these celebrations will be an occasion for all Canadians to reflect on the historic roots of Francophones in Canada. Looking forward, they should provide Canadians with an opportunity to understand the continuity, diversity and resulting vibrancy within our country's official language minority communities.

Recommendations

1. **Attract and Retain:** The Federal Government has made a commitment to supporting the development and vitality of official language minority communities under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*. The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration must establish long-term selection and retention targets for immigrants for immigrants to official language minority communities. These targets must not only reflect the demographic percentage of these communities within the general population but also compensate for inequitable immigration rates in the past.
2. **Up-to-date Information on Communities:** In 1999, the Commissioner had recommended to Citizenship and Immigration Canada that current information about official language minority communities be made available to immigration officials. The Commissioner maintains her recommendation and further proposes that a website be created to provide information about Official Language Minority Communities which would also serve as a three-way interactive communication tool facilitating direct contact between minority community representatives, immigration officials and potential immigrants.
3. **Settlement Monitoring:** In order to evaluate the effectiveness of attracting immigrants into official language minority communities, the Federal Government should establish a long-term monitoring mechanism. Such a mechanism would not only allow it to report on the number of newly arriving immigrants but would be able to assess the retention of immigrants within official language minority communities.
4. **Provincial Nominees and Minority Communities:** The Federal Government should ensure that any existing and/or future agreements regarding Provincial Nominees are executed in ways that safeguard and strengthen the vitality of official language minority communities. Representatives from these communities must participate actively in the annual recruitment process so that an equitable number of Provincial Nominees settle into official language minority communities.
5. **Qualification Recognition:** The Federal Government, in cooperation with the provinces and territories, should pursue its commitment under the UNESCO Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees concerning Higher Education to assist immigrant professionals obtain licensing in Canada. In its efforts, the Federal Government must ensure that immigrants settling in official language minority communities are not disadvantaged due to the origin and language of their credentials which may differ from the majority of immigrants.

Glossary

Term	Explanation
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
Credential Assessment	The evaluation of degrees earned at foreign educational institutions to establish equivalency with similar degrees in the Canadian context.
First Official Language Spoken	A derived language variable that combines answers from questions on knowledge of official languages, mother tongue and home language.
Immigrants	Refers to persons with the status of permanent resident in the year indicated where CIC data is used. When the data is census-based it refers to persons who were born outside Canada and are, or have been, permanent residents in Canada.
Official language minority community (OLMC)	A community whose official language is not the language of the majority community.
Mother Tongue	Refers to the first language a person learned at home in childhood and still understands. Some people may declare that they learned two or more languages simultaneously.
Official Language Knowledge	Official language knowledge refers to the ability of a person to conduct a conversation in English only, in French only, in both English and French or in neither English nor French.
Provincial Nominee Program	Agreements between CIC and individual provinces/territories to facilitate the selection of immigrants by a province/territory, allowing greater flexibility for specific needs to be addressed. Provinces/territories establish their own criteria and processes to nominate immigrants.
Regulatory body, regulated and unregulated occupations	Approximately 20 percent of occupations in Canada are regulated, mostly to protect the health and safety of the public (e.g. nurses, engineers, teachers, and electricians). Immigrants who wish to work in regulated occupations need to obtain a license from a provincial regulatory body, usually a professional association. Licensing requirements often include education from a recognized school, Canadian work experience and/or completion of a technical exam. Unregulated professions are those occupations that may be practised without licensing.

Appendix I: Phases and Dimensions of Immigration

Dimensions → / *Phases* ↓	LANGUAGE **Majority & Minority Language Skills**	EMPLOYMENT **Qualification Recognition**	EMPLOYMENT **Canadian Work Experience**	COMMUNITY **Inclusion within Community** (non-employment needs)
Selection (guidance)	OLMC conveys information about local language setting to Canadian missions abroad. Canadian missions abroad inform immigrants of language requirements and propose language classes.	OLMC members belonging to professional associations determine OLMC professional needs (e.g. need for Francophone nurses) and work towards filling such jobs with foreign-trained professionals. Recruitment proposals are made through initiatives such as the Provincial Nominee Programs.	OLMC motivates its business members to commit to providing basic level employment opportunities to newcomers MOL businesses prepare to hire immigrants so they can obtain experience and references in Canadian labour market.	OLMC prepares documentation on community services. OLMC interacts with immigrants by phone and e-mail before arrival.
Settlement (dependence)	After arrival, OLMC offers or directs immigrants to appropriate language instruction.	OLMC employment counsellors follow up with immigrant and majority institutions to ensure steps towards qualification recognition are taken effectively.	OLMC employment counsellors inform OLMC business members of newcomers looking for basic level employment. OLMC businesses hire immigrants into first Canadian jobs.	OLMC institutions generally act as *family doctor,* providing direct assistance within OLMC institutions (e.g. education, health care) when possible, otherwise cooperating with and referring to majority institutions.
Adaptation (increasing self-reliance)	Having been informed about available language resources, immigrant either continues with classes or improves his or her language skills outside the classroom to become functionally bilingual. OLMC and/or majority institution provide such classes. Immigrant becomes functionally bilingual while continuing to practice minority language through OLMC activities.	OLMC counsellors and immigrant review professional employment options. Options and obstacles are clearly identified to avoid frustration through false hopes. Immigrant pursues qualification recognition, retraining or accepts employment at lower professional level or in a different field. At this point, OLMC has reasonable expectation of gaining a well-integrated new member.	Immigrant is working in an OLMC business, possibly on a temporary, internship basis.	Immigrant is becoming more self-reliant and begins to determine community affiliation on hihe or sher own. Immigrant knows what support is available from OLMC and majority institutions and is able to call on these as needed. Immigrant begins, for example, to participate in OLMC school activities.
Contribution (independence, voluntary association	Immigrant has become functionally bilingual. He or she copes with the need to know majority language but also sees the benefit of MOL. Is not afraid that minority language schooling will cause children to experience difficulties with majority language but understands the opportunity for children to become fully bilingual.	Immigrant is attaining previously identified professional goals (not necessarily those initially hoped for but those set realistically throughout the course of integration) and working in a position in line with his or her objectives. The path to further advancement is clear.	Immigrant has established a Canadian employment record.	Immigrant is able to freely choose social institutions and community involvement. Faced with the opportunity of being involved in OLMC, country-of-origin community and/or majority language community activities, immigrant chooses continued involvement with OLMC. OLMC gains a new "member."

As an immigrant moves from dependence on minority language service delivery to autonomy, his or her ties with the OLMC result less from necessity than from choice. OLMC needs to transform utilitarian bond into voluntary community involvement.

Appendix II: Official Languages Among General and Immigrant Populations Across Canada

Distribution of General and Immigrant Population by First Official Language Spoken (FOLS)[17]

	Total population	English FOLS (% indicates share of English FOLS among total population)	French FOLS	Total Immigrants	English FOLS (% indicates share of immigrants among English FOLS)	French FOLS (% indicates share of immigrants among French FOLS)
Quebec	7,045,080	842,100 (12%)	5,963,675	664,495 (9.43%)	223,855 (26.58%)	293,045 (4.91%)

	Total population	English FOLS	French FOLS (% indicates share of French FOLS among total population)	Total Immigrants	English FOLS (% indicates share of immigrants among English FOLS)	French FOLS (% indicates share of immigrants among French FOLS)
ROC	21,483,050	20,079,665	927,205 (4.3%)	4,306,570 (20.05%)	3,902,515 (19.44%)	44,375 (4.79%)
Ontario	10,642,790	9,860,780	480,650 (4.5%)	2,724,490 (25.60%)	2,463,195 (24.98%)	28,210 (5.87%)
British Columbia	3,689,760	3,532,485	50,285 (1.4%)	903,190 (24.48%)	809,510 (22.92%)	7,425 (14.77%)
Alberta	2,669,200	2,580,675	49,390 (1.9%)	405,140 (15.18%)	373,635 (14.48%)	3,065 (6.21%)
New Brunswick	729,625	487,205	240,055 (32.9%)	24,380 (3.34%)	21,185 (4.35%)	2,590 (1.08%)
Manitoba	1,100,295	1,041,225	45,565 (4.1%)	135,940 (12.35%)	127,095 (12.21%)	1,285 (2.82%)
Nova Scotia	899,970	863,720	34,090 (3.8%)	41,960 (4.66%)	40,005 (4.63%)	840 (2.46%)
Saskatchewan	976,615	953,775	17,315 (1.8%)	52,315 (5.36%)	49,535 (5.19%)	530 (3.06%)
Newfoundland	547,160	544,360	2,180 (0.4%)	8,490 (1.55%)	8,080 (1.48%)	215 (9.86%)
Prince Edward Island	132,855	127,425	5,275 (4.0%)	4,395 (3.31%)	4,270 (3.35%)	80 (1.52%)
Yukon Territory	30,655	29,455	1,080 (3.5%)	3,195 (10.42%)	3,065 (10.41%)	75 (6.94%)
Northwest Territories	64,125	58,560	1,320 (2.1%)	3,075 (4.80%)	2,940 (5.02%)	60 (4.55%)

	Total population	English FOLS	French FOLS (% indicates share of French FOLS among total population)	Total Immigrants	English FOLS (% indicates share of immigrants among English FOLS)	French FOLS (% indicates share of immigrants among French FOLS)
Canada	28,528,125	20,921,770	6,890,880 (24.2%)	4,971,070 (17.43%)	4,126,375 (19.72%)	337,410 (4.90%)

(Source: 1996 Census of Canada)

17 Table does not show English & French FOLS or no FOLS. The sum of English and French is therefore not equal to the totals. At the time that this document was published, Statistics Canada had not yet released its figures regarding language knowledge and language use from the 2001 Census.

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