Our
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Quebec

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Our diverse cities

Immigration and Diversity
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Introduction

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This issue of Our Diverse Cities focuses on Quebec and specifically on research and thinking by the researchers and partners of the Quebec Metropolis Centre - Immigration and Metropolis. This issue covers the six domains of the Centre's research program, listed in the footnote below.[1] However, the articles will be grouped together under slightly different headings. We do not claim to present all of the work that researchers and partners have done in each of the six domains. Rather, we have chosen to focus on matters and considerations that are likely to spark debate. The tone of this issue is thus anything but complacent. In Quebec, as elsewhere in Canada, immigration increasingly forms a part of the social, cultural and economic landscape. Increased immigration is highly desirable. However, it raises a number of questions and entails certain responsibilities, which we have chosen to address head-on. Before we begin to discuss them, it is a good idea to briefly review the main developments in immigration and cultural diversity in general and their specific characteristics in Quebec.

A changing picture

Quebec is one of the three Canadian provinces that are home to the majority of the foreign-born population. Immigrants represented 11.5% of Quebec's population of 7,546,130 in 2006. Despite

the objective it established more than 20 years ago, Quebec has not yet been able to attract a proportion of Canada's total immigration that matches its percentage of Canada's population. Thus, in 2007, Quebec accounted for over 23% of Canada's population but welcomed only 45,221 immigrants, or 19% of Canada's total immigration. However, the province has achieved the highest rate of growth in immigration in the past five years (Chui et al. 2007, p. 16). This increase must be seen in relation to Quebec's determination to meet the challenges of an ageing population by implementing strategies likely to attract skilled immigrants in an environment of competition with the other provinces.

Quebec is unique within Canada, owing to the scope and longstanding nature of its immigrant selection and integration efforts. These efforts, which date back to the late 1970s, culminated in 1991 in the Canada-Quebec Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens. This accord constitutes the earliest and most exhaustive federal-provincial agreement in this area to date. Quebec exercises almost total political control over its immigration, in terms of selecting economic immigrants and integrating newcomers. Each year, the Government of Canada makes a financial contribution (over $200 million) in compensation for its opting-out of reception, francization and integration activities. Quebec was also the first jurisdiction in Canada to define an exhaustive and multidimensional policy on the integration of immigrants, although the Government of Canada and various provinces preceded Quebec in stating general directions.

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[1]   1) Citizenship and social, cultural, linguistic and civic integration; 2) Economic and labour market integration; 3) Family, children and youth; 4) The role of host communities for newcomers and minorities; 5) Justice, policing and security; 6) Housing, neighbourhoods and the urban environment

Here, briefly, are the features that set Quebec immigration apart.

- Quebec immigration is distinctive and increasingly diversified in terms of countries of origin. In Quebec, as elsewhere in Canada, Asia is the largest source of recent immigration (28.7%), followed by Africa (26%) and Europe (23.3%). However, since Quebec itself selects a large share of its immigrants, the main countries of origin (except for China) are different from those found in the other provinces. Every year for the past decade, immigrants from Algeria, Morocco, France, Haiti and Romania have outnumbered immigrants from other countries to Quebec. Moreover, Quebec immigration comes from the widest range of countries. This is particularly true in Montréal, to a markedly higher degree than in Toronto or Vancouver (Apparicio and Leloup 2007). This can constitute both an asset and a challenge for integration programs. This wide range of countries of origin goes hand in hand with religious diversity, although this diversity remains limited in absolute terms. Non-Christian religions now predominate among recent immigrants, with a significant proportion of Muslims. Overall, however, the immigrant population remains mainly Catholic. A considerable proportion also self-identifies as having no religious affiliation.
- Quebec immigrants are fairly young, well-educated small households (single persons or couples without children). This is in contrast to the large families that often immigrate to Canada, especially the western provinces (Hiebert et al. 2006). That being said, immigrant families generally have more children than non-immigrant families, as we will see later (D. Dutil).
- For longer than elsewhere in Canada, Quebec immigration has been characterized by the importance of economic immigrants. This can be explained by Quebec's appeal to economic immigrants, which are the main focus of its selection responsibilities. Indeed, until very recently, as the approaches adopted by Quebec and Canada increasingly converged, the percentage of immigrants admitted to Quebec as part of the effort to reunite families was lower than the national average and the percentage of refugees admitted for humanitarian reasons, slightly higher than that average.
- Quebec immigration is polarized in terms of socio-economic ties and education. As elsewhere in Canada, this reflects the complementary aims of immigration policy and the selection categories that this policy creates.
- Quebec immigrants are concentrated in a markedly smaller area than in the other provinces of Canada. As Map 1 shows, at the time of the 2006 Census, 87% of immigrants were established in the Greater Montréal area. Fewer immigrants live in the suburbs in Montréal than do in Toronto and Vancouver. In 2006, 76.3% of newcomers lived in the City of Montréal (Chui et al. 2007). However, efforts to regionalize (or at least decentralize) immigration, which are more longstanding in Quebec because of its territorial distribution and particular urban hierarchy, seem to have begun to have an impact in recent years.
- Quebec immigrants differ greatly from immigrants in the other provinces in terms of their knowledge of the official languages. In 2000, over 60% of landed immigrants stated that they knew French. About 25% of these knew only French, in addition to their first language (where applicable). As a result of Quebec's

language policy and its educational component, moreover, knowledge of French is common among immigrants and people of immigrant origin. This results in multilingualism to a far greater degree than in other major Canadian cities. Thus, in 2006, more than 50% of allophones educated in accordance with Bill 101 were trilingual (Conseil supérieur de la langue française 2008, p. 87).

These realities make Quebec immigration unique, although it shares several trends with the rest of Canada. These factors are worth highlighting, since they influence immigration policies and areas of research.

1. Immigration and policy: New directions, new governance, new criticisms?

The article by Y. Turcotte, of the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigration and cultural communities] (MICC), begins by describing the historic role of immigration in Quebec and the key issues today. The current policy is in line with ad hoc integration practices dating back more than a century and a structured approach developed 30 years ago. Demographic, cultural and language issues continue to be of importance in a society such as Quebec, which is somewhat fragile, owing to its minority status within Canada and North America, as shown in the article by L. Cantin (of the same department) in another section. However, Turcotte's contribution testifies to the new key focus on economic issues. Regionalization has also been one of the directions of Quebec's immigration policy since the early 1990s. The various regions of Quebec are less homogeneous now than in the past. However, the regionalization policy has clearly yielded more mixed results in terms of retaining and integrating immigrants outside major urban centres, as noted by M. Vatz-Laaroussi and G. Bezzi. The tensions and barriers identified raise a number of ethical questions.

Other articles illustrate the emergence, or at least the application, of new forms of governance. The MICC leads other departments that play a significant role in immigration, such as the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport [department of education, leisure and sport] (MELS) and the Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale [department of employment and social solidarity] (MESS). However, the MICC has also joined with various local partners that are playing an increasingly important role in integration programs. The articles by M.-C. Dumas and F. Bélair-Bonnet, as well as C. Poirier, clearly show that local bodies such as the Conférence régionale des élus de Montréal [regional conference of elected officials of Montréal] (CRÉ) and medium-sized municipalities such as Gatineau now intend to play a proactive role. Gatineau has adopted a formal policy and an action plan, based on a broader definition of cultural diversity and a horizontal approach.

Community organizations have long been among these various partners. Generally smaller than the non-governmental organizations in Ontario or British Columbia, these organizations have developed an approach that combines service and commitment to refugees and immigrants with active advocacy based on acting as policy watchdogs and critics. The article by the Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes [issue table for organizations serving refugees and immigrants] (TCRI), written by S. Reichhold, clearly illustrates the dual mandate of community organizations in Quebec, as both essential partners but sometimes also sharp critics of the government.

As a complement to this section, from the other end of the integration process, as it were, A. Bilodeau examines the political involvement of immigrants in Canada and Australia, especially the impact of their pre-migration experience on their reluctance to engage in protest politics.

2. Immigration, engine of economic development: challenges and key issues

It has been said that the contribution of immigrants to economic development is now a major concern of Quebec's immigration policy. This concern echoes broader international issues. Talent, Competitiveness and Migration,[2] a recent publication by the Transatlantic Council on Migration, illustrates the new paradigm proposed in a neoliberal milieu that focuses on the search for "talent." As M.-C. Dumas and F. Bélair-Bonnet (CRÉ) remind us, this milieu thinks more in terms of migration than of immigration.

The articles in this second section offer viewpoints that diverge somewhat from this concept. Regional economic development, especially business needs, is central to the article by S. Pronovost (Canada Economic Development) and M. Vatz-Laaroussi. However, the emphasis placed on the needs and dynamics of host communities diverges from a purely utilitarian vision of immigration. The article by M.-T. Chicha and E. Charest on corporate equal access employment programs paints a fairly gloomy picture of efforts to combat discrimination in employment. Also with regard to discrimination, A. Lenoir and S. Arcand paint a picture of talented immigrants from North Africa who nevertheless find it very difficult to enter the labour market. The authors show the gap between their immigration plans and the thinking of employment support services. M.-T. Chicha examines the tangled web of factors that cause a sample of highly qualified immigrant women to be deskilled. This is a sensitive issue that has been given little attention to date. Finally, in assessing the economic integration of immigrants, B. Boudarbat and his colleagues focus on how the age of immigrants on their arrival in Canada affects their chances of economic success. Boudarbat et al. compare the economic status (labour force participation,

income level, and so on) of immigrants to Quebec and to the rest of Canada.

3. Cultural and religious differences and their visibility

In recent years, the immigration debate in Quebec has focused mainly on the issue of the expression of minority religions in the public sphere. This debate is largely unwarranted, considering the above data on the religious affiliation of immigrants. M. Potvin's article plunges us into the media feeding frenzy that surrounded the so-called "reasonable accommodations" crisis and resulted in the Bouchard-Taylor Commission. The author analyses coverage and commentary by columnists, intellectuals and readers in Quebec's print media and identifies the mechanisms of neoracist rhetoric. Ultimately, the "accommodations crisis" reveals how various groups perceive each other in a society where the majority has only recently come to see itself as such.

The reasonable accommodations debate largely contributed to the emergence of a strong current of public opinion calling on the Government of Quebec to pass an act or a charter defining Quebec as a secular society. M. Milot offers a useful look at the very notion of secularism and seeks to identify the views of religion expressed during this debate. These views include discrediting religion, disparaging believers and declaring that other people's faiths are a negative influence. Under these conditions, it seems more than a little doubtful that passing a law can put an end to the debate.

In more general terms, this focus on the real or imagined demands of religious minorities introduces a serious bias. The role of religion in the public sphere has been almost exclusively in the spotlight. Yet cultural diversity and fairness in an inclusive society raise many other issues and should foster a wider array of perspectives. The next two articles each examine an aspect

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2   Bertelsmann Stiftung, Migration Policy Institute (ed.), 2009. Talent, Competitiveness and Migration, Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung Publications, 450 p.

rarely discussed in the various forums on the role of cultural diversity in the public sphere.

The Conseil des relations interculturelles [council on intercultural relations] (CRI) looks at the limited representation of minorities in the media and in advertising, after assessing the status of knowledge in this regard. Using a variety of novel sources, including television commercials and a public opinion poll on the presence of minorities on television and in daily newspapers, the CRI presents the broad outline of an advisory report submitted to the Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities.

How can immigration be made an integral part of Montrealers' common heritage? That is the challenge facing the Centre d'histoire de Montréal [Montréal history centre]. J.-F. Leclerc's article describes, among other things, the innovative experiments, modelled on blood donor clinics, carried out by this institution of the City of Montréal to collect the memories of immigrants. Since 1992, this dynamic museum has invited Montrealers to use creative ways to anchor the individual and collective memories of immigrants in the public mindset.

4. Justice issues

In addition to the usual domains that focus on social, cultural and economic integration issues, Phase III of the Metropolis project includes a new area of concern, "Justice, Policing and Security," which is introduced as follows:

> Concerns over social cohesion and national security, especially the contemporary preoccupation with terrorism, have raised the public profile of debate surrounding how Canada and its justice and security systems can ensure a balanced and fair approach to an increasingly diverse population – to maintain

order, public safety and national security while preserving civil liberties and the Canadian multicultural model of an open, diverse society.

(Metropolis Phase III, Memorandum of Understanding, Annex J, p. 34)

Three contributions can be assigned to this domain. The article by S. Gravel et al. deals with the increasing number of temporary foreign workers in Quebec's agricultural sector. Several studies examine the working conditions, types of contracts and housing conditions of temporary workers in Canada, whose precarious status is a subject of debate. This study, still at the preliminary stage, focuses particularly on the conditions for implementing employment programs.

In the context of current debate over the threat Muslims allegedly pose to culture and democracy in Western societies, the article by D. Helly and M. Hardy-Dussault offers a timely look at the workings of the justice system. They examine the arguments used by judges in handling Muslim marital and family disputes. We learn that few judges allow cultural bias to affect their decisions, and parties only rarely invoke Muslim law on division of property, repudiation or access to children.

Finally, the article by L.-P. Jannard and F. Crépeau tackles the thorny issue of migrant trafficking. The article looks at the purpose of the measures, and the kinds of penalties, that the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act prescribes for this type of offence. The article speculates that these measures and penalties are designed more to discourage irregular immigration than to fight crime. The authors' findings point to a need for legislative amendments, which they outline in their conclusion.

5. Equity and diversity: the role of education

Job market entry is often a priority for adult immigrants. In most cases, however, they evaluate their success as immigrants in the longer term in light of the benefits their children reap from attending educational institutions in the host country. To what degree do these institutions embody the values of equity through inclusive practices? How do they help to shape a new generation that is more open to diversity? These factors are central to the success of any integration policy. The first three articles in this section focus on mandatory education for primary- and secondary-school children.

M. Mc Andrew and G. Audet start with a general assessment of how Quebec's French-language school system has adapted to diversity, after being largely homogeneous until the late 1970s. Among other things, the authors show that while significant advances have been made in terms of general guidelines, programs and practices, public debate and resistance at the grass-roots level indicate ongoing concern about the impact of the current transformation of Quebec's identity.

J. Ledent et al. take a more detailed look at the educational pathways of youths of immigrant origin. The authors use data from a Canada-wide study involving numerous Metropolis researchers, as well as various federal and provincial partners. The study compares the secondary school graduation rate and the choice of elective courses leading to higher education among students in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver who are allophones. Some of the differences identified have to do with the specific characteristics of the makeup of immigration, as describe above. However, other differences raise further questions.

The article by F. Kanouté and G. Lafortune then explores the strategies that immigrant families adopt to support the educational experience of their children. The authors show, among other things, the wide range of models in this regard. This diversity stems partly from socio-economic differences, but other factors also come into play, because families do not all experience the stress of acculturation in the same way. Moreover, family support is shaped by how welcoming and open educational institutions are. In other words, as shown in other papers, the quality of the relationship is at the heart of the dynamics of integration.

This section ends with an article by T. Gulian describing the new knowledge transfer project at Collège Maisonneuve that focuses on labour market integration for immigrants. Collège Maisonneuve, an educational institution with many students of immigrant origin, has chosen to take advantage of its special place in the field of economic integration by offering occupational training programs that often include internships. These internships are ideal laboratories for observing why and how immigrants face difficulties in entering the work force.

6. Language issues: integration and discrimination

Given its instrumental and symbolic role, there is broad-based consensus about how important it is for immigrants to master the language of the host country. This applies both to children in school and to adults in their dealings with institutions and with people in general. However, there is much debate around the world in this regard. What is the best way to achieve this objective? How can innovative solutions be implemented in order to promote equal opportunity in education and to counter language-based discrimination? In a complex (some would even say ambiguous) linguistic environment such as Quebec's, these concerns are quite understandably heightened and stimulate much serious thought, based on research and field surveys.

L. Cantin reminds us of the efforts made by the MICC and its partners to francize newcomers, sometimes even before they set foot in Quebec, using means such as online courses. The author stresses the need to harmonize the services made available by the MICC and the MELS.

Z. De Koninck and F. Armand review the various models of intake and French learning support services available to allophone students of immigrant origin in several regions of Quebec. Interviews were conducted with those responsible for these services. Analysis of the data indicates that interviewees mention numerous challenges in terms of budget, staff and cooperation among stakeholders. Interviewees also mention that students do not necessarily receive comparable degrees of support, which raises questions as to whether allophone students get an equal start on the path to academic achievement.

Bourhis and Carignan use various sources of information, particularly the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) in Quebec and Canada, to analyse manifestations of linguicism, or discrimination against outgroups with a different language or accent. The results show that, in Quebec, linguicism is the main source of discrimination against Anglophones and allophones. In the rest of Canada, linguicism affects mainly Francophones and then allophones.

Finally, J. Jedwab points out that a number of newly arrived Anglophone immigrants attend English-language educational institutions in Quebec. Presenting various opinion polls, he notes that the Anglophone community is generally more open to diversity than the Francophone community. However, it is necessary to analyse the differences between these opinions and actual practice in accommodating diversity in the institutions in these two language communities.

7. Housing and neighbourhoods: portraits, policies and intervention tools

What happens when immigrants are concentrated in urban areas? In Canada and elsewhere, this is another sensitive issue, stirred up on a regular basis by rioting in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In the rest of Canada, ethnic ghettos continue to be a subject of lively debate. In Quebec, people regularly ask themselves: Does ethnic concentration go hand in hand with ghettoization and cause a community to turn inward on itself? Is it an obstacle to the integration of minorities? X. Leloup and P. Apparicio review various concepts and measurements of ethnic concentration and paint a fairly reassuring portrait of Montréal. Among other things, they show that, properly speaking, Montréal has no ghettoes. However, they end their overview with a question: Montréal may be a multicultural city, but is it a fair one?

D. Dutil describes the residential status of immigrants to Quebec, using as a unit of analysis the notion of a household, which is equivalent to an occupied private dwelling. The status of immigrant households is comparable to that of non-immigrants for a whole range of variables.

The article by M. Wexler and S. La Ferrière, of the City of Montréal, then shows that, while there is no housing mechanism designed specifically for immigrants, the City's housing activities serve this clientele in a proportion roughly equivalent to its percentage of the general population. Immigrant households account for a very significant share of municipal rental and social housing activities and programs, as well as home ownership measures. This study makes a novel contribution that successfully circumvents the lack of specific data about the immigrant origin of clienteles served by municipal programs.

The next two articles illustrate innovative efforts by Centraide to support the work of community-based organizations assisting disadvantaged immigrants, especially accessibility initiatives in several Montréal neighbourhoods. C. Poirier and L. Gagnon describe the thinking that led Centraide to develop intervention strategies and to rethink geographic areas of reference for reaching the most disadvantaged immigrant populations. The article by the Carrefour en ressources interculturelles [intercultural resource crossroads] (CRIC), an agency funded by Centraide that is active in a disadvantaged neighbourhood where many immigrant families have settled in recent years. The article describes the tool that CRIC has developed for organizations active in multicultural environments. This intercultural self-diagnostic tool arose from a team approach adopted for a neighbourhood survey that involved residents, stakeholders and researchers.

Finally, A. Germain and J.-A. Boudreau review the results of comparative research on disadvantaged multiethnic neighbourhoods in Brussels and Montréal, examining changes in the attitudes of social workers in both the public and community sectors. The authors found that concern about cultural conformity was gaining ground and replacing the paradigm of emancipation that traditionally characterized community action. The authors propose several hypotheses for understanding and possibly bridging this gap.

In conclusion

We hope that this quick and non-exhaustive survey will provide some snapshots of the status of immigration and the inclusion of minorities in Quebec, as well as related issues and areas for research. We would like to extend sincere thanks to everyone who helped, directly or indirectly, to produce this issue of Our Diverse Cities, especially Julie Boyer, Deputy Executive Head, and Justin Cavacciuti, Coordinator, e-Knowledge Transfer, both of the Metropolis Project (CIC), and Myriam Bérubé of the Quebec Metropolis Centre–

Immigration and Metropolis.

We hope you find these articles interesting and informative.

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Metropolis Phase III (2007-1012), Annexes A-L, Memorandum of Understanding between Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

Illustration

Map 1 – Distribution of the immigrant population and census metropolitan areas (CMAs) in Quebec, 2006
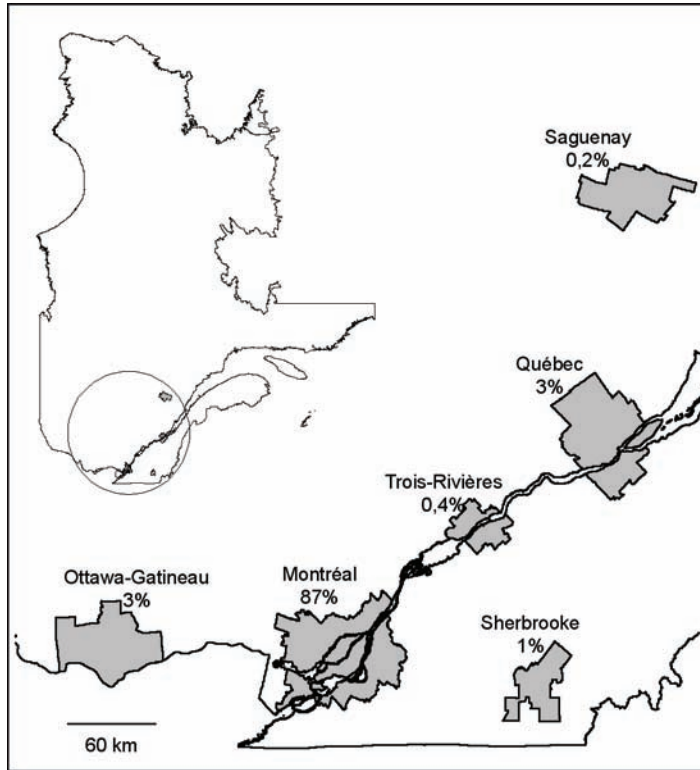
Immigration in Quebec: A Direct Contribution to Its Prosperity

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Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Québec

Abstract: Quebec faces a number of challenges in ensuring that immigration will continue to contribute to its prosperity. This article outlines these challenges, the actions that Quebec has taken to address them, and the various partnerships that have been established, thereby giving an indication of Quebec's approach to governing in this area.

Introduction

Immigration has always played a major role in Quebec. Its contribution to the province's prosperity on the economic, demographic and social front is undeniable. While immigrants' countries of origin have changed over the years, the various waves of immigrants have all shaped Quebec's population. Whether it was the Irish fleeing famine, Eastern European Jews in the early 20th century or after the Second World War, the successive waves of southern Europeans chasing the dream of prosperity, or people from the Soviet Bloc rejecting the repression of their democratic and economic ideals, they have all helped make Quebec what it is today.

Recently, the source countries have become more diverse, and more immigrants are coming from African and Asian countries. However, in 2008, no single country represented more than 10% of new immigrants. The 10 main source countries combined represented just over half of new immigrants. The other half came from roughly one hundred highly diverse countries. The continents of origin were also fairly balanced, with each accounting for between 19% and 30% of new immigrants, with the exception of Oceania, which is itself a land of immigrants.

The volume of immigrants has also varied tremendously over the years. From thousands in the early 20th century, the number slowed to a trickle during the Great Depression and rose again after World War II. Immigration peaked in 1957 at 55,000, representing 1.15% of the population that year (only 0.58% of today's population). Immigration decreased in the 1970s and rose again strongly at the end of the 1980s, when Quebec sought to gain control of its own immigration. Since then, volumes have increased and in 2008, Quebec welcomed 45,264 immigrants.

The profile of immigrants to Quebec is helping the province meet its needs both economically and socially. The percentage of immigrants who already speak French when they arrive has been rising for several years and is now at 60%. Immigrants are equally balanced along gender lines, and almost half of newcomers are between the ages of 18 and 34. Immigrants are selected to meet the needs of the labour market, where three quarters of them are destined. On average, immigrants have a higher level of education than Quebeckers: over two thirds have completed 14 or more years of education. These characteristics have not come about by chance but rather, because Quebec selects the candidates who are the most likely to integrate smoothly into their new host society. Although the decision to emigrate proves advantageous

for the vast majority of new immigrants, and therefore for Quebec, it can bring certain pitfalls for some, and the reality is much more complex than it appears at first glance.

The unemployment rate of recent immigrants is several percentage points higher than that of the general population. It takes many immigrants several months if not years to have their credentials recognized. In the beginning, the lack of job experience in Quebec and a lesser command of French are also handicaps. However, immigrants' situations improve over time as they overcome these difficulties. After a decade in the province, their unemployment rate is close to that of the general population.

The rate of social assistance use among immigrants is similar to that in the general population. Many immigrants come from countries where the average income is much lower than that of Quebeckers. Once they have depleted the assets they arrived with, some immigrants have no choice but to ask for assistance, in the same way native-born Quebeckers do. Nevertheless, most immigrants stop collecting social assistance after a few months and never do so again.

Immigration issues

The economic development and prosperity of Quebec society tomorrow depends largely on its ability to meet the demographic challenge today. Over the last 40 years, the birth rate has not been high enough to ensure demographic renewal, resulting in a population that is growing more slowly and that is ageing. Those realities have a trickle-down effect: a decrease in labour supply could lead to a shortage of workers on the labour market, a decline in Quebec's weight within Canada and increased pressure on public finances and government services. The macroeconomic impacts of an ageing population on the development of Quebec society are therefore significant.

Although Quebec has seen an encouraging rise in the birth rate over the last few years and seems to have avoided a decline in population, the fact remains that its population is ageing. Its immigrants, however, are significantly younger: the average age of immigrants in 2008 was 28, compared with 40 in the general population. Many young immigrant couples already have or will soon have young children. Immigration is therefore already helping rejuvenate Quebec society, whereas it takes some time for birth-promotion policies to have an impact.

Between 1991 and 2001, 60% of the growth in labour force requirements in Quebec has been met by immigrants. This strong contribution by immigrants to the growth of the work force will likely continue into the future. Emploi-Québec estimates that 642,000 jobs will need to be filled between 2009 and 2013, three quarters of them because of retirements.

The 2009 economic slowdown did not have the same repercussions for all industries and services. Demand has been steady in certain sectors, and a recovery should occur in the others at some point. Tomorrow's jobs will in large part be filled by immigrants selected today. Because the selection process can take several years, Quebec's planned immigration levels must be maintained despite the economic downturn—particularly since many immigrants might postpone their plans in the face of the more difficult economic situation.

The contribution of immigrants to the growth of the labour force will have other economic repercussions as well. An increase in the number of workers will support an increase in domestic consumption and an increase in consumption will require increased production of goods, which in turn will promote prosperity in Quebec.

Finally, some immigrants represent an important source of capital for Quebec. Quebec's immigrant investor program, launched in 1986, enabled over 10,000 immigrants to invest some $4 billion

in Quebec between 2000 and 2008. A portion of the revenues generated by these investments is reinvested in Quebec businesses every year throughout the province.

Quebec has a long tradition of solidarity and welcomes humanitarian immigration. Immigrants in all streams have helped Quebec open itself up to the world, whether through new trade markets or through cultural enrichment.

But in a highly competitive world, Quebec has also created tools so that it can compete. The Canada-Québec Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens, signed in 1991, gives Quebec full authority over the selection of economic immigrants and over immigrant integration. The federal government pays compensation to Quebec annually for Canada's withdrawal from immigrant reception, francization and integration services in the province.

Quebec initiatives

Overall, Quebec selects almost three quarters of its immigrants, primarily from the economic class. The selection grid used allows the province to adjust the composition of immigration to best meet its needs. The grid applies to everyone and does not discriminate against race, colour, ethnic or national origin, religion or sex. Ten factors are taken into consideration in the grid, including training, language skills and age.

Immigration planning

Quebec's authority over immigration also extends to planning. The planning of immigration levels spans three years and is designed to establish not only the volume of immigration but also its composition. The planning process is not done in isolation; it includes public consultations that allow many stakeholders to express their opinions.

The 2010 immigration level, established during the 2008–2010 planning process, is 52,400 to 55,000 and corresponds to the moderate growth scenario proposed by the MICC and supported by a strong majority of the briefs tabled during the public consultations. The consultations resulted in a broad consensus on the importance of francization and successful integration, and in response, the MICC implemented a range of new measures to provide support in those areas. A new planning exercise is currently under way for the 2011–2013 period.

The MICC also tables in National Assembly an annual immigration plan based on the three-year plan. As a result, 45,264 immigrants were admitted in 2008, which is slightly under the target set out in the annual plan. The province also admitted approximately 24,000 temporary workers and almost the same number of foreign students.

Integration

Quebec, a Francophone society, supports the learning of French at various levels and at different stages of the immigration process, as L. Cantin outlines in her article on francization in this issue. Quebec also provides support to immigrants at various times during the integration process—even before they leave their home country. The Learning About Quebec guide, published in French, English and Spanish, available both in print and online and given to selected immigrants, helps them get to know their host society before they arrive. The MICC meets newcomers at the airport, welcomes them and guides them through their first steps. The MICC offers reception and personal accompaniment services to newcomers who require additional settlement assistance. Over 65 community organizations also work with the MICC to help immigrants settle in, find housing and integrate into the work force.

In order to promote the regionalization of immigration, the MICC has agreements with 12 regional conferences of elected officials and six cities, including Montréal and Québec. These agreements are intended to improve the settlement and retention of immigrants in the regions through improved reception, settlement and integration services. They also aim to raise public awareness about the economic, social and cultural contributions of immigration.

The MICC directly supports access to employment by working with some 30 professional associations to accelerate and facilitate foreign credential recognition and skills upgrading. It also carries out comparative assessments of studies, thereby providing tools to newcomers in their search for employment.

Finally, the MICC offers services to employers to assess temporary or permanent employment offers and organizes activities to raise awareness about managing multicultural teams that contribute to the integration and job retention of newcomers and visible minorities. The MICC also organizes events and supports many activities that foster openness to diversity and bring people from different cultures together.

Ensuring prosperity

Quebec is a French-speaking, democratic and pluralistic society based on the rule of law. The Quebec government and its institutions are secular. Integrating into Quebec society means being prepared to understand and respect its common values. That is the responsibility of each and every immigrant.

Since February 2009, immigration candidates have had to sign the Declaration on the Common Values of Québec Society, which was added to the Application for Selection Certificate. By signing, candidates declare that they understand the common values and that they want to live within the framework of those values and abide by them. They also declare that they want to learn French if they do not speak it already.

The host society bears equal responsibility for the successful integration of immigrants. The response to the increasingly diverse needs of Quebec and of the people who settle there must come from a variety of socio-economic stakeholders, from both civil society and the government.

All stakeholders must therefore work together to ensure the collective development and prosperity of Quebec.

About the Author

Yvan Turcotte has a degree in communications and has worked in immigration since 1980. His responsibilities as Assistant Deputy Minister at the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [Quebec department of immigration and cultural communities] (MICC) have included planning, research, immigration, francization and integration, and administration. He served on the negotiating team for the Canada-Québec Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens, signed in February 1991. He also served as chairman of Quebec's consumer protection bureau for three and a half years. Since his return to the MICC in November 2007, he has been Assistant Deputy Minister for Francization, Performance, Partnerships and Promotion.

Capturing International Mobility:
A Look at Immigration in Montréal in the 21st Century[i]

MARIE-CLAIRE DUMAS AND FRÉDÉRIQUE BÉLAIR-BONNET
Conférence régionale des élus de Montréal

Abstract: The Conférence régionale des élus de Montréal [Montréal regional conference of elected officials] (CRÉ) is focusing on immigration as a critical factor in development and population growth in the Montréal region and in the region's economic future. In our strategic initiatives and our immigration planning, a new paradigm is needed in order to take greater advantage of international mobility. In these times of globalization, Montréal must position itself favourably in relation to the rest of the world to attract skilled immigrants. The CRÉ believes that Quebec must focus its recruitment and retention efforts on foreign students and temporary workers because of the creative and innovative contributions they can make.

Immigration: A strategic demographic factor and key development tool for Montréal

The proof is in: the development of Quebec and its main urban centre depends directly on our ability to attract people from the four corners of the world who want to help us build the future of our community. From 2001 to 2005, net migration in Quebec outstripped natural growth. Although the mini baby boom that has been under way in Quebec since 2006 is temporarily reversing that trend, the fact remains that the Institut de la Statistique du Québec [Quebec statistics institute] (ISQ) recently estimated that, starting in 2029, Quebec's population will grow only through immigration. Referring to the more immediate future, the same ISQ projections suggest that, without migration, the number of individuals aged 20 to 64, who make up 96% of the labour force, will steadily decline beginning in 2011.[1]

It therefore comes as no surprise that the Conférence régionale des élus de Montréal [Montréal regional conference of elected officials] (CRÉ), which covers an area where 65.8% of Quebec's immigrant population lives, should focus on immigration as a critical factor in development and population growth in the Montréal region and in the region's economic future.

From immigration to migration

Like many observers of migratory processes, the CRÉ has to face facts: the 21st century is redefining population migration and therefore migratory profiles. Simply put, it could be said that, in the 20th century, migration patterns were relatively linear in relatively stable nation states, except in times of war. Emigrants left their

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i   This article is largely inspired by the brief presented by the Conférence régionale des élus de Montréal (CRÉ) during the consultations on immigration levels held by the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [Quebec department of immigration and cultural communities] (MICC), Capter la mobilité internationale,

September 7, 2007, and the opinion paper on international students produced by the Montréal CRÉ in November 2006: Intensifier les efforts pour attirer et retenir les meilleurs étudiants internationaux à Montréal. Those documents are available on the CRÉ's website: credemontreal.qc.ca.

1   Institut de la Statistique du Québec. Perspectives démographiques du Québec et des régions, 2006-2056, 2009 Édition, 133 pages.

countries for a final destination. With a little luck, they were welcomed there and put down roots. These successive waves (Italians, Portuguese and Greeks to name only those in Montréal) produced layers of settlement that reshaped and redefined the country's social fabric.

In contrast, 21st-century migration patterns embody mobility, discontinuous migration, and even new forms of nomadism. When immigrants arrive somewhere, they are not necessarily at the end of their journey; they are sometimes just passing through. The world's major cities have therefore become way stations where people stay for a short time.

In addition, attachments are transcending borders. The melting pot of local solidarity is giving way to an ever-growing web. People can now make connections in cyberspace, carry out their day-to-day activities and engage in professional activities no matter where they are in the world. Our planet, as seen from the orbiting space station, verges on a caricature of this phenomenon, where communications technologies make it possible to redraw boundaries of space and time that were once cast in stone.

A new paradigm: An approach adapted to international mobility

In this context of globalization, the message is clear to all observers of migratory processes: a new paradigm is needed.

We already knew that it was no longer enough to open our doors to immigration. Over the past 30 years, it has become obvious that we must actively attract immigrants, who have more and more options in terms of quality of life and employment opportunities. Countries are increasingly pitted against one another in the quest for skilled people. The ability to attract immigrants is crucial to the future of Montréal. Furthermore, it is critical in all western countries,

which are also dealing with ageing populations and in emerging countries, which are establishing themselves economically and in leading-edge technologies.

The impact of this competition for talent is clear from the fact that, year in and year out, Quebec falls short of its immigration targets.

As we entered the new millennium, we arrived at a "new frontier." We cannot simply open our doors or try to attract and select immigrants. We have to "capture international mobility" and encourage people who are on the move to make Montréal a stop on their journey. We must attract them—and maybe even try to get them to stay.

This new nomadism, driven by economic globalization and ever-increasing means of communication and travel, is a growing phenomenon the world over. For example, many countries, particularly in the west, already have their sights set on foreign students, seeing them as a way to overcome population ageing and to quickly increase the number of skilled workers in their labour force.

Amid the international competition for skilled labour, Quebec needs to position itself and join the ranks of the countries that are leading the way in attracting these highly mobile people. These population pools should be front and centre in our analyses, strategic initiatives and planning related to immigration. In these times of globalization, we must step up our recruitment efforts and facilitate the attraction, integration and retention of temporary immigrants, including temporary workers and foreign students.

Numbers paint a picture

What exactly does immigration look like in Quebec today? Data from 2006 give us an idea.

In 2006, nearly 44,700 people immigrated

TABLE 1: **Temporary resident permit holders in Quebec, 2006**

	Annual Entries
Foreign students	9,898
Temporary workers	16,038
TOTAL temporary	25,936
TOTAL permanent immigrants	44,686
TOTAL entries, Quebec	70,622

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures 2006, 2007.

to Quebec. The same year, nearly 26,000 foreigners—36.7% of the total number of people from abroad (temporary and permanent residents combined)—came to live in Quebec temporarily for work or school.

Those 26,000 people were on top of the temporary resident permit holders who were already in Quebec. This means that, on December 1, 2006, there were 24,582 foreign students and 21,780 temporary workers in Quebec, for a total of 46,362 temporary resident permit holders.

Foreign students

In 2006, there were 24,582 foreign students in Quebec.[2] That segment of the population is interesting on two levels. Foreign students not only contribute significantly to research and innovation, but they are also likely to choose to work or live in Quebec once they graduate. In Montréal, 20% of foreign students doing an undergraduate university degree settle in the city permanently; the proportion is 30% among graduate students.[3]

Confident in the strength of this potential, the CRÉ, through its committee on Montréal as a city of learning, knowledge and innovation [Montréal, ville apprenante, de savoir et d'innovation], undertook a collaborative venture dealing specifically with the issue of foreign students. Based on the venture, which involved Montréal's universities, the Regroupement des collèges du Montréal métropolitain [association of colleges of greater Montréal], the City of Montréal, Montréal International, the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Montreal, the Fédération étudiante universitaire du Québec [Quebec federation of university students] and the Forum jeunesse de l'Île de Montréal [Montréal Island youth forum], an opinion paper[4] concluded that Quebec's position in this regard is unsatisfactory and suggested ways of improving the province's and the city's ability to compete globally in order to attract and encourage these top students to remain.

We have to determine exactly where we stand in relation to the rest of the world. In a

2   Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures 2006: Overview of Immigration—Permanent and Temporary Residents, 2007, p. 86.

3   CRÉ de Montréal, Intensifier les efforts pour attirer

et retenir les meilleurs étudiants internationaux à Montréal, November 2006, p.21.

4   Idem.

recent speech[5] at the symposium of colleges in large metropolitan areas, Kent MacDonald, Vice-President (Academic) of Algonquin College, stated that 70% of post-secondary students in the United States were not born in that country. He added that six countries account for 62% of the 2.8 million foreign students who study outside their country of origin. This international student mobility, which he referred to as academic nomadism, increased 53% between 1999 and 2007, according to data from UNESCO.[6]

Canada continues to fare well in this regard, ranking among the 10 countries that accept the most foreign students. The fact remains, however, that expatriate students are choosing an increasingly wide range of destinations and that the growing trend among students is to study in a country in their region of origin (Latin America, Central Asia, etc.). In this context, what can we as a community do to position ourselves?

To attract more students from abroad, the committee on Montréal as a city of learning, knowledge and innovation has proposed measures ranging from reducing the financial burden of foreign students to increasing funding for educational institutions (to ensure that foreign students are properly accommodated and integrated). Other suggestions include doing more to promote Quebec internationally as an affordable place to get a good education and simplifying administrative procedures.

With regard to retention, action can be taken primarily on two levels. First, every effort should be made to facilitate the social, professional and linguistic integration of foreign students into Quebec society while they are in school by creating more opportunities for interaction with local residents.[7] Second, concrete action must be taken to provide better support for those who want to live in Quebec, by making it easier and faster for them to become permanent residents and by facilitating their integration into the labour market.

One thing is certain: the issue of foreign students creates challenges that require us to take full advantage of the potential contribution that foreign students can make to Quebec's socio-economic, scientific and cultural development.

Temporary workers

Temporary immigration also encompasses temporary foreign workers, who numbered 21,780 in Quebec in 2006; of those workers, 16,038 arrived that very year.[8] Given only passing treatment in government recruitment policies until recently, they nevertheless play a strategic role, whether they are here for a short time or whether they choose to stay longer. They not only represent a valuable work force that helps meet the pressing needs of the Quebec and Montréal economies, but their integration into the labour market is, temporarily, also virtually guaranteed.[9] Finally—and this is a major asset—they form a pool of potential immigrants that is attractive for two reasons: first, because of their occupational profile, of course; second, because they are familiar with Quebec's labour market and social and cultural life, which would make their integration considerably easier.

Quebec accounted for only 14.2% of the temporary foreign workers admitted to Canada in 2006, compared with 22.5% for British Columbia

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5   MacDonald, Kent, "Serving Immigrants: The Global Perspective," speech given in Montréal on October 5, 2009, at the symposium of colleges in large metropolitan areas.

6   UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2009 Global Education Digest, July 2009, 262 pages.

7   CRÉ de Montréal, Intensifier les efforts pour attirer et retenir les meilleurs étudiants internationaux à Montréal, op. cit., p. 30.

8   Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures 2006, op. cit., p. 74.

9   Except working holiday permit holders, who are not required to have accepted a job offer before they arrive and therefore have to look for work.

and 42.6% for Ontario.[10] If it is to compete with OECD countries, Quebec will have to pull out all the stops to showcase the benefits it offers and at the same time work to diversify and intensify its strategies for attracting more of these mobile workers and encouraging them to remain.

In the brief it submitted during the Government of Quebec's consultations on immigration levels,[11] the CRÉ made a number of proposals.[12]

First, the province should consider a more proactive approach to recruitment that combines increased promotional initiatives abroad with more structured planning of the categories of jobs that need to be filled now and in the future.

Second, the province should tackle the problem of the lengthy administrative procedures that currently impede the ability of Quebec and the Montréal region to compete. On the one hand, these lengthy administrative procedures can hinder employers' access to these resources. On the other hand, highly educated workers, professionals and people who work in fields in which there is a labour shortage are likely to become discouraged and settle elsewhere. We cannot afford to take that chance.

Finally, with regard to retention, gateways that make it easier for these workers to become permanent residents need to be developed further. In 2006–07, only 701 selection certificates were issued to temporary workers.[13] That represents a drop in the bucket considering that there were 21,780 temporary workers. All that matters, however, is putting means and measures in place to ensure that the rights of temporary workers are fully respected and that all members of their families are successfully integrated (access to school, francization, etc.)

In short, given the creative and innovative contributions foreign students and workers can make and because having lived in Quebec for a time facilitates successful integration, the CRÉ believes that Quebec must focus specifically on these two groups in the years ahead. The recent implementation of the MICC's Programme de l'expérience québécoise [Quebec experience program] (PEQ), whereby foreign students who have completed a high school vocational, college technical or university program in a Quebec institution and foreign workers who have worked in Quebec for 12 of the past 24 months will receive a Quebec selection certificate (CSQ), sends a clear message that the government is committed to the long-term retention of these individuals. The CRÉ plans to support this expression of political will with regional initiatives tailored to the new realities of migration.

A regional strategy geared to emerging phenomena

Temporary migrants accounted for over a third of all people entering Quebec in 2006, but the huge number of foreign students and skilled workers travelling the globe forces us to enhance our performance in order to better position ourselves on the world stage.

Looking to the future, pursuing its efforts to ensure that Montréal remains a beacon of knowledge and innovation and hoping to establish its economic growth within the network of creative capitals, our region must take a broader look at international mobility as a whole and at the global context of competition for talent.

10   Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures 2006, op. cit., p. 73.

11   CRÉ de Montréal, Capter la mobilité internationale, brief on recommended immigration levels in Quebec for the period from 2008 to 2010, September 2007, 20 pages.

12   These proposals echoed the proposals that Montréal International made to the committee. The Montréal International recommendations range from deregulation and international recruitment assistance to promotion of permanent residence, fast-track selection and the reinstatement of employment validation.

13   MICC, Rapport annuel de gestion 2006-2007, 2007, p.15.

It was with that objective in mind that, in March 2009, in the presence of the Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities, Yolande James, the CRÉ unveiled a regional action plan for immigration (PARMI),[14] which includes a large number of joint projects aimed at attracting and encouraging these mobile populations to stay. In the same vein, in April, the CRÉ launched the ALLIÉS project,[15] a network created "by and for" employers who see immigration as a business solution and who are willing to join forces to improve their performance in recruiting, integrating and retaining immigrants. In just a few months, nearly two dozen employers joined the ALLIÉS strategic council, an outcome that clearly illustrates the need felt in the Montréal business community. The CRÉ and its regional partners, together with the MICC, are also actively pursuing their current projects aimed at attracting and encouraging foreign students to remain.

In taking these initiatives, the CRÉ has made a firm commitment to an approach that is in step with the current state of international mobility, an approach that is proactive and outward-looking.

About the Authors

Marie-Claire Dumas has a bachelor's degree in communication, journalism option, and a master's in communication, research option, from the Université du Québec à Montréal. After a wide-ranging career, first as a columnist and journalist and later as a manager in organizations such as the YWCA, Marie-Claire Dumas held several management and planning positions with the City of Montréal from 1990 to 2007: assistant to the assistant general manager of the Service du développement culturel, de la qualité du milieu de vie et de la diversité ethnoculturelle [cultural development, quality of life and ethnocultural diversity service]; external relations officer; director of research and communications with the Office de consultation publique de Montréal [Montreal office of public consultation] and director of the Bureau des relations interculturelles [intercultural relations office]. Ms. Dumas has also been a division head with Développement social et communautaire [social and community development] and a planning advisor with the Secrétariat général [general secretariat] and the service de l'Environnement [environmental service]. She has been general manager of Conférence régionale des élus de Montréal since 2007.

After studying political science at the Université du Québec à Montréal and the Université Rennes 2 - Haute Bretagne, Frédérique Bélair-Bonnet worked as a university research assistant in regional development and Latin America. She has been a development officer with the CRÉ de Montréal since 2007 and is currently responsible for the education component of the "Montréal, ville apprenante, de savoir et d'innovation" [Montréal as a city of learning, knowledge and innovation] initiative. Her work focuses on student retention, motivation and success at school, and international student mobility.

The Conférence régionale des élus de Montréal comprises political and socio-economic leaders on Montréal Island. Its mandate is to promote local development through a coordinated approach and to serve as a single point of contact for the government on matters related to regional development.

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14   CRÉ de Montréal, Introductory document: PARMI, http://www.credemontreal.qc.ca/Publications/Autres/CRE_PARMI_FichesProjets.pdf

15   CRÉ de Montréal, Introductory document: Alliés Montréal, http://www.credemontreal.qc.ca/Publications/Developpement%20Social/Allies_Montreal.pdf

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Proactive Cities and Cultural Diversity: Policy Issues and Dynamics

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Abstract: This article discusses the primary forms of intervention, both practical and discursive, used by municipalities that want to be proactive in managing ethnic diversity. It offers a review of the scientific literature on the subject and also presents the example of the City of Gatineau.

Cultural diversity is a fundamental aspect of urban life, particularly in large metropolitan cities. This cosmopolitanism now extends beyond the metropolitan context and affects all cities that have experienced significant diversification of their populations in recent years. Municipalities such as Halifax, Gatineau, London and Calgary have adopted various measures to promote the harmonious cohabitation of differences. This increased involvement by municipal administrations of all sizes is not insignificant. Over the past 20 years, a number of major trends, including an increase in the political legitimacy of local governments, demands from civil society (citizens' groups), policy statements by agencies representing municipal interests, and political and administrative decentralization, have led to a greater assumption of responsibility for diversity issues at the local level.[1] Incidentally, according to Pestieau and Wallace (2003), the ethnic diversification of the population is felt most keenly at the local level. This article provides an overview and a discussion of the primary means by which proactive municipalities are intervening in this area.[2]

A broader definition of diversity and politics

Our research demonstrates the importance of adopting a broader definition of cultural diversity, encompassing both newcomers and people who declare themselves members of a cultural community, including second- and third-generation Canadians. The need to examine ethnic characteristics in conjunction with other identity markers, whether age or sex, is important.[3] The specific problems of, for example, immigrant women, the elderly or young people, must be identified. This perspective also includes all relationships between citizens, whatever community they belong to, which necessarily implies the society they have joined.

In terms of policies, Siemiatycki et al. (2001) identify four categories of institutional response to diversity: pioneers (proactive, implement major reorganization that takes diversity into account), learners (recognize the importance of diversity and initiate change), waverers (aware of issues related to diversity but refuse to get involved) and resisters (refuse to accept diversity).

We have already noted (Poirier 2006a) that the management of diversity has two main dimensions: policies and administrative mechanisms, and models. The repertoire of possible policies and administrative mechanisms includes the following: establishing a reception strategy, creating a unit responsible for diversity, creating an advisory council (or committee) made up of representatives of cultural communities, implementing an employment equity program in the municipal public service, increasing municipal employees' intercultural awareness and providing them with intercultural training, supporting multi-ethnic associations, providing information and translation/interpretation services, running activities to raise awareness (workshops, intercultural days, debates, exchanges, publicity campaigns, displays in libraries, visits to schools, work with media), establishing intercultural festivals and celebrations, adopting a declaration against discrimination and racism, adapting municipal services in general (culture, sports and recreation, housing, community life, and so forth) to take account of the intercultural dimension, promoting economic integration, establishing a multicultural centre for bridge-building activities, and forming ongoing relationships with partners (associations, institutions, governments, and so on).[4] Participation, particularly political, must also be encouraged.[5]

Many of these activities involve areas of authority shared by other levels of government. However, municipalities may play an important role, either directly or by encouraging other governments to adopt the necessary policies. More fundamentally, they may play a role in establishing relationships and creating an interface among the various stakeholders (Poirier 2006a).

With regard to models, the discourse of the main actors and the discursive referents are important because they refer to the integration models implemented. There are usually three conceptions of public management of the sociocultural space (Alexander 2003; Poirier 2006b): assimilationism (assimilation in the public and private spheres), universalism (neutrality in the public sphere, expression of differences in the private sphere) and multiculturalism (expression of differences in the public and private spheres, institutionalization of differences). In response to, in particular, criticism of multiculturalism and specifically the lack of interaction among the different communities and a tendency toward their compartmentalization, a fourth model has emerged—interculturalism—that seeks a compromise between universalism and multiculturalism and formally encourages intercultural exchanges. These models are often the most visible aspect of municipal policy and receive the most attention in the public space and the media, and they necessarily influence the type of measures adopted. The important challenge remains one of reconciling the establishment of common practices and values with respect and the full expression of differences.

The example of Gatineau

Quebec's fourth largest city in terms of population (281,650 in 2006), Gatineau ranks second among Quebec's urban centres for the size of its immigrant population (8.1%).[6] Several factors explain this diversification of the population: the Quebec government's regionalization policies, family relocation, the influx of refugees, the presence of an Aboriginal population and Gatineau's location next to Canada's national capital, Ottawa, which has a high proportion of citizens born abroad. Gatineau also has one of the highest retention rates in Quebec. While the City had already adopted a series of measures (creation of a position devoted to intercultural

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4   Graham and Phillips (2006) also establish a series of measures that can be found in our listing.

5   See, in this regard, Biles and Tolley (2004); Bird (2004); Fennema and Tillie (1999); Garbaye (2002); and Simard (2001).

6   See Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Québec, Population immigrée recensée au Québec et dans les régions en 2006 : caractéristiques générales, May 2009.

relations, support of events encouraging intercultural bridge building, membership in the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination, appointment of a municipal councillor responsible for this issue, and so on), it chose to go one step further by formally adopting a policy and action plan.[7]

First, an inclusive and broadened definition of cultural diversity was proposed, refined and adopted: "the variety of all culture-related values and characteristics with which a person can identify, such as ethnic origin, language, religion, and multiple affiliations, including affiliation with the local identity." As can be seen, this approach concerns all of Gatineau society. Such a perspective must of necessity be supported by a broadened definition of the very essence of a cultural diversity policy, that is, "the set of models, actions and mechanisms that Gatineau can put in place and use to create conditions that foster intercultural bridge building; being open to what is different, and welcoming and integrating it into the local community; public participation in the new issues and challenges that this represents; and adjustment of the city's policies, structures and services …"

All dimensions of the migratory process are addressed (reception, integration, participation, retention) and guidelines are established, including recognition of cultural diversity as a form of wealth and a force for development, respect for gender equality, the need to combat prejudice, racism and discrimination, the importance of French as a common language, and so forth. Six general aims leading to various commitments structure the policy: 1) in terms of models, an approach inspired by interculturalism; 2) unifying values based specifically on the guidelines; 3) a proactive leadership role based on partnership; 4) a barrier-free territory, a neighbourhood approach; 5) an integrated, horizontal and intersectoral policy involving adjustments to internal governance; and 6) active citizen participation. A number of concrete activity sectors are identified to meet these aims: arts and culture, sports and recreation, the economy, employment, housing and territorial development, community life, health and the environment, safety and security (including policing), education, public services, and communications and participatory governance. Finally, an action plan serves to implement this policy.[8]

Conclusion

Cities seeking to be the most proactive have adopted a broader definition of cultural diversity, as well as a horizontal approach with impact on all sectors in which they can exercise their authority. The models vary considerably, with cities in Quebec usually opting for the intercultural perspective for reasons that are both cultural and historic. More generally, our research reveals that these measures are intrinsically related to how the municipal government and the scope of its authority are perceived. It is also fundamental to ensure cooperative intergovernmental relations, as well as the active participation of civil society and other institutions. These are essential conditions for any effort at the local level to formulate and establish practical and conceptual conditions for a mode of living together that is pluralistic and inclusive.

About the Author

Christian Poirier is a professor and researcher at the Institition national de la recherche scientifique (INRS) – Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société. His research and publications focus on the analysis of organizations and cultural

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7 See Together!, the City of Gatineau's policy on cultural diversity, 2008 (available at http://www.ville. gatineau.qc.ca/docs/la_ville/administration_municipale/ politiques_vision/politique_matiere_diversite_culturelle. en-CA.pdf).

8 Some measures have not been adopted, including the creation of an advisory committee, because the City is currently reviewing all of its committees. The policy is to be evaluated in a few years, and this will give an indication of its effectiveness.

institutions, governance and cultural policy, cultural industries, the cultural dynamics of cities, as well as identity issues and issues relating to ethnocultural diversity, particularly municipal diversity policies and relationships between art and cultural communities. He is a member of the Chaire Fernand-Dumont sur la culture; the Quebec Metropolis Centre-Immigration et Métropoles; the Laboratoire Art et Société, Terrains et Théories; and the network Villes Régions Monde.

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The Regionalization of Immigration in Quebec: From Political Challenges to Ethical Questions

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Abstract: This article outlines the latest developments in immigration regionalization policies in Quebec. These policies have little impact in terms of either the geographic distribution of immigration or the immigrant groups targeted. Moreover, retention of immigrants in the regions remains a major challenge. The limited success of the current policies raises a number of ethical questions.

Immigration regionalization policies have existed in Quebec since 1993 and have been maintained and reinforced through the years, regardless of government. In the early 2000s, moreover, such policies struck a chord with other Canadian provinces, and they are now part of the general policy of the Canadian federal government. One might think that the persistence of these policies and the repeated investment of financial and human resources reflect a broad social consensus, as well as the policies' effectiveness and success. Yet for 16 years, the regionalization of immigration has been the subject of public debate in Quebec and its results have been mixed. This article outlines the latest changes in these policies and gives an overview of the results. It then discusses the barriers to and tensions surrounding the implementation of these policies and looks closely at the ethical questions they have raised. The conclusion identifies avenues for addressing these ethical, social, economic and political challenges in future.

1.   The current situation

A brief look back

Since the beginning of regionalization, the Quebec government has sought to identify which populations could be directed to the regions. Although, for economic reasons, the government would have liked to increase the number of independent professional immigrants and investors in the regions, it quickly found that it had little influence over this group, which was very independent in its choice of destination. The natural reaction was to turn to the selected refugee population, which could be directed to places other than Montréal upon landing. In the early 2000s, consequently, nearly 70% of immigrants in Sherbrooke were refugees, whereas they represented 15 to 17% of Quebec's total immigrant population. The same was true of Quebec City. But more strikingly, refugees were also sent to small communities, such as Trois-Pistoles, Joliette and Chicoutimi, that had signed specific agreements in this regard with the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigration and cultural communities]. Since these communities did not have immigrant reception infrastructures or employment networks to support refugees,

they were often quickly abandoned by the newcomers.

These problems have led to new measures. First, the government wants to balance the number of refugees with that of independent immigrants in these regions. To this end, there are measures limiting the number of refugees sent to the regions and others aimed at attracting more independent immigrants. The tendency is to direct fewer refugees to communities whose reception infrastructures are less extensive and concentrate them in a number of areas that have developed such infrastructures, such as Sherbrooke, Quebec City and St-Jérôme. To make the regions more attractive to newcomers, it was decided to avoid agreements with communities that are too small and focus on regional country municipalities and, more specifically, Conférences régionales des élus that encompass a number of municipalities. Finally, new measures aim increasingly at fostering a concerted local development approach that relies on the regions' stakeholders (Allen and Troestler, 2007).

What measures are being used to implement this change?

First, the government drew up a series of specific agreements on immigration regionalization with different regions, such as Central Quebec, Saguenay, Lower St. Lawrence and even Gaspé. All areas of Quebec are covered, and in early 2009, twelve immigration regionalization agreements were signed with the Conférences régionales des élus and eight with municipalities such as Sherbrooke and Quebec City. Various projects to attract, integrate and retain immigrants are funded under these agreements.

The government also wants to encourage immigrants living in Montréal to move to the regions. To this end, regionalization services are being developed in Montréal and in the regions with a view to providing individualized support for families prepared to move to regional

municipalities (Ste- Hyacinthe, Granby, Rimouski, Drummondville or Sherbrooke, for example). Support for families that venture into the regions will cover access to housing and schools, as well as employment. Joint measures involving the immigration and employment departments have also been proposed. These are aimed at matching the skills of these immigrants with local job opportunities more effectively.

Another strategy has been developed over the past five years. It targets the foreign students that the government wants to attract to the regions with the goal of keeping them there. The regional universities and CÉGEPs are entering into agreements and co-operative initiatives. For example, groups of students from the island of Réunion have been encouraged to attend CÉGEPs and universities in the Lower St. Lawrence, Chaudière-Appalaches and Eastern Townships regions.

Finally, medium-sized cities are also getting involved, and many are developing policies to encourage immigration: for example, Sherbrooke's immigration reception and integration policy (Politique d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants) was followed by Rimouski's declaration of the rights of citizens (Déclaration des droits des citoyens), Gatineau's "together in diversity" policy (Politique Ensemble en matière de diversité) and Quebec City's integration policy (Politique d'intégration), which is still being developed.

What are the current results of these policies and measures?

First of all, quantitatively, these policies have little influence on the geographic distribution of immigration. In 2008, the Montréal Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) continued to be home to the vast majority (86.9%) of immigrants living in Quebec, although this proportion is slightly lower than in 2001 (88.0%), while the proportion in some other CMAs has increased: Quebec City (3.1%

FIGURE 1: Mobility by status and country of origin

Legend: ■ Independents □ Refugees ■ Foreign students

Families that stayed
(35 = 30.97%)

Families that left
(78 = 69.03%)
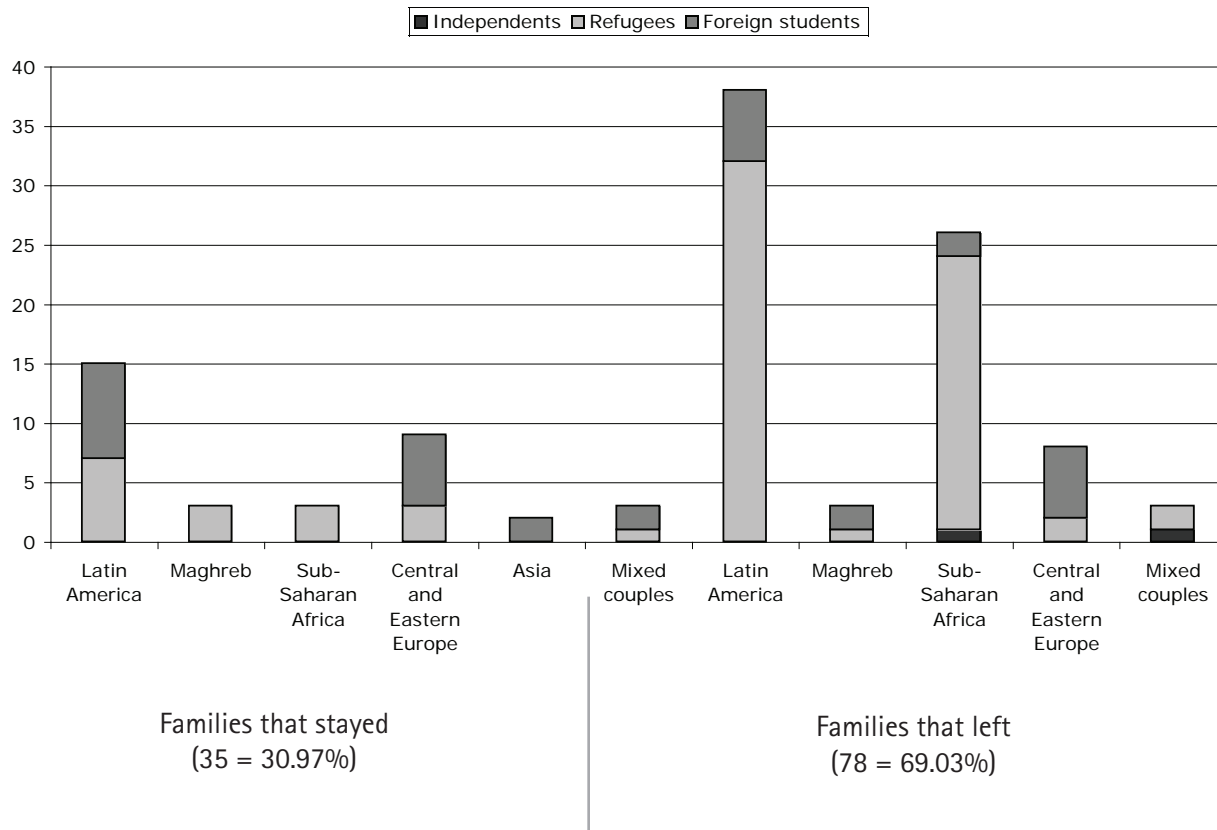
compared with 2.8% in 2001), Gatineau (2.7% compared with 2.4% in 2001) and Sherbrooke (1.2% compared with 1%). However, Montréal remains the primary destination for independent newcomers: in 2008, 73.9% settled in Montréal and 4.3% in Quebec City. Some of the regions with agreements even experienced a decline in the number of immigrants who wanted to settle there: these include Chaudière-Appalaches and Lower St. Lawrence, which saw their share of new immigrants drop by 17% and 24% in 2008, as compared with 2007. In contrast, regions that are experiencing a rise in projected settlement of immigrants include the Eastern Townships: 2.5% in 2008; the Laval region: 4.7% in 2008; and the Outaouais: 2.6% in 2008. The Montérégie region remained the second most popular destination in 2008, with 6.8% of immigrants intending to settle there. In Quebec, therefore, as in the other provinces, there has been a "suburbanization," rather than regionalization, of immigration.

Second, these policies also have little impact in

terms of the populations targeted. The regions still receive many refugees and are not attracting as many independent immigrants as they would like. For example, among immigrants living in Sherbrooke in 2008, we counted close to 61% who were refugees and family class immigrants who settled there between 1997 and 2006, and 37% who were economic immigrants. Similarly, of the immigrants who arrived in the past ten years and were living in Quebec City in 2008, nearly 28% arrived as refugees and more than 21% as family class immigrants. In both cities, as well as in St-Jérôme, waves of refugees from Bhutan, Burma, Iraq and Afghanistan continued to arrive in 2009.

Last, but not least, retention of immigrants in the regions, be they economic immigrants or refugees, is still causing headaches for local and provincial authorities. Of a total of 381,000 immigrants admitted between 1998 and 2007, 305,000 were still in Quebec in January 2009. This corresponds to a provincial retention rate of 80.2%. The figure

FIGURE 2: **Mobility by community**

First settlement in Canada
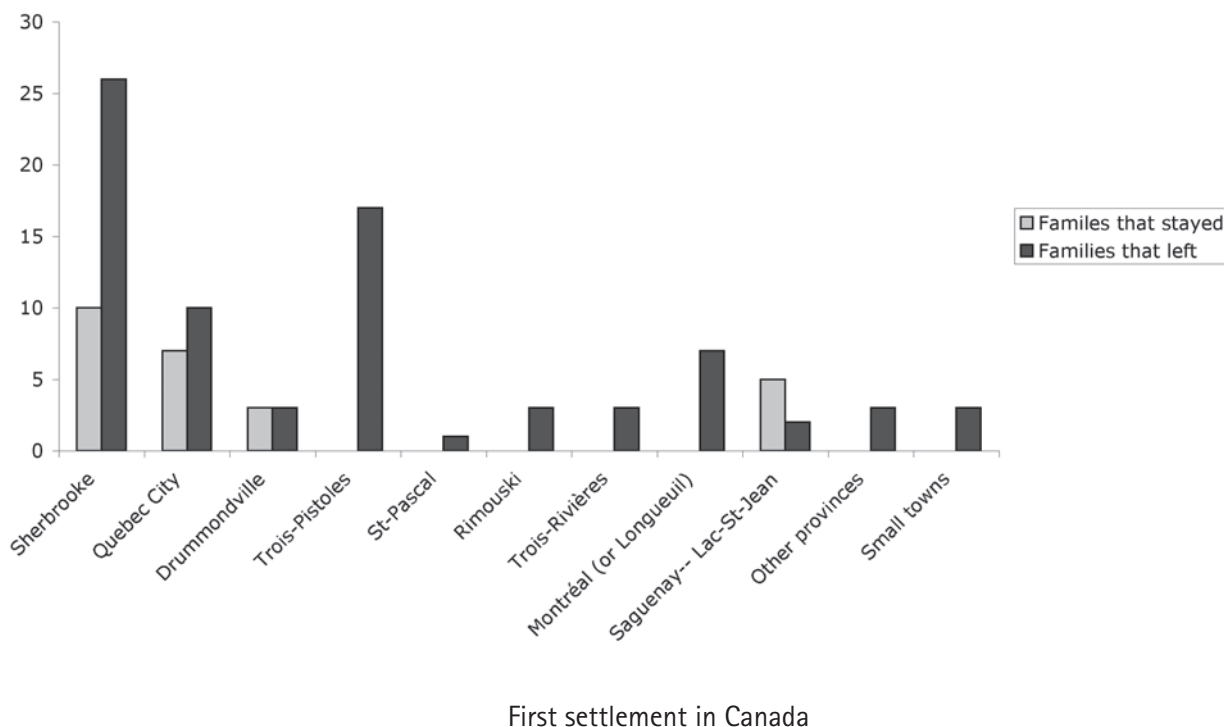
represents an improvement over previous years, indicating that integration measures are working in Quebec as a whole. But what about those who settled in the regions? Are they still there in the same proportions as in Montréal or have many of them left for the big city or even moved to other provinces? No official statistics exist to tell us. However, a study[1] that we conducted of 113 families settled in the regions (independent immigrants and refugees) shows that almost 70% of them – primarily refugee families and those who settled in the smallest regional communities – left this first place of residence within three years of their arrival. Although these results cannot be generalized to all regions and all immigrants, it is interesting to note this significant trend towards mobility and the corresponding legitimate concerns over the retention of immigrants in the regions.

1   *La rétention de l'immigration dans les régions du Québec : une étude longitudinale de trajectoires d'immigrants au Québec*, Michèle Vatz Laaroussi, Université de Sherbrooke; Lucille Guilbert, Université Laval; Gabriela Bezzi, Université de Sherbrooke; 2006-2009, SSHRC funding.

This leads to our first observation: the political and economic will exists, but does not seem to be followed by tangible local results in terms of the settlement and retention of immigrants in the regions.

2.   Tensions and barriers

We will now give an overview of the tensions and barriers that seem responsible for the limited success of the regionalization policies discussed above.

We have seen that attracting and retaining independent immigrants seems to be the Achilles' heel of the regionalization measures. The first explanation relates to the number of jobs available in the regions. Although a shortage of workers is predicted for the next ten years in many regions, such as Chaudière-Appalaches, the correspondence between the immigrants' qualifications and the jobs offered to them is
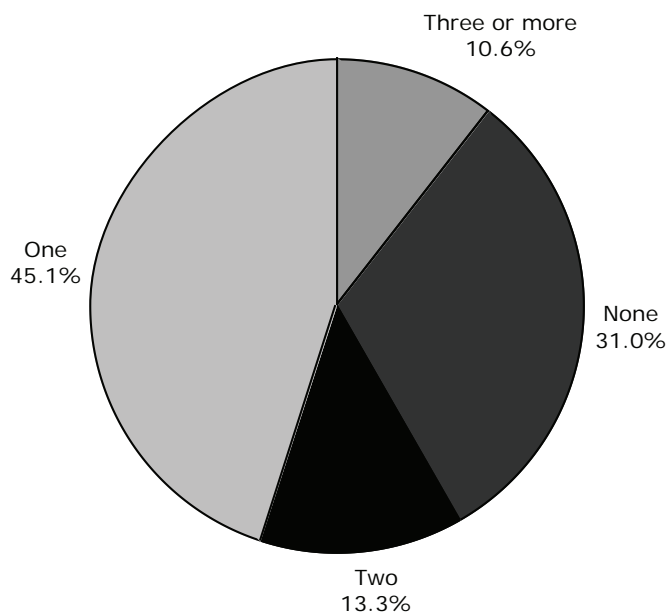
FIGURE 3: **Number of moves made by the 113 families settled in the region**

still far from perfect. There may be an issue with the "timing" of the immigrants' arrival and the availability of jobs, but it is also true that these jobs are often limited to a single industry, and many are precarious, require unskilled workers and offer no opportunity for promotion within the company or region. Besides employability, it should also be noted that the local communities rarely have services to help independent immigrants integrate into the region, despite municipal policies of openness. The ethnic and multicultural communities must usually take on this responsibility, and the smaller and less structured they are, the more these immigrants are prone to feeling isolated and detached from the community.

More broadly speaking, however, the lack of retention may be analysed in terms of two elements: the generalized mobility of Quebec's population and the vulnerability of some small communities, particularly in remote areas. Mobility does not only pertain to immigrants. Regional communities first see their young people and their labour force leave for more attractive job markets or more urbanized areas where they will find universities, health centres

and cultural attractions. Immigrants, whose primary aim is socio-economic integration and advancement, cannot be expected to behave any differently than these local populations. Furthermore, every analysis demonstrates that rural communities, remote areas and some small towns are gradually becoming less viable, both economically and socially. They are seeing their schools and hospitals close for lack of clients, their businesses move as a consequence of globalization, and their development strategies stymied by government budget cuts. Immigrants cannot be the salvation of these communities; they must develop overall strategies to adjust to these changes and revitalize themselves.

Finally, it is important to look at the trajectory taken by some immigrants for whom settlement in the regions may represent the start of a pattern of mobility, the first of a series of migrations (Vatz Laaroussi, 2009). Returning to the results of our study, it appears that in the three years following their settlement in the regions, some immigrant families went through not only one, but sometimes two, three or even more moves. It is as if these families put themselves into "mobility" mode and had difficulty stopping, thus

FIGURE 4: **Number of moves by class of immigrant**
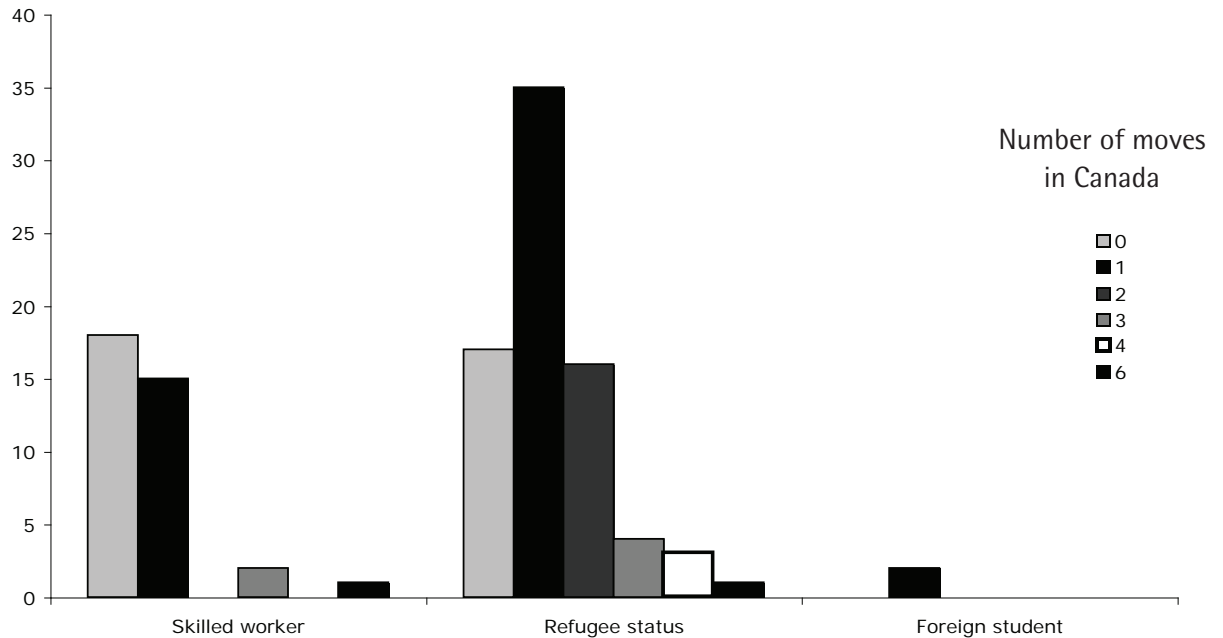
turning into modern-day nomads.

These results call into question our immigration regionalization policies, especially since it is first the refugees and then certain independent immigrants directed to the regions who are the most mobile.

The situation of immigration in the regions may therefore be analysed in terms of a clash between three paradigms: the humanitarian paradigm that seeks to provide refugees with a good reception in secondary or tertiary municipalities; the economic paradigm that primarily sees immigrants as meeting the needs of the regions and contributing to their economic survival; and lastly, the social paradigm that considers the social development of both immigrants and local stakeholders to be central to regionalization. Among these three objectives and the strategies that accompany them, there are few points of convergence, and this clash puts the immigrants on one side and the local stakeholders on the other, in anomic situations where all feel powerless and lacking control over their destiny.

3.   Ethical questions: collective challenges

This clash and its impact on the players raise certain ethical questions in the debate on the regionalization of immigration. The first revolves around the civic participation of the immigrants and locals at the centre of these measures and policies. Although the number of co-operative initiatives is increasing, it may be asked who is participating in the development of regionalization measures and policies. These co-operative efforts unite local, institutional and economic stakeholders, but few immigrants and few local citizens are involved. Moreover, who feels that these policies concern them? Some immigrants, of course, but again not all, and the policies are unknown to most of the locals. What is more, to whom do these policies apply? To the immigrants of course, sometimes to certain population groups (the police, municipal employees in the case of municipal policies, for example), but rarely to the entire local population. Lastly: who evaluates these policies and their effects? The political decision-makers and elected representatives are the first to make an evaluation, and their assessment is often

satisfactory. In contrast, the immigrants are often much less convinced of the success of these measures and, once again, the local residents are missing from the picture, neither involved nor informed. There are signs of a democratic deficit here.

This brings us to a second ethical risk, that of creating a new form of segregation between the immigrants and local residents of the regions. The current regional portrait is bipolar: there are some policies and measures targeting immigrants, others targeting locals; employment measures that target immigrants and others that target locals; educational measures that target immigrants, others that target locals; management of diversity in the workplace for immigrants, collective agreements and unions for the locals; in the media, specific programs and sections of the newspaper aimed at immigrants and most others aimed at locals. This scenario depicts two worlds, two solitudes: immigrants with their differences and locals with their homogeneity. There may be a third party: the political and economic world that needs immigration. But the ethical challenge lies in the issue of communication and reciprocal recognition among these three entities.

Finally, the third ethical debate concerns the secondary effects of immigration regionalization policies. In particular, to what point can already vulnerable populations such as refugees or new immigrants be exposed to greater risk of discrimination, more isolation, and lastly, higher social and material costs of adaptation? What responsibility do these policies and measures have for launching the immigrants who settle in the regions into a life of mobility? Is it fair to subject them to more mobility with the associated economic, social and family costs? Moreover, competition among regions to attract and retain immigrants creates a form of immigrant market that functions according to the economic laws of supply and demand. Does pushing them into such a market respect their

right to human dignity? This time the ethical question revolves around the intrinsic value of the human being. Consequently, despite promising political discourse, measures that are evolving and developing and the goodwill of many of the players, both local and governmental, we are witnessing today a regionalization of immigrants that is not succeeding in being the regionalization of immigration, that is, of the structures and infrastructures that would facilitate this process. As a result, this regionalization, its impact, its responsibility and its success remain the personal business of the immigrants and not sufficiently the business of the communities that receive them or of the institutional and political players that shape it.

Conclusion: address the ethical challenges, give regionalization of immigration a chance

In our opinion, it is by recognizing and meeting these considerable ethical challenges that we will succeed in passing from discourse about the regionalization of immigration to measures that will be successful for both the regions and the immigrants. To this end, we must take a critical look at the paradigms that guide the various stakeholders and institutions, develop recognition practices and policies, and promote measures that target equity, transparency, democratic participation and the collective assumption of power by both local and immigrant communities. We must also replace segregation and competition with co-operative strategies for social, local and economic change and development in the medium and long term. Clearly, such a program should not be applied only in the regions, but it is urgent that we begin there if all the effort put into the regionalization of immigration is to bear fruit. Perhaps then practices in support of immigration in the regions will become models for the large urban centres...

About the Authors

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Do community-based organizations serve the people or the state? A look at community services for newcomers in Quebec

STEPHAN REICHHOLD
Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrants

Abstract: The community sector that works in the broad area of immigration and newcomer integration in Quebec is a driving force in the development of innovative practices and an engine of social change. Over the years, the sector has become increasingly prominent, but it remains on the margins in the public sector, which is responsible for integration services. The public sector is facing challenges in adapting its services to Quebec's reality, which is becoming increasingly culturally diverse. Failure to meet these challenges could have tremendous social costs and lead to losses in terms of human capital. Debate is needed.

For two decades, Quebec's community sector has played an increasingly prominent role in serving the public, particularly certain more disadvantaged and marginalized groups. The same holds true for the part of that sector that works in immigration and integration, which has seen unprecedented growth in the last few years both in terms of the number of organizations and in terms of funding. It consists of about 100 organizations whose main mission is the integration and support of newcomers in Quebec. Unlike similar organizations in the rest of Canada, these are mainly small, locally based organizations. Overall, funding for community action in this sector has risen from $10 million to $16 million in the last 10 years (MESS, 2008). To properly understand the role and place of community-based organizations that work with refugees, immigrants and people without status, it is helpful to have an overview of the history of the community-based movement in Quebec.

The community-based and social movements, like numerous other institutions and approaches in Quebec, have evolved differently from those in the rest of Canada, as we will see later on. This is also true of the community sector that works in the broad area of immigration and integration.

Community organizations in the immigration and integration sector

Based in Catholic tradition, the creation of citizen committees and social initiatives led by civil society gave rise to a broad, popular, community-based movement in Quebec in the 1960s and 1970s, which quickly politicized and crystallized around social struggles and claims, the most notable of which were initiated by the feminist movement. In the 1980s and 1990s, these organizational forums, which generate social and civic ties, quickly multiplied, promoting values of solidarity, autonomy, democracy and social justice and demanding a larger role in the management of public affairs. However, the development and structuring of the community movement paralleled the gradual withdrawal of the welfare state, following various crises, especially those in public finances. The state increasingly made use of community services, which were less expensive, more flexible and better tailored to the new needs (Duval, Fontaine et al. 2005). The 2000s have been marked by the obvious increase in the professionalization of numerous community-

based organizations as service providers and as government subcontractors, often at the expense of the values of mobilization, solidarity and social justice that formed the foundation of many social organizations in Quebec. Organizations working with refugees, immigrants and people without status are no exception.

They organized as a separate sector forming the Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiés et immigrantes [umbrella organization for agencies serving refugees and immigrants] (TCRI). With a better governance structure, the organizations in the immigration and integration sector have become key players in integration and intercultural relations in Quebec. The TCRI has developed some management and planning tools (action plans, communication plans, claims books, etc.) at the request of its members. It has also provided forums for cooperation, as well as permanent modes of communication that engage its public-sector counterparts at the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigration and cultural communities] (MICC) and has created a common platform for all its members that details the organizations' vision with respect to the indicators and objectives set by the TCRI member organizations (TCRI 2005).

The strategy of developing better adapted services to compensate for the inadequate institutional response and to meet the needs of newcomers, independent of their status, while defending their rights, was successful. It took many years of struggle to obtain recognition of the autonomy of the organizations that for so long had been controlled by their funders. Quebec's adoption of the Policy on the Recognition and Support of Community Action (PRSCA) in 2001 was a significant step forward for those organizations. After 20 years of government ambiguity and reservation, the policy formally recognized the presence within the Quebec community -based movement of a distinct community sector dedicated to the rights and interests of refugees

and immigrants.

Despite that recognition, the concept of community-based organizations as autonomous partners rather than providers of government services has not yet been accepted or completely incorporated into government practice. To date, the MICC defines the role of community organizations as "agents de partenariats" [partnership agents] in its departmental policies and incorporates those organizations' activities into government objectives (MICC 2009). According to Deena White, the PRSCA [translation] "is certainly not a significant obstacle to the department's directions or to the maintenance of its own political culture" (White 2008, p. 23).

Nevertheless, despite its imperfections and especially the fact that it is not binding, the policy clarifies and provides guidance on several aspects of the relationship between community-based organizations and the state. It addresses the following:

- Recognition of the particular identity, autonomy and versatility of community organizations
- Recognition of their particular and innovative contribution to the transformation of Quebec society and to the improvement of the social fabric
- Recognition of their freedom to determine their goals, policies and approaches
- Recognition of the need for stable, sufficient and recurring funding for their overall mission on at least a three-year basis
- Recognition of the organization, consultation and representation structures that community and volunteer organizations have provided locally, municipally, regionally and nationally, as well as at the sectoral and intersectoral levels.
(Lacombe and Sotomor 2006, p.26)

According to White's evaluation of the effects of the policy, Quebec stands out in Canada and

around the world (White 2008). White concludes that the decision to rely on the autonomy of community organizations for Quebec's social development adds particular value to institutional practices because community action puts an end to subcontracting, with its paralyzing consequences:

> [Translation]
> Despite the challenges relating to its implementation, the policy has already had significant structural results that indicate that the relationship between the government and community organizations is moving in the direction proposed by the policy. With certain well-documented global trends, such as the exploitation and restriction of community groups' capacity for action and innovation…, it is in the interest of all sectors of public action to reinforce and encourage autonomous action by these community networks, which contribute directly and substantially to all areas of Quebec's development. (White 2008, p. xv)

However, White warns political decision-makers of recent trends that suggest a return to technocratic management, which is incompatible with the autonomous community approach. The immigrant integration sector is a good example.

> [Translation]
> This dynamic is put at risk by traditional, hierarchical, compartmentalized governance, as well as by the dollars and cents approach to governance, which is based on calculating short-term costs and benefits. (White 2008, p. xvi)

Community-based organizations are torn between the government's economic vision of immigration and the challenges associated with the growing cultural diversity of Quebec's population. The situation was documented extensively by the Bouchard–Taylor Commission, whose recommendations have unfortunately been ignored, including those dealing with the failure to recognize the role and wealth of community-based practices and their underfunding.

Quebec's integration model

One of the characteristics of Quebec's integration model is the dominant role and control of the state. Quebec is in a privileged and unique situation with respect to its powers, responsibility, flexibility, resources and expertise for using and administering its own immigration and integration programs. The Government of Quebec has it easy when it comes to immigration. It has no responsibility for enforcing immigration legislation, controlling borders, determining status, or making decisions regarding deportation or detention—all very expensive and not particularly gratifying operations because they are often criticized. However, the province holds exclusive powers over immigrant selection and integration—a position envied by many non-sovereign states.

Unlike in the rest of Canada, reception and integration services for newcomers to Quebec are almost entirely handled by public institutions, because those services fall completely under Quebec government jurisdiction. For this reason, community-based organizations in the immigration and integration sector, despite their number, remain a marginal force, based on their allocated budgets, even though some 50,000 newcomers a year use those organizations' services to some extent. According to the Quebec government's public accounts, approximately $16 million, or 6.3% of the funding earmarked for the integration of immigrants into Quebec, was allocated to the community sector in 2008–09. In terms of revenue, Quebec receives $218.5 million in federal transfers under the Canada-Quebec Accord Relating to Immigration, plus about $43.5 million in self-generated revenue (taxes, fees and so on paid by immigrants).

In the rest of Canada, the federal government relies almost exclusively on the community sector to deliver services to newcomers. For comparison purposes, in 2008–09, Citizenship and Immigration Canada invested 70% of its $1.3 billion budget in community services for newcomers in the rest of Canada (Treasury Board of Canada, Estimates, CIC, 2009–10). This is a completely different approach from the one taken in Quebec, where, in terms of spending, 93.7% of integration services are provided by public institutions through management, direct services or sometimes intermediary resources. The lack of data makes it impossible to draw a conclusion as to how effective this approach is because, unlike the MICC, the other departments (employment and social solidarity, education, and health and social services) report only some of the results of their work with recent immigrants (MICC 2009, p. 34).

How does community-based intervention differ from institutional intervention?

Marie-Thérèse Chicha (2008, p. 39) summarizes very well the gaps and difficulties in adapting public services to help newcomers integrate into the labour market:

> [Translation]
> …the fragmentation of the design and management of policies and programs among various actors that have different and sometimes conflicting priorities… is at odds with reality—integrating immigrants into the labour market is a long process, fraught with difficulties, and requires consistency, synchronization and continuity of interventions.

Newcomers face persistent problems that demonstrate the limitations of public services in terms of their adaptation to Quebec's growing cultural diversity. Employment measures, health and social services, and the education network all come into play in the settlement of newcomers, in all regions of the province. Are these problems due to the rigidity of the programs and their conditions, to difficulties in recognizing specific needs, or to the fact that the workforce is not representative of the programs' users? Only 4% of the employees in Quebec's public service are members of visible minorities.

While public and institutional services take a one-size-fits-all approach, the community sector has, out of necessity, adapted and has developed intercultural practices that can apply in any area of intervention. These practices stem from an understanding of the migratory process, the identity shocks it can trigger, the different immigration statuses, and the complexity of the situations that community workers must face. Newcomers encounter different challenges depending on whether they came as immigrants or refugees, alone or as part of a family, directly or after transiting through a refugee camp. The challenges also vary with gender and age. Although community workers know the possible changes and shocks, they cannot foresee what has changed, for whom and at what point, or whether the changes relate to responsibilities, resources or roles. Values are questioned, and the family dynamic is affected by all these changes. There are many losses but fortunately also gains, which must be built upon. Proper support services that take all these parameters into account are imperative for success.

Outlook

While the influx of newcomers in Quebec will reach nearly 54,000 in 2010, only a very few of them will have access to adapted support services, and only for a limited time, because of the lack of resources and insufficient investment in better adapted services. The subsequent losses in terms of human capital and the associated social costs will be significant.

Community-based organizations do not claim to meet all these needs; however, they are leading

the efforts to renew practices. Furthermore, they provide fuel for the public debate that, as a means of social and civic engagement, is necessary for social development. As creators of innovative practices and leaders of social change, community-based organizations that work with refugees, immigrants and people without status are at the heart of this social movement that has provided Quebec society with a hub for its development, and they plan to play an even more dynamic role in the future.

About the Author

Stephan Reichhold has been the director of the Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrants [umbrella organization for agencies serving refugees and immigrants] (www.tcri.qc.ca) since 1989. He is responsible for coordinating and developing the group of 135 community organizations that work with refugees, immigrants and people without status in Quebec. He has a master's in French literature and political science from Freie Universität Berlin.

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Immigrants and Protest Politics in Canada and Australia: Overcoming Memories of Political Repression?[i]

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Abstract: This paper examines the participation of immigrants in protest politics in Canada and Australia and the related impact of pre-migration experiences with political repression. The findings demonstrate that immigrants, especially those who experienced political repression, tend to abstain more from protesting than the Canadian-born population. It also appears that the reluctance to protest endures for several years in the host country. This paper contributes to understanding the determinant role of pre-migration experiences on the dynamics of immigrants' political integration.

One of the challenges facing immigrants in adapting to their host political system is to acquire a political voice of their own. There are several conventional ways by which immigrants can express their voice, such as contacting public officials, becoming involved in community organizations, working for political parties or vote when they become enfranchised. Another way less often thought of is to engage in protest activities such as signing petitions, joining boycotts or demonstrating publicly. While protest politics used to be the channel of participation for the marginalized strata of society, it is increasingly seen as "the continuation of conventional participation by other means" in Canada, Australia and most other Western democracies (Dalton 1996: 70; Jennings et al. 1989; Norris 2002). Yet, even though protest politics has become part of the political repertoire of citizens, scholars have paid little attention to immigrants' involvement in such activities. Furthermore, there are reasons to believe that

new waves of immigrants settling in Canada, Australia and other Western democracies might face great barriers to participating in protest politics. Indeed, immigrants settling in these societies increasingly come from countries where governments engage in political repression. Thus, while protest politics is becoming common in Western democracies, new immigrants originate from countries where protest politics is likely to have been severely repressed.

This raises two questions. First, do immigrants participate in protest politics? Second, do pre-migration experiences of political repression limit immigrants' willingness to participate in protest politics? Answering this second question requires understanding whether and how pre-migration experiences influence immigrants' participation in the host country. It is far from being a new argument in political science and sociology that people are socialized to politics and tend to develop attitudes that reflect the prevailing

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i   This article is an adapted version of the following publication: Bilodeau, Antoine. 2008. "Immigrants' Voice Through Protest Politics in Canada and Australia: Assessing the Impact of Pre-Migration Political Repression." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(6): 975–1002.

norms and reality of the political system in which they were socialized (Almond and Verba 1963). Yet, there are very few attempts to systematically assess the impact of pre-migration experiences on immigrants' integration (Bilodeau, McAllister and Kanji 2010; Harles 1997; Black 1987). This research proposes the hypothesis that immigrants from countries where governments engage in political repression might have developed a fear of speaking out against government or might not have developed the habit of protesting with the direct consequence that these immigrants would prefer to abstain from protest politics. Understanding the impact of experiences of political repression on immigrants' participation in protest politics might help us to better understand immigrants' broader relationship with the government and politics in the host country.

This study provides evidence of immigrants' participation in protest politics in Canada and Australia where in the last decades, immigrants from repressive regimes have come to represent respectively about 75% and 55% of new immigrants settling in these countries.[1] Canada and Australia, like most other Western democracies, thus face the challenge of helping a large number of immigrants who have experienced political repression to integrate into democracy in the host country. Protest politics, like other spaces for citizens to express their voice, is a space that immigrants need to occupy. At stake is not only immigrants' capacity to have their voices heard and listened to, but also the development of a vibrant and inclusive democracy.

The data are drawn from the 2000 Canadian component of the World Values Survey and its special sample of recent immigrants, and the 2004 Australian Election Study and its special sample of immigrants. These data provided for Canada a sample of 440 immigrants who lived in the host country for a maximum of 10 years and 1,180 respondents from the local population. For Australia, the data provided a sample of 286 immigrants and 889 respondents from the local population.[2] Only immigrants who had arrived in Canada and Australia after the age of 10 were included in the analyses.

Protest Politics Among Immigrants in Canada and Australia

In Canada, immigrants and non-immigrants were asked if they had taken part in any of the following five forms of protest activities: signing a petition, joining a boycott, attending a demonstration, joining an unofficial strike and occupying a building. The data reported in the figures that follow indicate the proportions of respondents who had never been involved in these activities. As expected, the results indicate a wide variation in the extent to which the local population in Canada has been involved in each of these five types of activities. For instance, as indicated in Figure 1, only about 22% of the local population in Canada has never signed a petition while the level of abstention for having occupied a building is 97%.

Immigrants' involvement also varies greatly across all five types of activities. Overall, however, immigrants appear to abstain in greater proportions than the local population. While 21% of the local population report never having protested in any of the five types of activities, 60% of immigrants report no involvement, a

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1   Data provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship. The author is solely responsible for the classification of countries according to their democratic status.

2   It is important to emphasize the differences in the survey methodologies used to interview respondents in Canada and Australia. While face-to-face interviews were used to collect the Canadian data, mail questionnaires were used in Australia. It is also important to emphasize that immigrants interviewed in the Canadian and Australian surveys differed radically in terms of their length of residence. While immigrants in Australia were randomly selected, in Canada only those who had been in the country for up to 10 years were interviewed. Consequently, while the Australian immigrants had lived on average 29 years in Australia, the Canadian immigrants in the sample had resided in Canada for on average only six years.

Figure 1. Abstention from Protest Politics Among Immigrants in Canada and Australia

Canada

Legend: ■ All immigrants □ Local population

Activity	All immigrants	Local population
All protest activities	60	21
Signing a petition	69	22
Attending a public demonstration	83	79
Joining a boycott	91	80
Joining an unofficial strike	99	92
Occupying a building	98	97

Australia

Activity	All immigrants	Local population
All protest activities	52	37
Signing a petition	56	38
Attending a demonstration or protest	86	83

Percentage abstaining

Sources: Canada - 2000 World Values Survey and New Immigrant Survey; Australia - 2004 Australian Election Study and special subsample of immigrants. The average length of residence for immigrants was six years in Canada and 29 years in Australia.

39-point gap. However, we do not observe a substantial gap between immigrants and non-immigrants for all types of protest activities. In fact, for those activities that we could qualify as being more "radical" (occupying a building, joining an unofficial strike and attending a public demonstration), there is virtually no gap in the level of abstention between immigrants and non-immigrants. In contrast, the difference in levels of abstention is substantial for signing a petition with 69% of immigrants reporting that they have never done such an activity in comparison to 22% for the local population, a 47-point gap. What is most striking then is not that immigrants in Canada abstain more from protest politics than the local population but that immigrants' abstention is greatest for signing a petition, an action that is often seen as commonplace in Canada and other Western democracies.

Are these findings unique to Canada? Immigrants and non-immigrants in Australia were asked whether they had been involved in two types of protest activities: signing a petition and attending a demonstration or a protest. While 37% of the local population in Australia report having been involved in neither activity in the last five years, 52% of immigrants reported having abstained from both types of activities, a 15-point gap.[3] As in Canada, the gap in protest abstention between immigrants and non-immigrants is largest for signing a petition, with an 18-point difference (56% vs. 38%). Once again, many immigrants appear to fear the act of signing a petition, which for citizens of Western democracies appears almost a normal and banal action.

Immigrants in Canada and Australia demonstrate a much lower level of engagement in protest politics than the local population of their host society, especially when it comes to signing a petition. Do such gaps in protest politics hide differences in socio-economic status or social and political values? Or do they reflect lasting memories of political repression experienced by an increasingly large proportion of Canada's

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3   The levels of abstentions are higher among the local population in Australia than in Canada (37% vs. 21%). The difference in the wording of the question in the two countries likely explains the gap: while the Canadian survey asked respondents if they had "ever" taken part in protest activities, the Australian one asked for the "past five years."

Figure 2. The Impact of Pre-Migration Political Repression on Abstention from Protest Politics
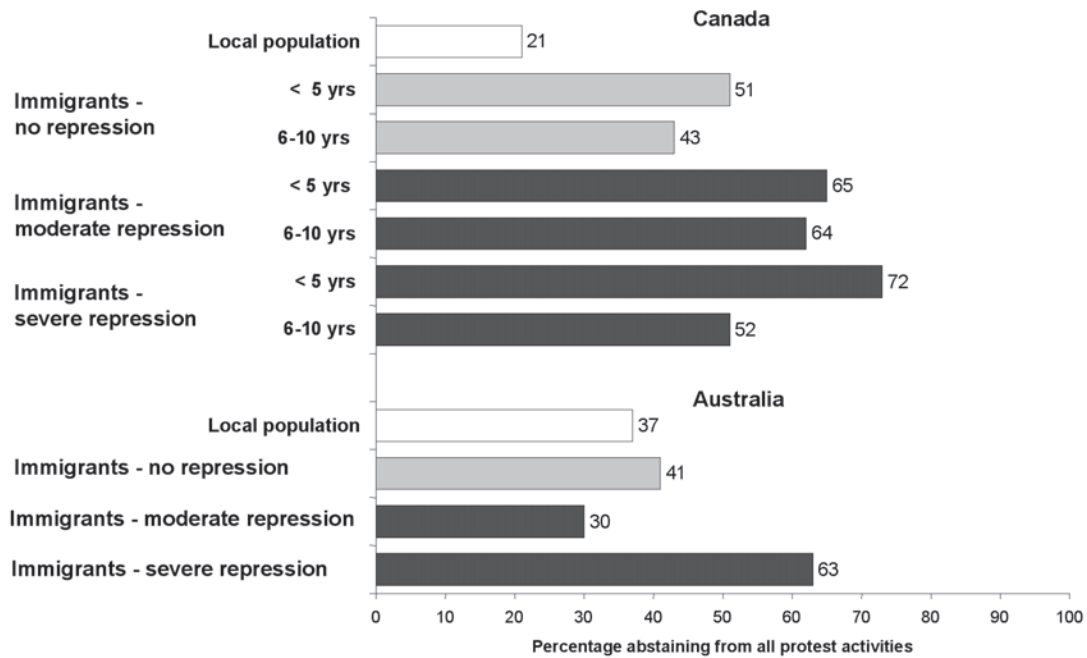
Sources: Canada - 2000 World Values Survey and New Immigrant Survey; Australia - 2004 Australian Election Study and special subsample of immigrants. The results presented in Figure 2 report predicted percentages derived from multivariate analyses controlling for respondents' sex, age, Income, employment status, education, interest in politics, group membership, satisfaction with the government, attitudes toward authority, materialist values and left-right self-placement. Multivariate results are not presented. See original article for more information.

and Australia's new immigrants? To answer these questions, further analyses were conducted to identify the origins of immigrants' abstention from protest politics. There are several potential causes associated with an immigrant's situation in the host country that might limit their capacity, opportunity or desire to protest. The findings reported below are based on multivariate analyses controlling for the following characteristics of respondents: the level of political repression in the country of origin, age, sex, level of education, household income, employment status, interest in politics, group membership, left-right ideological orientation, satisfaction with the government, post-materialist values and attitudes toward authority.[4] Please refer to the original study for more information.

The Experience of Political Repression and Protest Politics Among Immigrants

There is no unique narrative as to where immigrants' abstention from protest politics comes from. The results are not reported here, but as observed among the local populations in Western democracies (Opp 2004: 16; van Aelst and Walgrave 2001; McCarthy and Zald 1977), socially connected immigrants and those with greater interest in politics or education tend to abstain less than other immigrants. Furthermore, immigrants satisfied with the government, deferential to authority and possessing materialist values abstain more.

The analysis also indicates that even when taking into consideration the above individual characteristics, it appears that immigrants' pre-migration experiences of political repression exert a strong influence on their propensity to abstain from protest politics. The more severe levels of political repression in the country of

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4   The analysis relies on Freedom in the World Country Rating published by the Freedom House and other historical sources to determine the degree of repression in the country of origin based on the 15-year period prior to migration to Canada or Australia.

origin, the more immigrants abstain from protest politics in Canada and Australia. Predicted percentages derived from the multivariate analyses presented in Figure 2 indicate that for immigrants in Canada for up to five years, the proportions who abstained from all five types of activities are 51% for those from countries with no repression, 65% for those from countries with moderate repression, and 72% for immigrants from countries with severe political repression.

Interestingly, even immigrants from countries with no political repression present a greater abstention level than the local population (51% vs. 21%). These results are not too surprising as these newcomers have lived in Canada for only up to a maximum of five years and hence may not have yet been presented with opportunities to protest. In fact, supporting this argument, Figure 2 indicates that abstention among immigrants from countries with no repression decreases somewhat from 51% to 43% after immigrants have lived in Canada between six and 10 years. For immigrants from countries with political repression, however, it is not clear that increased length of residency in Canada leads them to lower levels of abstention in protest politics. Levels of abstention from protest politics are 65% and 64% respectively for immigrants who experienced moderate political repression in Canada for up to five years and between six and 10 years. The levels of abstention do drop significantly for immigrants who experienced severe political repression (from 72% to 52%) but remain significantly greater than those observed among the local population (21%) and among other immigrants who experienced no repression (43%). A 10-year long residence in Canada does not appear to be sufficient to completely overcome the abstention gap in protest politics among immigrants from countries both with and without political repression.

What happens after immigrants have lived in Canada more than 10 years? Do immigrants start protesting to the same extent as the local population? The data do not allow us to answer this question as immigrants included in the study sample have all lived in Canada for a maximum of 10 years. The Australian case is helpful in this regard as the immigrants included in the study sample have lived on average between 25 and 30 years in the host country. The Australian investigation does provide us with the opportunity to explore, in a different national context, whether over the long haul immigrants overcome memories of political repression.[5]

The Australian findings are unequivocal. Predicted percentages derived from the multivariate analyses indicate that in comparison to the local population (37%), the proportions of immigrants who have never protested are 41% for immigrants from countries with no repression, 30% for immigrants from countries with moderate repression, and 63% for immigrants from countries with severe political repression. The multivariate analyses indicate that the differences are not statistically significant between the local population and immigrants from countries with no or moderate repression. Immigrants from countries with severe political repression, however, who have lived on average 25 years in Australia, still exhibit what appears to be a strong reluctance to become engaged in protest politics.

The Australian and Canadian evidence suggests that over time, some groups of immigrants do start to become more engaged in protest politics while others, even after a few decades in the host country, continue to lag behind the local population. The experience of political repression appears to be a key factor in determining whether or not newcomers will engage in protest politics. In fact, the analyses demonstrate that pre-migration experiences of political repression are the most powerful predictor of immigrants' abstention from protest politics. This holds even in Australia after immigrants have lived more

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5   All immigrants in the Australian data possess citizenship of the host country—this was a requirement for being interviewed.

than 25 years in the host country.[6] Immigrants' experiences of political repression thus exert a greater impact on whether or not they protest than their level of education, social networks, ideological orientations, level of satisfaction with the government or attitudes toward authority. The way immigrants relate to politics in Canada and Australia, at least when it comes to protest politics, thus appears to be substantially shaped by the type of relationship they had developed with the political system in their country of origin.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates the substantial and enduring impact of pre-migration experiences of political repression on newcomers' willingness to engage in protest politics in Canada and Australia. Rather than encouraging and motivating immigrants to take every single opportunity to express their political voice now that they live in a democracy, pre-migration experiences of political repression appear to lead many immigrants to fear to speak out publicly and to prefer to stay away from protest politics. The gap with the local population in reluctance to protest is especially strong when it comes to signing petitions, but those results are maybe not surprising. Even though all forms of protest activities involve a certain level of public commitment, signing a petition is the least anonymous form of all. When signing a petition, one has to provide a name, address and telephone number on a document that will ultimately be given to public officials. In contrast, one might hope to remain anonymous in a crowd protesting in the streets.

These findings suggest that immigrants' relationship with politics and the political system in the host country is highly tainted by the type of relationship they had developed with the political system in the country of origin. Likely the experience of political repression provides

immigrants with a fear of speaking out publicly, especially against governments and public officials, a fear that endures even in a host country where the political context is different and the institutions democratic and, even after more than 25 years in that host country.

In conclusion, beyond assessing the enduring effect of pre-migration experiences of political repression, this study addressed the issue of immigrants' political voice. While scholars increasingly talk about protest politics as a common way for citizens to express their voice and as part of the normal political repertoire in Western democracies (Dalton 1996: 70; Norris 2002), this study indicates that protest has not yet fully been extended to all segments of society. For a large proportion of immigrants in Canada, Australia and likely other Western democracies, protest politics is not yet an option they dare to use to communicate their needs and preferences, especially for those new waves of immigrants coming from repressive political regimes.

The question then is: how can we help immigrants to overcome pre-migration experiences of political repression and potential fears of governments? There is no easy solution. The Australian evidence indicates how enduring such memories are and how difficult it might be to ease immigrants' fear of speaking out publicly. Nevertheless, special educational programs for newcomers might be a promising avenue. Research has already proven how effective some of these programs are for populations living in countries transitioning to democracy (Morduchowicz et al. 1996; Finkel 2002). If these programs can work in political contexts that are often still politically unstable, there is no reason to believe that they could not have an impact among immigrant populations in Western democracies like Canada and Australia. These are important matters that need to be addressed by public authorities. At stake is not only immigrants' capacity to have their voices heard and listened to, but also the development of a vibrant and inclusive democracy.

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6   Results not presented here.

About the Author

Antoine Bilodeau is an assistant professor of political science at Concordia University. His research focuses on the political integration of immigrants in Canada and other Western democracies. He is also the leader for Domain 1 (Citizenship and Social, Cultural and Civic Integration) for the Quebec Metropolis Centre and a member of the steering committee for the Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship.

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Immigration and the Economic Development of the Regions of Quebec

STÉPHANE PRONOVOST
Canada Economic Development

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In Quebec, as elsewhere in Canada, lagging regions are increasingly focussing on developing their capacity to attract and retain immigrants to ensure that their communities and local businesses remain sustainable—an extremely complex task. The regionalization of immigration presents numerous challenges and requires policies and practices that coordinate local and regional dynamics so that communities can move from vulnerability to regional development.

A global economic issue

International migration is recognized as a factor in development; global competition for migrants is therefore rising. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is increasingly stressing this factor in its international planning and considers migration to be central to the dynamics of the global labour market (OECD, 2009; OECD, 2008). Migration is indeed an issue with strong economic aspects, as illustrated by the fact that the internationally renowned magazine The Economist dedicated 15 pages of its October 2006 issue to an article titled "The Search for Talent."

The world's international migrants currently number about 214 million. Most of their movements result from economic factors and are associated with work. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), when international migration occurs in decent conditions, it can be an opportunity for development—in both destination countries and source countries. According to current estimates, remittances by migrants now exceed US$444 billion, representing a large portion of the gross domestic product of a number of source countries. When migrants, governments and civil society in destination and source countries, as well as the private sector, can make informed choices, the chances of realizing the potential social, economic and political benefits of migratory flows are enhanced.

The Canadian challenge

Canada is a contestant in the "race for immigrants," from the standpoint of guaranteeing its socio-economic development. At present, nearly 250,000 newcomers arrive in Canada every year. Federal immigration policy suggests a desire to increase that number, as well as to increase the proportion of economic immigrants in order to stimulate socio-economic development. Within Canadian immigration policy, the regionalization of immigration is seen as a way of promoting the development of lagging regions and a way of restoring the balance in net migration levels, both interprovincial and international. This approach could slow the devitalization of communities and meet their numerous socio-economic needs: in terms of employment, with the shortages forecast for the coming years; in terms of consumption,

with the loss of local consumers leaving for major urban centres; and in terms of population, with the demographic losses (of young families in particular), resulting in the closing of child care centres, classes, etc.

Challenges to businesses and regions in Quebec

In the Quebec context, the regionalization of immigration, which has been incorporated into provincial policy since 1993, is increasingly viewed as an essential component of any efforts to improve the disturbing demographic prospects associated with an ageing population, a low birth rate and the devitalization of certain regions. In 2003, demographic forecasts in Quebec predicted [translation] "slower growth and more rapid ageing of the population as compared with its neighbours" (Government of Quebec, 2009), prompting the government to take action to improve family policies, raise international immigration levels and strengthen regionalization structures.

Today, although some progress has been achieved in supporting the regions' efforts to attract and retain immigrants, particularly through the agreements between the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [Quebec department of immigration and cultural communities] and the Conférences régionales des élus [regional conference of elected officials], regionalization policies seem to be having limited influence on the geographic distribution of immigration. (For a detailed discussion of the outcomes and challenges of regionalization policies, see the article by Michèle Vatz Laaroussi in this volume). This process is also happening elsewhere in Canada, but not in Alberta and Manitoba, where settlement in various medium-sized cities has been encouraged by the federal government's Provincial Nominee Program and by economic growth.

For businesses, the key continues to be ensuring

that the immigrant work force corresponds to local economic needs. The demographic situation, access to a skilled work force and the capacity to attract human resources and secure their loyalty are the main sources of concern for business managers. Immigration seems to be an essential factor in trying to meet those needs. In addition, Julien (2008) has demonstrated a connection between innovation in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Quebec and the contribution of members of cultural communities. Some research also highlights the contribution that members of those communities make to the capacity of businesses to establish networks abroad and their contribution to the process of internationalization (Maison Internationale de la Rive Sud, 2008).

The growing issue of access to a skilled work force will therefore no doubt shape the context of development in the regions of Quebec over the next decade. Developing the capacity to attract and retain immigrants will be an objective for many communities, to ensure that they remain sustainable and that they and local businesses are able to develop. The task is extremely complex, particularly as it relates to governance and to coordination among the various actors.

Challenges to communities: Structure, coordination, development and resilience

While attracting and retaining immigrants are major, complex challenges for Montréal, its outlying communities and other large cities in Quebec, the challenges are even greater for small and medium-sized cities and for rural and remote regions. Communities are also competing in the race for talent and have to make themselves attractive. To do that, some have adopted policies and plans to develop and showcase their assets and to downplay their more negative features. However, there is a tremendous need for structure among support services and agencies, which are still in their infancy and which remain fragmented. Nonetheless, there are

success stories. For example, for several years, the community of Rawdon has focussed on diversity and immigration as vectors of social and economic development (Quimper, 2006). Examples like this may inspire other communities and development actors to adopt a vision, a policy and plans for achieving their objectives.

Resilience and development in these communities can also be fostered through practices that coordinate local and regional dynamics. Studies (Quimper, 2006, Wulff et al., 2008) have shown that immigration can have an impact on regional development by strengthening the economic, physical, human and social capital of the community and the region. In economic terms, there is development potential in relation to tangible and intangible economic capital, through entrepreneurship, diversification of products and services, openness to diversity on the part of businesses, innovation, skills training and developing specialized training courses, but also by internationalizing businesses. In terms of physical capital, ideas include developing public transit, but also developing housing, schools,

recreation centres or religious meeting places. In this instance, immigration can be said to have an impact on the community's collective assets. There will be a positive effect on the development of social capital through new cooperative efforts, projects, services and resources, and through Canada-wide and transnational networks of immigrants. Human capital will also expand and diversify through education and training, as well as through the intercultural experience gained by local actors, the new relationships forged and the new networks established.

The diagram below (Vatz Laaroussi, under development) provides a visual depiction of the local community development process associated with immigration.

Conclusion and opportunities for further consideration

The regionalization of immigration and regional development involve complex challenges. The governments and the various government departments involved have to take into

From Vulnerability to Regional Development
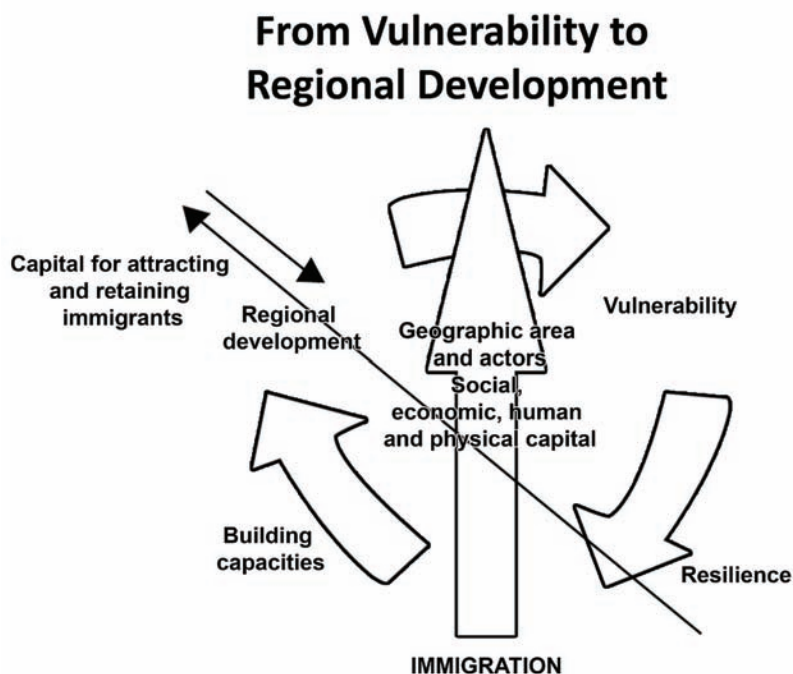
account the multiple dynamics in play in developing public policy. Working from local and regional strengths and dynamics seems to produce results. This approach calls for intergovernmental and interdepartmental collaboration and coordination, and this in itself presents a challenge. An integrated approach that desegregates local, economic and social development, while focussing on immigration as a catalyst, seems to be the way of the future.

At the federal level at least, more work is needed to explore the connections between immigration and regional development, in terms of research, public policy and action to be taken. Locally, initiatives such as the Société d'aide au développement des collectivités [community development corporation] (SADC) in Shawinigan, which helped establish a settlement service for newcomers (Réseau des SADC du Québec, 2007), have succeeded in making the connection between regional development and immigration. Do such efforts need to be more structured and more systematic? Are we still in an exploratory phase, where different approaches can be tested and lessons learned from them?

In terms of public policy relating to regional development, it might be appropriate to study in more detail the problems immigrants encounter in becoming entrepreneurs and in starting up businesses in the regions. That examination could start from a number of studies that have documented the problems associated with ethnic entrepreneurship (Filion et al., 2003). Consideration could also be given, for example, to supporting SMEs in adopting their own diversity management plans and to encouraging and supporting communities in developing policies to promote plurality and diversity, as has been done in Gatineau, Sherbrooke, Rawdon, Rimouski and Québec.

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Labour Market Participation and Employment Income Among Immigrants in Quebec Compared with Those in the Rest of Canada

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Abstract: Two key findings emerge from this study. First, immigrants who arrive at a very young age fare comparably to native-born Canadians, both in Quebec and in the rest of Canada. In contrast, older immigrants are very disadvantaged when they arrive, but their situation improves the longer they stay in the country. Second, immigrants who arrive as adults and who live in Quebec are at more of a disadvantage in the labour market than those in the other provinces, even though Quebec selects its own economic immigrants. Two key findings emerge from this study. First, immigrants who arrive at a very young age fare comparably to native-born Canadians, both in Quebec and in the rest of Canada. In contrast, older immigrants are very disadvantaged when they arrive, but their situation improves the longer they stay in the country. Second, immigrants who arrive as adults and who live in Quebec are at more of a disadvantage in the labour market than those in the other provinces, even though Quebec selects its own economic immigrants.

Introduction

Like many industrialized countries, Quebec and Canada as a whole are relying more and more on immigration to address the problems associated with an ageing population and a labour shortage. To maximize the benefits of immigration, immigration policies since the 1960s have aimed at selecting candidates with the greatest potential for entering the Canadian labour market. A number of studies have highlighted the deterioration of the economic well-being of immigrants—recent immigrants in particular—over the past few years (Picot 2008; Boudarbat and Boulet 2007; Cousineau and Boudarbat 2009). This deterioration includes an increase in unemployment rates, a decrease in entry-level salaries and an increase in low-income rates. A number of factors have contributed to this situation, foremost among them changes in the regions that new immigrants come from, a drop in the return on work experience acquired abroad and Canadian labour market conditions.

It must be said that unsuccessful integration has consequences for the host society and for immigrants themselves. If immigrants cannot find suitable jobs, several things can occur: they may become discouraged about ever accessing the labour market and may turn to social assistance programs, or some may consider emigrating elsewhere or returning to their country of origin. The labour market integration of immigrants is therefore an important public policy issue.

Despite a large body of literature on the economic situation of immigrants, the provincial component of the situation has received little attention. Specifically, little is known about the economic performance of immigrants in Quebec compared with those in the other provinces even

though Quebec has its own immigration policy, which ought to give it an advantage over the rest of Canada. In this article, we use 2001 census data to examine the economic situation of immigrants in Quebec compared with immigrants in the other provinces. The indicators we examine are employment and unemployment rates, employment income and low-income rates—the most commonly used indicators in the economic literature for gauging immigrants' level of labour market integration and their overall standard of living.

We divided immigrants into two groups: those who were under 20 years of age when they arrived and those who were 20 or older. We also considered only prime working-age immigrants— those between the ages of 25 and 54. Finally, we compared Quebec with the provinces west of Quebec, which we refer to as "the rest of Canada" (ROC): Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. The Atlantic provinces and the three territories were excluded because of the small number of immigrants who settle there.

Our sample comprised 331,911 people, 77% of whom were born in Canada, 8% were immigrants who arrived before they were 20 years old, and 15% were immigrants who were 20 or older when they arrived.

Labour market participation

Over the past three decades, labour market participation among immigrants in Canada has changed dramatically. First, a shift in immigration policy brought about a quick rise in the number of immigrants from developing countries, which changed the ethnic make-up of the immigrant population and increased the social heterogeneity of the labour market. Second, because of the increase in the level of education of native-born Canadians and a stricter economic selection of newcomers, immigrants now face more competition in the labour market. Third, partly because of fluctuations in the economy,

the unemployment rate has increased. All of these factors have made it harder for immigrants to find a job; plus, immigrants have to overcome obstacles not faced by native-born workers, such as segmentation of the labour market and discrimination in employment (Green and Green 1999; Piché and Bélanger 1995; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 2002).

Table 1 shows the differences in employment rates between immigrants and the native-born. The average employment rate among immigrants who arrived before they were 20 is close to the rate among native-born Canadians. In fact, most of the immigrants who arrived at a very young age generally received formal Canadian education from the time they were children or youths. They therefore have a good knowledge of the official languages and hold Canadian diplomas. These advantages give them more options on the labour market and make it much easier for them to integrate into local society than it is for other immigrants.

Among immigrants who were 20 or older when they arrived, the average employment rate is significantly lower than the rate among native-born Canadians. Also, the employment rate increases the longer the time since immigration, both in Quebec and in the ROC and for both men and women. The employment rate among immigrants who have been in Canada for more than 10 years is closer to the rate among native-born Canadians. This finding is consistent with predicted assimilation approaches (Portes 1997; Zhou 1997), according to which new immigrants face a relatively difficult situation resulting from the disadvantages associated with language barriers, lack of recognition of their skills and their inadequate knowledge of labour market demand. As well, new immigrants gradually develop strategies for overcoming these difficulties.

In addition to the relatively unfavourable situation of female immigrants on the labour market, our findings show that the employment

TABLE 1

Employment rate by sex, region and immigration status

	Women		Men		All	
	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Reste of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada
People born in Canada	75.0%	78.2%	84.8%	87.5%	79.8%	82.8%
Immigrants who arrived before age 20	73.6%	76.8%	81.8%	87.1%	77.7%	81.8%
Immigrants who arrived at age 20 or more	57.4%	67.0%	75.0%	83.5%	66.2%	74.7%
Years since immigration* :						
1 to 5	43.3%	54.4%	63.1%	77.0%	53.3%	65.2%
6 to 10	58.5%	66.2%	78.2%	83.6%	67.8%	74.1%
More than 10	66.4%	75.2%	81.3%	87.6%	74.0%	81.0%

* For immigrants who arrived at age 20 or more.

rate is always lower in Quebec than in the ROC, among native-born Canadians and immigrants alike. This finding suggests that the labour market is weaker in Quebec. Moreover, immigrants living in Quebec—newcomers in particular—are more affected by regional disparity.

Labour market participation can also be analysed using the unemployment rate. Figure 1 shows that the unemployment rate among immigrants who arrived before the age of 20 is similar to the rate among native-born Canadians, but the rate among immigrants who were 20 or older when they arrived is quite high, especially among those who live in Quebec. Women face more serious problems on the labour market than do men. Figure 1 generally corroborates the results shown in Table 1.

Employment income

Employment income is another indicator of immigrants' labour market integration. Comparing immigrants' employment income with that of people born in Canada is also useful in determining immigrants' economic success. This section therefore looks at the income gap between immigrants and native-born Canadians

from several angles.

Employment income figures are given for the year 2000 and include all earnings from both paid employment (wages and salaries) and self-employment. To minimize differences in income attributable to the intensity of labour supply, our comparisons are limited to workers with full-time, year-round jobs. These are people who worked at least 48 weeks in 2000 and who were essentially full-time workers in that year. Table 2 shows the average annual employment income of native-born Canadians and immigrants, and the income gap between the two groups.

The first observation to be made from Table 2 is that immigrants who were 20 years of age or older when they arrived are very disadvantaged in terms of salary compared with native-born Canadians. This gap ranges from 13% less in earnings for men living in the ROC to 16% less for women in Quebec. This observation is especially true for recent immigrants. Among immigrants who were 20 or older when they arrived, the more recently they immigrated, the greater the income gap between them and native-born Canadians. There is therefore some integration. However, the income gap ranged

FIGURE 1
Unemployment rate by sex, region and immigration status

Figure 1: Unemployment rate by sex, region and immigration status.
Legend: People born in Canada; Immigrants who arrived before age 20; Immigrants who arrived at age 20 or more.
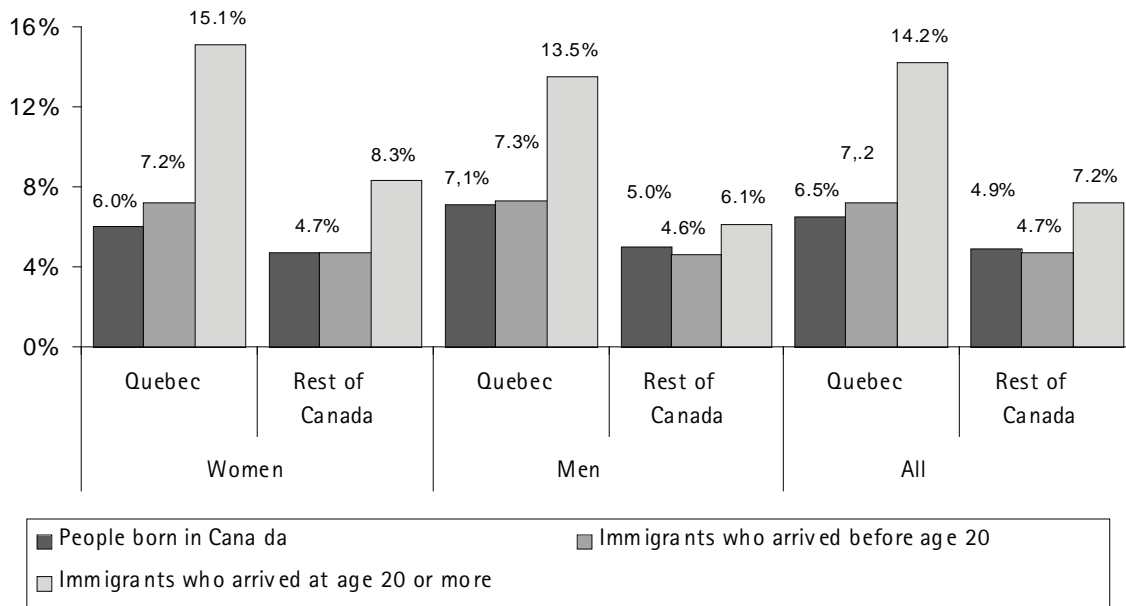
from 22% (for women in the ROC) to 27% (for men in Quebec) in the immigrants' first five years in Canada and from 19% to 23% in the next five years. Immigrant men living in Quebec achieved the highest increase in income within six to 10 years of immigrating. The results, however, show that neither male nor female immigrants attain wage parity, even 10 or more years after arrival. Women who immigrated to a province other than Quebec were, however, able to reduce their wage gap to 2.5% compared with native-born Canadian women after 10 or more years in Canada. The fact that immigrants who were 20 or older when they arrived and who work full-time year-round have an average income lower than that of native-born Canadians, even after 10 years, does not really paint an encouraging picture.

The second observation to be made from Table 2 is that immigrants who arrived before age 20 are only slightly disadvantaged. Female immigrants, both in Quebec and in the ROC, earn 0.1% less than women born in Canada. Male immigrants in Quebec earn 3.4% less than men born in Canada, while male immigrants in the ROC earn

only 1.0% less than men born in Canada. These findings suggest that age at immigration is a major determining factor in immigrants' future success on the labour market. Further research could be done to identify the critical immigration age—the maximum age at immigration for positive economic performance.

The third observation to be made from Table 2 pertains to host province. Among both males and females, the difference in the employment income of immigrants compared with that of native-born Canadians is larger in Quebec than in the ROC. Yet, Quebec is putting a great deal of effort into immigration and has more leeway than the other provinces in selecting its economic immigrants.

Low-income rates and the use of income security programs

Comparing immigrants' and native-born Canadians' labour market participation and employment income sheds light on immigrants' level of integration. Based on the findings shown earlier, age at immigration and country of origin

TABLE 2
Differences in employment income in 2000 between native-born Canadians and immigrants, by sex and by region, for full-time, year-round workers* aged 25 to 54

	Women		Men		All	
	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada
Average annual employment income of Canadian-born workers ($)	33,511	37,366	44,810	51,712	39,980	45,751
Immigrants who arrived before age 20	-0.1%	-0.1%	-3.4%	-1.0%	-2.1%	-1.2%
Immigrants who arrived at age 20 or more	-15.8%	-13.7%	-14.6%	-12.9%	-14.2%	-13.9%
Years since immigration**:						
1 to 5	-26.6%	-22.0%	-26.9%	-22.6%	-25.5%	-22.1%
6 to 10	-23.1%	-21.8%	-19.2%	-21.7%	-20.0%	-22.4%
More than 10	-7.0%	-5.6%	-5.4%	-2.5%	-5.3%	-4.9%

*"Full-time, year-round" refers to people who worked at least 48 weeks in 2000 and who were essentially full-time workers that year.
**For immigrants who arrived at age 20 or more.

are key factors in immigrants' economic success. Other indicators, such as the low-income rate, which provides information on poverty among immigrants, provide further insight.

The objective is not to compare low-income rates by province[1], but to compare low-income rates between immigrants and native-born Canadians. Figure 2 shows that the gap is much wider in Quebec than in the ROC. The low-income rate among immigrants in Quebec who were 20 or older when they arrived (36.5%) is 22 percentage points higher than the rate among people born in Canada (14.8%). In the ROC, the gap is only 12 points. Among immigrants who were under 20 when they arrived, the proportion with a family income below the low-income cutoff is half that among immigrants who were 20 or older when they arrived, both in Quebec and in the ROC.

The findings confirm that integration takes time.

Among immigrants who were 20 or older when they arrived, the more years since immigration, the closer the low-income rate to the rate among native-born Canadians. In the ROC, 10 or more years after arrival, with a low-income rate of only 12.9%, immigrants are almost even with people born in Canada. In Quebec, despite a significant decrease over time, the income of one in four immigrants who have been in Canada for more than 10 years is still below the low-income cutoff.

Conclusion

Essentially, our results paint a bleak picture of the labour market integration of immigrants who were adults when they arrived: lower employment rate, higher unemployment rate, lower employment income and higher low-income rate. This is especially true in Quebec, where the economy appears to be unfavourable for immigrants seeking to enter the labour market. Immigrants who were younger than 20 when they arrived fare much better in the labour

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1   In the census, low-income status is determined in relation to a low-income cutoff that takes into account family structure but not the cost of living in the province of residence.

FIGURE 2

People whose total economic family income in 2000 was below the corresponding low-income cutoff *
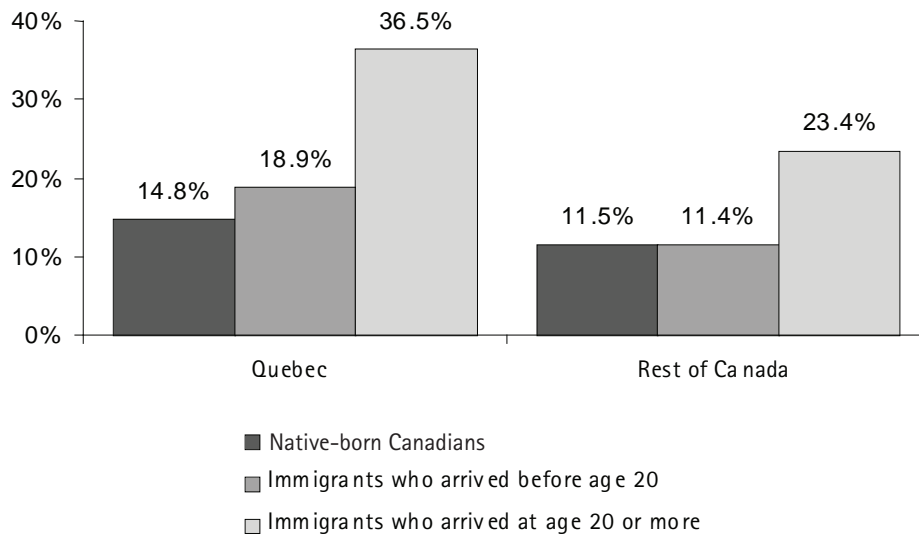
*Population between the ages of 25 and 54 only.

market, both in Quebec and in the ROC.

From a public policy standpoint, these results raise questions about the appropriateness of immigration policies in Quebec from the qualitative and quantitative aspects. From the qualitative aspect, the results raise two questions: whether the criteria contained in the selection grid actually prefigure success in the labour market; and whether these criteria result in recruiting immigrants who meet the needs of the labour market in Quebec adequately. From the quantitative aspect, the results raise the question of whether the number of immigrants admitted each year exceeds the absorptive capacity of the economy of Quebec. And if it is the case, Quebec's decision to increase the number of immigrants in the years to come could further worsen the economic situation of new immigrants. In all cases, the government of Quebec should do more to improve the economic opportunities for immigrants to maximize the benefits of immigration.

The issue should be debated in Quebec with a

view to developing an effective immigration policy and determining what needs to be done to help immigrants who are experiencing difficulties with economic integration.

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Equal Access Employment Programs in Quebec's Private Sector: A Disappointing Status Quo

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Abstract: Equal access employment programs reflect the Quebec government's desire to take a proactive stance against employment discrimination, which affects visible minority workers in particular. Yet the results of these programs are rather disappointing: the contributing factors seem to include failure to understand the objectives, the persistence of prejudices and human resources management practices that are potentially discriminatory, under the guise of neutrality, and a lack of commitment from business leaders. Lack of government oversight and sanctions reinforces the observed stagnation of these programs in the private sector.

Introduction

In recent decades, Quebec society has frequently reiterated the importance of attaining occupational equality among individuals, regardless of national or ethnic origin. Yet despite the progress that has been made, it would clearly be premature to conclude that any real equality has been attained (Déom and Beaumont 2008). While the proportion of visible minorities is growing steadily (according to the most recent Canadian census, nearly 9% of Quebeckers identify themselves as belonging to a visible minority) and Quebec increases its immigration targets year after year[1], a number of labour market indicators demonstrate that members of visible minorities still occupy a relatively disadvantaged position. (The article by Bourdabat, Boulet and Zhu in this publication gives a detailed analysis.) Yet in 1985, the Quebec government's desire to

combat systemic discrimination[2] was enshrined in the *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*, a chapter of which is devoted exclusively to equal access employment programs. By obliging organizations to conduct a structured analysis of their management policies and practices in order to eliminate any discriminatory aspects and at the same time set quantitative objectives for representation of target groups, these programs are designed to accelerate the attainment of equality.

Evaluation of equal access employment programs: A disappointing picture

In 1987, a contractual obligation program was established in Quebec, requiring all private employers who have at least 100 employees and who obtain government grants or contracts worth at least $200,000 to adopt an equal

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1   In 2008, Quebec admitted 45,264 immigrants, most of whom were members of a visible community. For 2009, Quebec hopes to admit between 47,000 and 50,000 immigrants, with a maximum target of 55,000 admissions in 2010 (MICC 2009a; MICC 2009b).

2   Systemic discrimination may be defined as [Translation] «a situation of inequality that develops as a cumulative result of the interaction of labour market practices, decisions and individual or institutional actions having intentionally or unintentionally harmful effects in the members of target groups» (Chicha-Pontbriand 1989).

access employment program. In 2001, under the *Act Respecting Equal Access to Employment in Public Bodies,* public bodies were also required to establish equal access programs. At present in Quebec, the compulsory approach is limited to these two groups[3].

To assess the effectiveness of the contractual obligation program, two evaluations were done simultaneously: one internal (CDPDJ 1998) and the other, external, by means of a survey of all firms subject to the program (Chicha 1998). Both found that the implementation of equal access programs in the private sector was far from successful. The survey, which produced more complete and more specific data than the internal evaluation, showed that only a tiny number of businesses had met the requirements of equal access employment programs by reviewing their human resources management practices to eliminate potentially discriminatory aspects and had succeeded in making any progress in the area of representation of visible minorities[4].

The main contributing factors identified were the persistence of prejudices and stereotypes, failure to understand the objectives of an equal access employment program and the concept of indirect discrimination in human resources management practices, and lack of commitment by senior managers. To these was added a significant contextual element: a lack of political will on the part of the Quebec government, reflected in a lack of oversight and an almost total absence of sanctions for non-compliant firms.

These results should have sounded the alarm and led to a new approach by the government and the private sector, resulting a few years later in

3   It should be noted that the contract compliance program is very limited in its scope and applies to only about 170 private employers. This contrasts sharply with the pay equity programs that apply to all private employers who have at least 10 employees.

4   Progress with respect to representation of women was more significant, although still very limited. As for Aboriginal persons, they were completely disregarded by the firms.

a much-improved situation that appropriately reflected the importance of equal access programs to Quebec society, as attested to by their enshrinement in the Charter of Rights. In the absence of a new assessment by Quebec's Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse [human and youth rights commission] (CDPDJ), we conducted a new survey in 2005.

For this survey, we contacted the 87 firms in the Montréal census metropolitan area with an equal access employment program under the contractual obligation program; 35.6% of them agreed to participate in the research, which was conducted by means of semi-directed interviews with the person responsible for the equal access program. These companies represented a broad spectrum of economic activity and had a total of about 113,000 employees. Although we cannot generalize our analysis, it is reasonable to think that, unlike the firms that ignored our request, the firms that took the trouble to respond are those that had some commitment to equal access programs.

The findings of the new survey: A surprising inertia on the part of business

An unexpected result of our analysis is the mismatch between the interest expressed in diversity by those we interviewed and the dearth of measures taken to attain it. While they perceive many potential benefits to increasing the representation of visible minorities in their workforces, in practice these companies implement few measures to achieve this. How can this paradox be explained? Responsibility for the surprising inertia that impedes the implementation of equal access programs in Quebec's private sector appears to lie in the series of contributing factors presented below.

First, it seems that negative prejudices and stereotypes regarding the productivity of visible minority workers are still current among

employers. As one respondent said:

> [Translation]
> Oh, I've had that nationality working here and they're no good; send us other people, all white .... And, unfortunately, most of the time it's against the Blacks. We still see that a lot ....

Managers also consider members of visible minorities capable of working under any conditions and at any time:
[Translation]
So they're readily available. When we call them at the last minute, they're happy to come back to work. In contrast to other people who aren't as enthusiastic, I'd say ....

Clearly, such a perception is not very consistent with the objectives of equality that these employers are supposed to meet!

Employers also mention employee fears to explain the lack of initiatives:

> [Translation]
> ... there was a lot of resistance from people who had already been in the warehouse for many years, who don't have much education, and who still saw visible minorities as "You're going to come and do my job .... "

These prejudices are exacerbated by distrust of the objectives of the equal access programs, perceived by employers as contrary to the merit principle and counter-productive. The managers interviewed regularly returned to the idea of qualifications, stating that they would never hire less-competent people to meet the equal access objectives:

> [Translation]
> You bring us people from these three target groups [women, visible minorities and Aboriginal people], and I have another person, a white man and, this is important, he is more competent than the others, what do you want me to do? Am I going to take someone who is less qualified?

Or:

> [Translation]
> It's normal for the best candidate to get the position and yes, we try to encourage those people [members of visible minorities]. [But] we don't do affirmative action. We're going to hire the best person for the job ....

Moreover, the comments illustrate the fact that the firms do not see their own responsibility in this situation:

> [Translation]
> The people [from visible minorities] have to learn to take responsibility for what they have to do. Imagine the work we do here, that's not my problem: you bring it to me [your diploma and your equivalences], you have it [the interview]; you don't have it, I don't meet you, that's all! Make the effort ....

The interviews clearly show, therefore, that there is still a serious need for educating employers and raising their awareness in order to combat these preconceptions about equal access employment programs.

Moving on to human resources management practices and their review, we see that, as in the 1998 survey (Chicha 1998), the respondents do not seem to grasp how their usual practices may be indirectly discriminatory. For example, most firms continue to recruit by word of mouth or networking. At the same time, they complain of not receiving applications from members of visible minorities, failing to recognize that this is because of their recruitment methods, which only add to the demographic homogeneity of their workforce!

At the stage of the selection interview, the growing demand for interpersonal skills increases the risk of discrimination against visible minority applicants. The majority of firms contacted say that the kind of employees they look for have good communication skills and an aptitude for sales and negotiation and are motivated and competitive. Since interpersonal skills are a matter of attitudes, personality traits and social skills, they are harder to measure objectively than professional knowledge. Furthermore, they are often dependent on context: for example, having a good relationship with clients largely depends on one's colleagues, supervisors and ... clients! (Moss and Tilly 2001).

Although we cannot give a complete account of the survey's findings in this brief article, the overall picture that emerges from the 2005 survey does not seem very different from the situation in 1998, at least for the firms in question. In our view, two important contextual factors, one internal and the other external, contribute to the stagnation of the equal access programs. Internally, the involvement of senior management is imperative if any real change is to occur, as the CDPDJ has repeatedly observed (Dowd 2009). The literature on management of diversity also emphasizes this success factor (Cornet and Warland 2008).

However, despite their legal obligations and their interest in diversity, most of the firms surveyed stated that the equal access program was not a strategic issue—quite the contrary. Senior managers have little involvement in these programs, as the following comment makes clear:

> [Translation]
> The CEO ... every time he passes my office he stops and asks me how it's going. But you know, I don't think he knows how it works, what these things are [the equal access program]. I'd be very surprised if he had ever seen it ....

The external factor responsible for this situation is the lack of political will on the part of the government to ensure that equal access employment programs are implemented in the private sector. This is reflected in the absence of oversight or sanctions, just as in 1998. As a recent International Labour Office report based on a broad review of the literature states, proactive policies need to be closely monitored by government authorities and require the application of real sanctions in case of failure to comply (ILO 2007).

The vast majority of firms surveyed mentioned having very little contact with the CDPDJ. This lack of monitoring leads the firms to think of equal access programs as secondary in importance:

> [Translation]
> I wouldn't say that it [the program] is taken lightly, but it may not be a company's first priority ....

Others recognize that:

> [Translation]
> ... if there is no penalty at the end of the day ... they [senior management] are not going to worry about it. Only if the Commission had a committee that would force us to make changes, or else [we would lose] the grant ... Then, it would be a different story ....

Conclusion

This analysis shows that the mere passage of time is not sufficient to combat the barriers to the hiring of visible minorities. Yesterday's obstacles appear to be alive and well in the private sector: misunderstanding of the phenomenon of systemic discrimination, the prevalence of stereotypes and prejudices, a simplistic, even caricatured view of equal access employment programs and lack of commitment on the part of senior managers. The pressure of a legal obligation is necessary, but it is illusory to think that it will have any

positive effect without the constant vigilance of the authorities responsible for its application. Without the force of a legal obligation, very few firms will make an effort to rectify the under-representation of visible minorities in their workforce and conduct a critical analysis of their employment system in order to identify biases.

Without appropriate intervention, it is to be feared that the "politically correct" discourse on the advantages of a diversified workforce, coming from both public authorities and employers, will not succeed in changing the status quo characterized by the continued existence of a serious inequality for members of visible minorities in Quebec's private sector.

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Multiple Interpretations of the Migration Plans of North Africans ("Maghrebians") in Quebec: The Impact of Labour Market Integration Support

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Abstract: The gap between their migration plans and the labour market integration support they receive is a factor in the disillusionment of North Africans ("Maghrebians") in Quebec. Disillusionment and a lack of understanding exacerbate structural problems regarding access to the labour market that are all too familiar to the Maghrebian community in Quebec.

Introduction

In 1996, after clearly identifying the desired profile of its independent immigrants, Quebec adopted a new selection grid that focused on youth, education, work experience, training in demand among Quebec employers, the applicant's financial self-sufficiency and, of course, functional knowledge of French.

The adoption of these criteria had significant consequences, among them a considerable increase in the proportion of highly educated newcomers and an increase in Francophone immigration (or at least the number of immigrants who know French) from non-European countries, African countries in particular. Since 2001, Morocco and Algeria have ranked in the top four birth countries of immigrants; the other countries are France and China (MICC 2006; MICC 2009a).[1] This is a highly educated population: in 2001, almost a third (29.9%) of Morocco-born Moroccans and half (42.5%) of Algeria-born Algerians 15 years of age and older

had a university degree (compared with 21.8% of the total number of immigrants and 14% of Quebeckers as a whole). Moreover, almost all Moroccan and Algerian immigrants (97.6% and 98.5%, respectively) reported in the 2001 census that they speak French. However, despite these key characteristics, deemed at the time of selection to augur well for the immigrants' integration, the 2001 unemployment rate among Morocco-born Moroccans and Algeria-born Algerians who had lived in Quebec for five years or less was very high: 33.6% and 35.4%, respectively, compared with 8.2% for Quebeckers as a whole.[2]

We will show in the following paragraphs that the migration plans of these Moroccans and Algerians shape their image of themselves as migrant workers (depending on economic opportunities) and that that image conflicts with the image conveyed through labour market integration support services. These two different images of newcomers selected abroad result in interaction and intervention rooted in misunderstanding or

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[1]   Persons from these two countries accounted for 15.9% of newcomers between 2001 and 2005 and 15.7% between 2004 and 2008 (MICC 2006; MICC 2009b).

[2]   The data in this paragraph are from a special compilation by Quebec's Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigration and cultural communities] (MICC) from the 2001 Canadian census.

misinterpretation. This theory is based on the results of a study conducted between 2004 and 2006 that compared the perceptions of Algerian and Moroccan job seekers[3] with those of people who work with that clientele[4]. It should be noted that the study did not evaluate intervention programs aimed at job seekers or the quality of work done with Maghrebian immigrants and made no determination as to the legitimacy of the stated needs and expectations[5].

Migration plans and integration as perceived by Maghrebians

Faced with extremely high unemployment in their country of origin (20.4% for the Maghreb in 2003[6] according to the World Bank [Nabli 2005]), most Maghrebians see migration primarily as a way of achieving economic stability: pursuing a career in their own field or getting into a new field, but at least improving their standard of living. Such plans are all the more legitimate because they appear to entail a small risk. They are in fact based on knowledge of Quebec and Canada acquired as a result of promotional activities abroad that portray Quebec and Canada as places that have a high standard of living and a thriving economy, are respectful of their citizens, are open to immigration, appreciate cultural

diversity and cross-cultural dialogue (Chrétien 2003; Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2005; Coderre 2003) and have a shortage of skilled workers.

Selected by Immigration primarily because of their employability (schooling, field and work experience) and their proficiency in French (and, to a lesser degree, English), Maghrebian immigrants come to Quebec with a burning desire to enter the local labour market quickly on the strength of their qualifications. Many admit, however, that the prospect of dequalification is very real. But in their mind, dequalification should enable them to develop their local employment network, integrate socially and then advance in their career; in short, it should be a temporary situation that points to a bright future. The evidence is clear: these new immigrants to Quebec have a strong self-image; they see themselves as workers.

Migration plans and integration as perceived by support workers

Those who work with Maghrebian job seekers view immigration to Quebec as a carefully considered choice that, of course, entails expectations regarding labour market integration, but also and primarily knowledge of and implicit adherence to local standards and values, a desire to integrate socially into Quebec and a minimal knowledge of how the labour market works. Normally, they say, candidates for immigration research the country before they apply.

Many are therefore surprised that Maghrebian job seekers are surprised to learn that many trades and professions in Quebec are regulated or that it takes a long time to enter the labour market. They note with disbelief Maghrebians' expectation that they will find a job quickly. They say that it is important to consider the realities of the local job market (it is hard for everyone, natives included, to find work), the characteristics of Maghrebian immigrants (overqualified for the

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3   Participants had to have arrived in Quebec after September 11, 2001, be between the ages of 25 and 44, be fluent in spoken and written French, have a post-secondary education and be taking part in a labour market integration program.

4   37 people, including 22 job seekers (10 born in Morocco and 12 born in Algeria; 16 in Montréal and 5 in Sherbrooke) and 15 support workers (8 in Montréal and 7 in Sherbrooke) were interviewed at employment support agencies (local employment centres, youth employment centres or community organizations) or the MICC.

5   For more detailed information about this study, see Lenoir-Achdjian, A., S. Arcand, D. Helly, I. Drainville, M. Vatz Laaroussi (2009), "Les difficultés d'insertion en emploi des immigrants du Maghreb au Québec : une question de perspective," IRPP Choices, Vol. 15, No. 3. Montréal: Institute for Research on Public Policy. Online: http://www.irpp.org/fr/index.htm

6   Algeria is especially affected: the unemployment rate in that country verged on 25% in 2003 and was as high as 70% among university graduates. By comparison, the unemployment rate in Morocco that same year was around 20% but was almost 40% among university graduates (Nabli 2005).

needs of local employers, no work experience in Quebec, degrees that are generally recognized at a lower level in the equivalency process). It is important to learn how the Quebec job market works (since most jobs are hidden, it is important to tap into one's personal and professional network when looking for a job; job seekers have to pay careful attention to their résumé, their letter of introduction, the contacts they make during their job search, the interview, and so on). Others, pointing to the dequalification that usually affects immigrants, believe that it is normal for immigrants to be out of work here, too, if they refuse to compromise on their economic aspirations. Still others think that if these immigrants were unemployed in the Maghreb or were not working in their field, it makes sense that their training or experience would not be recognized by Quebec employers. In other words, all of the support workers who were interviewed said that Maghrebian clients are primarily job seekers who face the same difficulties finding work as natives and are therefore expected to compromise on their initial expectations. Willingness to bite the bullet and make those compromises, which they believe cannot be made until they gain some understanding of Quebec society, will eventually get them into the labour market. Inversely, refusal to compromise may be the reason for their failure to find work.

Labour market integration as perceived by Maghrebians

Accustomed to receiving considerable public support when looking for a job in the Maghreb, most immigrants naturally and very quickly turn to public job search assistance services in Quebec. They initially expect support workers to teach them how the labour market works and then refer them, for example, to employers who might be interested in their profile. In short, they are counting on support workers to connect them with employers in order to not only facilitate their entry into the labour market, but also fulfil the implicit promises conveyed by their selection

as economic immigrants. However, they discover a philosophy that guides employment support in Quebec that is based on autonomy and taking responsibility for one's own job search. They feel that the "entitlement to employment" that is theirs because they were selected by Immigration-Québec is not being fulfilled by the support services they receive.

Further, while they realize that training in how to find a job (preparing a résumé, getting an interview, writing a letter of introduction, etc.) is useful in helping them succeed in entering the labour market, they nevertheless say that they are disappointed by the long waiting period to get support services (it can take several weeks or even months in Montréal to get real support); by the fact that they have to do the same things for different agencies (for example, constantly rewriting their résumé); by training that is designed to facilitate labour market integration but that in their view rarely leads to a job (visits to companies, after-hours social outings with potential employers, etc.); by the energy they expend convincing support workers of the need to do a particular internship or upgrade certain of their skills; and by the small number of internships, which are perceived by job seekers as a sure bet for getting a job. Here, it is their identity as immigrant workers that they believe is not taken into account.

In addition, they all challenge the approach taken by many support workers that, as Emploi-Québec advocates, proposes labour market integration[7], not occupational integration, which in their view denies the professional identity that was the real reason they were selected as economic immigrants.

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7   Labour market integration emphasizes access to jobs irrespective of potential dequalification or the lack of a match between the job seeker's field and the job being offered, in order to foster access to a source of income as quickly as possible. Occupational integration consists in fostering labour market integration in the job seeker's field and should not involve significant long-term dequalification.

They also complain that the proposed approach does not lead to the creation of promising professional networks and that employers do not seem interested in their training and work experience. This last observation raises questions in their minds as to whether the criteria for selecting immigrants are in line with actual job market needs. Some also point out bitterly that the hurdles they encounter (recognition by professional associations or regulated trades, requirement of Canadian experience and lack of recognition of work experience acquired abroad, need to know English, etc.) are factors that bar them in a politically correct way from being hired and that the Quebec and Canadian governments do relatively little to combat that. They fail because the Quebec labour market does not live up to the expectations that were part of their migration plan. Unable to enter the labour market[8], many immigrants, convinced that they were knowingly misled by Immigration-Québec and are rejected by Quebeckers and abandoned by the provincial government, wonder about their identity as Quebeckers in the making.

Labour market integration as perceived by support workers

Labour market integration support workers, meanwhile, feel that Maghrebians have the same rights as any other Quebec citizen looking for work, because immigrating is a choice. Most immigration workers therefore interpret the demands of Maghrebian job seekers as a demand for control and therefore evidence of their inability to look for work on their own, their lack of understanding of how the Quebec labour market works and, according to some workers,

their arrogance ("they want employers to roll out a red carpet").

Their response to the argument of potential dequalification is that this is a normal process for every new entrant to the Quebec labour market, not to mention the fact that Maghreb universities produce less-qualified graduates than ours. Success in employment is a long-term proposition, yet Maghrebians want success right away.

However, all of the workers interviewed admit that there are employers who discriminate against Maghrebians, but say they that they are powerless to do anything about it. Their empathy does not prevent them from establishing a close connection between the obstacles that Maghrebians encounter in looking for work and their personal characteristics (passive, high expectations, inappropriate attitudes, etc.) or their collective characteristics (Muslim, strict in their religious practices, uncomfortable reporting to women, reluctant to interact with Quebeckers, etc.). They wonder about the real qualifications of their Maghrebian clients, since very few pass the exams set by professional associations, their degrees are systematically rated at a lower level (probably because of the schools they attended) and their written French is weak. In the minds of many support workers, these personal and collective characteristics, which affect Maghrebians' soft skills and their ability to take action, justify or legitimize the difficulty they encounter in landing a job.

Conclusion

These findings clearly show that there are diametrically opposed perceptions of the relationship between labour market integration and integration into society. Maghrebians take the view that labour market integration is the key to social integration, while labour market integration support workers feel that it is a lack of socialization that makes it hard for Maghrebians

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8   Of all the Maghrebians interviewed, 12 had never held a job in Quebec (7 had lived in the province for a year or less, 5 for two, three or four years). Of the remaining 10 respondents, 1 had obtained in Quebec a technical diploma in a field other than the field in which he was initially trained and had recently obtained a job related to his new diploma, 1 had landed small contracts, 2 were working on call in a field other than the field in which they were initially trained, and 7 had had only one short-term job since they arrived (one day, three days, one week, six months and eight months).

to find work.

This difference in perception gives rise to lack of understanding and tension in the intervention process, which are usually attributable to the clients' cultural and religious characteristics. As a result, support workers dismiss the structural elements (discrepancy between regional needs and the criteria used to select immigrants, discrimination by employers, poor economy, job market in which jobs are filled by word of mouth, etc.) that adversely affect the labour market integration of Maghrebians.

This lack of understanding leaves many support workers wondering about the ability of Maghrebians to integrate into Quebec society and the concentration of immigrant selection in certain geographical areas on the pretext of protecting the Francophone character of Quebec. That focus dilutes the characteristics of a given cohort and in the process increases the magnitude of its specific problems. This reciprocal lack of understanding also instils in the Maghrebians interviewed the perception that it is impossible for them to integrate economically into Quebec. And because social integration should, to their minds, derive from employment, they take the view that they cannot integrate unless they find a job. Many of these immigrants, knowing they cannot go back to the Maghreb, therefore feel like second-class citizens "trapped" in Quebec.

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The Deskilling of Highly Qualified Immigrant Women in Montréal: A Matter of Degree?

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Abstract: This article attempts to identify the reasons for the deskilling experienced by highly qualified immigrant women living in Montréal. The results indicate a high incidence of deskilling among the 44 participants in the study: 43% are highly deskilled and 25% are moderately deskilled, even after several years in Quebec. Most of those who are not deskilled (32%) spent one or more years in jobs intended to upgrade their qualifications. A number of variables play a significant role in the existence and degree of deskilling, including family strategies, recognition of foreign degrees, opportunities for requalification and discrimination in the workplace. Integration policies should focus on consistent, synchronized measures on various levels to avoid wasting the human capital represented by a large number of immigrant women and contribute to their successful occupational integration.

The deskilling of highly qualified immigrant women in Montréal: a matter of degree?[1]

At a time when our immigration policies are becoming increasingly selective and geared toward highly qualified immigrants, many of these immigrants find themselves trapped in precarious, unskilled jobs. This deskilling of immigrants is increasingly common and long-lasting, according to recent data from Statistics Canada (Galarneau and Morissette 2008). A number of studies (OECD 2007; Salaff and Greve 2003) indicate that immigrant women are particularly affected by deskilling, especially when they come from countries in the Southern Hemisphere. We therefore conducted a study to identify the reasons for the deskilling experienced by immigrant women who arrive in Montréal with a university degree from their country of origin. Our objective was to understand why and how some immigrant women experience a high

degree of deskilling and others do not.

Recent studies have attributed the inequality experienced by immigrant women to lack of recognition of degrees, discrimination in the workplace, or family obligations. However, according to Purkayastha (2005), studies that focus on the influence of one or two factors weaken the analysis and prevent us from fully grasping the complexity of immigrant women's occupational integration. Accordingly, we chose to use a systemic, multidimensional approach for our research. The factors selected are those that emerged from a review of the literature on the occupational integration of immigrant women:

- family obligations and strategies that meant that the careers of immigrant wives came second;
- lack of recognition of foreign credentials;
- difficulty accessing training for the purpose of requalification;
- discriminatory practices by businesses.

Our research focuses on the dynamic, cumulative nature of the deskilling process attributable to the interaction of these factors. The study is

exploratory in nature, because this is the first time such a broad range of variables has been examined, at least in Montréal. To this end, we chose a qualitative methodology based on interviews with 44 immigrant women, as well as focus groups made up of professionals who work with immigrants.

The selection criteria for the respondents were the following:
- immigrant women with permanent resident status in Canada or Canadian citizenship;
- immigrant women who arrived in Canada 5 to 12 years ago, making it possible to trace their occupational trajectory;
- immigrant women with a university degree obtained in their country of origin;
- immigrant women with work experience in Montréal, regardless of duration;
- immigrant women with sufficient knowledge of French to participate in an interview involving complex questions. This condition eliminated lack of knowledge of French as an explanation for deskilling.

Two thirds of the immigrant women interviewed came from countries in the Southern Hemisphere and the Caribbean and belonged to a visible minority. The others were from countries in Eastern Europe.

Degree of deskilling: an important but often overlooked element

Generally, statistical data treat deskilling as a binary variable: people are divided into those who are deskilled and those who are not. However, as suggested by Sloane (2007), it is important to recognize that the degree of deskilling is just as significant as whether or not a person is deskilled, if not more so. In line with his suggestion, we have tried to identify the factors that contributed to the success of some immigrant women, and the qualified success or failure of others.

Our findings led us to divide the 44 immigrant women into three groups by the existence and degree of deskilling:

- Group 1 (43%): These immigrant women are highly deskilled. They occupy a job that does not require a post-secondary degree or even, in some cases, a high school diploma. One example is the case of a financial specialist who has become a sewing machine operator. Immigrant women from visible minorities are significantly overrepresented in this group.
- Group 2 (25%): These women are moderately deskilled. They occupy a skilled job, but one that requires training at a lower level than their initial training. This is the case for a university graduate in communications who has become a dental hygienist.
- Group 3 (32%): These women are not deskilled (or were very briefly). They occupy a job that corresponds to their initial training, or are very close to doing so.[2] Immigrant women from visible minorities are significantly underrepresented in this group.

Length of time in Canada and occupational trajectories

According to some authors, successful occupational integration and length of time in the country go hand in hand. We therefore looked at whether the differences between the three groups, particularly the success of group 3, were simply attributable to the passage of time. This was not the case, however, since the average length of time in Canada differed only slightly among the three groups. These results are in line with those of recent studies that were broader in scope (Galarneau and Morissette 2008; Wald and Fang 2008). According to these authors, when an immigrant cannot use her skills upon arrival, it

2   For example, immigrant women who were physicians in their country of origin and who obtained a licence to practise their profession in Quebec, or others who found an internship and should be able to practise in the near future.

only becomes more difficult to do so after a few years because they become obsolete. Employers who hesitate to hire a marketing specialist from Chile or Morocco on her arrival will probably be even more reluctant to do so if, during her first five years in the country, she was employed as a child care worker or sewing machine operator.

We therefore sought to explain the different degrees of deskilling by examining how the women's occupational trajectories had unfolded since their arrival in Montréal. Although the length of stay itself was not a factor in their success or failure, it did prove useful to examine what had happened during the years after they arrived in Montréal.

Group 1: A vicious circle of precarious jobs

Observation of the occupational path taken by the immigrant women in this group shows that they had a string of relatively unskilled jobs that bore no relation to their initial training. Family strategies usually gave priority to the husband's professional development (recognition of his degrees, additional training, university education), and these women found themselves solely responsible for the family's care. This represented an enormous constraint since this group had the largest proportion of mothers of young children, both on arrival and at the time of the interview. These women also had the most difficulty finding day care.

Consequently, they had little time or money to undertake the process of obtaining recognition of their credentials or acquiring training in a different field. Those with professional qualifications gave up on seeking equivalence, because of a lack of time and financial resources, or they made attempts that led nowhere.

After a few years, therefore, most of these women attempted to change their career; unfortunately, they were directed toward short training programs for relatively unskilled work—sewing machine operators or schoolyard supervisors—which irrevocably limited them to marginal, unstable and very low-paying jobs. Some of the women were victims of exploitation who consequently experienced significant problems with stress. At the time of the interview, they did not seem to have any hope for improvement in their job status.

To summarize, this group is stuck in a vicious circle because of a number of unfavourable factors that reinforce each other: significant family obligations, lack of recognition of degrees, inadequate retraining and discrimination in the workplace.

Group 2: Stabilizing in moderately skilled jobs

Most of the immigrant women in this group, the majority of whom had degrees in the applied science and health fields, went through a phase characterized by one or more unskilled jobs; some of them made poor decisions upon arrival that led to them to spend too much time without practising their profession. For some professions, such as engineer or physician, not having recent professional practice may be an eliminating factor. They subsequently succeeded in obtaining skilled employment, albeit in jobs that required a degree at a lower level than their initial training.

In terms of family obligations, the women in this group differ from the previous group in that they did not have preschool-aged children either upon arrival or at the time of the interview. They therefore had fewer family obligations and received some help from their spouses. Recognition of foreign degrees for women with professional qualifications represented a significant obstacle, which explains why many of them remained in this group. Some had not even applied for recognition because their compatriots had told them that they had little chance of success.

A factor that distinguishes this group from group 1 is that the women managed to successfully retrain for a new career because their degrees were not recognized. After a thorough study of the job market, many chose careers that were somewhat technical: i.e. accounting assistant and dental hygienist. Others found new interests through volunteering and eventually built their new careers on that experience.

Their success was limited, however, by the fact that they did not venture outside immigrant circles for networking purposes. Consequently, they did not receive help from the professional networks in Quebec that companies often use for recruiting purposes. Most of the women ended up finding stable employment with limited opportunities for advancement; they were overlooked for promotion either because of the type of organization they worked for or because of their foreign origin. Finally, despite being partially deskilled and earning a relatively modest salary, many are satisfied with their occupational status.

To summarize, the immigrant women in this group were hampered by lack of recognition of their degrees and lack of participation in Quebec's professional networks. They did, however, succeed in overcoming the negative impact of those factors, because they not only had more time and money available to them, but also less onerous family obligations.

Group 3: A high level of professional status regained after a difficult struggle

The immigrant women in this group are primarily graduates of pure or applied science or health science programs; a large majority belong to a professional association that establishes an exclusive right to practise.
In terms of family obligations, this group had the largest proportion of immigrant women who arrived without children. They therefore had more resources in terms of time and money to

upgrade their professional qualifications. Since most of them received only partial recognition of their professional credentials upon arrival, they had to pass exams and repeat internships that they had already completed.

For some of them, the creation of an informal network of Quebec professionals who supported them in their journey contributed decisively to their success. At the start of their trajectory, they attended conferences and other professional events at which they networked with Quebec colleagues working in their field.

In terms of discrimination in the workplace, despite receiving a licence to practise, these women did not always find it easy to obtain skilled employment. They met many obstacles, such as difficulty obtaining a junior engineering internship in a Quebec company. Moreover, some immigrant women belonging to visible minorities experienced very overt discrimination—hurtful comments, scepticism regarding their competence, and hostile behaviour from superiors, colleagues and patients—that affected their psychological well-being.

To summarize, the initial negative effect of only partial recognition of their degree was overcome thanks to the lack of family obligations for many of these women, the resources available to them and the opportunity they had to develop a professional network in Quebec. The benefits of these positive interactions enabled them to regain their initial professional status.

Conclusion

The results of this study show that the deskilling of immigrant women is not attributable to a single factor but to a set of intertwined and diverse variables whose effects may reinforce or cancel each other, either in part or completely. Two recommendations seem particularly important: the first is a general one, which is that integration policies should be implemented on

various levels in a synchronized and consistent manner. Up to now, we have primarily seen fragmented measures implemented at different times, a situation largely responsible for wasting the human capital represented by many highly qualified immigrant women.

The second recommendation stems from the observation that there are varying degrees of deskilling. This brings up a fundamental question that has been avoided until now: how is successful occupational integration defined? The group 3 model, the ideal model, if we can call it that, may not be the only possible or desirable one. Satisfactory occupational retraining, like that of the immigrant women in group 2, is also a valid option. It requires, among other things, the development of a training system that recognizes the high skill level of the immigrant women as well as their specific needs. The deskilling experienced by the immigrant women in group 1 should not be an option at all, since its human and economic costs are too great.

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Social and Media Discourse in the Reasonable Accommodations Debate

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Abstract: This article summarizes the major findings from a research report written for the Bouchard-Taylor Commission on how the media handle reasonable accommodations and on opinions on this issue. The focus is on two types of social discourse: event-based handling by the media and the opinions expressed by editorialists, columnists, intellectuals and readers in Quebec's print media[i]. The analysis revealed devices used in the media and incidents of media exaggeration, as well as populist and racializing rhetorical devices in many journalists' and readers' opinions. This social discourse on the reasonable accommodations crisis shed light on ethnic relations, on how various groups in Quebec perceive one another and on the sensitivity associated with Francophones' recent ascension to majority status.

Introduction

From 2006 to 2008, Quebec was plagued by a crisis in "reasonable accommodations"—a uniquely Canadian legal concept that stemmed from Supreme Court rulings on indirect discrimination and human rights. In March 2006, the debate began to take shape in the media, where it was transformed into a crisis in January 2007. For many people, it was like being transported back [translation] "to pre-1977 Quebec, where French Canadians saw themselves as a homogenous nation and saw others as a constant threat to their identity."[1] On February 8, 2007, the Premier, who was in the initial stages of an election campaign, announced the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences (Bouchard-Taylor Commission) amid a media storm and racializing discourse[2].

Having written an expert report for the Bouchard-Taylor Commission on opinions on and the media's handling of reasonable accommodations,[3] I will summarize some general findings on two types of social discourse analysed: event-based media coverage and opinions expressed by editorialists, columnists, intellectuals and readers in Quebec's print media[4].

i   Articles published in major daily newspapers in Quebec: La Presse, Le Devoir, Le Journal de Montréal, Le Soleil and The Gazette, from March 1, 2006 to April 30, 2007. We found a total of 1,839 texts: 1105 news articles, including 451 event-based articles, 263 editorials, columns and letters from intellectuals and 391 readers' letters, as well as 734 entries on popular blogs. We analysed the debate as a whole and specific reactions to about a dozen issues, including the kirpan ruling, the YMCA and "accommodating" sugar bushes.

1   Mc Andrew, M., 2007. "Pour un débat inclusif sur l'accommodement raisonnable," Éthique publique 9, 1, pp. 152–158.

2   Bouchard, Gérard and Taylor, Charles (Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences). 2008. Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation. Gouvernement du Québec, Éditeur officiel du Québec.

3   Potvin, Maryse et al., 2008. Les médias écrits et les accommodements raisonnables. L'invention d'un débat. Report to G. Bouchard and C. Taylor, Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences. www.accommodements.qc.ca/documentation/rapports/rapport-8-potvin-maryse.pdf. This report was used as the basis for a book: POTVIN, Maryse, 2008. Crise des accommodements raisonnables. Une fiction médiatique ? Montréal: Athéna Éditions. See also: Potvin, M. et al., 2008. "Les opinions publiques à l'égard du jugement sur le port du kirpan à l'école dans la presse québécoise," in M. Mc Andrew et al. (eds.), L'accommodement raisonnable et la diversité religieuse à l'école publique. Normes et pratiques. Montréal: Fidès, pp. 241–270.

4   Articles published in Quebec's major daily newspapers: La Presse, Le Devoir, Le Journal de Montréal, Le Soleil and The Gazette, from March 1, 2006 to April 30, 2007. We found a total of 1,839 texts: 1,105 news

These two forms of discourse were analysed using different categories. For media coverage, we identified specific devices and practices: number of articles, length of coverage, most popular or typical headlines and leads, layout, sources, agenda setting, priming, agenda framing and types of framing. For opinions expressed, we identified the main themes and reactions (for, against, neutral) and then identified neoracist rhetorical devices used[5].

Racist rhetoric is based on the use of irreconcilable differences, which are the product of a power relationship, to justify subordinating others in order to legitimize dominance. The pillars of racism—differentiation and subordination—use socio-cognitive mechanisms[6], which are usually subconscious and emotional in nature (the sense that one's privileges, prestige, possessions, security and identity are at risk). These discursive devices act as levels of racism, which often band together to create a spiral effect: negative differentiation (Us-Them), subordinating Them, generalizing about an entire group, self-victimization, catastrophizing, demonizing Them, the urge to expel (go home) and political legitimization, which constitutes a higher level of racism[7].

Event-based media coverage

According to my analysis, the media played a central role in transforming the debate into a social crisis, using devices, framing and staging in order to propel reasonable accommodations onto the political agenda and to elevate anecdotal material to a social crisis. Using repeated surveys on the "racism of Quebeckers," daily mini-polls and "exclusive investigations," newspapers drew attention to an issue that was to be debated in the public arena.

Many journalists contributed to the confusion by grouping reasonable accommodations—which imply an obligation to make changes in a discriminatory situation—with voluntary arrangements or private agreements, which are not born of the violation of a fundamental freedom. Over 75% of the "reasonable accommodations" reported in the media between March 2006 and April 2007 were actually private agreements or random anecdotes that journalists blew out of all proportion.

Not only was media coverage disproportionate to the actual number of cases of accommodation, but many newspapers—in the name of remaining competitive—increased the number of incidents "revealed," thereby setting the stage for one-upmanship and media hype.

Various facts and minority requests[8] were singled out as signs of deviancy and anti-social or illegitimate behaviour or behaviour that does not conform to the norms of the majority (deviancy amplification spiral), thereby creating moral panic[9]. The angle, or frame, that journalists adopted, as well as the prominence

articles, including 451 event-based articles, 263 editorials, columns and letters from intellectuals and 391 readers' letters, as well as 734 entries on popular blogs. We analysed the debate as a whole and specific reactions to about a dozen issues, including the kirpan ruling, the YMCA and "accommodating" sugar bushes.

5   In an era of human rights, we talk of a more implicit, culturalist neoracism based on differentiation that appears more legitimate because of its unlawfulness and illegitimacy.

6   These mechanisms are socio-cognitive because they reference individual reasoning and political, ideological, historical, social, economic and cultural determinants in a specific context.

7   In previous empirical work, we developed an analysis grid to easily identify what we refer to as racializing rhetorical devices (particularly in the newspaper articles). See also: Potvin, M., 2000. "Some Racist 'Slips' About Quebec in English Canada between 1995 and 1998," Canadian Ethnic Studies, 32 (2), 2000, pp. 1–26; Potvin, M., 1999. "Les dérapages racistes à l'égard du Québec au Canada-anglais depuis 1995," Politique et Sociétés 18, 2, 1999, pp. 101–132.

8   Some anecdotes were presented as abusive requests when, in fact, the minorities in question had not made any request. This was the case for the so-called "order" from the Montréal police department and for the one from the Chief Electoral Officer regarding wearing the niqab when voting.

9   Cohen, Stanley, 1972. Folk Devils and Moral Panics. London: Mac Gibbon and Kee.

given to certain points of view, influenced the public's understanding of the issues. The media used two frames repeatedly: the legal frame and the drama-conflict based frame. The first one, which was used to deal with most facts, incorrectly likened private agreements to reasonable accommodations. Requests were often covered from the angle of privileges or abuses, rather than from the standpoint of equality rights or negotiated agreements. The drama-conflict based frame came into play in polarized interpretations, in the race for "new news"—real or imagined—and in the repeated use of photographs depicting the smallest religious minority communities (Orthodox Jews, Muslims who wear the niqab or the burka, etc.). Coverage that took the angle of polarization between minority groups and the majority gave the impression that certain minorities enjoyed privileges and were threatening common values, drawing readers (from the majority) into a victimizing interpretation of events.

For example, on five occasions the J*ournal de Montréal* presented various facts as "privileges" granted to Jews. The following article appeared on November 19, 2006: "CLSC Lavallois. Traitement de faveur pour un Juif" [Laval CLSC gives preferential treatment to a Jew] (p. 9). It tells how, on the previous day, a Jewish man jumped the queue at a health centre in order not to miss the Sabbath. On December 15, 2006, the "incident at the Ste-Thérèse de Blainville CLSC" made the headlines in the *Journal de Montréal* (p. 3) with: "Accommodements raisonnables. Privilèges spéciaux pour les juifs" [reasonable accommodations: special privileges for Jews]. The subhead was: "Les infirmières doivent *se plier* à leurs exigences pour prodiguer des soins aux patients de la communauté" [nurses must *give in* to their demands in order to provide care to patients in the community]. In the accounts of these incidents, the majority group is victimized, the demands made are extrapolated to the entire Jewish population, and members of the minority groups in question are rarely interviewed.

This debate became fodder and framework for the 2007 provincial election. Constantly questioned about the incidents, politicians helped artificially fuel the debate around what were often inaccuracies, providing opinions without verifying facts and not distinguishing between hearsay and actual accommodations. These incidents were then used to judge the politician's competence.

Moreover, the rise in popularity of the Action démocratique du Québec (ADQ) during the campaign was actually attributed to the populist stance ADQ leader Mario Dumont took in the debate. Purporting to speak on behalf of the majority and say what everyone was thinking, Mario Dumont legitimized the populist discourse in the political arena, constantly accusing his political opponents of being weak on this issue, taking a hard line himself and using shock phrases ("On ne peut pas défendre notre identité avec un genou à terre" [we cannot defend our identity on bended knee], *Journal de Montréal*, November 19, 2006: 5). On November 17, 2006, the headline in the *Journal de Montréal* read "Accommodements raisonnables. 'On glisse dans des abus de la Charte'" [reasonable accommodations: we're slipping into Charter abuses], with the subhead "Le chef de L'ADQ juge inquiétantes certaines *concessions faites aux minorités*" [ADQ leader says *concessions to minorities* are worrisome] (sic!). The lead into the article reinforces the point: "Les accommodements consentis aux minorités ethniques et religieuses dépassent les limites du bon sens, selon Mario Dumont" [accommodations granted to ethnic and religious minorities defy common sense according to Mario Dumont]. The article starts off with a quote from Mario Dumont that plays to the public's sense of victimization: "Pendant qu'un jeune sikh se promène avec son poignard à l'école, la majorité québécoise ne peut plus utiliser le mot Noël ..." [a young Sikh walks around school with a dagger, but the Québécois majority cannot use the word "Christmas" anymore]. The article then uses quotes such as: "Qu'une majorité de citoyens

défende les valeurs qui lui sont propres n'est ni une attitude raciste, ni une singularité dans le monde moderne" [it is not racist or unusual in the modern world for a majority of citizens to defend their values]. The article defines Quebec society as "generous," thereby reinforcing the idea that minorities receive "privileges" and that, in exchange, they should respect "our values." Mario Dumont is then quoted as saying that the police didn't kidnap anyone to force them to come to Quebec.

This kind of legitimization seems to have contributed to the widespread use of racializing discourse, which would not have seen the light of day one year earlier. Many readers who wrote in made liberal use of Dumont's expressions, such as "mettre ses culottes" [show some backbone], "genou à terre" [on bended knee] and "se plier aux exigences des minorities" [bending to minority demands]; these were then repeated in other event-based articles.

Opinions

The legal and political system and normative discourse were repeatedly called into question by a number of members of the public and journalists in the opinions that were expressed. The legal precedents for reasonable accommodations and the role of the Canadian and Quebec charters were presented as being one-sided and as constraining public institutions to "always" accept requests from minorities—essentially to grant them "privileges." Some individuals and elected municipal officials even invoked a "state of emergency"[10] and an "injustice" to the majority group to warrant calling on the governments to abolish the charters.

Explicit and implicit populist and (neo)racist discursive devices were used in half of the texts analysed. In a corpus of 654 editorials, columns, letters from intellectuals and readers' letters in the five newspapers, 14% of the editorials/ columns and 52% of the letters from readers contained at least one of these devices[11]. Some of the discourse combined all these devices— from Us-Them (negative dichotomization, "they are coming here to impose this on us...") to generalizing about all immigrants and minorities ("they don't integrate," "they're fundamentalists") to subordination ("they're stuck in the Middle Ages), to self-victimization (loss of power and identity, "they have come to impose their traditions," "privileges," "on bended knee") to catastrophizing (state of emergency, it's going to get worse, conspiracy theory) and demonization (invasion, "they're strange, unable to assimilate democratic values, unpredictable, worrisome"), justifying the desire to expel Them ("go home") by invoking the political legitimacy lent to such attitudes by elected officials from the ADQ and from municipalities such as Hérouxville. Such discourse reached new heights in 2006-07, as though its widespread use in the media had legitimized intransigent positions.

In the discourse of editorialists, columnists and intellectuals, these devices were most often used in articles about Hassidic Jews. Negative dichotomization was used predominantly to oppose the values of the majority group (defined as "people" or "society") to those of the Hassidic community, particularly on the subject of gender equality. Subordination inferred that they had not adapted to modern lifestyles. Many people associated any request for accommodation with fundamentalism. This excerpt from a newspaper

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10   In January 2007, the municipal council of Hérouxville, a small town with 1,300 inhabitants, adopted a code of conduct aimed at potential immigrants, which forbid stoning, excision and the full veil. Written by André Drouin, a municipal councillor who garnered a great deal of media attention, the code of conduct provoked reactions around the world. On February 5, 2007, Drouin called on the Premier of Quebec to declare a state of emergency. Five neighbouring towns asked the federal and provincial governments to review the Canadian and Quebec charters of rights and freedoms.

11   Opponents of accommodations did not all use racializing devices. For example, 79% of the 391 readers' letters were against accommodation, but only 202 letters (52% of the corpus) used racializing devices. For the detailed findings and numerous excerpts illustrating these devices, see Potvin, M. op. cit., 2008.

column illustrates the use of some of these devices:

> [Translation]
> Months ago, our political leaders—the leader of the Parti Québécois in particular—should have put a stop to the unreasonable demands of a few very vocal minorities. They had a historic duty to defend Quebec, as it exists everywhere, not only in the City of Montréal or in Westmount. All we got was subservience. But beyond these political squabbles, we are nevertheless brave people! We are racist and we don't hide it when others crowd in and mess things up ... the majority of new Quebeckers (74%) and old-stock Quebeckers (83%) are fed up with so-called "reasonable accommodations" ... The message to the political elites and government leaders is now clear: the majority doesn't want any more reasonable accommodations ..." (Michel Vastel, "Mario Dumont avait raison" [Mario Dumont was right], *Journal de Montréal*, January 20, 2007: 26.)

Most readers felt that they were being taken advantage of by minorities who were "abusing" the "weakness" of "Quebeckers" and by judges, politicians and institutions that granted "undue" privileges to "fundamentalist" minorities and made decisions that were counter to the "public will." A vociferous Charter opponent who also opposed the power of the judiciary introduced a double contradiction into the public discourse: by granting rights to individuals whose religious beliefs allegedly contravened individual rights and ran counter to the will of the majority, the Charter was actually permitting what it in fact prohibited.

The dominant perceptions of the Other in racializing discourse attest to a major Us–Them dichotomization. For readers, Them usually refers to immigrants and members of orthodox religions (Jews, Sikhs, Muslims), and they are often lumped into one group. These minorities are identified as

fundamentalists who are responsible for Quebec's many identity crises, which play themselves out in an unsettling international context. The rigid "precepts" espoused by these communities are often juxtaposed with the "freedom" the general population and its social movements fought hard to win. Distinctions are made between "good immigrants" who "want" to integrate into society (by becoming "like us") and "bad immigrants" who demand accommodations (thereby rejecting "common norms"). Those who want to continue living "as they did in their country" could never be one of Us.

The Charter is also perceived not as protecting rights (equality) as the core value of the collective identity, but as violating the rights of the majority group in order to empower minority groups. Such discourse inverts the values set out in the Charter in order to delegitimize and subordinate the Other. Respect for rights and freedoms gives way to the rejection of divergence and the demand for "loyalty" or social conformity that is presumably consensual. Equality is replaced by the conviction that favouritism exists for certain groups and that that in turn creates injustice for others. The "inclusive Us" is transformed into a desire for a homogeneous society. These opinions are founded on the conviction that an individual speaks on behalf of everyone and on a stereotypical—even mythical—perception of the accused.

Conclusion

The social discourse on reasonable accommodations shed light on ethnic relations, on how groups in Quebec perceive one another and on the sensitivity associated with Francophones' recent ascension to majority status. The debate also highlighted the gap between the perceptions of Quebeckers from Montréal and those from the regions and revealed how one segment of society misunderstands the realities of immigration and the mechanisms of immigration, integration and human rights. It provided an opportunity for

populist and neoracist discourse that often lies dormant on a subconscious level of public and journalistic opinion.

This debate also revealed a sort of backlash to legitimate, inclusive, egalitarian discourse in the social fabric of Quebec. It left the field open for racializing discourse that inverted the values enshrined in the charters and human rights legislation. The persistence of the Us-Them barriers became obvious, as did the feeling among some members of the public and elected officials that their identity was threatened. Statements made by the leader of the ADQ and slips by some municipal elected officials carried the controversy, which had developed amidst a media frenzy, into the political arena, where it reached crisis proportions and transcended many levels of racism in just a few weeks, thereby undermining social cohesion.

This crisis was not a sudden frustrated outburst aimed at religious minorities who were used as scapegoats. Rather, it was a symptom of the fragile nature of the national identity, which was shaken by the social and economic upheavals brought on by globalization. The crisis was also fed by the historical unease resulting from competition between Quebec and the rest of Canada (ROC) for the symbolic and linguistic allegiance of immigrants. This unease, which stems from the fragile nature of Francophones' majority status, found its voice in discourse that was vehemently opposed to the "charter," to Canadian multiculturalism and to the "power of the judiciary." This fragility took the form of public fear: fear of losing recent advances in the struggle for modernity in Quebec (gender equality, francization, etc.), fear that this Francophone majority might not be able to model itself as an inclusive Us and integrate immigrants, fear of being labelled "racist" by the ROC[12] and the rest

of the world—in short, fear about the success or failure of Quebec's "integration model." These fears were expressed in discourse in favour of "abolishing" the charter and in allegations that the majority group was being victimized and threatened by "religious fundamentalists" who want to "impose their laws" and who receive "privileges" and yet continue to make more and more "excessive demands."

However, according to many in the fields of education and social services, reasonable accommodations are generally managed well in society on a day-to-day basis. There was a huge gap between perception and reality in this debate, which highlights the need to educate the public on human rights, "diversity," citizenship, critical media analysis, accommodation management and conflict management.

About the Author

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12   Accusations of racism against Quebec (and sovereignty) from the rest of Canada have a long history. They are perceived as a denigration of the national character of Quebec Francophones by the dominant group in Canada (Anglophones) and as an attempt to reduce Francophones to

the status of a "minority, just like the others".

When Religion Disturbs. The debate over Secularism in Quebec

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Abstract: Minority religious practices arouse more passions in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. One segment of the population wants the government to establish a law on secularism to limit requests for accommodation for religious reasons in public institutions. This expectation appears to represent a rejection of religious diversity and a requirement for citizens to conform.

There has been repeated virulent criticism in Quebec regarding the feared social impact of accommodations granted for religious reasons in public institutions. These accommodations are perceived by one segment of society as a rejection of Quebec's common values, a threat to the gains made by secularism and a threat to gender equality. Clearly, minority religious diversity, when it is visible, is more disturbing than any other type of diversity. Public disapproval primarily revolves around the need for a strict separation between religion and the State. The prohibition against any display of religious affiliation in the public sphere is therefore considered a natural application of secularism. In addition, some members of the intellectual elite who promote the Quebec nation and Quebec's distinct identity fear that (religious) values other than those of the majority will surreptitiously erode the social cohesion and political identity of the Francophone nation, itself a minority in Canada and North America. The media have amplified this popular discontent. In this article, I examine the use of the concept of secularism, but also the perception of minority religions that has been revealed in this debate over reasonable accommodation (RA).

Secularism becomes a social issue

In 2006, various types of events associated, often erroneously, with reasonable accommodation fed a collective mindset that saw a contradiction between the "common" values of Quebec's heritage and the public expression of religious affiliations in the public sphere. The members of religious minorities were perceived as abusing fundamental rights to the point of imposing their retrograde values on Quebec society. A number of "notorious" cases fuelled this debate. First came the Supreme Court of Canada ruling in 2006 confirming that the accommodation granted to a young Sikh student who wished to wear a kirpan to his Quebec public school[1] was reasonable, given the safety measures put in place and the fact that he was exercising his freedom of religion.[2] Next, through a "neighbourly" agreement, the director of a sports centre agreed to install frosted windows, at the request and expense of the Orthodox Jewish community attending the adjacent synagogue, to protect Jewish teens from the temptation of watching women in athletic clothing. Although this was not a reasonable accommodation in

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1   This accommodation had been granted by the school board (an administrative structure responsible for a territory containing a number of schools), provided certain conditions aimed at containing the kirpan within his clothing were met. The other Canadian provinces do not prohibit wearing the kirpan to school.

2   Multani v. Commission scolaire Marguerite-Bourgeoys, 2006 SCC 6.

the legal sense, its critics claimed that religious accommodations infringed gender equality. More recently, the Société de l'assurance automobile du Québec, a government agency responsible for issuing driver's licences, made the headlines when a number of Hasidic Jews and Muslims asked that the examiner accompanying them in the car be of the same sex as the applicant, an accommodation that the agency allowed. Quebec's human rights commission—the Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse[3]—reviewed this policy and its impact on the male and female staff members. The Commission found that, in this specific context, there was no actual infringement of the principle of gender equality and that it was a reasonable accommodation, given that there was virtually no negative impact on the work of the examiners and that the request did not take the form of a direct rejection of any individuals. Nevertheless, criticism rained down from every direction. In the eyes of many citizens, secularism and gender equality would now become subordinate to religious requests from minorities.

The term "secularism" entered into public discourse during the uproar over these "cases" of accommodation for religious reasons. It is easy to detect at the heart of this sudden popular appropriation of the term "secularism" expectations that the State would clearly define Quebec secularism and the requirements stemming from it. These expectations reveal a distinct tension in Quebec society between, on one hand, a view of secularism that justifies strict limitations on various forms of religious expression in the public sphere and, on the other hand, a view of secularism that is more open to all public displays of religious affiliation. These opposing concepts correspond to divergent perceptions of social integration: assimilation or acceptance of religious and cultural diversity.

The political reaction

Reasonable accommodation has been practised for 25 years across Canada without arousing as much passion as in Quebec. This provincial "accommodation crisis" led Quebec Premier Jean Charest to establish a consultation commission in this regard in 2007. This was the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference (the "Commission"), co-chaired by Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor.[4] The Commission was tasked with conducting an extensive public consultation to clarify the public discontent and identify possible solutions.

In their final report, co-chairs Bouchard and Taylor went to great lengths to correct public perceptions and concluded that there was indeed a crisis of "perception." A number of events had been severely distorted by the media in particular, putting religious accommodation requests on trial. The co-chairs defined a concept of secularism that is receptive to the expression of religious and cultural diversity in the public sphere. They advocated this model of secularism, which they called "open," to distinguish it from the more restrictive model of secularism applied in France and a strict privatization of the expression of religious affiliation. Open secularism recognizes the importance of the neutrality of the State and its institutions, but also the equal importance of freedom of conscience and religion, allowing citizens to express their religious convictions, insofar as this expression does not infringe on the rights and freedoms of others and does not undermine the public order. They recommended, as one of a series of recommendations to the Quebec government, the preparation of a white paper on secularism that would clarify this concept of "open" secularism.

On May 22, 2008, the official day for public release of the Commission's final report, the

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3   See Commentaires sur la politique d'accommodement appliquée par la Société de l'assurance automobile du Québec lors de l'évaluation de conduite, www.cdpdj.qc.ca/, January 2009.

4   The final report is titled A Time for Reconciliation, Québec City, 2008.

government received the document in the National Assembly. In his speech, Premier Jean Charest[5] said that "[translation] our society has become secular" since the Quiet Revolution and that the State "[translation] should affirm the secularism of our institutions." However, on the same occasion, two statements by Mr. Charest indicated that the concept of secularism defined by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission had changed significantly upon entering the political arena. First, the Premier said that a signed declaration would be required in which applicants for immigration would commit to adhering to the common values of our society, including the separation of Church and State and gender equality. Requiring newcomers to make this commitment sounds like a warning based on an assumption that some immigrants might flout Quebec values in the name of their religion. In fact, the statement assumes that all Quebeckers who are not immigrants adhere to these principles fully and completely. Then the Premier and the two opposition leaders hastily placed a motion without notice on the agenda, thereby setting aside National Assembly Standing Order 185. This motion, which passed unanimously, reads as follows: "That the National Assembly reiterate its desire to promote the language, history, culture and values of the Quebec nation, foster the integration of each person into our nation in a spirit of openness and reciprocity, and express its attachment to our religious and historic heritage represented particularly by the crucifix in our Blue Room and our coat of arms adorning our institutions" (my emphasis). The Commission had recommended removing this Christian symbol from the halls of political deliberation.

Yet this crucifix is a recent addition to the premises of the Quebec National Assembly. It was put there in 1936 by the government of Maurice Duplessis. For decades, Quebeckers have referred to the Duplessis years as, from a political and religious standpoint, the "Great Darkness." What an ironic twist to suddenly make "Duplessis' crucifix" a symbol of Quebec's heritage to which all citizens should show their attachment!

This political haste is no doubt explained in part by one of the Premier's political concerns: to clearly demonstrate his attachment to the "Quebec identity" in the face of opposition criticism regarding the lack of attention that, in their opinion, the Bouchard-Taylor report gave to the assumed "identity malaise" of the majority. One may hypothesize that a liberal philosophy of pluralism, as presented by Commission co-chairs Bouchard and Taylor, was hard to argue with in itself, since it follows in the Quebec tradition of integration. However, a political reaction that would restore balance in terms of identity seemed necessary: the public must not perceive openness to diversity as taking anything whatsoever away from the common values associated with the identity of the majority.

On an analytical level, two semantic shifts can be seen with respect to secularism. On one hand, secularism, in the political arena, involves heritage when it comes to the religious symbols of the Christian majority, and on the other, it becomes a tool for preserving the national identity.[6] It is likely that drafting a white paper on secularism to establish its legitimacy would encounter many obstacles and criticisms, given the many compromises needed between public expectations and the law.

What perception of religion do these events show?

Despite the work of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, public opinion remains unchanged. According to an Angus Reid Strategies-La Presse

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5   Source: Parliamentary Proceedings of the National Assembly of Quebec, 38th Legislature, 1st Session, May 22, 2008, http://www.assnat.qc.ca/eng/38legislature1/pv/PA20080522.pdf.

6   Micheline Milot, "L'émergence de la notion de laïcité au Québec. Résistances, polysémie et instrumentalisation," Appartenances religieuses, appartenance citoyenne. Un équilibre en tension, P. Bosset et al. (ed.), Québec City, PUL, 2009, pp. 20–38.

poll conducted in mid-October 2009, Quebeckers admit to being rarely or even never exposed to an actual reasonable accommodation based on religion. Nevertheless, 68% of them believe that there are too many reasonable accommodations, and 59% even believe that the wearing of religious signs in public places should be prohibited.[7]

These repeated public outcries have little or nothing to do with the legal instrument of RA, but rather religion when it represents the reason for the accommodation request. There is a remarkable discrepancy between the social approval given to RA granted for non-religious reasons (disability, pregnancy) and the disapproval shown to accommodation for religious reasons. In the same vein, there is an enormous disproportion between the extent of the negative reaction and the actual number of RAs in institutions. The amplification that occurs is in itself a social phenomenon indicative of a very real hostility toward the religious other, however much in the minority. This hostility takes the form of discrediting religious norms, presuming that they pose a danger to common values, and more generally disqualifying the believer from the requirements of civic participation.

Discrediting religious belief

What is discredited is the very nature of religious belief or practice. It is not "believable," in the sense of credible, that a religious belief or practice could be sincere enough that it may be reasonable to try to accommodate it. A moral or political significance is thus imputed to any non-Christian religious display (Christian displays virtually never attract reprobation). For example, the Muslim veil cannot be credible as a symbol of personal faith. It is taken to signify some sort of identity-related militancy, political provocation or unconscious submission by women. Requests involving separation of the sexes are interpreted as indicating rejection of one sex. Agreeing

to accommodate such requests would lead, according to those who are categorically opposed, to a systemic inequality between the sexes based on archaic religious standards. In short, religious belief and practice hide something else. We would all be duped if we lent them credence through accommodation, since requests based on religious affiliation proceed from an attitude of hypocrisy.

This reasoning is clearly based on a social belief: in a secularized world, each individual should be able to set aside requirements associated with his or her religious faith, easily placed in the category of private business. This is what is expressed in the end by the now-popular expression "religion is a private matter." Those who make this claim maintain that it is not appropriate to "display" a sign or adopt a form of behaviour that is religious in nature in public life. This concept shrugs off freedom of expression, a correlative of freedom of conscience.

The presumed danger of the other's religion

A presumption of danger follows logically from this discrediting. Religious beliefs and practices are a threat to the survival of Quebec values, essentially the secularism of the State and gender equality. The popular account of a Quebec society that has emerged from a long history of Catholic oppression (a statement that has been the subject of more historically nuanced analyses) and that now refuses to be taken over by other religious traditions, primarily Islam, is presented by society as self-evident.

This line of thinking, which equates the social hegemony of a religious tradition with individual expressions of faith, is sociologically erroneous. There is nothing comparable between the historical power of an institution like the Catholic Church, which took over a whole society's culture, and individual practices that do not have enough weight to restructure a society. Furthermore, the State is not adopting the religious practices and

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7   La Presse, October 27, 2009, p. A1.

beliefs of Islam or Judaism (the traditions most often criticized) by granting RA to individuals in public institutions. The State is not renouncing its secular governance. However, the widespread perception is that these small practices will become generalized and imposed on the entire society. This fear is conveyed by the saying "give them an inch and they'll take a mile." This is another social belief that is false but tenacious: the inevitable expansionism of minority religions will end up changing the values of Quebec society.

Disqualifying the believer

If religious beliefs and practices that do not conform to the habits of the majority are discredited and presumed dangerous, it is only a small step, easily taken, to disqualify the person who adopts them. The other is delegitimized as a morally autonomous social player with the right to adopt a different attitude in the social or institutional sphere of action. The statement "when in Rome, do as the Romans do," which is common in Quebec, expresses in fact a requirement to conform, a necessary condition for acceptance of the other in the realm of citizenship and in the concept of the national identity. If the other manifests a religious affiliation that does not conform to the secularized habits of the majority, he or she is disqualified from citizenship. As an agent of the public service, he or she is all the more likely to be suspected of bias and proselytism.

Once again, secularism appears to be the ideal instrument for making these believers, who are always, as if by chance, from minority groups, see reason. What a reversal! The idea of secularism is rooted in two moral objectives: freedom of conscience and equality. It was developed historically by and for minority groups who were denied their civic rights because they did not conform to the majority religion. It has only been relatively recently in the history of

humanity that one has been able to exercise one's civic rights freely, without adherence to a faith (or its renunciation) being a condition of or barrier to such an exercise. This attempt to adopt a "prohibitive secularism" has a historical irony that obviously escapes many people.

Conclusion

Would adopting a law or charter on secularism, as many demand, settle the argument once and for all? Nothing could be less certain. How can a concept of secularism defined historically as a guarantee of freedom of conscience and religion be reconciled with an interpretation of secularism as a means of prohibiting religious expression? With the rise in immigration, a prohibition against displaying one's religious affiliation in public institutions would surely affect the process of integration and recognition of the other. The risk of departing from the fundamental principles of justice would become that much greater

Negative reactions to religious displays in public places is undoubtedly a sign of a malaise that is felt to varying degrees, depending on the society: the need to believe that we are all similar in the values we adopt in order to ensure a strong collective identity. Yet a collective identity in a context of profound plurality is defined more through the sharing of a common destiny than through conformity in terms of values. How then does granting an accommodation to a few people impose a transformation of a society's way of life? Reasonable accommodations allow those who requested them to feel more at ease in public institutions and avoid exclusion on the basis of an overt religious identity. These accommodations, which usually require only the slightest of adjustments, may greatly facilitate the passage of an individual from his or her original community to political society. This is valid even though, in the short term, we may have the impression that accommodations accentuate differences to the detriment of a concept of solidarity as uniformity of social practice.

About the Author

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Fair Representation and Treatment of Diversity in Media and Advertising

CONSEIL DES RELATIONS INTERCULTURELLES

Abstract: This article covers some of the points made in an advisory report prepared by the Conseil des relations interculturelles in 2009 at the request of the Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities. The CRI's mandate was to examine the treatment of ethnocultural minorities in the media in order to improve the way they are depicted, and to conduct an exploratory survey of their representation in advertising.

I. Literature review

1.1. Treatment and representation of ethnocultural minorities

Many Quebec researchers have identified serious problems with the way ethnocultural minorities are depicted in the media. Their studies come to the same conclusion: for more than 25 years, the media have generally treated ethnocultural diversity in a negative and inappropriate manner.[1]

A review of 600 articles published in Quebec dailies in 2008 is telling.[2] Print media in Quebec reported more negative news about immigrants: 48% of the articles were negative, 29% were positive and 23% were neutral. More negative articles were published in Montreal than in other parts of Quebec.

The situation regarding the representation of immigrants is similar;[3] however, French-language television stations have a worse record than their English-language counterparts. Advertisements, more specifically, perpetuate stereotypes by mostly showing persons identified as members of ethnocultural minorities in subordinate roles.[4]

For these reasons, the Conseil des relations interculturelles (CRI) hired a company[5] to review 1,652 advertisements first aired by Quebec television stations in 2008. Fewer than one in five advertisements (16.8%) included a person associated with an ethnocultural minority, and in the vast majority of cases (68.1%), the person played only a minor part.

Among the advertisements produced for the French-language network, those which had been translated, probably from English to French, had the highest level of representation of ethnocultural minorities.

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1   See, inter alia, Denise Helly, Revue des études ethniques au Québec 1977-1996, November 1997, Institut national de recherche scientifique, Centre Culture et Société, Metropolis Project, Immigration and Metropolis, 309 p.; Rachad Antonius and Alykhanhthi Lynhiavu, La représentation des Arabes et des musulmans dans la grande presse écrite au Québec, Research paper submitted to Canadian Heritage, 2008, 93 p.

2   The CRI hired Farrah Bérubé (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières) to conduct this study in order to assess the treatment of minority groups.

3   See inter alia, Centre de recherche-action sur les relations raciales (CRARR), Un visage français, oui mais... multiculturel et multiracial aussi. Une étude sur la représentation des minorités visibles dans les panneaux publicitaires situés dans les stations de métro de Montréal, Fo Niemi and Mario Salgado (eds.), Montréal, Le Centre, 1988, 86 p.

4   Farrah Bérubé, La représentation des immigrants dans les publicités télévisées du Québec, 2007.

5   Eloda: http://www.eloda.com.

1.2. Representation of ethnocultural minorities as media professionals

Data that can be used to quantify the presence of ethnocultural minorities as media professionals are few and far between. Some respondents said that the presence of ethnocultural minorities in Canadian dailies was one of the media's last concerns in terms of both employment and coverage of events.[6] "The rarity of journalists from ethnic minorities ... demonstrates the existence of institutional barriers, sometimes unconscious and automatic, that prevent a better representation of minorities within the industry."[7]

A survey conducted in 2005 by the Conseil de l'industrie des communications du Québec [Quebec communications industry council] showed that the proportion of ethnocultural minorities among communications professionals was small: 8% of the respondents were not of Canadian nationality; 6% identified themselves as members of a "cultural community;" and 3% were members of a visible minority.[8]

Based on its analysis of detailed 2006 census microdata on occupations likely to be found in the industries studied in Quebec in the category "Arts, Culture, Sport and Recreation," the CRI concluded that the situation is more precarious for ethnocultural minorities than for the population as a whole:

- Members of ethnocultural minorities are more likely to be self-employed or to work part time.
- They report working fewer weeks per year and fewer hours per week.
- Their non-participation rate is higher, and they are more likely to be unemployed.
- The proportion with after-tax income equal to or below the poverty line is larger.

1.3. Use and motivation among ethnocultural minorities

A number of studies have also looked at use and motivation among media consumers. In the late 1980s, the polling firm CROP began conducting surveys (Omnibus multiculturel de Montréal) for various Quebec government departments and agencies and for the media industry. Three surveys carried out in 1989, 1991 and 1993 showed that [translation] "almost half of the respondents regularly used media in their mother tongue, and immigrants have a preference for English rather than French publications, television and radio."[9]

Length of time in Canada has a bearing on the number of viewers of French-language television,[10] but children born in Quebec to immigrant parents are very drawn to English-language television. They watch less French-language television than their parents, even if they attend French school.[11] However, a connection cannot automatically be made between the fact that diversity is depicted on television and the appeal that that can have for ethnocultural minorities.

Mass media, however, television in particular, affect viewers' perception of reality. For example, because [translation] "they described depictions of human diversity as stereotyped, rooted in

6   Media Awareness Network, Ethnic and Visible Minorities in the News: http://www.media-awareness.ca.

7   Media Awareness Network, based on a 2000 study by Florian Sauvageau and David Pritchard.

8   Conseil de l'industrie des communications du Québec, "Portrait des secteurs publicité-marketing et relations publiques au Québec," produced by SECOR Conseil and the CICQ steering committee in cooperation with Léger Marketing, February 13, 2007.

9   Farrah Bérubé, Médias et insertion des immigrants: le cas de récents immigrants latino-américains en processus d'insertion à Québec, doctoral thesis, Montréal, Université du Québec à Montréal, 2009, p. 38.

10   Serge Proulx and Danielle Bélanger. "La télévision francophone, miroir d'une société pluriculturelle? Dynamique de consommation télévisuelle des membres de cinq communautés culturelles de la région de Montréal," summary of final report, Quebec City: Centre d'études sur les médias, Université Laval, Montréal: Groupe de recherche sur les médias, UQAM, 1996. 22 p.

11   Serge Proulx and Danielle Bélanger, "La représentation des communautés immigrantes à la télévision francophone du Québec. Une opportunité stratégique," Réseaux 2001/3, No. 107, p. 128.

folklore and scarce, researchers showed that the media have engendered inadequate beliefs and have therefore not fostered the integration of immigrants."[12]

The media could, however, play a positive role. Three major contributions by the media have been identified: 1) increasing awareness among immigrants of the host society; 2) assisting with language learning; and 3) creating and maintain social ties with people born in Canada.[13]

II. Changing the media and advertising

2.1. Greater openness to diversity?

The advent of mass media brought with it a desire to reach that mass, which was thought to embrace the entire population. A new phenomenon—media fragmentation—emerged in the early 1970s. Canada's multiculturalism policy contributed to the expansion of ethnic print media, but those outlets migrated to radio and television.[14]

Amid growing diversity and technological advances, this trend of wanting to target or represent a homogeneous mass should not survive. Consumers identified as members of ethnocultural minorities can create content (through satellite television, for example) that includes programs from their country of origin that can be accessed through the Internet.

The entire media landscape is changing. The distribution of information and entertainment on media like the Internet and cellular telephones is fragmenting audiences even more and having an impact on mass media and their revenue.

Technological innovations, deregulation and economic globalization have helped reshape the culture and communications markets.[15] They have also played a part in establishing a new dynamic, more specifically, the convergence of content and the concentration of media ownership.

These phenomena are a concern in some circles. In principle, the media should reflect the plurality that is characteristic of Quebec—the various social, political and cultural currents—but also diverse values, opinions, interests and information. That is why the public should have access to a range of different media outlets with different owners.

In any event, the creation of content on different platforms tends to foster openness to ethnocultural diversity. Through customized media communication, made possible by convergent media technology, ethnocultural minorities can be reached and their information and entertainment needs can be met (online publications, Web TV, foreign programs on satellite TV, video on demand for international films, etc.).

Ultimately, the concentration of ownership and the convergence of content foster the proliferation of distribution and promotion strategies. That could have a positive impact on the representation of ethnocultural diversity, provided that such diversity is considered and treated for what it is—a reflection of Quebec society.

2.2. The place of ethnic media

The decline in the number of ethnic newspapers over the years can be attributed in part to mergers, but also to financial problems. It is important to note that most of these newspapers

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12   Farrah Bérubé, op. cit., 2009, p. 42.

13   Farrah Bérubé, "Les médias québécois et l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants," brief presented during public hearings in Quebec City, 2007, 7 p.

14   Jean-Michel Lacroix, L'Anatomie de la presse ethnique au Canada, Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1988, 493 p.

15   Andrew Calabrese, "Toward a political economy of culture," in Toward a political economy of culture: Capitalism and communication in the twenty-first century, Andrew Calabrese and Collin Sparks (eds.), Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004, 320 p.

cannot be considered community media outlets as understood by the Government of Quebec, based on territorial and linguistic criteria.

For that reason, they do not have access to the operational assistance program for community media offered by the Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition feminine [Quebec department of culture, communications and the status of women] (MCCF), nor can they receive a portion of the Government of Quebec's media investment budget. The Quebec government, through its departments, agencies and corporations, has set a goal of dedicating 4% of that budget to community media outlets.[16]

The CRI understands the MCCF's position, but ethnic media are important. Ethnic newspapers are the only newspapers read by some of the older immigrants. Those newspapers are therefore an essential medium for many people, including newcomers, especially those who read neither English nor French.

2.3. Consumers having their say

Consumers are active when it comes to advertising, and advertising agencies are learning to be "passive." Advertisements are incorporated into sponsor links in Google or in the text that appears on sites; this approach to advertising aims to seamlessly weave the message into browsing, following the rule used by conventional media. This cannot be done with the Web unless the consumer chooses to stop and look at an advertisement, whereas users spend an average of five minutes on each site they visit.[17]

Consumer habits are changing, especially among young people—more and more of whom are opting to communicate via the Internet and abandon conventional media. That shift has an impact on advertising, especially amid shrinking resources. Fragmentation has caused a drop in advertising revenue because production takes place outside Quebec and even outside Canada. For example, in 2008, the amount of advertising produced in Quebec was down 6% from 2007.[18]

III. Perceptions of organizations and individuals

3.1. Employment and representation of ethnocultural diversity[19]

It was difficult to determine the status of diversity in most of the organizations where the CRI conducted interviews, mainly because diversity is something they rarely measure. One of the arguments made was that the players look at a person's skills, not at the person's origin.

In other cases, the representation of ethnocultural diversity seemed to be a given in organizations: "Half the people on my immediate team are from a visible or semi-visible minority. And [one person] has not even been in Canada a year."

One of the reasons given for the lack of diversity in companies was that there is no hiring: "I can't say we have a lot. One reason is that our workforce is older. They're not being replaced, and there is even a drop in the number of employees."

Some of the people the CRI interviewed mentioned the difficulty in recruiting people identified as members of ethnocultural minorities because they do not choose occupations that are in demand in their organization.

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16   4% of the $75 million from the media investment budget. Ministère des Affaires municipals et des Régions [Quebec department of municipal and regional affairs], "Plan d'action gouvernemental pour l'entrepreneuriat collectif," Government of Quebec, 2008, 28 p.

17   Éric Le Ray, "La formation au cœur des enjeux du passage des médias traditionnels aux médias de la nouvelle économie," Action numérique, Comité sectoriel de main-d'œuvre des communications graphiques du Québec, 2008, pp. 9-10.

18   Maxime Bergeron, "Se vendre ... à l'État L'industrie publicitaire cherche une aide de Québec," La Presse affaires, p. 1, Monday, March 23, 2009.

19   Unless otherwise indicated, all of the following quotes are translated from interviews.

3.2. Representation of ethnocultural diversity in content

The organizations the CRI met reacted in different ways in terms of both the representation and the treatment of diversity in content. Some hold the view that the media do not have an obligation to promote ethnocultural diversity: "We support freedom of expression, but also a liberal approach in the economic sense.... When it comes to information, it is not our role to showcase or downplay diversity."

Others, however, felt the need to clarify: "On the subject of cultural communities, how do we go about reaching not only people in Westmount or Pointe-Claire, but also people in Saint-Léonard and all the other parts of the island of Montréal? ... We're doing our best, but we still have a ways to go."

Most of the players knew there was work still to be done: "We could do better, but we're not doing badly. Other competitors are doing worse. Still, we shouldn't be content with that."

These efforts were all the more necessary because, according to others, the players in mass communications knew nothing about ethnocultural diversity: "Quebeckers of French-Canadian origin look at all of us the same way. We're all immigrants."

3.3. Benefits of ethnocultural diversity

One of the benefits of diversity in content is the potential impact on society: "The more thought we give to the diversity of the Canadian or Quebec public, the more in tune we will be with that population and the more realistic an image we will convey. It's tied in with hiring objectives."

According to some, greater diversity would have a positive impact on content and on the quality of information because it "affects the quality of information in the sense that the more our teams know about what's going on with cultural communities, communities of interest and so on, the richer and more focused programming will be."

Ethnocultural diversity can even be a competitive advantage: "I believe in it strongly... We have no choice. And that's still why I push it. The media industry is fiercely competitive, so if you have a lot of people from the same culture, the same background, ideas, it doesn't happen quickly."

3.4. Individual perceptions

In a Léger Marketing survey of individuals commissioned by the CRI, one question concerned the presence of ethnocultural minorities on French-language television and in French-language dailies compared with in English media.

However, the respondents in some categories felt more strongly that ethnocultural minorities were not prominent enough on television and in dailies [Figure 1].

Regarding the treatment of ethnocultural minorities by French-language television and dailies compared with their English-language counterparts, the scenario was similar, particularly for individuals who are first-generation Canadians. A lower percentage felt the treatment was appropriate [Table 1].

Some categories felt more strongly that treatment was inappropriate.

The CRI invited 577 associations (divided into groups based on ethnicity, religion or whether they had a particular interest in the issue) to take part in consultations on the representation and treatment of ethnocultural minorities. Of those, only 38 responded to the questionnaire. The low response rate was an initial result in its own right.

Respondents who felt that ethnocultural minorities are not prominent enough in the media

Generations
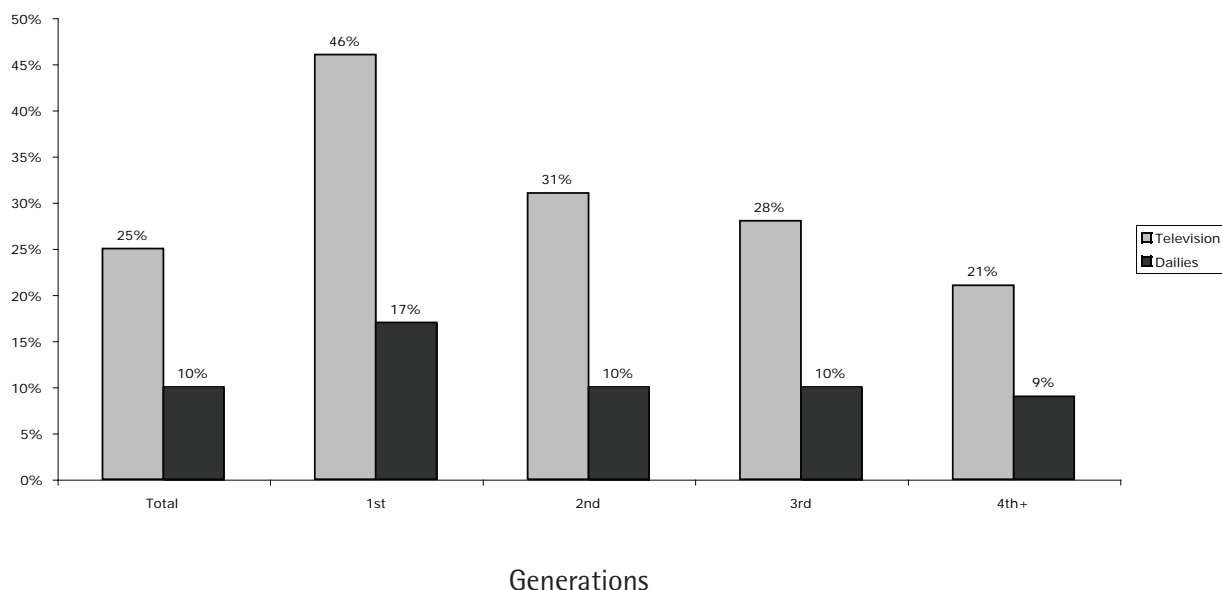
TABLE 1:

Respondents in certain social categories who feel that ethnocultural minorities are not prominent enough in television and dailies

Social Category	Television	Dailies
"Black"	69%	30%
"Arab/Asian"	57%	33%
"Latin American"	55%	17%
"Southeast Asia / Southern Asia"	39%	N/A

Some joint associations have indicated that they did not think that a new survey on the issue would change the situation, which is generally perceived by the respondents as being negative.

To conclude this part, we should mention that there are monitoring mechanisms that, in principle, should promote appropriate treatment. These mechanisms include the following:

- Tribunals that deal with matters related to hate

- The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, which ensures compliance with Canada's broadcasting policy

- The Canadian Broadcasting Standards Council, which enforces established standards

- The Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse [Quebec human and youth rights commission],

Respondents who feel that the treatment of ethnocultural minorities on television and in dailies is appropriate
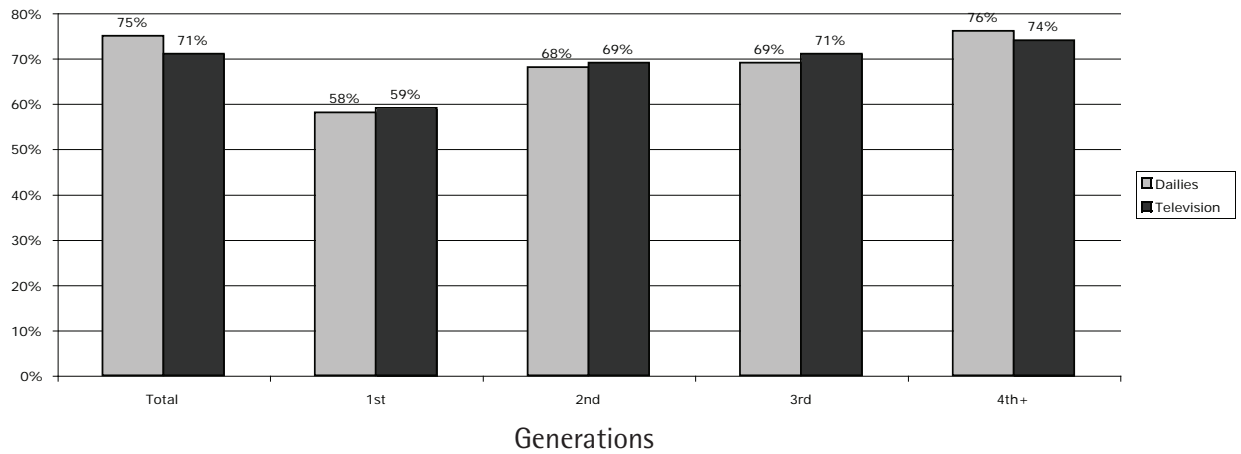
TABLE 2:

Respondents in certain social categories who feel that the treatment of ethnocultural minorities on television and in dailies is inappropriate

Social Category	Television	Dailies
"Black"	46%	50%
"Arab/Asian"	30%	28%
"Latin American"	27%	24%
"Southeast Asia / Southern Asia"	23%	N/A/

which ensures compliance with the principles set out in Quebec's Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms

- The Conseil de presse du Québec [Quebec press council], whose mandate is to promote compliance with the highest ethical standards for the rights and responsibilities of the press
- Advertising Standards Canada, an industry self-regulatory body

There are therefore many bodies to which complaints about the representation and treatment of ethnocultural diversity can be made. Finding the right one, however, seems to

be complicated, which is why the various bodies need to raise awareness of their roles.

Conclusion

The issue of the under-representation and inappropriate treatment of ethnocultural minorities is neither new nor unique in Quebec. The financial woes and the changes that the media and advertising industries have been grappling with have made it difficult to formulate recommendations that would lead to fair representation and treatment of ethnocultural diversity. Newspapers and television stations alike are faced with constraints that are making

it necessary to take measures that include cutting staff. Nonetheless, the CRI has produced several recommendations for the media, the advertising industry, the Government of Quebec, the education system and civil society. Without listing them one by one, we will simply say that since its advisory report was released, the CRI has been looking for a way to enable readers to download from its site (see note 1) and to rally certain players from different backgrounds around issues related to fair representation and treatment in the media and in advertising. Stay tuned.

About the Conseil des relations interculturelles

The Conseil des relations interculturelles is an agency of the Government of Quebec that advises the Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities on a variety of matters, including immigration and harmonious cross-cultural relations. It was created in 1984 and has 15 members who reflect the make-up of Quebec society.

Memory clinics to enrich common heritage

JEAN-FRANÇOIS LECLERC
Centre d'histoire de Montréal

Abstract: An urban history interpretation centre and city museum, the Centre d'histoire de Montréal has, for many years, been working to incorporate immigrant heritage into Montréal's common heritage. Since 2003, the museum has been holding "memory clinics" to collect, preserve and promote this heritage and those of neighbourhoods, groups and individuals.

The birth and development of museums are intricately entwined with issues of identity faced in every era. This is particularly true for museums of history and society.[1] For the last several decades, museums have built remarkable bridges with the public, increasing their attendance and their influence. Many factors, from the most noble to the most self-interested, account for this relatively recent shift, which in no way diminishes its positive effects. Today, in its unique way, museums want to participate in the major issues of their era.

The outward-looking nature of the founding concept of the Centre d'histoire de Montréal, a museum that serves as a gateway to discovering and understanding the city, made the museum sensitive to one of the key factors in the city's transformation: the arrival and integration of immigrants.[2] Our involvement in this field began modestly around 1992 with the creation of an innovative educational program for francizing immigrants through history at the museum. In the 2000s, our involvement intensified as a reflection of the Centre d'histoire's identity as a public museum and its desire to foster a closer relationship with the citizens of Montréal, many of whom live outside the Old Montréal tourist area, where the museum was built in 1983. In 2001, the new permanent exhibitions Montréal, Five Times and Montréal of a Thousand Faces depicted cultural diversity as a more significant part of Montréal's historical narrative. Since then, in response to requests from specialists and community organizations to commemorate the history of cultural communities, the Centre d'histoire has been exploring various methods for promoting immigrant heritage.

Our first exhibitions on specific communities— Syrian-Lebanese, Portuguese and Haitian communities[3]—raised some essential questions: Who represents the "community"? Who speaks on its behalf? Is the concept of community created by the host society to conveniently and reassuringly designate diverse familial, cultural, political and religious sub-groups that sometimes even oppose one another? How can the medium of an exhibition do them justice? How do we address the need to present an image of success without concealing the sociological and historical traits on which there is less consensus? How do

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1   [Translation] "Many observers increasingly share the idea that the museum itself is not just testament to the cultural and intellectual expression of a society, but also that it is becoming a wonderful laboratory that can capture, in real time, the details of the social issues of an evolving culture." Philippe Dubé, Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation, Fall 2003. http://library.queensu.ca/ojs/index.php/edu_hse-rhe/article/view/459/622

2   For more information on the Centre d'histoire de Montréal, visit http://www.ville.montreal.qc.ca/chm.

3   Min Zamaan—Since long ago: The Syrian-Lebanese Presence in Montreal between 1882 and 1940 (2002–2003); Encontros: The Portuguese Community. Neighbours for 50 years (2003–2004); Tèt ansamn. Tous ensemble : Présences haïtiennes d'ici (2004).

we ensure that an exhibition will engage the members of that community and not only visitors who are looking for some local exoticism? How do we promote a community's identity and heritage without locking its members into it? How do we make an exhibition a real tool for cross-cultural understanding? These questions led us to explore an alternative to the single-culture exhibition. Since 2005, we have chosen to highlight communities that had an impact on the history of the city by choosing themes associated with them but with which all Montrealers can also identify.[4]

A traditional function of the museum is to collect and preserve heritage; however,
one of the concerns of immigrant populations today stems from the challenge of passing down to the second and third generation a cultural heritage in which memories often constitute the richest element.[5] To commemorate and showcase this cultural heritage, we devised a flexible and mobile means to actively contribute to building and transmitting it within the community and in the host society: the "memory clinic."

Our first memory clinic was organized in 2003, in collaboration with the Carrefour des jeunes lusophones du Québec [Quebec round table of young Portuguese speakers]. As the commission co-chairs Charles Taylor and Gérard Bouchard would later suggest, we suspected that collecting

and disseminating stories would be an excellent way to convey the value of the immigrant experience to our society and "reduce cultural distances."[6] Because the problem of transmission was not exclusive to immigrant communities, the memory clinic was also used in other contexts such as neighbourhoods, groups and institutions.

Our partnership with artist Raphaëlle de Groot for the exhibition Beyond the Call of Duty: Chronicles of Domestic Work in Private Homes, 1920–2000 and the Memory Alive project with DARE-DARE in 2002–2003, had convinced us that we had to develop new ways of conveying heritage. So, for the memory clinics, we couple traditional statement and artifact collecting with a celebration of community heritage. We drew on some of the emblematic characteristics of a blood donor clinic: the decor—partitions for interviews, smocks and stethoscopes—the registration forms and even the refreshments. Participants donate their memories to save their history just as they would donate blood to save lives. The statements are recorded by young people from the community who have been trained in basic interview skills and who are dressed in white smocks. The artifacts and photographs brought in by witnesses are recorded and digitized. The artifacts and photographs facilitate contact with the witnesses, and their digitization ensures that, no matter what happens to them once they are returned to their usual storage place, there is a record of these pieces of family heritage.

Since 2003, seven memory clinics have been held involving Portuguese associations, Montrealers of Haitian and Chinese origin, residents from the Rosemont neighbourhood, the Centre de

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4   The black community through JAZZ—Swinging Nights in Montréal (2005–2006) and Who set fire to Montréal? 1734. The trial of Angélique (2006–2008); Baby's on the way—100 years of births in Montréal (2007); and the Chinese community through a Canadian hero of communist China in The adventures of the unpredictable Dr. Bethune (2009–2010). Upcoming exhibitions on specific communities, such as the Chinese community (under development), will be travelling exhibitions.

5   Intangible cultural heritage is now recognized as an extricable part of world heritage. The 2003 UNESCO Convention and various heritage policies point to that fact. The international definition refers mostly to languages, traditions, know-how and minority cultures at risk. The section of Montréal's heritage policy that is dedicated to intangible cultural heritage (2005), to which I made a significant contribution, is a blueprint for another that reflects the cultural mix produced by an urban setting. It is an idea that deserves further research. See Heritage Policy, City of Montréal, 2005, at http://patrimoine.ville.montreal. qc.ca/politique.htm.

6   "In a spirit of renewal and enrichment of Québec's collective memory, it is urgent to collect these stories from the individuals concerned. To this end, we recommend the creation of a special life history fund covering a program of interviews with a broad sampling of immigrants." Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation. Report. The Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, Government of Quebec, 2008, p. 258. Excerpt from http://www.accommodements. qc.ca/documentation/rapports/rapport-final-integral-en.pdf.

réadaptation Marie-Enfant, the Benny Farm residential complex for World War II veterans and, just recently, the Habitations Jeanne-Mance. More than 300 interviews were recorded, and almost as many historical artifacts and archives were identified and photographed. Those archives provided inspiration and material for activities and exhibitions at the museum, in the city, and on the Web.[7]

Those first forays into the world of intangible heritage were made with a certain degree of trepidation. Although the oral survey and the life story have long been part of the toolbox of many disciplines in the social sciences, they have not been commonly used by historians or, even less, by museum professionals. For the strengthening of the approach and methodology (still in progress), we were fortunate in having the generous support of the Museu da pessoa [museum of the person], a Brazilian institution established in Sao Paulo in the 1990s.[8] Exchanges and training in Brazil led us to create, in 2004, the Musée de la personne montréalais [Montréal museum of the person], a response tool of the Centre d'histoire de Montréal in the field of intangible heritage.

Another tool—the You're part of history! Program—was developed to engage communities through what they hold most dear: their children.[9] Following a pilot with the students in Saturday classes, we tailored the high school classes to students who are new to the country. This 8- to 10-week activity is primarily a means for teenagers to learn about the history and heritage of the host society through the collection of the Centre d'histoire. The students are given the opportunity to search for an artifact or a document that tells their own personal story, or that of their family or their country. The first few moments of the search are baffling for the students—they think that they have no heritage. The experience then turns into a real adventure that sparks an intergenerational dialogue with the extended family. The activity continues with a written assignment and an oral presentation on the family artefact. During the presentation, the students must convince their peers from around the world that this artifact should be chosen to represent the whole class in an exhibition of a few family heirlooms at the Centre d'histoire or at City Hall.

Through its exhibitions, its memory clinics and its other activities, the Centre d'histoire is sending a clear message to immigrant communities: you contribute to the history of the host society, and your heritage is now a part of ours.

Challenges

How do we, as the Bouchard-Taylor report proposed, incorporate plurality into the collective memory of all Quebecers while making it possible for cultural communities to identify with this past through what is universal and what is singular? [10]

As mentioned earlier, the Centre d'histoire de Montréal explored various paths to achieve that goal. In 2003, at the very start of our experience with the memory clinics, in an article written in collaboration with Joaquina Pires, I examined the challenges facing [translation] "those who will, in the next few years, work to help communities create new reference points for identity" in a

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7   The next project involving urban memory, history and heritage is being developed. The theme is Lost Neighbourhoods (the opening of the exhibition is scheduled for 2011). The exhibition is about life in the neighbourhoods and districts of the city that disappeared during the major urban renewal projects of the 1950s to 1970.

8   See www.museudapessoa.net. In 2007, the international network of museums of the person met in Montréal and launched the International Day for Sharing Life Stories, to be held on May 18 of each year, to celebrate memory. Concordia University's Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling is also a partner. Several months ago, Catherine Charlebois, a project officer responsible for oral history and memory, joined the Centre d'histoire de Montréal team.

9   Under the agreement between the City of Montréal and the Quebec Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigraton and cultural communities] regarding French reception and integration of immigrants in the districts, for which Claire Bradet ensures the follow-up for the City of Montréal.

10   Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, Building the Future, pp. 211–212.

culturally diverse society.[11] Seven years later, they are still relevant, both for immigrant communities and for the host society.

Challenge 1: Awakening memory by thwarting selective forgetting

Memory is fragile and malleable. The first challenge that I identified was [translation] "thwarting the selective forgetting that affects the memory of the immigrant experience" by building [translation] "a new imaginary space for communities spread out across the city." Immigrant communities believe that they will assist with the integration of children by not mentioning events from the past that do not support the dreams that motivated their leaving their country and settling abroad. As author Frédéric Beigbeder said so well, [translation] "We might forget our past, but that does not mean we will recover from it."[12] The process of recollection is often necessary to set the transmission in motion. And whether or not our scientific rationalism wants to acknowledge it, recollection is also therapeutic.

The compilation of memory-based heritage is not merely the recording of statements onto memory cards and CDs by an interviewer. Rather, by jogging memory, the Centre d'histoire becomes a memory "awakener." As author Milan Kundera says, "for memory to function well, it needs constant practice: if recollections are not evoked again and again, in conversations with friends, they go."[13] The narrative therefore helps individuals to recall and consolidate the treasure of their experience and keep it in their memory.

At a memory clinic held in September 2009 to mark the 50th anniversary of the Habitations Jeanne-Mance, a woman who grew up in a poor single-parent family in the 1950s recalled, with tears in her eyes, her mother's meagre possessions being moved by toboggan during the winter from the slum to the modern low-cost housing project. Apologizing, she dried her tears and told me [translation] "As a child, I didn't realize what I was going through, but by telling the story today, I suddenly realize the misery we lived in for so many years." The awakening of memory, even when painful, is not only an issue for immigrant populations; it also affects communities, groups and individuals whose minority or marginalized status has confined them to the limbo of the collective memory. Cities, sanctuaries of difference, have plenty of these groups, which often enrich the palette of urban colours and heighten its distinctiveness.

Challenge 2: Reinventing heritage activities

In immigrant communities, the transmission of memory and tradition is done by the family and by a few organizations that often struggle to interest the younger generations. The same is true in the host society, but the consequences are less serious. Local and national institutions (schools, archives, museums, etc.), as well as the majority culture, generally take over the work of incorporating certain materials from family history and personal heritage into collective reference points.

Therefore, it is important for the current culture, in its popular and attractive forms, to inspire community and non-community events that will make this transmission possible in a less formal environment than that of the family or traditional community activities. The memory clinics were designed to provide this festive environment for informal intergenerational contact. They give the young generations, from both of these immigrant communities and the host society, the opportunity to reconnect with

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11   Jean-François Leclerc and Joaquina Pires, "La mémoire et l'identité de Montréal : des repères territoriaux pour une mémoire sans frontière," Montréal CULTURES, No. 3, Culture et Quartiers, June 12, 2003. See http://www.culturemontreal.ca/mtl_cultures/030612p1_memoire.htm.

12   Interview by Christian Desmeules, "La mauvaise vie," Le Devoir, September 19, 2009.

13   Kundera is referring here to the effect that isolation from the country had on Czech immigrants after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Milan Kundera, Ignorance (Paris: Gallimard, 2003), pp. 36–37.

their past, and with the traditions and memory of the community without being locked into them. We must, therefore, dare to reinvent heritage activities by infusing them with fantasy, emotion and creativity.

Challenge 3: Revealing the diversity behind stereotypes

A community's cultural reality is often more diverse than its public image, as was again recently demonstrated by our collection project in Montréal's Chinese community.[14] With a legitimate concern for avoiding conflicts, communities are sweeping differences under the carpet of social uniformity and getting along. The resulting reductive image affects how members of these communities and younger generations might perceive their heritage.

Collecting and disseminating individual memories contributes to revealing the diversity of paths within a community, and it makes it easier for individuals to find a path that is similar and to identify with it.

Challenge 4: Collecting, conserving and identifying at-risk "micro-heritage"

Heritage is most commonly made up of both family and personal memories and artifacts of symbolic or sentimental significance. A family cannot ensure its long-term survival alone. Just a few bumps in the road can break the chain of transmission. The collections from Montréal and Quebec museums and archives still do not fully demonstrate the historical presence of immigrant populations, often because of the lack of acquisitions budgets or relationships with possible donors from these communities. However, it is up to these institutions to take over from these families because communities that immigrated 50 or 100 years ago can rarely rely on organizations to ensure that their memory,

artifacts and archives are preserved. Host society organizations must play an active role, not only in preserving, but also in assessing, understanding and studying this individual memory so that it can one day become part of the collective history.

Challenge 5: Creatively anchoring this cultural heritage in the city

In most communities, there is a need for historical and cultural recognition and anchoring in the urban landscape. As a municipal museum, we have often had the opportunity to evaluate the symbolic and emotional significance of organizations' actions to celebrate the presence of communities. The city, the ultimate showcase, is the place where communities seek public acknowledgment of their existence by visible reference points. The traditional permanent forms of acknowledgment—monuments, statues, arches—risk limiting the memory of an ever-changing society and its neighbourhoods.[15]

So, we need to imagine more flexible, empathetic and enjoyable ways to increase the visibility of collective and individual memory in public space. We have been trying to do this for several years with the memory clinics and the related outreach activities. These clinics are just one possible approach, but we hope that with our partners' collaboration we will be able to use it again.

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14   L'opération EnQuête d'histoires: Montréal's Chinese community, created in 2008 with the support of the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles. See http://www.museedelapersonne.ca/enquetedhistoires/.

15   Examples of permanent reference points that have become part of the urban landscape intelligently and discreetly without betraying its diversity include Benches of stone ... and words, installed on Saint-Laurent Boulevard in April 2009 to highlight the historical presence of the Portuguese in this neighbourhood.

Implementation of temporary foreign worker employment programs in the agricultural sector in Quebec

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Abstract: This article sets out the preliminary results of an exploratory study analysing the requirements for implementing temporary foreign worker employment programs as applied in the agricultural sector. The results are based on the initial interviews conducted with consulates and senior officials involved in these programs. The objective of the study is to identify the requirements for successful implementation and the improvements that are needed in order for them to be applicable to other production sectors, including manufacturing, food processing and forestry. The study questions current practices in Quebec in respect of the employment of temporary workers in the agricultural sector, which are tending to expand into production sectors where labour shortages are being experienced.

Background

The federal Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) has expanded in recent years, and in 2007 brought slightly over 201,000 workers to Canada as temporary immigrants (SCCI 2009). In Quebec, there were 23,458 workers, 60% of whom entered for the first time, thus confirming the expansion of the program (SCCI 2009). The program has enabled businesses to meet their labour needs and cope with the labour shortage problem that is reducing their productivity and is a barrier to international competitiveness in a context of market globalization (Grady 2008). This type of program benefits the economies of western countries while providing workers from the South with access to a source of income with which to support their families (Elgersma 2007). While this strategy meets labour needs in the agricultural sector, it seems to have flaws in terms of how it could be implemented in other low-skill production sectors such as manufacturing, agri-food and forestry.

All admissions of temporary foreign workers to Canada are governed by the TFWP, which is administered jointly by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC). Admissions of temporary foreign workers are subject to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (Elgersma 2007). Temporary visas may be issued to foreign workers under various programs: (a) Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program; (b) Live-In Caregiver Program; (c) Temporary Foreign Worker Program; (d) Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training, formerly the Low-Skilled Pilot Project. These programs differ in terms of the content of the contracts signed between employers and workers. Responsibility for transportation expenses and housing, in particular, differs depending on the type of contract and subprogram (A, B, C, D), even for agricultural workers.

For four decades, bilateral agreements have been in place between Mexico and the Government of Canada governing the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP). The terms of the program provide for shared responsibility for recruiting workers, for enforcing labour, housing and transportation standards for the workers, and for health coverage. Recruitment of Mexican agricultural workers under the SAWP is carried out through Mexico's labour ministry. In order to be hired, Mexican workers must meet certain criteria: be recognized as an agricultural worker, have a primary school education that enables them to read employment contracts independently, be married and have a family in Mexico, to ensure that they will return to their community of origin.

In Canada, two departments are involved in implementing the SAWP: CIC and HRSDC. HRSDC provides CIC with labour market opinions (LMOs) accepting or denying employers' requests. The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act is the legislative framework for issuing LMOs. CIC issues permits to workers and enforces compliance with the agreed length and terms of the contract.

Competition among employer countries that recruit agricultural labour and among countries that are able to supply that labour has led to a transformation in existing bilateral agreements between the Canadian government and Mexico. While there is still an obligation to comply with Canadian laws and regulations, the agreements can now be made by intermediaries, that is, recruiting agencies. This is the situation that applies in respect of Guatemala.

Workers taking part in Pilot Project C-D (Guatemala) are recruited by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) under an agreement between that organization and the Guatemalan labour ministry. Contracts entered into under such agreements are similar in terms of working conditions, health coverage and occupational health and safety. However, if we compare the contracts drawn up by agencies with the contracts entered into under the bilateral agreements between Canada and Mexico, we see that the provisions relating to length of visas, housing, transportation and the relationship with a single employer vary (HRSDC 2009).[1] These changes have been criticized by temporary foreign workers' rights groups, who say that the changes create social inequality between foreign and domestic workers.

The documentation collected on temporary foreign workers in Canada between 2002 and 2009 comes from various government and non-governmental bodies, including CIC, trade union organizations, non-governmental organizations and research groups focusing on immigration and foreign workers' rights. This is an emerging literature in which a majority of the material consists of responses to government consultations concerning temporary foreign workers' conditions of employment, rights, access to services, health and earnings (CTI-IWC 2008, UPA 2008, UFCW 2007). Some of the research makes a distinction between the conditions that apply to agricultural workers and those that apply to other low-skill workers such as live-in caregivers, while others do not (Amar et al. 2009). Nonetheless, the research rarely addresses program implementation (AFL 2009).

The conclusions presented in the public consultation reports and in the studies analysing the rights of these workers are the same: temporary foreign workers' working conditions and housing are precarious. Two restrictions in the program contribute to this: (1) the length of the visa (eight months) is too short to enable workers to apply for immigrant status (Sikka et al. 2009); and (2) the visa limits workers' mobility, since it is valid for a single employer,

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1   Because we did not have access to the contracts used by FERME and the IOM for Guatemalan workers, a standard contract for Mexican workers was compared with a contract made under an agreement with Guatemala that was obtained from a worker under the pilot project in the summer of 2009.

unless there is an agreement between the employers (Elgersma 2007).

Other authors, including Depatie-Pelletier (2007) and Basok (2003), criticize the precarious legal status of temporary foreign workers. They state that the terms of the contracts impose numerous restrictions on workers' rights to liberty, dignity, security, privacy, freedom of association and family, and assert that these workers do not enjoy equality of treatment with domestic workers (Depatie-Pelletier 2007). Although temporary foreign workers have access to social and economic protections under these programs (Amar et al. 2009), their access is limited because of their temporary status (Basok 2003, Brodie 2008). In addition, they say that Canada's failure to adhere to the United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families maintains the social inequality of foreign workers (Piché et al. 2006).

The consultations conducted by CIC and HRSDC in 2009 led to the submission of a number of briefs from which a critique emerged regarding the circumstances of these workers and the basis of the program itself. They led to calls for unionization, to improve working conditions and eliminate exploitation of these workers (CTI-IWC 2008, UFCW 2007, FTQ 2008). Some organizations criticized the fees the workers are charged by third parties such as private recruiting agencies and called for overtime to be paid (SCCI 2009). Other organizations expressed concern that these workers live with the constant threat of deportation and with racism in their host communities or at work (CTI-IWC 2008). As well, the housing provided for some workers is an as yet unresolved issue (AFL 2009, UFCW 2007).

Certain research questions emerge from this review of the literature:

1.   What are the conditions for success and barriers in the implementation of these programs?

2.   What conditions are transferable and adaptable to other production sectors?

Results

We are presenting here the preliminary results of the pilot portion of the project.[2] This is an evaluative study lasting three years, from 2008 to 2011, and provides for questioning officials of the governments involved in implementing programs for seasonal agricultural workers and participants in the program. The final sample will consist of 40 organizations involved in implementing the SAWP. We plan to include in the sample consulates or embassies of countries that are parties to bilateral temporary labour agreements, federal and provincial officials involved in implementing the SAWP and heads of businesses and agencies that use the programs. For ethical reasons, temporary foreign workers are excluded from the sample so as not to add to the precariousness of their situation.

In December 2009, 5 of the 40 interviews planned (n=5/40) were conducted with consulates and provincial officials who sit on an interdepartmental committee on low-skill temporary foreign workers.[3] Three of the five interviews were conducted with two or even three respondents from participating organizations together. Three of the five organizations interviewed described the differences between agricultural workers admitted under the SAWP (program A) and those admitted under the TFWP (program C) through a third-party organization responsible for hiring. While all of them seemed to be concerned about the issues relating to these temporary foreign workers, they are limited in their involvement to the mission and legal framework of the institution to which they

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2   For this part, the project received start-up funding from the following organizations: Quebec Metropolis Centre–Immigration et Métropoles; the Centre de recherche Léa-Roback (CLR), which studies social inequalities in health; and the Réseau de recherche en santé et sécurité au travail du Québec.

3   The first meeting of the provincial committee was held in the fall of 2008.

belong. The recurring concerns mentioned by the various stakeholders are working conditions and housing, wages, employer-employee relations and relations among workers.

The participants stated that the inherent differences in the workers' origins are a determining factor in analysing the circumstances of temporary foreign workers. For example, economic disparities, differences in education levels and ethnic tensions in their respective countries of origin mean that temporary foreign workers do not all have the same expectations and demands. The participants stated that the differences in the contracts reflect the disparate expectations of the workers. For example, Guatemalan workers, mostley peasants of aboriginal descent who are, therefore disadvantaged and discriminated against in their own country do not bring the same expectations when they negotiate the terms of their contract.

However, the respondents acknowledged that the contracts, whether signed under government agreements or not, comply with the legal obligations. They stressed that no illegal treatment occurs. For example, agricultural workers in the market farming industry are paid hourly wages and employers are required to pay for overtime in accordance with the usual conventions. In fruit picking, however, workers may be paid by the number of baskets or flats picked. This option is better for experienced pickers, like temporary foreign workers, but it is not offered to them. Is that done to avoid putting these workers, who have little or no education and do not speak French, at a disadvantage when earnings are calculated? Or is it a matter of the owners of the market gardening businesses watching their spending? In fact, the study participants expressed concern about whether temporary immigrants are able to exercise their rights and whether it is in their interests to do so.

In spite of their concerns, the respondents acknowledge that they receive few complaints from temporary foreign workers in their respective positions. Every year, they deal with a dozen complaints. Does this number reflect the fact that workers rights are respected or a problem with access to organizations that enforce this law? The existing mechanisms do not provide an answer to the question. Only one of the participating organizations offers a service for receiving complaints in the workers' mother tongue. Nonetheless, the organizations have all translated numerous documents dealing with the rights and obligations of workers and employers into Spanish, even though they have no legal obligation to offer linguistically adapted services.

Some of these obligations are questioned by temporary foreign workers, who consider them to be too restrictive. For example, the obligation to give them one day off a week and to abide by the maximum daily hours of work, both of which are requirements imposed by the Commission des normes du travail [Quebec labour board] (2009), are regarded by some temporary foreign workers as a constraint. These workers come to Canada with the sole intention of earning money, and they want to maximize their time and take full advantage of the time they are available to work.

The increase in the number of temporary foreign workers has attracted the attention of all of the participating organizations, but for different reasons. Consulates see a growing economic advantage and an opportunity to redistribute wealth from countries in the North to those in the South, while government officials with some kind of involvement in the SAWP question whether there is a labour shortage in some production sectors. While government representatives do not deny the hiring problems that business owners have, they are surprised at the lack of interest shown by domestic workers in these jobs. Why are jobs that were once filled by the local work force now unable to find takers? Have wages and working conditions deteriorated to the point that they deter local applicants?

These questions are in no way a reflection of xenophobia; rather, they challenge alarmist reports about the labour force. In fact, they are more an indication of a concern that decent working conditions be maintained for all workers, regardless of origin.

Conclusion

Preliminary results from the pilot phase of the research project on the implementation of programs for the employment of temporary foreign workers in the agricultural sector in Quebec indicate that opinions differ. The results are premature, of course, but they reflect the debate about limitations on the rights of these workers. The results challenge, however, the validity of the reasons business owners in various production sectors hire temporary foreign workers.

These are preliminary results, but in light of the growth that is occurring, with labour shortages in certain production sectors making economic headlines, we thought it worthwhile to submit these summary results in order to provide a different view of the SAWP. At the end of the two years scheduled for collecting data, we will certainly find a diverse and complex discourse about this program and the appropriateness of implementing it in other production sectors.

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Muslim Parties and Judges in Family Disputes in Quebec

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Abstract: Three traits emerge from a review of family law judgments in cases involving Muslim parties living in Quebec. Only a small number of judges develop negative stereotypes, which are very common among the general public. Some judges pay particular attention to parents' cultural background and religious beliefs to resolve disputes over children. Parties are more likely to use religion as an argument to advance their cause than as a personal value. We discuss the first two traits very briefly.

After Sonia Sotomayor appeared before the Senate in hearings to confirm her appointment to the United States Supreme Court, Ronald Dworkin (2009) made this comment: "Her hearings could have been a particularly valuable opportunity to explain the complexity of constitutional issues to the public … She destroyed any possibility of that benefit … when she proclaimed … that her philosophy is very simple: fidelity to the law. That empty statement perpetuated the silly and democratically harmful fiction that a judge can interpret the key clauses of the United States Constitution without making controversial judgments of political morality in the light of her or his own political principles."

What does the impartiality of the judiciary mean? Do their moral opinions and cultural values never come into play when judges apply the law? Do beliefs have no place in their judgments?

In view of the current negative debate over what is referred to as "Islam" and the supposed inherent inability of that faith to embrace democracy, as well as the many cultural threats that Muslims supposedly pose for western societies, it would be useful to look at the way judges deal with actions brought by Muslim parties. Given also the equally negative debate over the inability of "Islam" to respect women's equality and over Muslims' resistance to justice as a central force in secular states, it appears that we should focus more specifically on court cases involving marital and family disputes.

One study[1] looked at the way Quebec judges handle marital and family disputes (divorce, dowries, repudiation, alimony, division of property, parental authority, custody and care of children). The purpose of the study was to see how judges, as central interpreters of the application of standards, take into consideration the fact that some parties identify themselves as Muslims and make reference to other religious practices and foreign standards. Another objective was to look at the way Muslim parties present and defend their case.

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1. Who are the parties?

In 2001, Muslims accounted for 2% of the Canadian population, and 17% of Canadian Muslims – 108,000 – lived in Quebec. Most of these Muslims were of Lebanese, Syrian, Iranian or Pakistani origin, and the majority were immigrants.

Using two databases, Westlaw Canada and Azimut,[2] the researchers compiled 157 family law judgments (Court of Quebec, Superior Court, Court of Appeal) rendered between January 1997 and July 2007 that included a reference to Islam or a Muslim country.[3] Once cases involving members of religious minorities (Jewish, Maronite, Melchite, Greek Orthodox) (8) and cases containing no clear information about the parties' religion, Lebanese immigrants in particular (13), were removed, the sample was left with 136 judgments (157 minus 21). Most of the cases involved immigrants, 50% of them from the Maghreb, some converted natives of French-Canadian origin, and none a descendant of Muslim immigrants born in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada.

A large proportion of the applicants were women. Of the 136 judgments, almost half pertained to divorce (47) or annulment of a marriage that took place in Quebec or abroad (13), and most of the rest pertained to division of property or kafalah (delegation of parental authority: 8 cases, 5 in Morocco, 1 in Pakistan, 2 in Algeria). Very few of the cases involved access to or custody and care of children. There were no apparent differences in the type of dispute brought to court based on the parties' country of origin or length of residence in Canada (1 to 12 years).

Of the 136 cases, 65 contained a specific reference

to a Muslim value, practice or law, usually in the parties' or the judge's description of facts and practices useful in understanding the nature of the dispute. In 71 cases, the parties made no mention of an element of Muslim culture or faith in defending their case.

2. Cultural bias among judges?

All of the judgments were read and their content filed. However, since not all of that content has been analysed, only preliminary findings are presented in this article.

By and large, judges simply report the facts presented by the parties, without making any determination. The majority are cautious and restrained in their comments, while some state in no uncertain terms the cultural and religious neutrality to which they are bound:

* In D.-D. (F.) v. B. (A.), the parties were from the Ivory Coast. The husband still lived in that country, and the wife lived in Quebec. The wife, who feared kidnapping, objected to her husband being granted access to her child and [translation] "argued that the respondent, who is a follower of Islam, is a fundamentalist in his beliefs and therefore might instil in the child values that conflict with the values held in Western society today."[4] The judge went on to say, [translation] "The Court cannot accept the fears linked to culture and religion, as that would amount to basing a judgment on discrimination on grounds of beliefs or religion, in violation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Further, the husband rarely visits ... Finally, the wife also has Muslim roots, but that has not prevented her from adapting to the Western culture that prevails and the religions that are predominant in this country, namely Catholicism and Protestantism. The husband contends that his extensive travel around the globe, particularly in the West, has

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2   http://home.westlawecarswell.com; https://www.azimut.soquij.qc.ca.

3   Using English and French keywords: Islam, sharia, musulman, islamique, names and national and ethnic origins of Muslim countries, maher - mahr, dot, talak, polygamie, arbitrage, médiation, imam, sunnite, chiite, ismaéli, soufi.

4   D.-D. (F.) v. B. (A.), 2003 CarswellQue 6939, paragraph 10 (S.C.) (right of access).

given him, too, a deep appreciation of world cultures and religions."[5]

Some judges, however, overstep their prerogatives. By making comments that are not needed to resolve the dispute and that are sometimes stereotyped, they perpetuate the idea of cultural and religious overdetermination in Muslims, lumping them into an undifferentiated whole.

2.1. Superfluous comments

Irrespective of the parties' religion or origin, there are comments in every judgment that are not needed to resolve the dispute. However, such comments are given so much emphasis in some of the judgments examined that they do more than simply colour the case:

* In Droit de la famille – 2054, the judge described in the following terms the way the parties met: [translation] "The husband saw her walking down the street on her way to her college. She caught his eye, he contacted her parents, and the marriage was sealed ... The wife did not meet the husband before the wedding; still, she says that shortly after, the couple fell in love and were happily married until 1992."[6] The judge also commented on the fact that the wife had contributed to the husband's financial success while doing a fine job raising four children: [translation] "The wife's role in the family went far beyond the usual role."[7] She gave no definition of "usual role" and offered no example against which a comparison could be made. Was she saying that a Muslim woman could not be expected to achieve such success?

* In another decision, the judge stated, [translation] "... if the wife had worn her flashy and expensive jewellery ... the witness would have undoubtedly noticed, having acquired the fondness of well-to-do Moroccans for fine expensive jewels."[8] "The parties are cousins."[9] Marriage to a paternal cross cousin is a rule of descent in many societies, including some Muslim societies.

* In SS. v. MA., the judge stated that the parties [translation] "were introduced by the applicant's sister. They spent hardly any time together"[10] before they were married.

2.2. Over-argumentation

Women who were married abroad are able to file for divorce in Canada because the Divorce Act states that "A court in a province has jurisdiction to hear and determine a divorce proceeding if either spouse has been ordinarily resident in the province for at least one year immediately preceding the commencement of the proceeding."[11]

Where a divorce or repudiation is granted abroad, either of the parties can apply to a Quebec court to have that decision recognized. There are, however, a number of criteria that can stand in the way of such recognition. For example, where a foreign court lacks jurisdiction to dissolve the union between the parties or the fundamental principles of procedure were contravened, article 3155 of the Civil Code of Québec precludes recognition.[12] The criteria prescribed in that

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5   Id., paragraph 20.

6   Droit de la famille – 2054, [1999] R.J.Q. 1245, paragraphs 6-8 (S.C.) (divorce and corollary relief).

7   Id., paragraph 84.

8   K. v. K., 2006 QCCS 3663, paragraph 158 (property claim).

9   Id., paragraph 10.

10   S.S. v. M.A., [2004] No. AZ-50287570, paragraphs 1-2 (S.C.) (divorce).

11   Divorce Act, R.S.C. 1985 (2nd Supplement), c. 3, s. 3(1).

12   Article 3155 of the Civil Code of Québec states, "A Québec authority recognizes and, where applicable, declares enforceable any decision rendered outside Québec except in the following cases: (1) the authority of the country where the decision was rendered had no jurisdiction under the provisions of this Title; (2) ...; (3) the decision was rendered in contravention of the fundamental principles of procedure; (4) a dispute between the same parties, based on the same facts and having the same object, has given rise to a decision rendered in Québec, whether it has acquired the authority of a final judgment (res judicata) or not, or is pending before a Québec authority, in first instance, or

article are not cumulative. Only one of the situations referred to need exist. Where a judge finds that the foreign court lacked jurisdiction to declare the parties divorced, the other situations referred to in article 3155 do not, in principle, have to be considered in order to settle the dispute. Some judges nevertheless make passing reference to public order as understood in international relations.[13] In stating that they would have refused to recognize the foreign judgment because it was based on legislation under which men and women are not equal, they are expressing an opinion.

For example, after determining that the foreign court did not have jurisdiction, one judge wrote, [translation] "The foreign judgment cannot be recognized because the outcome of the foreign decision is manifestly inconsistent with public order as understood in international relations, because under Algerian law, a husband can get a divorce by simply asking for one – no explanation is required – yet Mrs. S. does not have that right."[14] Spouses in Algeria do not have equal rights when their marriage is being dissolved.

2.3. Biases

2.3.1. "Integration" or local ways

Some judges rule unfavourably on certain ways in the name of integration, a common term which they use only in reference to children, adolescents and women, not adult men. According to one

judge, being raised in an Arab family is not an obstacle to the "integration" of a child into Quebec society; still, the judge made a point of describing the way North American women speak, dress, do not wear a veil, marry and work outside the home.[15] This position illustrates a common bias: "North American" women have a better lifestyle. Because it is so general, the comment is in no way a finding of fact, but rather the articulation of a private life standard. In 2007, almost 60% of Muslim women in Canada did not wear the hijab, and 86% of Muslims and 55% of Canadians believed that prohibiting women from wearing the hijab in public would be a bad idea (Adams 2009).

2.3.2. Subjugated women

Some judges grant an implicit order of independence from their husband and family to women who by no means describe themselves as living in a closed and controlled world:

* [Translation] "The husband allows his wife to stay in school … wants his wife to be available to help him with his activities …"[16] "The wife, even though the husband allowed her to stay in school, was able to balance school with the role for which she was predestined and to which the husband expected her to be devoted.[17]

The wife does not mention being restricted in any way and talks about a long and happy marriage until a recent, unexplained dispute. By focusing on her "passivity," the judge oversteps his role.

2.3.3. What is the value of a religious wedding?

One judge wrote, [translation] "The parties dated for two or three years, and when she became

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has been decided in a third country and the decision meets the necessary conditions for recognition in Québec; (5) the outcome of a foreign decision is manifestly inconsistent with public order as understood in international relations; (6) …"

13   Civil Code of Québec, art. 3155(5).

14   Droit de la famille 2054, [1997] R.J.Q. 1124, paragraph 202 (S.C.) (recognition of a divorce granted abroad), decision upheld by [1998] No. AZ-98011486 (C.A.). Application for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court dismissed, S.C.C., 1999-01-21, 26790. It should be noted, however, that the judge's subsidiary argument can also be attributed to the fact that he declared article 3167 of the Civil Code of Québec, which recognizes the jurisdiction of a foreign court if "the spouses are nationals of that country," inapplicable in matters of divorce and that the addition of a second ground might therefore be appropriate.

15   Droit de la famille — 061107, 2006 QCCS 7790 (custody of children).

16   Droit de la famille – 2054, supra, footnote 6, paragraphs 9-13 (S.C.) (emphasis added).

17   Id., paragraph 78 (emphasis added).

pregnant in 1998, they were 'married' by a Muslim officiant in a mosque because it was something that had to be done in order to make everything 'right'. The religious ceremony was never reported to civil authorities, so the parties actually lived common law."[18]

In Quebec, like a mayor or a clerk of the Superior Court, an imam authorized by the Minister of Justice is deemed to be a celebrant qualified to perform [translation] "a bona fide wedding ceremony giving rise to all its civil effects."[19] A divorce granted in Quebec by a religious authority, meanwhile, has no civil effect.[20]

3. Children's rights

3.1. Kafalah, adoption?

All religions undergo change in a secular society, particularly in terms of kin relationships, marriage and divorce, which must be approved by public authorities.

Because it breaks filiation with the natural parents, adoption is prohibited in Muslim countries on religious grounds. There is a practice under Muslim law, kafalah, whereby custody of a child is granted to a caregiver, or kafil, but no filiation between child and caregiver is established. In France, the Garde des Sceaux [minister of justice] has defined the practice as [translation] "a form of child protection that allows a child to be raised and provided for by a Muslim family until he or she reaches the age of majority."[21] Administrative immigration authorities, particularly in Canada and Spain, often interpret that arrangement as custody. In Quebec, however, family law judges tend to liken it to adoption so that it has effect

in the province. In 2000, a Court of Appeal justice wrote the following about an application from a couple, both converts, seeking recognition of their adoption of four children pursuant to kafalah decisions made in Morocco since 1989:

[Translation]
… it appears that the Moroccan adoption ruling does not break filiation … for religious reasons. With respect, the evidence in the record … shows instead that that system is more akin to adoption in our system of law save one element: filiation with the biological parents would not be broken. Otherwise, the children are placed with the "adoptive parents" permanently, with all the attributes of parental authority … it is a long way from guardianship as we know it and far closer to our system of adoption.[22]

Article 3092 of the Civil Code of Québec states, "The rules respecting consent to the adoption and the eligibility of the child for adoption are those provided by the law of his domicile. The effects of adoption are subject to the law of the domicile of the adopter."
In principle, the applicable rules of eligibility for adoption are not the rules of the child's current domicile, but the rules in effect in the child's original domicile where the kafalah was granted.[23]

It should be noted, however, that in another, more recent decision by a lower court, the Court

18   Droit de la famille – 061107, supra, note 15, paragraph 8.

19   S.H. v. Z.R., [2001] No. AZ-50101227, paragraph 19 (S.C.); Civil Code of Québec, art. 366.

20   M.(O.A.R.) v. M.-W.-R.(Ab.), [2006] R.D.F. 885 (S.C.); Divorce Act, supra, note 11, ss. 2–3.

21   Rép. min. No. 3703: JO Sénat Q, August 21, 2008, p. 1698.

22   Droit de la famille - 3403, [2000] R.J.Q. 2252, paragraphs 60–61 (C.A.) (application for placement for adoption); see also A. v. Quebec (Attorney General), [2007] R.D.F. 528, paragraphs 35–36 (S.C.), in which the Court recognized a kafalah order, stating, [translation] "Such recognition does not mean that A, B and X can dispense with the procedures that would be necessary if the decision were made to adopt X or bring X to Canada. … X's status is clearly altered by the granting of kafala to A. The kafala has created a link. The link may be called care, guardianship, legal custody or adoption by analogy to our own system as agreed by the Court of Appeal. The link is not necessarily contrary to public order." See, however, the different stance taken by the Court of Quebec in Directeur de la protection de la jeunesse, [2006] R.D.F. 193 (C.Q.).

23   Droit de la famille- 3403, supra, note 22, paragraphs 43–51 (C.A.); A.B.M. (Dans la situation d'), [2002] R.J.Q. 1161, paragraphs 15–17 (C.Q.).

ruled that in the case of a person living in Algeria who obtained a kafalah and then emigrated to Quebec with the child, the application to adopt was subject to domestic adoption rules.[24] The Court wrote, [translation] "The Civil Code allows us to deviate from the designated Act in special situations where, having regard to the circumstances, it is clear that the situation is only remotely linked to that Act. It is repugnant to us that a child residing in Quebec under immigration laws should be excluded from the protection that can be afforded by adoption in Quebec simply because the child was born in a country that prohibits adoption. Were we to make such a decision, we would be discriminating against Canadian and Quebec nationals simply because they lived somewhere else and would, but for immigration, still be subject to the laws of their country of origin ..." [25]

3.2. Respect for cultural origins

A key principle used in resolving disputes between parents over the care and custody of children is best interests of the child,[26] including the child's right to be exposed to both parents' cultures and to learn about his or her cultural background. That right is referred to in most decisions that deal with custody of or access to a child.

In one case where a Shiite father chose a Muslim school and the mother, who claimed to be Sunni and to have no religion, objected, the judge ordered that the child be enrolled in a private secular school: [translation] "Each parent can provide the religious education of his or her choice."[27] The judge based his decision in part on the opinion of the expert psychologist: [translation] "The evidence supported by psychologist Michel Roy's assessment shows that the girls are happy and developing normally

despite the parents' differences of opinion."[28]

Conclusion

This analysis of the treatment of family disputes brought to court by Muslim parties in Quebec shows that few judges show cultural bias. It casts light on other facts that have yet to be clarified. Judges speak the law and at the same time endeavour to educate the parties, and they engage more in cross-cultural than in religious discourse. Very rarely do parties invoke Muslim law, and when they do, it is usually to avoid Quebec law on division of property, repudiation and access to children. Muslim women, meanwhile, negotiate using all the tools at their disposal, including stereotypes of men (religious extremism, misogyny), but judges are not ones to be fooled.

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24   Adoption (En matière d'), 2006 QCCQ 8524.

25   Id., paragraphs 66-67. See Civil Code of Québec, art. 3082.

26   Civil Code of Québec, art. 33.

27   Droit de la famille – 061107, supra, note 15.

28   Id., paragraph 16.

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Immigration and Diversity in Francophone Minority Communities

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The Battle Against Migrant Trafficking in Canada: Is the Target Organized Crime or Irregular Immigration?

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Abstract: This article examines the battle against migrant trafficking in Canada from a legal standpoint. It raises various questions about the purpose of the measures and sanctions against this offence in Canada under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). The results show a significant discrepancy between the provisions of IRPA and the practices of Canadian courts, which are also inconsistent with foreign laws, the practices of foreign courts, and the provisions of international law. These findings illustrate the need for legislative amendments.

For the past twenty years, governments have focused increasingly on the security aspect of international migration. Migrants are frequently associated with security threats like terrorism and organized crime. To deal with these dangers, governments feel they must take measures to reduce irregular immigration. The introduction of a visa requirement for Mexican and Czech nationals is the latest example of Canada's approach to the issue.

The tightening of migration policies brought about by the proliferation of such measures significantly reduces legal options for migration, creating an environment conducive to increased trafficking in migrants. In international law, the "smuggling of migrants" is defined as "the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or permanent resident."[1] In Canada, trafficking in migrants is an offence under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). Among the many measures to discourage foreigners from coming to Canada, IRPA provides extremely harsh sentences for anyone who commits the offence. Under the Act, the maximum sentence is life in prison for trafficking 10 or more people. The maximum sentence for trafficking fewer than 10 people is imprisonment for 10 years.

To the extent that tighter migration policies make it necessary to obtain assistance from another person in order to cross an international border, the effectiveness of the disincentive that these draconian measures are intended to create is questionable. Moreover, despite legal discourse that depicts migrant trafficking as a serious offence, the courts have been lenient in sentencing traffickers since 2002. This finding raises a number of questions. Who are the real targets in the battle against migrant trafficking: the traffickers or the migrants themselves? Is the objective to punish serious criminal behaviour, or is it simply to reduce irregular immigration?

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1   Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Se*a and Air, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime*, December 15, 2000, UN Doc. A/55/383 (Annex III) (effective date: January 28, 2004), art. 3.

A serious crime with serious implications

The Canadian judiciary takes a very sombre approach. On the one hand, judges view trafficking in migrants so serious a crime as to warrant the imposition of deterrent sentences. They also view the 2002 amendments to the Act as an indication of Parliament's determination to clamp down harder on traffickers. On the other hand, they point out the numerous implications. Trafficking undermines the integrity of the Canadian immigration system: it is a "slap in the face"[2] to immigrants who go through the legal channels and patiently wait their turn. Some judges think that migrant trafficking poses a number of threats to national security. Others cite links to terrorism that could not be ignored in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks. In addition, migrant trafficking tarnishes Canada's international reputation and has the potential to compromise relations with the United States. Finally, some judges worry about the hardships that migrants sometimes face. In some decisions, they lament the negative effect that increased border security, made necessary by trafficking, has had on the flow of people. They remain silent, however, on the link between tighter security and the greater use of smugglers to cross borders that are increasingly hard to cross. Ultimately, it is a serious crime with serious implications that calls for appropriate punishment.

Light punishment

Despite the disturbing nature of the issue and the harsh sentences thaqt can be imposed, judges are lenient. Of the 16 decisions indexed since IRPA came into force, sentences for traffickers have ranged from 160 hours of community service to seven years in prison. In the former case, the accused had smuggled approximately 65 people into the country in 14 operations. In the latter, a repeat offender who had previously

served four years in prison for a similar offence in Canada was convicted of two new offences, the second of which occurred after he had been arrested for the first. His co-accused, who had previously been imprisoned in the United States for a similar crime, was sentenced to five years in prison. In another judgment, two individuals were sentenced—one to four and a half years in prison, the other to four years. In the former case, one migrant drowned during the operation, while in the latter, several migrants were abandoned in a vehicle during an aborted attempt. These decisions aside, the longest sentence was three years in prison, and the majority of the sentences ranged from four and a half months to two and a half years.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this. First, sentences are not as harsh as Parliament expected; only when there are aggravating circumstances do judges take a hard line in sentencing. Second, there is no correlation between the courts' perception of the seriousness of the crime and the sentences they impose. In fact, on at least three occasions, federal authorities have deported individuals suspected of trafficking in migrants without prosecuting them.[3] Can removal alone be considered sufficient punishment?

Prescribed sentences are excessive

Compared with French, British, American and Australian legislation, the sentences prescribed by IRPA are, on the whole, excessive. In France, the maximum sentence is five years in prison regardless of the number of migrants smuggled. The maximum penalty increases to 10 years if there are aggravating circumstances, such as the involvement of organized crime or injury. In the United Kingdom, the maximum sentence is 14 years in prison, and judges have full discretion

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2   *R. v. Min* [2005], N.B.J. No. 602 (New Brunswick Provincial Court), paragraph 99.

3   *Canada (Minister of Public Security and Emergency Preparedness) v. Chung* [2007], D.S.A.I. No. 506; Estibalitz Jimenez Calvo, *Le combat du trafic des migrants au Canada: contrôle migratoire d'abord, lutte au crime organisé ensuite*, doctoral thesis, Université de Montréal school of criminology, Montréal, 2006, pp. 301–305.

to weigh the circumstances in pronouncing sentence. In the United States, federal law provides for up to 10 years in prison for each migrant smuggled. Sentences are, however, based on guidelines issued by the United States Sentencing Commission and take a number of factors into account, including the number of migrants. For example, the sentence for trafficking 6 to 24 migrants is 18 to 24 months in prison. Australia is the only other country where, like in Canada, sentences are based entirely on the number of migrants smuggled. The sentence for trafficking one to four migrants is 10 years in prison. The sentence for trafficking five or more migrants is a minimum of five years in prison but can be as long as 20 years. In short, while the maximum sentence in Canada for trafficking fewer than 10 migrants—10 years in prison— is comparable to the sentences prescribed in Australian and British legislation, no foreign law imposes a sentence of life in prison for trafficking a group of more than 10 migrants.

Foreign sentences: Similarities and differences

Practices in Canadian courts differ from foreign practices in two ways. First, Australian judges impose much harsher sentences than their Canadian counterparts. The sentence for trafficking a group of fewer than five migrants usually ranges from two to three years in prison. Most sentences for trafficking groups of five or more migrants, which represent the majority of cases, are between five and six years in prison. It is ironic that trafficking in migrants should be so severely punished in a country like Canada, where there is relatively little trafficking (approximately 25 decisions between 2001 and 2009). This harshness in sentencing seems to be attributable mainly to the fact that there is a minimum sentence of five years when five or more migrants are smuggled. Second, in Australia, trafficking frequently involves boats carrying hundreds of people, which implies a high level of organization and sophistication, thereby warranting more

severe punishment. In comparison, trafficking in Canada usually involves only a few dozen migrants.

Courts in France, the United Kingdom and the United States are decidedly more lenient. In France, the average sentence for helping migrants enter or stay in the country illegally ranged from 5.7 to 6.5 months in the period from 2000 to 2006.[4] A prison sentence was imposed in 80% of cases. In the United States, the average ranged from 13.5 to 16.8 months between 2001 and 2008 and is increasing.[5] In the United Kingdom, the average dropped from 14 months to 7 months between 2001 and 2007, despite the increase in the maximum sentence and a sharp increase in the number of convictions.[6] The sentences imposed by French, American and British judges are therefore lower than those imposed by their Canadian and Australian counterparts. Yet, there were thousands of sentences for trafficking in migrants in those countries between 2001 and 2009, compared with a few dozens in Canada and Australia.

There is, however, one interesting similarity between foreign and Canadian practices: the sentences imposed by the courts are significantly shorter than the sentences provided for in the legislation. It logically follows that the short

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4   France, Ministère de la Justice, Annuaire statistique de la justice, édition 2008, La Documentation française, Paris, 2009, pp. 199–200; France, Ministère de la Justice, Annuaire statistique de la justice, édition 2006, La Documentation française, Paris, 2006, pp. 197–198.

5   United States, United States Sentencing Commission, "Sourcebook of Federal Sentencing Statistics, Table 50 – Mean and Median Sentences of Offenders Sentenced under Immigration Guidelines by Departure Status" (2001–2008), online: United States Sentencing Commission, www.ussc.gov/annrpts.htm (viewed on September 25, 2009).

6   United Kingdom, Home Office, "Criminal Statistics, England and Wales" (2001–2005), online: Home Office, www.homeoffice.gov.uk (viewed on September 25, 2009). United Kingdom, Ministry of Justice, "Criminal Statistics Annual Report (NS)" (July 31, 2009), online: Ministry of Justice, www.justice.gov.uk/publications/ criminalannual.htm (viewed on September 25, 2009); United Kingdom, Ministry of Justice, "Criminal Statistics Annual Report (NS) 2006" (April 1, 2009), online: Ministry of Justice, www.justice.gov.uk/publications/criminalannual2006.htm (viewed on September 25, 2009).

sentences mean that the crime is less serious than legislative and judicial discourse would suggest.

Migrants or traffickers: Who is the target?

One possible explanation for the situation is that these measures are designed not so much to reduce a dangerous form of organized crime—which would justify punishment similar to the punishment for drug trafficking or terrorism—as to help discourage irregular immigration. Ultimately, judges are not fooled by their own views: they know full well that the individuals they deal with are small fry and that unless there is criminal negligence causing injury or death, crossing a border is not a "crime" in the traditional sense because there is no harm to persons or property.

The short sentences imposed by courts imply that the crime is less serious than legislative and judicial discourse would suggest.

According to the definition in the Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants, the quest for a financial or other material benefit is a key element of the offence. However, like Australian, French, British and American legislation, IRPA criminalizes all migrant trafficking, whether or not the aim was to obtain a financial benefit, which is not at all what the drafters of the Protocol intended. IRPA simply states that the courts must take that element into account in sentencing.

Finally, the battle against migrant trafficking raises a number of concerns, particularly in France and Canada, regarding the "crime of solidarity"—helping a foreigner in an irregular situation on humanitarian grounds. A recent report by the Observatory for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders concluded that [translation] "the climate in France is unfavourable to the defence of the rights of foreigners, causing the law to be used against groups and individuals who are

active in that area."[7] The Groupe d'information et de soutien des immigrés (GISTI), an organization that specializes in the rights of foreigners in France, has identified 32 cases of [translation] "persons being convicted of aiding foreigners, usually by providing them with a place to live,"[8] between 1986 and 2008. More recently, a French woman was charged with aiding and abetting illegal immigration because she provided a place to live for her future husband, whose visa had been expired for 18 months.[9] In Canada, charges were laid in September 2007 against Janet Hinshaw-Thomas, a representative of an American refugee aid agency, for accompanying 12 Haitian refugee protection claimants to a Canadian border crossing. Yet, she did not act in secret or for the purpose of gaining a benefit of any kind. The charges were eventually dropped, but the incident nevertheless had a chilling effect. Another humanitarian worker, Margaret de Rivera, was allegedly threatened with criminal prosecution when she accompanied two Haitian refugee protection claimants to a border crossing in New Brunswick. And in R. v. Bejashvili, a woman was sentenced to three months in prison for helping someone enter Canada illegally, even though the person had been granted refugee protection and no profit was made.[10] In short, it is disturbing to see measures designed to reduce organized crime being diverted from their original purpose and used to intimidate people who come to the aid of vulnerable migrants.

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7   Observatory for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, "Délit de solidarité. Stigmatisation, répression et intimidation des défenseurs des droits des migrants" (June 2009), online: International Federation For Human Rights, www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/obsfra11062009.pdf (viewed on September 25, 2009).

8   Groupe d'information et de soutien des immigrés, "Délit de solidarité: Besson ment!" (July 31, 2009), online: GISTI, www.gisti.org/spip.php?article1399 (viewed on September 14, 2009).

9   Migration Policy Group, "Migration News Sheet," Migration Policy Group, Brussels, June 2009, p. 8.

10   *R. v. Bejashvili* [2007], J.Q. No. 16210 (Court of Quebec, Criminal Division).

Legislative amendments are needed

Ultimately, the provisions of IRPA that deal with migrant trafficking are inconsistent with the practices of Canadian courts, foreign legislation, the practices of foreign courts and international law. For that reason, the Act needs to be amended.

First, the definition of the offence should, in accordance with international law, include the procurement of a financial or other material benefit so that employees of immigrant and refugee aid organizations who act out of compassion are not prosecuted. Second, the maximum sentences should be reduced so as to reflect the true seriousness of the crime. Finally, the scale of sentences should not be based solely on the number of migrants smuggled; provision should be made for the consideration of aggravating circumstances like risk to the life or health of migrants, exposure of migrants to degrading conditions, injury, use of a weapon, and involvement of a criminal organization.

These amendments would bring the Act, the practices of Canadian courts and international standards in line and would serve to repress and deter trafficking where the offence entailed factors warranting a harsher sentence.

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Thirty Years of Institutional Adaptation to Diversity in the School System: Assessment and Challenges

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Abstract: In this article, we will examine the normative guidelines and the policies that have marked the adaptation of Quebec's educational institutions to diversity since the passage of Bill 101 and present an overview of the public debate on this issue. We will also examine the practices in schools and classrooms.

Introduction

School is one of the privileged spheres where tomorrow's culture is being created and where the identities and attitudes of future citizens are being forged. A balance has to be struck between the language and heritage of the various groups and our collective civic values, a balance that is hard to find and always needs to be redefined.

Quebec is a particularly interesting case in this regard. Indeed, Quebec society has resolutely opted for modernity through its active commitment to immigration, but is nevertheless somewhat fragile, which makes the challenges related to the integration of newcomers more complex (Mc Andrew 2010). Moreover, Quebec's exposure to diversity, at least within the Francophone community, is more recent than in other North American contexts. These realities are at the root of of the interesting dynamics at the policy and program levels in the education milieu, but also give rise to a number of concerns.

Concretely, it was only when Bill 101 was passed in 1977 that traditionally homogeneous French-language institutions were confronted with the challenges of pluralism. Under the cumulative effect of waves of immigration, there are now some 116,500 students in Quebec (10.7% of the overall student population) whose mother tongue is not English, French or an Aboriginal language.

First- and second-generation immigrant students number 206,125, i.e. 19.1% of all students. In light of the concentration of immigration and the exodus of native-born residents toward the suburbs and private schools, this phenomenon is particularly apparent in Montréal's French-language public schools, where students who do not have French as a mother tongue make up 46% of students overall, and students of immigrant origin make up 51% of the student population (MELS 2006, 2008).

Important guidelines and the public debate

Quebec's normative position with regard to pluralism, interculturalism, may be characterized as the search for a third way between Canadian multiculturalism, denounced for essentializing cultures and isolating them one from the other, and French republicanism, which, by relegating diversity to the private sphere, is not very compatible with the ideal of recognizing pluralism, a widely held ideal in Quebec (Juteau et al. 1998). In the policy statement on immigration and integration that was adopted in 1990 but is still in effect, pluralism is presented as a fundamental characteristic of Quebec culture and its expression as a right to be enjoyed by Quebeckers of all origins. They must, however, respect common limits, among others "the respect for fundamental democratic values and

the need for intergroup exchanges" (MCCI 1990).

In the school environment, it was not until 1998 that the policy Statement on educational integration and intercultural education was issued where the relationship to diversity was clearly defined (MEQ 1998). Intercultural education is outlined in the policy as knowing how to live together in a French-speaking, democratic and pluralistic society. The normative valorization of taking diversity into account is significant in this policy, and the limits are essentially the same as those set out in the 1990 policy statement, that is, the protection of the individual rights of students, the functionality of institutions, as well as Quebec's language choices. With regard to intercultural education, the policy puts special emphasis on three points: the pluralistic adaptation of the curriculum, the training pre- and in- service of teachers, as well as the representation of ethnocultural diversity in the workforce.

In spite of the presence of these guidelines that are more explicit than in many other contexts, the school system did not escape the heated controversy over collective identity and the place of diversity, known as the reasonable accommodation crisis, that shook Quebec. (See also the articles by Potvin and Milot in this volume). Two issues were widely debated during the hearings of the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, commonly known as the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (CCAPRCD 2008; Mc Andrew et al. 2008). On the one hand, those who favoured a strict, French-style secularism most often raised the issue of the Muslim veil. There was, in this regard, a large gap between the positions taken by the official school authorities and those of the teachers and members of the public. School authorities stated their support for the "critical" tolerance model put forward as early as 1995 by the Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse, the human rights and youth rights commission, which identified safety, equal

access to school activities and the possibility for students or the parents in the case of a young child to make free choices as important benchmarks. On the other hand, teachers and members of the public often saw a direct link between the oppression of Muslim women and the wearing of the veil and demanded that it be forbidden. Moreover, with the recent diversification of staff, the wearing of religious symbols by teachers was a major concern.

On the other hand, the rallying cry for those who wanted to see a return to traditional identity was the rejection of the new ethics and religious culture course, the culminating point of a secularization process that had begun in 1998 with the transformation of denominational school boards into language-based school boards. This course replaced Catholic and Protestant instruction and moral instruction, which was the only alternative for non-Christian students. This program was criticized for viewing all religions as being on an equal footing, a perspective that did not reflect the pivotal role played by the Catholic religion in the development of Quebec, or even its current demographic importance. Moreover, it was pointed out that the cultural approach to religious teaching could be seen as an infringement on the religious freedom of young children.

However, in all of the public positions and the briefs submitted to the Commission, the role of education in the transformation of Quebec's identity appears positive overall. Even the most worried or negative stakeholders often mentioned that the Bill 101 generation of children did not resemble them because they had experienced diversity.

Departmental programs and initiatives

If one considers the fact that it is relatively recent, the action taken by the department of education to support the adaptation of the school environment to diversity is significant.

An analysis of the Programme de formation de l'école québécoise [Quebec school curriculum] (MEQ 2001; MELS 2003) showed that the entry points for an intercultural, antiracist or citizenship education were numerous (Potvin et al. 2006). It is in the Citizenship and Community Life subject area, which includes the teaching of geography, history and citizenship, that one finds the greatest number of commitments in this regard, in particular through the skill "be open to the diversity of societies." Other general subject areas such as Media Literacy and Environmental Awareness and Consumer Rights and Responsibilities contain elements related to intercultural education, such as the impact of globalization on the distribution of wealth, or the ability to recognize stereotypical media messages. Intercultural education can also be fostered through three transversed skills to be acquired by students in all subjects: "exercise their critical judgment," where the recognition of prejudice and the importance of seeing the relativity of one's opinions are examined; "develop their personal identity," where students are called upon to recognize their rootedness in their own culture and the importance of being open to that of others; and finally, "cooperate," based on respect for differences, a sensitivity to the Other and a constructive openness to pluralism and non-violence.

Moreover, within the framework of the new ethics and religious culture course, even though the emphasis is placed on Christian and Aboriginal traditions, students will be introduced to the other major religions such as Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Sikhism (Racine 2008). The program has two complementary objectives: recognizing each of the students in their belonging or lack of belonging to a religious tradition on the one hand, and promoting shared values and collective initiatives in a pluralistic society on the other. Students will learn to reflect on ethical issues, show an understanding of the religious phenomenon and, finally, practise dialogue with those who do not necessarily share their beliefs.

To give effect to such ambitious programs, it is necessary to produce pedagogical material that is bias-free and appropriately reflects diversity. In this regard, the Quebec experience, even though it is not without its limitations, has been one of positive change (Mc Andrew 2001). As early as 1982, an approval process was set up to ensure that members of ethnocultural minorities were represented in text books and given non-discriminatory treatment. The objective of ensuring the quantitative presence of these minorities and eliminating explicit stereotypes was attained at the end of the 1980s. From that time on, the focus was on the qualitative treatment of diversity, in particular omissions and ethnocentric biases.

Several studies (Mc Andrew 1986, 1987), followed by recommendations and practical guides for authors and publishers, showed that although textbooks generally presented cultural diversity in a positive light, it was often presented as folkloric and outside the reality of the target audience. Certain non-Western civilizations, in particular the Arab-Muslim one, were presented in a stereotypical way. We have no general studies on the evolution of the treatment of cultural, religious and ethnic diversity in the educational materials developed following the reform. However, it is likely that the new programs had a positive impact on the quantity and quality of the issues being debated. Moreover, a recent study (Oueslati, forthcoming) noted significant progress in the treatment afforded Islam and the Muslim world.

However, the balance sheet with regard to teacher training is less uniformly positive (Kanouté et al. 2004; Potvin et al. 2006). Since 1995, the department has made intercultural awareness a requirement in initial training programs, and within the framework of competencies for educators, at least three competencies contain intercultural or antiracist elements. The two education science faculties at Montréal's French-language universities offer a certain number of

mandatory courses on ethnic diversity, inequality and discrimination, as well as on adapting teaching methods. There are other courses, such as the teaching of history or teaching French to allophones, that address these issues. However, a broad consensus remains that this effort is insufficient. Students apparently perceive a lack of connection between these courses and those dealing with psychoeducational or discipline-based content. In addition, intercultural competencies are not always reinvested during practicums. Various in-service workshops courses are also offered to teachers on topics such as intercultural communication, the fight against racism and reasonable accommodation. They are not mandatory, however, and are criticized by some as reaching only those who are already converted.

However, actions taken in order to increase the representation of minorities within student teacher groups, and in the longer term, within the teaching personnel, are beginning to be successful (Kanouté et al. 2002). This positive development is explained in part by the existence of affirmative action programs in recruiting or employment. However, it is also due to the massive retirement of a large number of teachers and to the increasing presence of qualified Francophones among recent immigrants.

School and classroom practices

In spite of these worthwhile province-wide efforts, the recognition of diversity in schools and classrooms has been anything but a smooth, seamless process (Comité consultatif sur l'intégration et l'accommodement raisonnable en milieu scolaire 2007). Among the positive elements are a host of initiatives aimed at adapting schools better to their environment. A survey found that more than 25% of school principals in Quebec had, on their own initiative, taken various measures. More than 1,000 examples of successful practices were reported. The survey showed as well that requests for

adaptation had remained stable over three years and that the schools were not completely devoid of resources in the face of pressure from communities or parents. Indeed, half of the requests were accepted, a little less than one quarter were denied, and alternative solutions were proposed in a little more than one quarter of cases. Moreover, in spite of the widespread stereotype, requests did not come exclusively from newcomers or Muslim communities. In fact, they were more or less equally divided between Christians and Jehovah's Witnesses, who have generally been in Quebec longer, and Muslims.

However, a number of stakeholders have voiced fears about the impact of adaptation to diversity. In the short term, they point to potential contradictions between certain accommodations and the requirements of the Quebec Education Act regarding school attendance, programs and safety. They also have concerns about the impact of these accommodation measures over the longer term on shared values, social cohesion and the future participation of the youngsters belonging to these minorities.

As for the practices in classrooms, although a number of teachers raise issues regarding rights and intercultural relations, research reveals that many of them are still harbouring resistance to fully including an intercultural perspective in the curriculum. In a study of a large sample of French-speaking respondents in Montréal, Vancouver and Toronto (Gérin-Lajoie 2007), it was shown that the teachers' main objective was integrating students into the culture of the school and society in order to ensure their success in school. Differences are often recognized implicitly by teachers, who adapt their teaching strategies to the characteristics of the students, but more seldom explicitly through changes in programs and teaching content. Another study based on an analysis of teachers' self-reports of their classroom practices (Audet 2006) showed that teachers adopted various positions with regard to diversity. Indeed, from denying the existence

of difference to a genuine two-way relationship, they report various ways of approaching a child "from another culture". As for antiracist interventions, they essentially come into play in crisis management and the resolution of specific conflicts (Potvin et al. 2006). Moreover, emphasis is often placed on what is happening elsewhere in the world and not iin Quebec or in the school. Several of these findings could apply to all multiethnic societies, but other surveys (Hohl and Normand 2000) revealed that an ethos of *fragile minority* often influenced teachers' perspectives on diversity. Adapting is experienced as a threat to Quebec's traditional identity by a minority of respondents, even though they also often use civic discourse, putting emphasis on defending values such as gender equality or democracy.

Conclusion

Significant progress has been made in adapting to diversity in schools in Quebec. However, a number of challenges remain to be met, in particular as regards the recognition of religious diversity, which gives rise to tensions. The school system is relatively well equipped to respond to these challenges by turning to the general guidelines, departmental programs and initiatives, and the expertise developed by those who work in the field. However, in a context where intercultural conflicts are increasing just about everywhere on the planet, only time will tell to what extent the optimistic or more pessimistic hypotheses are justified.

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Comparative analysis of high school graduation rates among youths of immigrant origin in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver

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Abstract: This article presents some of the findings of a recent study of the academic performance of youths of immigrant origin in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. An analysis of the high school graduation rates of students in all three cities whose language used at home is different from their language of instruction highlights the performance gaps between linguistic sub-groups. In addition, the analysis underscores the importance of graduation factors while placing emphasis on the role of the type of school attended.

Introduction

Since education is an area of provincial jurisdiction, the availability of comparable data from one province to another is an obstacle in pan-Canadian studies. However, a recent study carried out using several databases managed by various provincial and local school authorities[1] made it possible to analyse and compare educational pathways and academic performance among youths of immigrant origin in the three main destinations for immigrants to Canada: Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. The study had two main objectives.

1) To observe the academic performance of students of immigrant origin, both as a whole and separately for geographic or linguistic sub-groups, and compare it with the performance of students not of immigrant origin before determining whether any differences between the two groups persist when differences in the personal characteristics of the students in the two groups are taken into account (sociodemographic, related to the schooling process or related to the school attended).

2) To establish a profile of students of immigrant origin who are likely to have problems so that the appropriate school authorities can take measures designed more specifically with students of immigrant origin in mind.

The study used two possible definitions of the target group of students of immigrant origin and several indicators of student performance. Because the results are somewhat similar

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[1] Marie Mc Andrew, ed., Educational Pathways and Academic Performance of Youth of Immigrant Origin: Comparing Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. Report submitted to the Canadian Council on Learning and Citizenship and Immigration Canada, May 2009 (http://www.ccl-cca.ca/pdfs/OtherReports/CIC-CCL-Final12aout2009EN.pdf).

regardless of which definition of target group and which performance indicators were used, we focus exclusively in this article on the graduation rate—in the dominant school system (English in Toronto and Vancouver, French in Montréal)—among students whose language used at home is different from their language of instruction.

Specifically, the target group is part of the cohort of students who "normally" should have graduated in 2004, that is, students who entered high school in 1999 in Montréal and Vancouver and in 2000 in Toronto. In practice, this cohort is limited to students who initially enrolled in a high school on Montréal Island, in the area covered by the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) or with one of the 12 school boards in the core of Greater Vancouver. Finally, in order to identify potential differences based on the language used by students in and among the three cities, the target group was divided into 10 linguistic sub-groups (different from city to city) so as to include a balanced range of performance for each of the three cities and make it possible to compare the achievement of a small number of sub-groups between two and even three cities.

Graduation rate

In all three cities, the graduation rate among students whose language used at home is different from their language of instruction was more or less the same as the rate for the control group of students educated in the language they use at home: slightly higher in Vancouver (81% vs. 78%), slightly lower in Toronto (64.5% vs. 65.8%) and lower again in Montréal (62.4% vs. 66.4%). However, these differences in graduation rates are largely attributable to differences between the personal characteristics of students in the two groups, whether those characteristics are sociodemographic or related to the schooling process or to the school they attend. We also conducted an appropriate statistical analysis (multilevel analysis based on a logistic model) to control these differences in order to identify the

real effect of being part of the target group and its main linguistic sub-groups.

The statistical analysis showed that, all other things being equal, students whose language used at home is different from their language of instruction are more likely to graduate than students educated in the language they use at home, since the odds ratio[2] of the target group (vs. the control group) is very significant (1.39 in Montréal, 1.35 in Toronto and, especially, 2.12 in Vancouver). However, while only one of the five main linguistic sub-groups in each city is less likely to graduate than the control group—the Creole sub-group in Montréal, the Farsi sub-group in Toronto and the Spanish sub-group in Vancouver—there are significant differences in the relative position of the sub-groups (see Figure 1).

Intracity differences between sub-groups vary in importance from city to city. Compared with those of Vancouver, such differences are wider in Montréal and narrower in Toronto. Students in the Chinese sub-group, the only one of the five linguistic sub-groups common to the three cities, were the most likely to graduate in all cases, but the two sub-groups common to two cities presented differently depending on the context. The Spanish sub-group, which performed as well as the control group in Montréal, fared significantly worse in Vancouver, probably because Spanish is a Latin-based language, closer to French than to English. Inversely, the Vietnamese sub-group, which performed as well as the control group in Vancouver, performed far better in Montréal; this result may be linked to the socio-economic characteristics of the Vietnamese community, which are far better in Montréal than in Vancouver because fewer of the boat people who came to Canada in the late 1970s settled in Quebec than in the other provinces.

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2   The odds ratio, an indicator that stems from the particular statistical model used, expresses here the relative propensity of two groups to graduate.

Figure 1: Graduation Rates in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver Target Group and Selected Linguistic Sub-Groups vs. Control Group
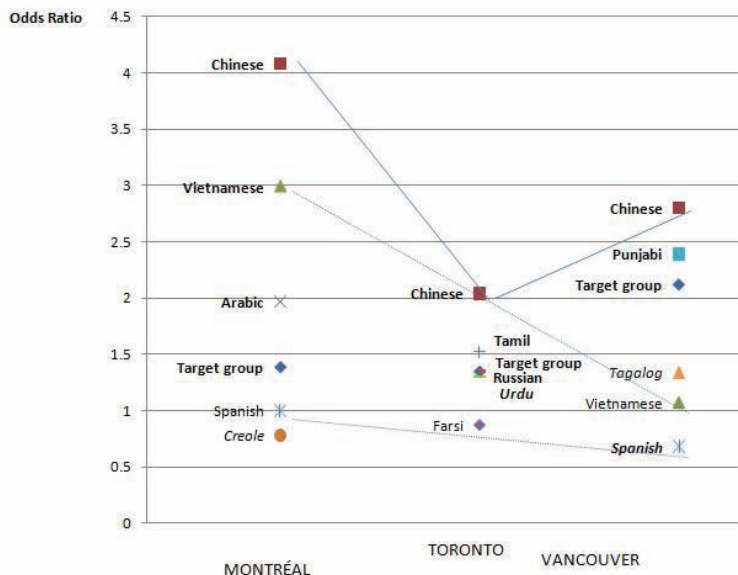
Note: (Sub-)groups that are significant at 0.001 are in bold. Those significant at 0.05 are in bold and italics. Those significant at 0.10 are in italics.

Factors in graduation

Differences between groups aside, statistical analysis limited to the target group brought to light and made it possible to compare, in each of the three cities, the factors affecting the graduation rate among students whose language used at home is different from their language of instruction. Table 1 shows the impact of the variables available in the three databases used, except for two variables that were available for only two cities but that were nevertheless included in the specific analyses of those cities. The first observation to be drawn from Table 1 is that all but one of these variables had the expected impact in each of the three cities. However, in terms of significance, the results were less clear-cut.

Regarding the sociodemographic characteristics of the students, it appears that being born outside Canada as opposed to in Canada (except in Vancouver, where the variable was not available) or having a higher family income has a positive effect on graduation, but in both cases, the impact was significant in Toronto only. However, the expected advantage of girls over boys in terms of graduation was significant in all the three cities.

Regarding the characteristics of the students related to the schooling process, those related to high school entry—such as starting first year without having completed primary school in the same city or being older than the norm upon entry—had the expected negative effect in all cases. However, while the impact of being older than the norm upon entry was very strong in all three cities, the impact of starting first year without having completed primary school in the same city was significant in Vancouver only. Regarding characteristics related to pathways after entering high school, the results show that changing schools had the expected negative effect and was very significant in all three cities. In addition, having language support in high school also had a negative effect in all three cities, but Vancouver was the only city where the effect was not significant. Of course, the fact that the effect was negative does not imply that

TABLE 1:
Graduation rate: Summary of impact of factors

Factors	Values	Montréal	Toronto	Vancouver
Socio-demographic	Girl (ref. Boy)	+++	+++	+++
	Median family income	N/S	+++	N/S
	Immigrant (ref. Born in Canada)	N/S	+	N/A
Schooling process	Late upon entry (ref. Early or on time)	---	---	---
	Changed subject (ref. No)	---	---	--
	Language support in high school (ref. No)	---	---	N/S
	Entry in *Secondaire 1* (ref. Primary)	N/S	N/S	---
School context	Index of challenge for public schools 8-10 (ref. Other)	N/S	N/S	--
	Attended private school (ref. Public)	+++	N/A	++
	Percentage of target group in the school 26-50% (ref. 0-25%)	N/S	N/S	N/S
	Percentage of target group in the school 51-75% (ref. 0-25%)	N/S	N/S	N/S
	Percentage of target group in the school 76-100% (ref. 0-25%)	--	+	-

Notes: Significant at 0.001 (+++ or ---), 0.05 (++ or --), or 0.1 (+ or -)
N/S = Not significant   N/A = Not available

the service provided did not achieve the intended objective, but rather that students who received it were comparatively weaker and truly needed the service.

Finally, the school attended had the expected effect. The graduation rate was higher among private school students than among public school students in Montréal and Vancouver; the TDSB has no private schools. Attending a disadvantaged public school lowered the graduation rate, as did—at least in two out of three cases—a very high concentration (more than 75%) of target group students in the school attended. However, apart from private school, the impact of which was clear because it was very significant in the two pertinent cases, the impact of school attended varied from city to city. The negative impact of attending a disadvantaged public school was significant in Vancouver only, whereas concentration was significant

in all three cities but opposite to the expected impact in one of the three cities (Toronto). This difference in results can probably be attributed to the existence of different academic practices and contexts in the three cities.

Impact of school attended

The impact of individual factors on the graduation rate among students in the target group was more or less as expected, despite the specific characteristics that were brought to light, but the impact of the school attended was much less clear. To gain a better understanding of the impact of that factor, we examined and compared the distribution of the different (sub-)groups observed in the three cities by type of school attended.

First, the proportion of students attending disadvantaged public schools in Montréal was

approximately 60% among the target group (and among the control group), but within the target group, the proportion was over 75% for speakers of Portuguese and Creole and as low as 30% for speakers of Farsi and Tagalog. In Toronto, the proportion of students attending a disadvantaged school was generally lower—24% for the target group (compared with 10% for the control group)—but within the target group, the rate was as low as 14% for speakers of Chinese and as high as 51% for speakers of Vietnamese. In Vancouver, 42% of the students in the target group attended a disadvantaged school, compared with only 21% of the students in the control group, but there again, the enrolment rate varied dramatically within the target group: 37% for students who use Chinese at home, but 71% for students who use Vietnamese.

Second, enrolment in a school with a very high concentration of students from the target group also varied considerably by language sub-group in all three cities. For example, in Montréal, where there were almost no French speakers attending a school with a high concentration of target group students, 20% of non-French speakers attended such a school. But while that was the case for very few speakers of Creole and Portuguese, it was the case for 70% of speakers of Tagalog. In the other cities, meanwhile, the proportion of students attending a school with a high concentration of target group students was 17% among non-English speakers in Toronto (negligible among English speakers) and 27% for the Arabic sub-group; in Vancouver, the proportions were 12% (compared with 9% among English speakers) and 29% for the Vietnamese sub-group.

Finally, in Montréal and Vancouver (because, as we saw earlier, there are no private schools in the TDSB), the proportion of students attending a private school varied considerably from one language sub-group to another. In Montréal, while just over 20% of target group students attended a private school (compared with more than a third of the students in the control group), the proportion attending a private school was approximately 30% for speakers of Vietnamese and Romanian, but insignificant among speakers or Tamil and Tagalog. In Vancouver, while 9% of the control group students attended a private school, approximately 12% of the target group students also did, and even 16% of speakers of Tagalog.

What this means is that there are significant differences between linguistic sub-groups based on type of school attended. This finding is bound to have consequences given that studies conducted in France, for example, show that differences in type of school attended are likely to increase the disparity between students observed at the individual level (Nakhili 2005). That said, this result comes down to a "chicken or egg" sort of question. Do linguistic sub-groups with a larger proportion of students attending certain types of school (private school, for example) have a higher graduation rate (school effect), or do linguistic sub-groups with a higher graduation rate include students who attend certain types of schools (individual effect)? Future studies must therefore be able to differentiate between individual effects (private schools are known to recruit the "best" students) and school effects (such as the quality of instruction in private schools).

Conclusion

The pan-Canadian study of academic success among students of immigrant origin yielded many interesting findings that are likely to guide the actions of decision makers. First, and this is entirely consistent with the international literature, students in Canada's three major cities whose language used at home is different from their language of instruction fare better than students who are taught in the language they speak at home, especially in Vancouver. However, some of those students seem likely to encounter serious achievement problems. The typical profile

of at-risk students produced by the study—a boy who enters a public high school, is older than the norm upon entry and subsequently changes schools at least once and has language support—should be useful to school authorities in pursuing general policies aimed at students of immigrant origin.

There are, however, significant differences between the linguistic sub-groups in the target group which, regardless of the source (differences linked to the communities themselves or to school systems), suggest that it is important not only to pursue general policies aimed at students of immigrant origin, but also to implement specific programs for different linguistic communities.

Finally, the observed differences between linguistic sub-groups in the distribution of students by type of school attended raise questions about equal opportunity for schooling among students of immigrant origin or, to paraphrase Sall and De Ketele (1997), their equality in terms of "educational comfort."

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Immigrant Families: Supporting Children's Success in School

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Abstract: The authors begin by underscoring the heterogeneity of the profile of immigrant families, then go on to discuss the impact of the acculturation process on efforts by immigrant families to educate their children. That discussion is followed by examples of measures immigrant families have taken to help their children succeed at school and ways schools can support families.

Schooling is an intellectually complex undertaking that puts identity to the test (Bautier and Rayou, 2009). It is an academic and sociocultural challenge for children and their families alike. Every society educates its children in its own way through a curriculum and provides the human and material resources needed, in the case of Quebec, "to provide instruction with renewed conviction; to socialize, to prepare students to live together in harmony; and to provide qualifications through a variety of options" (Government of Quebec, 2006). Children come first in education, but families also play a role in terms of providing support and supervision, acting as a catalyst and seeing their children through good times and bad. In his novel Chagrin d'école, Daniel Pennac (2007) says that he was a poor student and that his mother, despite the fact that her son became a successful professional and is recognized for his literary work, always worried about him, and that it was that worry that had made him a poor student in the first place. De Queiroz (2005) rightly states that education is a family venture and that how a child fares in school has a significant impact on how the child fares as an adult. Families endeavour to shape their children's future through conversion, retention and improvement, and the acquisition and enhancement of social capital. Immigrant families, too, need to have this relationship with their children's schools.

Immigrant families: Different profiles and different relationships with schools

When relationships with schools are being analysed, the heterogeneity of the "immigrant origin" category demands that the parameters be refined based on factors including families' socio-economic profile, pre-immigration situation and migration plan, the standing of each minority in relation to other ethnic groups, differences in schools' expectations of students from different minorities, negative connotations of school resulting from bad experiences, the gap between mother tongue and language of instruction, and the length of time since immigration. The conventional grids used to analyse these relationships cannot be applied to immigrant families without taking that heterogeneity into account. (Aldous, 2006; De Queiroz, 2005; Kanouté et al., 2008; Kao and Rutherford, 2007). For example, a migration plan built around the dream of substantial social mobility means that some immigrant parents who have little schooling or who are otherwise disadvantaged, defy projections of a positive correlation between that situation and the academic failure of their children (Kanouté et al., 2008; Mc Andrew, 2001). It is therefore important to look at both quantitative research, which highlights major trends among immigrant

families, and qualitative research, which documents the uniqueness of each family's acculturation.

Acculturation is a general process of psychological and sociocultural adaptation that people go through when they come into contact with one or more cultures different from the culture in which they were first socialized. Some researchers (particularly in Canada, France, Belgium, Great Britain and Australia) have endeavoured to characterize the possible outcomes of that process: acculturation approaches or strategies (Bakker, Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven, 2006; Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder, 2006; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault and Sénécal, 1997; Chow, 2007; Kanouté, 2002) and identity strategies (Camilleri et al., 1990; Hohl and Normand, 1996; Taboada-Leonetti, 1989; Verhoeven, 2006; Wakefield and Hudley, 2007). Stress occurs during the acculturation process when people, seeking to give meaning to their life at the lowest cost, run into cultural codes that are somewhat different and may even conflict. Insight into the relationship that immigrant families have with school can be gained by analysing the mobilization of the family's sociocultural capital (including human capital) in a context of acculturation (Bankston III, 2004; Noguera, 2004). We define that capital as the ability to act made possible through a social network (Germain, 2004) and facilitated through psychological, physical and cultural access to school and other resources (Rahm, 2006). In that sense, we share the concerns expressed by Frideres (2006) regarding the stigmatization of the desire of some families to participate, depending on their needs, in "ethnic" organizations, which are an important component of their social network. These organizations help families understand school culture, share their migratory experience, support their schools, deal with acculturation stress, and so on.

Acculturation stress and its impact on families' support for their children's schooling

We begin by analysing the impact of the sociocultural aspect of acculturation stress. Are schools capable of sufficient openness and recognition to enable immigrant parents to play their role as parents and convey their culture? Policies require schools to demonstrate such openness; some do, but others are more reluctant. That reluctance was reported by immigrant parents in a study that described relations between schools and immigrant families whose children were doing well in school (Kanouté et al., 2008;Vatz-Laaroussi, Rachédi and Kanouté, 2008). In the words of one father, [translation] "School teaches and conveys values. As parents, we also have a duty to convey our values … but to do it at school as well. In order to do that, we must be present and heard at school." Other parents spoke about meeting a member of school staff who was understanding and able to receive and analyse the request and explain the benefits to the family. The following description from one teacher illustrates one such encounter:

> [Translation]
> "The father came to see me because he didn't agree with my marks. At his insistence, I gave Vadim a make-up math test. He passed and was able to start Secondary 3 the next year along with all the other students. At the end of that year, he was one of the top students."

While language issues are not among our primary research objectives, they often crop up in data on misunderstandings between schools and immigrant families. In a study on the role of academic assessment in the practices of immigrant families (Kanouté, Duong, Audet and Lafortune, 2007), one parent spoke about language issues:

"When they are writing the remarks, they write it in French. So it is difficult for us to understand. … they should write the remarks in English, if they are writing for us. If not, it is ok, but if they are writing for us, we are not learning the language there. We know English, we can understand only English. … Blindly signing the paper is nothing. It is like sending nothing to us. We don't know what we get …We feel shy for that. We do not want to embarrass people."

What impact does the socio-economic aspect of acculturation stress have on families' support for their children's schooling? Added to the sociocultural issues of the acculturation process are labour market integration issues. Families' migration plans are centred on two main hopes: first, finding a job that corresponds to their qualifications so that they have a decent life; second, living in a place that fosters the academic success of their children. An analysis of longitudinal data by Blaser (2006) showed that immigrants from Haiti, Vietnam and South America are especially disadvantaged ethnic groups in terms of labour market integration, even after living in Quebec for a decade. Doubly disadvantaged, they hold less prestigious jobs and earn less.

The research puts forward a number of hypotheses that attempt to explain that disadvantage: cultural differences in the ability to alter migration plans, the problem of credential recognition and professional dequalification rooted in systemic discrimination, especially against "visible" minorities (Blaser, 2006; Savard, 2007). This type of precarious situation, which can last a very long time for some families and in some communities, inevitably affects parents' ability to be hopeful about their children's academic success. Schooling therefore suffers because of the problems encountered by the parents in putting their own capital to use (Bankston III, 2004; Driessen and Smit, 2007; Kao and Rutherford, 2007; Noguera, 2004). We are reminded of an

educated mother from the Maghreb (North Africa) who constantly speaks words of inspiration to her children in order to get them to work hard in school, which they do (Kanouté et al., 2007). That mother, however, suffering the effects of her own professional dequalification, says that it is hard to fulfil dreams of success: [translation] "Imagine a person who really feels out of his or her element; the person will sort of keep an eye on the children's education, but will not feel comfortable preparing the child for everything." She also wonders how long her words of inspiration will work in her specific situation: her children might ask, "Why should we do well at school if it isn't going to do us any good in the end?" In the course of our research on immigrant families, we sensed that the chronic nature of professional dequalification ultimately causes parents to feel that their identity is discounted.

Given these obstacles to the integration of immigrant families, where does promise lie in terms of families' support for their children's education? We will now discuss some of the best options through examples involving immigrant families and recommendations to schools.

Examples of immigrant families' contribution to academic success

Needless to say, immigrant families have a responsibility to support their children's schooling and development. In high-risk settings (juvenile delinquency), researchers have shown that the "familism" of some immigrant families helps reduce juvenile delinquency (Bergeron and Potter, 2006; German, Gonzales and Dumka, 2009; Ghazarian, Supple and Plunkett, 2008). Another factor that protects youth in the host society is a process of family acculturation characterized by the integration of cultural codes (rather than by loss of identity or assimilation) or strategies for identity flexibility (as opposed to adherence to a single identity) (Berry et al., 2006; Lahire, 1998; Verhoeven, 2006).

A study of the paths taken by immigrant students who do well in school (Kanouté et al., 2008; Vatz-Laaroussi et al., 2008) showed that beyond different sociocultural capital, beyond the dim view that families take of schools' unwillingness to integrate diversity, beyond the different formats of report cards, these families are all committed to supporting their children's school experience. We divided family support into three categories: success and continuity, success and advancement and success for the family.

School success as a continuation of a family tradition

Parents in this category attended university and were highly regarded professionals in their country of origin (engineers, chemists, teachers). They excelled in school. They understand that migration entails a risk to the family. Consequently, while they have expectations for academic achievement similar to those of non-immigrant parents with the same social profile, immigrant parents are more demanding and more vigilant in implementing their school-related strategies. These are parents who are clear and specific about their views on success.

- Mother of one student: "She's definitely going to go to college and then university. She has to be very well educated, highly trained, earn a very good salary, have the best house, the best car."

- Father of one student: "In our family, having a degree is an end in itself; it brings prestige. People go to school a long time. It is highly regarded and very rewarding."

School success as a means of social advancement

Parents in this category are less educated and less equipped to understand school issues. However, they see immigration as an opportunity to put the family on a path of upward social mobility; had they stayed in their country of origin, their standard of living would have remained the same or declined. In contrast to the specific message from parents in the success and continuity category, parents in the success and advancement category talk about academic success in less specific but equally intense and recurring terms, and that message is clearly heard by young people. Parents are proactive in their search for models of school success and support for their children.

- Student: "My dad is a labourer. All he ever talks about is education."

- Student's mother: "We want her to do something she likes, but she has to go to school. We're going to do whatever we can—at least I am—to ensure that Juana graduates, gets a good job and is able to do a lot of things."

School success for the family

Students and their parents have a very strong connection to their country of origin, as much of a symbolic or emotional link as possible. Academic success involves not only family issues, but community and national issues as well. Families tend more to rely on services and networks in their ethnic and religious community when they want general parenting support or to monitor their children's schooling.

- Father of a student: "We didn't come here for a holiday or to work in a factory. ... She has to go to university and then she can decide what she wants to do ... A child's success is shared by the entire family. The tree bears fruit and everyone gets to eat."

These examples show that, at the same they pull together to foster equity in our society, looking in particular at the situation of stigmatized social groups, immigrant families can support their children and students by enabling them to lay

firm roots in society and move forward. These are families who believe that academic failure contributes significantly to the stigmatization of minority groups and that a diploma opens the door to effective challenging of systemic discrimination. However, schools have a major responsibility in ensuring a good relationship with immigrant families, supportng them and helping put an end to stigmatization and fighting racism and discrimination.

School support for immigrant families

School support must meet a need among families for recognition of sociocultural capital and also a need to understand the school system and to get to know resources (structure, program, special services, teaching methods, etc.). The following are suggestions for schools (Abdallah-Pretceille, 1997; Hohl and Normand, 1996; Kanouté, 2008; Lafortune, 2006):

- Promote in policies and practices an educational mission that takes into account the ethnocultural diversity of society.
- Diversify the ethnocultural profile of school staff.
- Gain a better overall understanding of the social and socialization practices of immigrant families.
- Document the challenges faced by immigrant families (language barrier, professional dequalification, exclusion).
- Recognize the right of immigrant families to voice their opinions on education issues and to question the operating and socialization standards applied in schools.
- Assure families that their children's social and school experience is free of stigmatizing forces and that there is a commitment to ensuring equal opportunity for all in day-to-day school life (student-teacher relations, interpretation of curriculum, group/class

management, etc.).
- Make day-to-day school life family-friendly by adopting approaches that are welcoming to all parents.

In conclusion, we reiterate some of the keys to success for immigrant families' support to their children's schooling: a welcoming atmosphere that reduces the impact of acculturation stress; families that are supportive of their children's schooling; and schools that are open to ethnocultural diversity. In addition, issues raised by relations between schools and immigrant families should figure prominently in initial and ongoing teacher training so that schools have a better understanding of those issues. Finally, recent studies on the relationship between schools and immigrant families in Quebec have tried to explore that relationship by examining it from a broader perspective that includes the link between immigration and disadvantage.

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Labour Market Integration of Immigrants: From Persistent Challenges to Innovative Solutions

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Abstract: The Institut de recherche sur l'intégration professionnelle des immigrants (IRIPI), an institute for research on the labour market integration of immigrants at the Collège de Maisonneuve, is one of three new college centres for technology transfer in the area of innovative social practices (CCTT-PSNs). The objective of the IRIPI is to use knowledge transfer and sharing of expertise to develop innovative social practices, with a view to improving the labour market integration of immigrants. Through initiatives directed at both immigrants and workplaces, the Institut is contributing to the collective effort to address the challenge of integrating immigrants into the labour market and into Quebec society.

To address its labour shortage, Quebec is increasing its immigration targets and is focusing on attracting immigrants who meet the needs of the labour market. However, the immigrants being admitted are having problems integrating into that market. To find innovative solutions to these problems, a new research institute has been created: the Institut de recherche sur l'intégration professionnelle des immigrants (IRIPI). The IRIPI is one of three new Centres collégiaux de transfert de technologie dans le domaine des pratiques sociales novatrices (CCTT-PSNs) recognized by the Quebec Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport [department of education, recreation and sport] (MELS) in May 2009. Like other CCTTs, the IRIPI has the objective of transferring knowledge to socio-economic communities through the results of applied research and is affiliated with a CEGEP (collège d'enseignement general et professionnel) [general and vocational college]—in this case, Collège de Maisonneuve—a Quebec post-secondary education institution. However, unlike other CCTTs, which specialize in technological fields, the CCTT-PSNs focus on the humanities and social sciences. The IRIPI's aim, therefore, is to contribute, through applied research activities, to the labour market integration of immigrants by encouraging, promoting and disseminating innovative social practices to meet the needs and challenges identified by the various stakeholders. It must also ensure that its activities enrich the training provided at the college.

Labour market integration of immigrants in Quebec: A difficult situation

Two of the stated objectives of Quebec's immigration policy are to renew the labour force and to meet the economy's labour needs. However, while research shows an overall positive trend correlated with length of time in Quebec (with the exception of certain ethnic communities) (Renaud, Piché and Godin 2003), a number of indicators point to the difficulties immigrants have integrating into the Quebec job market. First, the unemployment rate for recent

immigrants (those arriving in the preceding five years) is high. According to figures reported by Marie-Thérèse Chicha and É. Charest, in Montréal, where the vast majority of immigrants are concentrated, that rate was 20.9% in 2001 and 18.1% in 2006. Although the unemployment rate decreases with length of time in the country, it remains much higher than the rate among Montréalers born in Canada (Chicha and Charest 2008: 7). Second, according to the same authors, the immigrant population experiences significant occupational downgrading (Chicha and Charest 2008: 7). According to the Comité d'adaptation de la main-d'œuvre - Personnes Immigrantes (CAMO-PI), a labour force adjustment committee for immigrants,

> [Translation]
> Immigrants occupy jobs whose skill levels do not correspond to their education in higher proportions than what is observed for people born in Canada. For example, in the Montréal CMA[1], 51.0% of immigrants who have a university degree ... occupy jobs that do not correspond to their education ..., whereas this proportion is 38.5% for people born in Canada with the same educational background .... (2007: 179)

Finally, according to Jean-Michel Cousineau and Brahim Boudarbat, in Quebec, as in the rest of Canada, the salaries of immigrants dropped significantly between 1981 and 2001 despite an increase in qualifications (2009: 244).

These phenomena cannot be explained by economic factors alone. According to some studies, indicators of the labour market integration of immigrants in Quebec have not deteriorated as a result of economic conditions (Cousineau and Boudarbat 2009). There are many reasons for the poor performance of immigrants

on the job market and for the difficulties encountered, making the labour market integration of immigrants a complex problem (Chicha and Charest 2008: 9). The most prominent of these reasons include lack of recognition of foreign credentials in the labour market, lack of Canadian work experience—compounded by the failure of employers to recognize experience gained abroad—and discrimination (Chicha and Charest: 10-15).

Institut de recherche sur l'intégration professionnelle des immigrants at Collège de Maisonneuve

Numerous players are involved in addressing the barriers and difficulties affecting immigrants' labour market integration. These players are diverse in both nature and activities. For example, many institutions (government departments, research centres, universities, and so on) and community organizations are already working to facilitate the integration of immigrants into Quebec society. CEGEPs, because they offer training programs leading to technical diplomas—including the short training programs leading to the Attestation d'études collégiales [attestation of college studies] (AEC), which explicitly focus on labour market integration—provide training to many immigrants. CEGEPs are therefore front-line players in the integration of immigrants. In the past 20 years, they have undertaken many initiatives pertaining to the educational integration of immigrants and have developed special expertise in that area.

For example, Collège de Maisonneuve has a large population of immigrant students. According to the results of an internal study, immigrants make up 49% of the students in the various programs offered by the Collège de Maisonneuve's Institut de chimie et de pétrochimie [chemistry and petrochemistry institute] and 71% of students in AEC programs. To meet the needs of this population, the Collège has developed many projects and measures to foster the integration

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1   According to Statistics Canada, a census metropolitan area (CMA) is made up of one or more adjacent municipalities situated around a major urban core that has a population of at least 100,000.

of immigrants. Of these, the intercultural bridge-building program Vers des passerelles interculturelles was established at the Institut de chimie et de pétrochimie, whose students and staff come from around the world. The objectives of this program, which is funded by three Caisses Desjardins in Montréal East, include promoting the integration of immigrant students and encouraging adaptation to cultural diversity. The Collège also offers a French assistance service for immigrant students and a credential recognition program for dentists trained outside Quebec. In addition, the college's international cooperation service, founded more than two decades ago, has extensive experience in intercultural communication.

A unique characteristic of CEGEPs is that they arrange internships, which provide interface between training and the job market, putting them in an ideal position to reach both immigrants and labour market players. This was the basis for the creation of the IRIPI at Collège de Maisonneuve.

The mission of the IRIPI is to support the integration of immigrants into the education system, internships and the workplace. Its ideal position as an applied research centre affiliated with a CEGEP puts the IRIPI at the intersection of these three areas and enables it to play a role in both applied research and the transfer of knowledge to the various stakeholders involved in the labour market integration of immigrants.

Knowledge transfer and sharing of expertise with a view to implementing innovative social practices

The originality and relevance of the IRIPI initiative can be fully grasped only by looking at the context in which it was created. The MELS defines the role of a CCTT-PSN as follows:

[Translation]
CCTTs in the area of innovative social practices (CCTT-PSNs) are agents for the development and transfer of research results. With the ultimate goal of social development, they are centres for applied interdisciplinary research aimed at meeting the needs of the user communities and finding solutions to the social issues and problems expressed by these communities. In constant contact with the communities of practice, the CCTT-PSNs offer them support, particularly in terms of prevention, through knowledge transfer and training. They join forces with various partners such as institutions, organizations or communities to encourage new social practices. (Quebec 2008: 1)

The IRIPI's mandate is therefore, as a CCTT-PSN, to meet the needs identified by organizations involved in the labour market integration of immigrants (businesses; public, parapublic and community organizations; CEGEPs; occupational training centres; professional associations and so forth) and to develop research activities that draw on various disciplines and tools in the social sciences, based on the problems identified. The services offered include observation, applied research, advice, support, knowledge transfer, and dissemination of the initiatives developed. These services should ultimately lead to the implementation of innovative social practices—practices based on the innovations stemming from the research—designed to improve the labour market integration of immigrants.

The implementation of innovative social practices necessarily implies partnership with organizations involved in the labour market integration of immigrants in order to identify needs and research tools and to effect the necessary changes. For this reason, the IRIPI conducts two types of research. One is applied research, in the proper sense of the term, intended to give decision-makers information based on scientific results (existing or produced ad hoc) with a view to making a

change. The objective of this kind of research is therefore to assist in the decision-making process for implementing innovative social practices. The other is action research, in which research and action are more closely intertwined by bringing together the communities in question, the players involved, the decision-makers and the researchers in a joint process of research and learning. In this second type of research, the change is incorporated directly into the research proposal[2]. In both cases, the research—while meeting the standards for university research in the social sciences—is guided by the requirements of the users and by the need and desire to make changes in their community, rather than by the requirements of the research communities.

The IRIPI's first research projects and initiatives in the area of knowledge transfer have therefore been based on the needs expressed by various stakeholders (community organizations, CEGEPs, sectoral labour committee, research centre network, and businesses) and reflect a diversity of conceptual and methodological tools and approaches.

In terms of benefits for the college community, the IRIPI's role is threefold. First, the IRIPI has the objective of supporting and fine-tuning solutions already in place at Collège de Maisonneuve—since the college has developed a number of initiatives to facilitate the cultural integration of immigrants—as a complement to other services (such as the intercultural committee) and at other colleges. In addition, just like other organizations and businesses, CEGEPs are workplaces. Because it is part of the college network, the IRIPI is able to support CEGEPs with regard to the labour market integration of immigrants into this workplace. Second, the expertise developed by the IRIPI may lead to new practices that complement the training that CEGEPs provide to immigrants, with

a view to facilitating their integration into the labour market. Third, because the IRIPI is closely involved in the life of Collège de Maisonneuve, students may conduct micro-research in the context of a course and teachers may contribute by conducting research projects or offering on-the-job training.

The governance of the IRIPI reflects these different challenges and objectives. The IRIPI's steering committee includes representatives of leading organizations in the area of the labour market integration of immigrants: a regional branch of Quebec's Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, l'Institut national de la recherche scientifique (INRS) - Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société, the Conseil interprofessionnel du Québec, the Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrants, Cégep de Trois-Rivières, and a representative from the chemistry field. The director general of Collège de Maisonneuve and the director of studies complete this committee, attesting to the importance placed on this new institute by the Collège.

Conclusion

To respond to the specific problems experienced by immigrants with respect to labour market integration, Quebec has established a research centre, the Institut sur l'intégration professionnelle des immigrants (IRIPI), which belongs to a new category: Centres collégiaux de transfert de technologie en pratiques sociales novatrices (CCTT-PSNs). Part of Collège de Maisonneuve, the IRIPI holds a special position as an applied research centre in the college network that allows it to direct initiatives toward both immigrants and workplaces. The IRIPI plans to work with the many institutions and organizations engaged in various activities pertaining to immigrant populations.

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2   We would like to thank Michel Trépanier, professor at the Institut national de la recherche scientifique – Urbanisation Culture et Société, for helping clarify this concept.

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Ensuring Quicker, Increased and Better Access to French Language Services for Newcomers

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Abstract: Services to support the French learning ("francization") of adult immigrants have evolved tremendously since the creation of the Quebec Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigration and cultural communities]. This article summarizes the evolution of these services both abroad and in Quebec.

Introduction

For 40 years, the Quebec Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigration and cultural communities] (MICC) has been offering non-Francophone adult immigrants free French courses and a wide variety of ways to learn. Created in 1969, the Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants [immigrant guidance and training centres] (COFIs) offered French learning ("francization") services to newly arrived immigrants in Quebec. At that time, the training offered by these centres was done full-time or part-time over a period of 30 weeks. The formula had the impact of limiting the links between the training locations and the other services that immigrants had to access in the course of their integration process. Participants often found themselves isolated, because going to the COFIs meant that they had little contact with French-language training environments.

In 1998, based on the recommendations of an external task force set up to review francization services,[1] the MICC reworked its francization services and its educational organization in order to better serve the increasingly educated immigrant clientele and respond to the variety of social and professional integration

paths. The COFIs were closed in the summer of 2000. The MICC courses were offered in the newly formed integration centres known as Carrefours d'intégration and by French-language institutional partners (colleges and universities) and community-based partners. During the summer of 2004, the MICC created the Direction générale de la francisation, a branch devoted specifically to francization. All immigrants were then referred to educational institutions and community-based organizations for training environments that corresponded to their level of education.

At the same time, school boards were also making a significant contribution to francization. In Montréal and in other parts of Quebec, school boards provided French courses to immigrants, some of them under an agreement with the MICC and others on their own initiative through their adult education and professional development activities.

Over several years, immigration increased, as did the level of education of immigrants admitted into or selected by Quebec. As a result, francization services were stepped up in order to better meet immigrants' needs. The MICC developed an offer of French courses that was more flexible and better adapted to the specific needs of various clienteles. Since the early 1990s,

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1   Pour une francisation et une insertion sociale et économique réussies des nouveaux arrivants et des non-francophones, report of the Groupe de travail externe sur la révision de l'offre de service en francisation, Ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration, 1998.

under the Canada-Quebec Accord,[2] Quebec has had control over its own immigration and must provide services similar to those provided in other Canadian provinces. When the Accord came into effect, the Government of Quebec issued a policy statement on immigration and integration.[3] The francization of immigrants has become essential if they are to contribute to the long-term survival of the French fact in Quebec.

It was in that vein that new government measures were announced in April 2008. These measures sought, on the one hand, to respond to increased immigration levels in 2008-2010 and, on the other, to respond to the concerns of the Quebec population in general. The measures had three objectives: francizing immigrants sooner, even before they arrive; francizing immigrants more by reaching new clienteles; and francizing immigrants better by linking the content of courses to specific needs in order to promote greater competency in French.

Francizing **sooner**

In the past five years, the MICC has developed a network of partnerships with various specialized organizations abroad. It invites candidates whom Quebec has already selected to begin learning French or improving their knowledge of French with these partner organizations even before they leave their country of origin. In April 2008, the MICC also released a mid-level online French course that selected candidates can access free of charge. The purpose of these initiatives is to enable people to take advantage of the time between obtaining their Quebec selection certificate (CSQ) and their Canadian visa to familiarize themselves with Quebec's language

and society.

Network of partners abroad

Promotion and recruitment activities are deployed in countries where there are promising potential immigrants who have an interesting socio-professional profile but who do not have French as their mother tongue. The MICC has built a solid relationship with the Alliances françaises, a well-established worldwide network with a presence in many countries where Quebec would like to recruit immigrants. As of October 31, 2009, the MICC had signed 86 agreements with the Alliances françaises, French cultural centres and other French institutions. An information kit on Quebec's language, culture and common values is sent to each new partner so that it can adapt its training for clients going to Quebec. Over 3,600 candidates were referred to these partners to give the candidates the opportunity to improve their knowledge of French. Since April 1, 2009, the MICC has reimbursed the cost of French classes taken from one of the MICC's partner institutions by those who already hold a CSQ, up to a maximum of $1,500. The reimbursement claim must be submitted after arrival in Quebec.

Finally, in 2008 and 2009, in cooperation with the Quebec Ministère des Relations internationales [department of international relations] and the Quebec Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport) [department of education, leisure and sport] (MELS), the MICC awarded approximately 60 bursaries to teachers or individuals in charge of education in institutions belonging to the network of foreign partners, to enable them to take part in a summer training seminar on Quebec's language, culture and society at the Université de Montréal. Participants in these two training seminars came from approximately 25 countries. They are now better equipped to incorporate even more Quebec content into their teaching of French abroad.

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2   Canada–Québec Accord relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens (Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall Accord), February 1991.

3   Let's Build Québec Together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration, Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec, 1990.

Mid-level online French courses

Francisation en ligne (FEL) is an intermediate-level online French course. People must already have some knowledge of French in order to register. Registration is done electronically, and students can join at any time. The promotion of the FEL course is done mainly at Immigration-Québec's offices abroad. MICC staff invite immigrants whose first language is not French to improve their fluency in French and to become familiar with Quebec society and its common values. In 2008-09, 2,012 people had registered for the FEL course, and it has been offered in Quebec since June 30, 2009.

Advanced-level language courses, as well as specialized modules for certain professional areas, particularly health, engineering, law, administration and business, are also planned and should be implemented and online between 2009 and 2011. The MICC's broad objectives in this regard are to more effectively reach clients who have greater difficulty accessing these courses or who are less likely to be reached by traditional francization services, to help them learn French at a more advanced level and to promote the francization of immigrants abroad who want to join a professional body.

A database of online French exercises complements this training. Accessible on the MICC Internet site to people abroad or in Quebec who want to improve their knowledge of French, the database contains close to 1,200 French exercises of varying levels of difficulty. There are approximately 250,000 hits every year on the site and more than 81,000 on the exercises.

The FEL course is in line with the MICC's strategic directions and with the objective of modernizing government. The quality of the course and the expertise of the teachers and professionals of the Direction générale de la francisation have been recognized by various organizations and have earned the course the following awards:

- 2009 award of excellence for online government, by the Institut d'administration publique du Québec [Quebec institute of public administration]

- 2009 French-language merit award in information technologies, large organization category, from Quebec's Office de la langue française [French language bureau]

- 2009 Award for Excellence and Innovation in Instructional Design from the Canadian Network for Innovation in Education (CNIE)

- Finalist for the Quebec technology industry's 2009 OCTAS award in the category "French in information Technologies"

Francizing **more**

In Quebec, the MICC offers different formats of classroom courses aimed at teaching French, integrating people into Quebec society and introducing them to Quebec's common values. Every year, the MICC reaches over 20,000 people through its courses. Under certain conditions, immigrants may obtain financial assistance to take these courses.

French classes are given full time by MICC partners, universities, CEGEPs, community organizations and school boards in most Quebec regions. All of them offer these courses with financial support from the MICC.

There are two programs—one a general program for educated immigrants and another adapted to immigrants with little schooling and limited literacy. The objectives of both programs are to teach immigrants to communicate in French in the ordinary situations of daily life.

The general program is offered through three full-time courses at progressively higher levels; each course lasts 11 weeks and consists of 30 hours a week of instruction. The adapted program comprises four 11-week courses that provide 25 hours a week of instruction. In 2008–09, 10,240 students took these regular full-time courses from the MICC.

The general program is also offered part-time, from 4 to 12 hours a week, and is available during the day, evenings or weekends. Part-time courses are mainly offered by the MICC's community partners. In 2008-09, 9,705 students took these courses.

For a number of years now, the MICC has also been providing French courses in the workplace to meet the needs of immigrant workers who have not been able to benefit from the usual full-time or part-time training formulas. Over the years, the department has partnered with many businesses and workers in several sectors. In order to expand its activities, the department has formed a valuable partnership with the main parties concerned about francization in the workplace—government, institutions, management, unions, and community organizations. Agreements to promote francization and to recruit clients and employers were concluded with textile and plastics sectoral labour committees, the Fédération des travailleurs du Québec [Quebec federation of labour], the Confédération des syndicats nationaux [confederation of national trade unions] and the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Montreal. Moreover, in March 2008, the Quebec finance department implemented a tax credit for francization in the workplace. This tax credit complements An Act to Promote Workforce Skills Development and Recognition and the tax credit for manpower training in the manufacturing sector. In 2008–09, the department reached 574 immigrant workers in 22 businesses through this formula.

Finally, two French self-learning centres located in Montréal and in Quebec City target workers who have a job and the businesses that hire them. The centres allow for greater flexibility and greater access to francization services, as well as for personalized follow-up. From April 2008 to March 2009, the centres reached several hundred participants.

Francizing **better**

In the early 2000s, the francization services in place offered few options to meet the more specific needs of immigrant clients who had higher education, who had to meet greater professional requirements in terms of language knowledge, or who had specific language-related needs in the workforce. The francization services had to be reviewed, improved and broadened to meet these specific language needs and to give these new clients access to better and more in-depth francization services, to acquire a greater mastery of French and to facilitate their access to a professional body. The services consequently had to be made more flexible and had to be adapted to the various paths that immigrants take in their journey toward linguistic and professional integration. The range of services offered also had to become a way of motivating people to learn and use French, in order to in turn facilitate integration into the labour force and into Quebec society.

It is in that context that the services were diversified, and specialized courses added, such as courses in oral communication and written French, and courses designed for candidates who wanted to join professional bodies, such as nurses, and for other professionals in the health care field, in engineering and applied sciences, administration, law and business. The new courses were developed in cooperation with MICC partners, universities and CEGEPs and have been offered part-time since the fall of 2006 and full-time since the fall of 2008. Some of these courses are also offered within a curriculum of courses leading to a college diploma (an AEC) or

in the context of other college courses.

Francization: Optimizing services

The Government of Quebec wants to give immigrants the means to successfully integrate in French. Knowledge of French is one of the keys to gaining faster and easier access to the labour market and to integrating into Quebec society. It also fosters better knowledge of Quebec's common values and its culture. Finally, it promotes greater participation in community life, promotes a sense of belonging and therefore constitutes a factor in the retention of immigrants in Quebec.

To ensure greater consistency in francization measures, to increase the effectiveness of its services and to optimize the capacity of services offered by the government, the MICC and the MELS are working to harmonize their francization services for immigrants. The two departments will adopt a single basis for assessing competency levels in French and a single framework program for training. In addition, the MICC, the MELS and the Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale [department of employment and social solidarity] will offer single-window access to francization services. That effort will mean that activities related to the assessment of competency in French, the determination of eligibility for financial assistance and the choice of the most appropriate educational institution will be centralized during the year 2010–11.

All of these measures will optimize the use of francization resources and will ensure equity in the services being offered to immigrants.

About the Author

Francization expert Louise Cantin has worked for the Quebec Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigration and cultural communities] (MICC) for a number of years. She began teaching French to immigrants and then worked as an educational advisor. She helped develop both of the MICC's language-based integration programs, one for well-educated immigrants and one for less-educated immigrants. As project manager, she also supervised the team of designers and drafters who prepared the Québec Atout teaching material. As an expert in the design of educational programs, guides and material, she is currently the MICC's representative in a cooperative venture with the Quebec Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport [department of education, leisure and sport] to develop a province-wide French-language training framework program for educated adult immigrants. Ms. Cantin has published a number of articles on the francization of immigrants and has lectured on the topic.

Welcoming and French Learning Support Programs in Quebec

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Abstract: This article presents the preliminary findings of a study carried out to identify the models used in Quebec to deliver services to allophone (who do not have French of English as mother tongue) students who are new immigrants or of immigrant origin. The data were gathered through an online questionnaire and telephone interviews with the competent officials in 34 school boards in 13 regions across Quebec. These data show that a variety of models are being used throughout Quebec, but that regions tend to stick to just one or two models. Students do not necessarily get support in comparable proportions, which raises the question of equity in terms of frequency and length of service for these allophone immigrant students.

Introduction

In 2008, Quebec accepted 45,264 new immigrants, more than half of whom claimed to know French (MICC 2009). In almost all cases, the children of these new immigrants attended French schools (under 1977's Bill 101) and were given the opportunity, as the case may be, to pursue their education in French as a mother tongue or first language[1] or to make French their second or even third language. Owing to the evolution of this language situation over the years, more than 50% of allophones described as "Bill 101 children" who are part of the cohort of young adults between the ages of 25 and 34 that lived in Quebec in 2006, speak their mother tongue, French and English, making them at least trilingual (Gauthier and Girard 2008, p. 87).

In September 2008, the proportion of students in elementary and secondary schools on Montréal Island (Comité de gestion de la taxe scolaire 2009, p. 1) whose mother tongue was neither English nor French (39.5%) was greater than the proportion of students whose mother tongue was French (39.0%). Arabic, Spanish, Italian, Creole and Chinese were the main languages spoken by that allophone population.

Of the total number of senior kindergarten, elementary and secondary students in Quebec schools in 2007–2008 (1,047,394, including private school), 17,485,[2] most of them new

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1   Mother tongue is the language naturally acquired at an early age simply through interaction with the person's mother (hence the etymology) or more broadly with the family environment and still understood. It is the language in which language capability was developed. First language is the language which a person uses most often and in which the person is most comfortable. It may have been acquired or learned in a formal setting (language of instruction).

2   We would like to thank Georges Lemieux, an advisor in the cultural communities services directorate of

immigrants, were identified as needing French learning support (FLS) (given an FLS rating).

The Montreal Census Metropolitan Area still accounts for a large proportion of Quebec's immigrant population: 86.9% (MICC 2009). More specifically, most of the students with an FLS administrative rating (11,492, or 66% of the total) attend schools on Montréal Island.

History of services for "allophone" students who are new immigrants or of immigrant origin

Prior to 1997, several different service models were being used, and each included specific funding for the particular student: separate welcoming classrooms for allophone students born outside Quebec; francization classes for allophone students born in Quebec; special measures where the number of allophone students was too small, particularly in the regions; and language support for students integrated into a regular classroom after completing their welcoming class or francization course. In 1997, these models were consolidated in an welcoming and French learning support program known as the Programme d'accueil et de soutien à l'apprentissage du français (PASAF). Under the Education Act, non- Francophone students who are being taught in French for the first time (whether or not they were born in Quebec) and whose knowledge of French would normally prevent them from taking such classes, are eligible for welcoming and French learning support services. [Translation] "Schools have a duty to provide non-Francophone students with the services that fit them best. Those services can take a variety of forms, including, but not limited to, welcoming classes" (MELS 2009). The period for which funding is provided depends on the student's grade at the time of initial

enrolment: 10 months for preschool, 20 months for elementary and 30 months for secondary.

Decisions on the length of French learning support (10, 20 or 30 months depending on the division), irrespective of the service model, are subject to the PASAF funding guidelines but also take into account the student's specific needs where permitted by the budget management procedures in school boards, systems and even individual schools. If, for example, an allophone preschooler is integrated into a regular class without support and does not actually use the allocated funding, those funds can be transferred to a student in an elementary grade who is struggling and needs French learning support for more than 20 months.

Because they are no longer linked to the type of service provided, these funding arrangements give school boards more leeway in terms of management and enable education teams to implement service models that are more flexible and more in line with students' profiles. They in no way undermine the model based on separate welcoming classes, as some teachers feared in 1997 when the PASAF was introduced. Separate welcoming classes remain a perfectly good option for many students provided the education team realizes that the model constitutes a transition to a regular classroom and not a parallel stream in which too many allophone students would stay for two or three years. Placement in a regular classroom, which ensures contact with more proficient speakers, thereby fostering authentic linguistic interaction and challenging students of immigrant origin more than they would be challenged in an welcoming classes in terms of learning academic subjects, is an important factor in integration and achievement (Armand, Beck and Murphy 2009).

This study

The issue of the variety of models used by school boards throughout Quebec to deliver services

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the Department of Education, Recreation and Sport, who provided these figures for 2007–2008 (the 2008–2009 figures were not yet available).

to new allophone immigrants was explored in a study carried out for the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport [Department of Education, Recreation and Sport] (MELS) with support from the Quebec Metropolis Centre (De Koninck and Armand 2006–2009). The first phase of the study consisted in using an online questionnaire to gather from representatives of 34 school boards (with at least 10 students with an FLS rating)[3] in 13 of Quebec's 17 administrative regions, information about the screening and identification of students needing French learning support; the preferred service organization and delivery models for each of the three levels of education; and tracking of students once they move into a regular classroom. Telephone interviews were also conducted to determine the school board representatives' perceptions of these issues. A total of 42 telephone interviews (ranging from one to two hours) were conducted.

In the second phase of the study, we explored the models in greater depth by examining their implementation in a sample of 15 schools in Montréal, Québec City and the regions and the way they are viewed by the various stakeholders in the education system (children, parents, school administrators, and teachers in regular, welcoming and language support classes). We spoke to a total of 281 stakeholders in more than 88 meetings (individually or in focus groups, sometimes with interpreters).

Using the preliminary results of the online questionnaire completed by respondents from school boards throughout Quebec and, to some extent, our telephone interviews, we present in this article the available service models and the conditions most often cited by stakeholders as fostering the implementation of those models. The data are processed on the basis of school boards in a given administrative region and the number of new allophone immigrants in those boards.

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3   One school board did not respond to the questionnaire, which brought the total to 33.

Findings
Distribution by administrative region

The responses to the online questionnaire provided by representatives of the 33 school boards in the 13 administrative regions of Quebec enabled us to establish a general profile of the concentration of allophone students who are recent immigrants or of immigrant origin at September 30, 2005. Regions 06 (Montréal), 13 (Laval) and 16 (Montérégie) accounted for the majority of students with an FLS rating (approximately 10,000 students in several school boards with an average of more than 1,000 students). The regions with an average of 350 to 450 students in that category were Region 03 (Capitale-Nationale), Region 05 (Estrie) and Region 07 (Outaouais). Next were regions with 80 to 180 students: Region 04 (Mauricie), Region 15 (Laurentides) and Region 17 (Centre-du-Québec). Rounding out the list were four administrative regions with very few immigrant students – an average of 20 to 70: Region 01 (Bas St-Laurent), Region 02 (Saguenay-Lac St-Jean), Region 12 (Chaudière-Appalaches) and Region 14 (Lanaudière). The last four regions are located a considerable distance from major population centres.

Available models

Before the online questionnaire was developed, an initial survey of known models was conducted with the help of a committee made up of intake education advisors and school administrators involved in that area. The following models were identified.

<u>Full integration with French learning support</u>
Allophone students who are new immigrants or of immigrant origin take all subjects with students in a regular classroom and receive French learning support, usually in the form of periods during which they are removed from

the regular classroom to work with a language support teacher.

Partial integration in a regular classroom
Allophone students who are new immigrants or of immigrant origin take some subjects in an welcoming class and also take subjects with students in a regular classroom.

Separate welcoming class
Allophone students who are new immigrants or of immigrant origin take all subjects in an intake classroom.

Full integration with no French learning support
Allophone students who are new immigrants or of immigrant origin take all subjects with the students in the regular classroom.

Separate welcoming class with integration support
Allophone students who are new immigrants or of immigrant origin take all subjects in an intake classroom and receive integration support from a resource person (in mathematics, French, etc.).

Other models
Any other model that does not fit one of the above descriptions.

In reading these findings, it is important to differentiate at the outset between the frequency of use of a model in the 13 administrative regions of Quebec and the number of students for whom that model is used. Given the large proportion of allophone students in Montréal – on both the south and the north shore – compared with the rest of the province, the model used most in those regions will be used by the largest number of students. It is also important to note that the respondents to the online questionnaire identified the models used in their school board for each of the three divisions, but did not always specify the year (first or second year for elementary and first, second or third year for secondary). In other words, a model may be used in the first year in

some regions but not until the second or third year in others. Finally, it should also be noted that the respondents were not always able to pinpoint the number of students taught using one of the service models they identified as being available in their board, or stated in the subsequent telephone interview that they were not exactly sure which model was used in which school, how long the models were used or how many students were involved. Some respondents told us that we would not be able to get those numbers at their level; we would have to ask the systems and even the schools.

Bearing these nuances in mind, we can now present the findings of the online questionnaire based on the statements made by respondents from the 33 school boards. The data showed that one welcoming class model was predominant in all administrative regions at September 30, 2005. Full integration into a regular classroom with French learning support was used at all grades in all regions with allophone immigrants, regardless of the number of students.

In the case of senior kindergarten (10 months of service), for example, full integration with French learning support was the model used most often throughout Quebec with the exception of Montréal, where the separate welcoming class model was also used. The length of language support for preschool students as indicated by the respondents was approximately one hour per week in Montréal and three hours per week in other school districts. These data must, however, be clarified in terms of length of service based on the availability of funds and staff to perform the duties. In the regions, because there is not a lot of money, services are front-loaded in the integration process until the budget runs out. In one Montréal-area school board, one of the respondents stated that only four language support positions have been created for more than 200 kindergarten students integrated into regular classrooms. Is it realistic to think that in these conditions, the length of service and the

availability of resource persons will be enough to meet the needs of allophone students?

The second most common student welcoming and integration model in the province was partial integration into a regular classroom; that model was used in half of the administrative regions, primarily at the elementary and secondary levels.

The separate welcoming class model ranked third and was used at the elementary and secondary levels in seven regions. It was used mostly in school boards that received an average of more than 1,000 students of immigrant origin each year and therefore applied to the majority of new immigrant students, particularly in the first year, but was almost non-existent in the other regions.

Full integration with no French learning support ranked fourth; it was used in five administrative regions at different grades. The five regions have no common features that would account for the use of this "no-support" model.

In last place was a separate welcoming class with integration support provided by supplementary resource persons; this model was used in only three regions of Quebec.

Factors determining the implementation of services

For this section, we identified the three factors (out of seven possible choices) most often selected by respondents who completed the online questionnaire (grouped by administrative region) as determining which service model is implemented in a given region. It should be noted that 12 of the 13 administrative regions felt that the availability of resource persons was a determining factor in the implementation of services, in particular for language support (this factor was selected by 12 regions). School boards had to assign language support to regular classroom teachers on top of their usual duties, often without providing specific second-language

training, or to inexperienced teachers who left their job after just one year. This raises questions as to the quality of the services provided and whether the stakeholders concerned are involved for a sufficiently long period.

The availability of funds was also selected by 12 regions. Several school boards cited a lack of funds. Some boards choose to provide more hours of support at the beginning of the school year, because later in the year they will have to stop providing services to students earlier than they would like.

Equally important is the level of cooperation among the staff involved (selected by nine regions). Finally, the respondents also indicated, albeit less frequently, the availability of places in regular classrooms (selected by five regions), whether there were enough students to warrant services (selected by two regions) and the availability of material (selected by two regions).

Conclusion

Exploring the service models available under the PASAF across the province through an online questionnaire for competent representatives of school boards followed by telephone interviews with the respondents enabled us to identify a number of points that should be examined in the future in order to improve the quality of services.

The data we compiled show that several different models are being used throughout Quebec, but that regions tend to stick to just one or two models. Students do not necessarily get support in comparable proportions. This raises the question of the link between initial equity and the future academic success of these allophone students. According to the respondents' descriptions of the service models in current use, the concentration of students in some communities makes it easier to consolidate them, enabling them to receive services for a longer period – provided, however, the school boards and schools hire qualified staff

and make the decision to provide those services. Elsewhere, particularly in the regions, support can be provided for only a few weeks because the small number of identified students makes for limited budget resources. Moreover, in these communities with a large Francophone majority, there are fewer resource persons who are available and trained to deal with issues related to second-language instruction.

In the same vein, the questionnaire and interviews showed that there are three main factors that determine which services are provided: availability of resource persons to provide language support, availability of funds, especially in the regions, and cooperation among staff in organizing and delivering services.

The respondents also indicated that they want support for the students for whom they are responsible to be improved. More than ever, Quebec schools have to look toward services designed for new allophone immigrants and, more broadly, students of immigrant origin. It is especially important to make all the stakeholders in the education system aware of their responsibility, based on their respective role and functions, for the successful linguistic, socio-educational and social integration of these students.

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Linguicism in Quebec and Canada

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Abstract: This article examines the phenomenon of discrimination in Canada and in Quebec from different angles: discrimination in employment, the most vulnerable groups, discrimination in Quebec compared with discrimination in the rest of Canada, and the most common grounds for discrimination. Among these grounds, linguicism (discrimination against speakers of a different language or with a different accent) is a significant reality. The results demonstrate that it is mostly experienced by Anglophone minorities in Quebec, Francophone minorities outside of Quebec and allophones both in Canada and in Quebec.

Discrimination is a negative behaviour aimed at members of an outgroup that is the target of prejudice (Bourhis and Gagnon 2006). In the usual sense of the word, prejudice is defined as a negative attitude or predisposition to adopt negative behaviour toward members of a group, based on an erroneous and rigid generalization (Bourhis and Leyens 1999). Discriminatory behaviour varies in terms of seriousness. It includes avoidance, disparaging humour, hate speech, mental and physical harassment, discriminatory allocation of valued resources (employment, promotions, housing), attacks against persons and property (hate crime), deportation and genocide (Bourhis and Montreuil 2004).

When discrimination targets ethnic outgroups, we call it racism. When discrimination targets women or men, we call it sexism. When discrimination targets younger or older persons, we call it ageism. When discrimination targets outgroups that speak a different language, or that speak with a different accent, we call it linguicism. Institutional linguicism occurs when a language majority enacts language laws or regulations that impose restrictions or unfair treatment on targeted language minorities (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

In Canada as elsewhere, discrimination remains a hurtful phenomenon. It acts like a poison on those who experience it. Ultimately, it dehumanizes those who practise it. This article discusses the phenomenon of discrimination in Canada and Quebec through four questions and answers.

1. Who experiences discrimination in employment in Quebec?

Minorities inevitably bear the brunt of discrimination by the majority. First-, second- and third-generation immigrants, who feel rejected by the host community, have experiences that hinder their economic, linguistic and cultural integration. Despite affirmative action programs, serious weaknesses exist in recruiting members of cultural communities in the public service at the municipal, provincial and federal level.

Figure 1 compares Quebec's work force and its representation in the public service of the Government of Quebec. In relation to their proportion of the work force, members of cultural communities (10%), Anglophones (8.3%) and Aboriginal people (1.2%) are underrepresented in the public service of Quebec, of which they respectively comprise 2.5%, 0.7% and 0.35% (Treasury Board Secretariat of Quebec 2005). This underrepresentation cannot be explained

Presence of minority groups in the Public Service of the Government of Quebec, 2003–2004
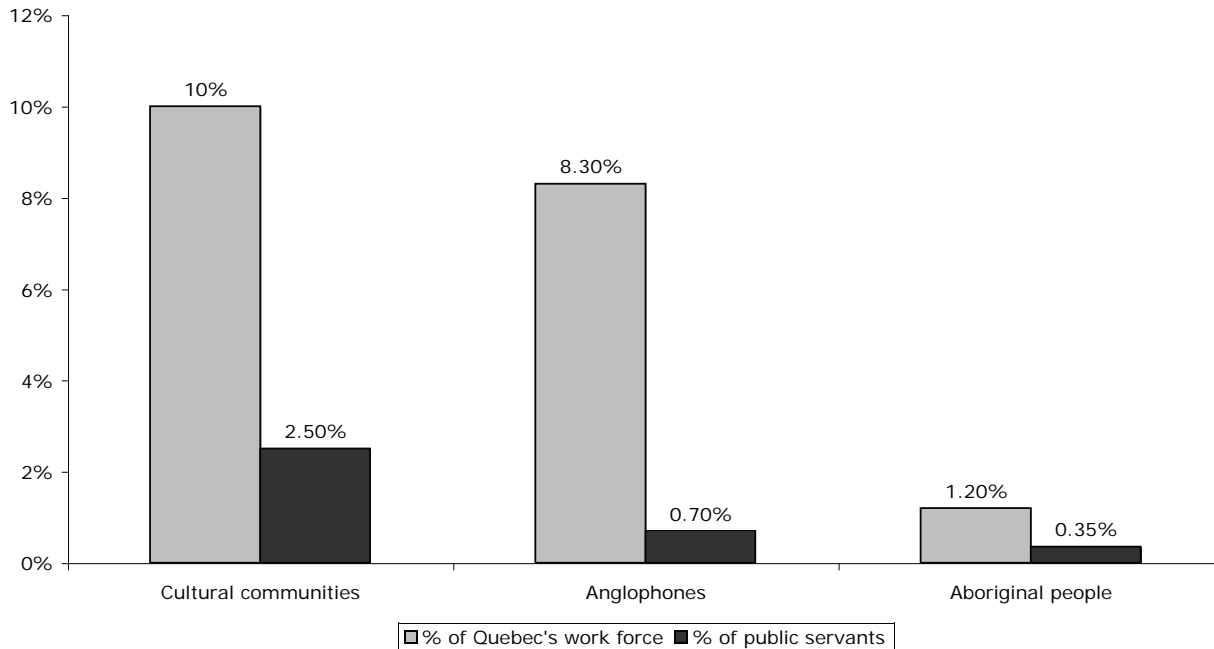
Treasury Board Secretariat pf Quebec, 2005. L'effectif de la fonction publique du Québec 2003-20043. Comparative analysis. Quebec, Sub-Secretariat of Public Service Personnel.

solely by inadequate proficiency in French, the candidates' lack of qualifications or an absence of candidates from these groups (CDPDJ [Human and Youth Rights Commission] 1998).

The findings of several surveys suggest that managers of the public service of Quebec tend to favour candidates who share their cultural and linguistic points of reference (Simard 1998). This tendency to favour applicants who are "true" Québécois manifests itself in the selection process, as well as in promotion and pay (Vaillancourt, Lemay and Vaillancourt 2007). In 2003, Joseph Facal, then President of the Treasury Board and Minister Responsible for Administration and the Public Service in the Parti Québécois government, said (translation):

> If we want a public service that represents the entire people of Quebec today, we have a lot of work to do … We must raise awareness among government managers who do not show enough sensitivity to diversity (Le Devoir, February 25, 2003).

There are ways to reduce exclusion in employment. The challenge is, above all, to convince majorities fully to implement affirmative action programs that exist in both Quebec and Canada (Eid 2009).

2. Which groups are most likely to experience discrimination in Canada?

The results of the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) speak volumes about discrimination against visible minorities.[1] Given the main purpose of the EDS survey, the sample was distributed as follows: one third of the respondents represented French Canadians (including Québécois, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians) and English Canadians of British origin; the other two thirds of the respondents were of all ethnic origins other

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1 Statistics Canada conducted this survey in 2002 with Canadian Heritage and Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The EDS population, based on the stratified sample obtained from the 2001 Census of Canada, is made up of people aged 15 or more, of all social classes, living in the 10 provinces of Canada and in major urban centres such as Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal. Over 42,000 telephone interviews (35 to 45 minutes each) were conducted, not only in English or French as the respondents wished, but also in 15 languages representing Canada's linguistic diversity. Using a Likert-type scale, the participants answered, by telephone, more than a hundred questions divided into 13 themes relating to Canada's ethnic diversity.

than French or English Canadians. This included visible minorities and first-, second- and third-generation immigrants from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. We present the most striking results of the EDS survey regarding the experience of discrimination. These results are the product of special analyses obtained through the collaboration of Statistics Canada and Canadian Heritage. Bourhis, Helly, Montreuil and Jantzen (2007) have published all of these results.

The first question about discrimination in the EDS survey was: "Discrimination may happen when people are treated unfairly because they are seen as being different from others. In the past five years, do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of your ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion?"

We should note that most people do not like to admit they have experienced discrimination, because they do not like to maintain the image of being a "victim," a "loser," or belonging to a minority that the majority does not value. Based on the percentage of respondents who answered yes to this question, out of the total sample of respondents (N= > 42000) throughout Canada, only 8% of men and 7% of women said they had experienced discrimination in the past five years. A less glowing picture emerges when the analysis distinguishes between white Canadians and visible minorities. White Canadians are represented by native-born French and English Canadians, and Canadian immigrants of European origin. Canadians belonging to visible minorities are represented by Chinese, Indo-Pakistanis, Blacks (Haitians, Jamaicans and Africans), South Americans and Arabs. In the 2001 Census of Canada, visible minorities represented three million people, or 10% of Canada's population. Across Canada, only 5% of white Canadians said they had experienced discrimination, compared to 20% for all visible minorities of all generations.

Moreover, the proportion of white immigrants stating that they have experienced discrimination is 19% for the first generation, 10% for the second and 11% for the third. On the other hand, the proportion of immigrants belonging to visible minorities, and stating that they have experienced discrimination, is 34% for the first generation, 36% for the second and 42% for the third. It must be acknowledged that members of visible minorities are far more likely to bear the burden of discrimination than white Canadians, even for those of the second and third generations who have earned a degree and who have been socialized in the majority language and culture of their respective provinces. In their case, it is difficult to attribute experiences of exclusion to factors other than discrimination. Poor knowledge of the language, failure to recognize foreign degrees and lack of experience on the Canadian labour market were associated with exclusion factors proper to the fate of their parents or grandparents.

3. Is the feeling of having experienced discrimination more sustained in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada?

The results of the EDS survey (2003) make it possible to compare the feeling of having experienced discrimination in Quebec and the rest of Canada (ROC), based on the ethnic origin of the respondents. French Canadians living outside Quebec were nearly twice as likely as French-speaking Quebeckers living in Quebec (14% compared to 8%) to say they had experienced discrimination. Conversely, English-Canadian respondents (of British origin) living in Quebec are more likely to have experienced discrimination (14%) than their counterparts living in the ROC (11%) or Francophones from Quebec (8%). Similarly, 17% of Canadians who are of European origin, and live in Quebec, say they have experienced discrimination. Among those living in the ROC, the proportion is 11%. Based on ethnic origin, moreover, it is mainly Canadians belonging to visible minorities who

Ethnic origin and first language of respondents living in Quebec who say they have experienced discrimination
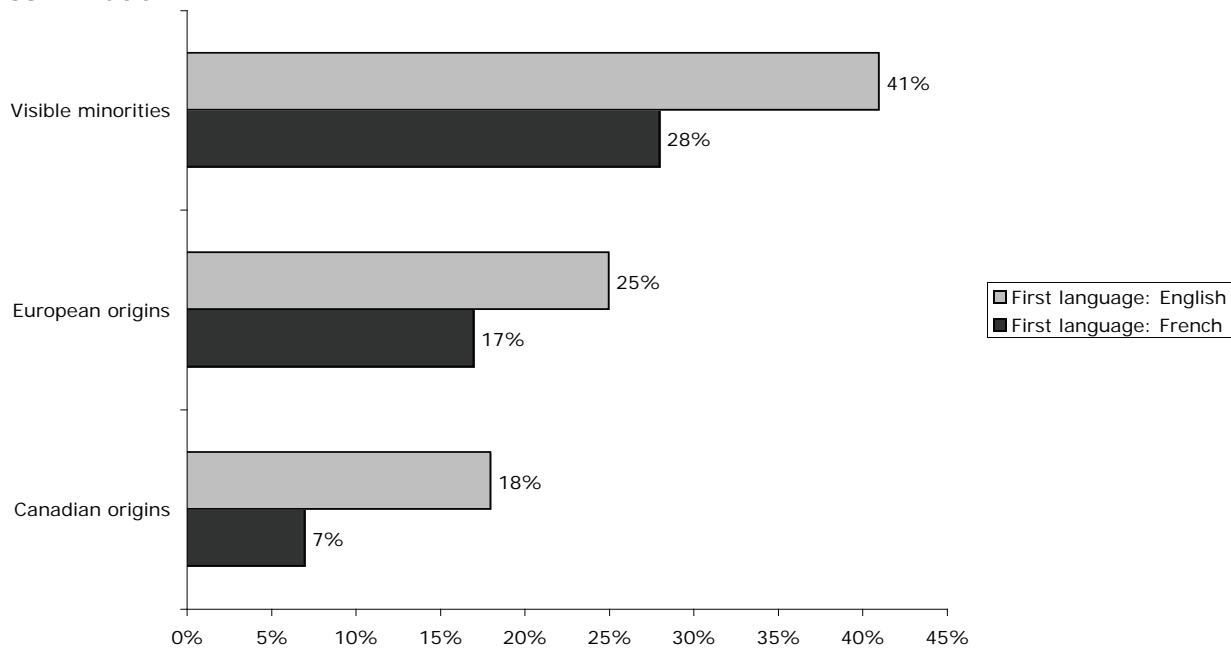
Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2003.

experience the most discrimination (30% of them in Quebec and 35% in the ROC).

As Figure 2 shows, specific analyses carried out in Quebec, based on the respondents' ethnic origin and first language, show that the proportion of English Canadians who say they have experienced discrimination is twice as high (18%) as the proportion of French Canadians (7%). The fact that a lower proportion of French Canadians say they have experienced discrimination in Quebec testifies to the majority status achieved by Francophone Québécois since Bill 101 (Bourhis 2008).

Could poor knowledge of French partly explain the discrimination that Quebec Anglophones experience? The number of Anglophones knowing French increased from 37% in 1971, to 66% in 2001 and to 69% in 2006. It is thus difficult to use poor knowledge of French as an explanation for the discrimination that Quebec Anglophones experience. It should be noted that the level of bilingualism achieved by Quebec Anglophones is especially due to the popularity of French immersion schools in the English-

language school system over the past three decades: more than 50% throughout Quebec and more than 75% in Montréal. Among Quebec Francophones, 26% were bilingual in 1971, 37% in 2001 and 36% in 2006. The impact of Bill 101 enabled the Francophone majority to feel less pressure to be fluent in English, especially in the regions of the province.

Furthermore, once again in Quebec, the proportion of respondents of European origin, with English as their first language, who report having experienced discrimination, is higher (25%) than the proportion of respondents of European origin with French as their first language (17%). The situation is even more problematic for visible minorities whose first language is English: 41% say they have experienced discrimination in the past five years (such as Anglo-Caribbeans). In Quebec, belonging to two categories (visible minority, English as first language) makes members of this double minority especially vulnerable. Moreover, even visible minorities with French as their first language (such as Haitians) experience discrimination (28%). Thus,

Perceived grounds of discrimination by first language of respondents in Quebec
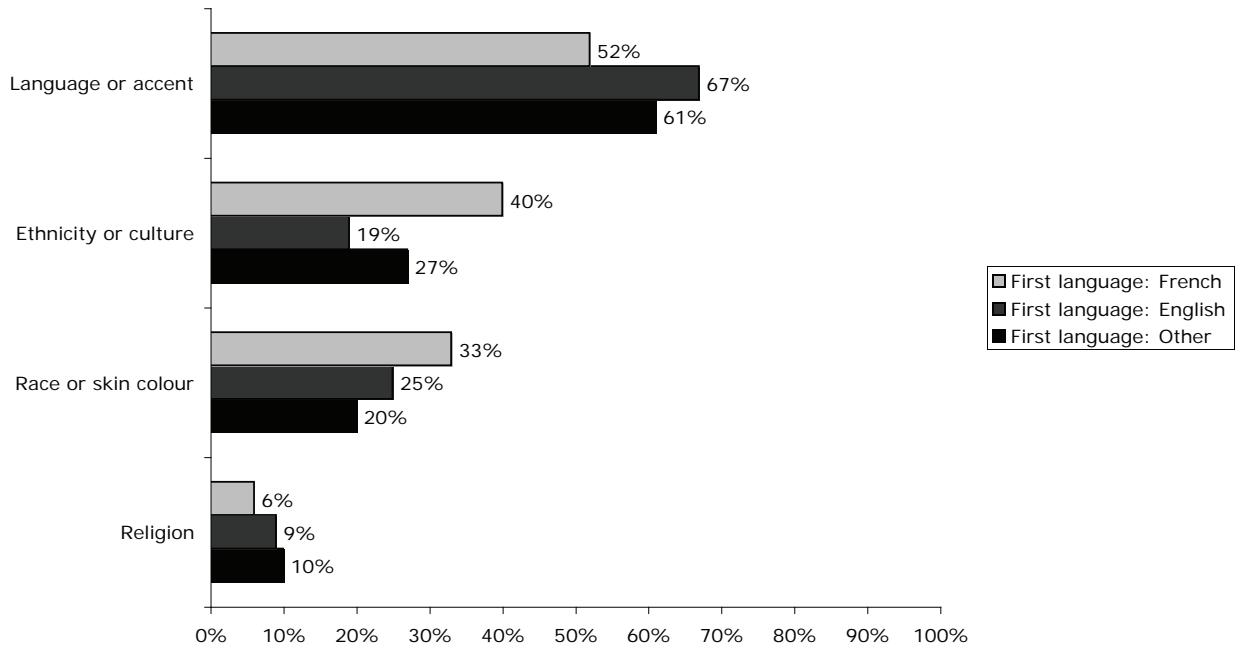
Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2003.

in Quebec, it seems that knowledge of French, even as a first language, is not enough to protect visible minorities against discrimination.

The results generally show that discrimination remains an especially significant problem for visible minorities in Quebec and the rest of Canada, a reality already documented in Canadian studies (Pendakur 2000; Vaillancourt, Lemay and Vaillancourt 2007).

4. What grounds of discrimination are mentioned most often by those who experience discrimination?

In the EDS survey (2003), respondents who said they had experienced discrimination were also asked to answer the following question: "In the past five years, for which reason do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly in Canada? Was it because of: 1) Your ethnicity or culture? 2) Your race or skin colour? 3) Your language or accent? 4) Your religion?"

The results obtained in Quebec and in the ROC,

based on the first language of the respondents, are respectively presented in Figures 3 and 4. Figure 3 shows that, throughout Quebec, people experience discrimination mainly because of their language and accent, especially Anglophones (67%), but also Francophones (61%). Allophones experience discrimination because of their language and accent (52%), ethnicity (40%) and race (33%). Note that few respondents mention religion as one of the grounds of the discrimination they experience. These results illustrate the fact that linguicism is the major source of discrimination, a finding that clearly attests to the prominence of linguistic tensions in Quebec (Bourhis 2008).

Figure 4 shows that, throughout the ROC, Anglophones (56%) and allophones (53%) mainly experience discrimination because of their race and skin colour. This is less true among Francophones (12%). On the other hand, again in the ROC, Francophones mainly experience discrimination because of their language and accent (68%), allophones (39%) and Anglophones (25%) to a lesser degree. Despite

Perceived grounds of discrimination by first language of respondents in the rest of Canada
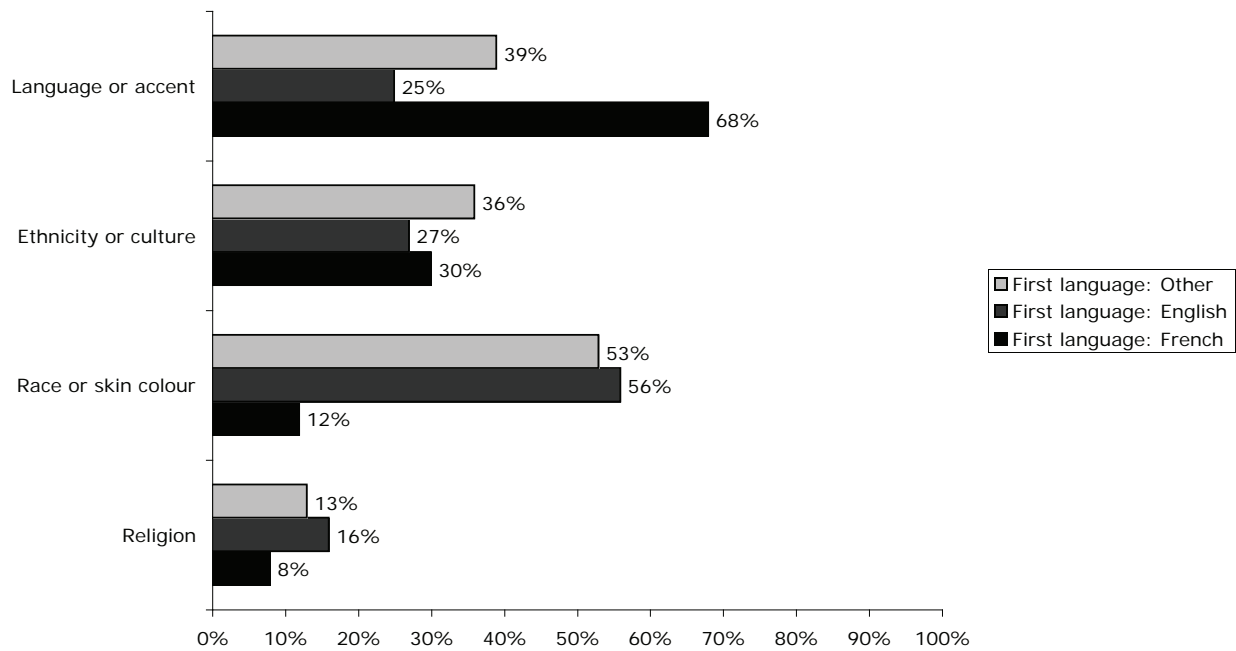
Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2003.

the passage of the Official Languages Act, and efforts by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages to improve institutional support for both Francophone minorities in the ROC and Anglophone minorities in Quebec, linguicism remains a fairly acute reality for both Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones outside Quebec.

Since more than one third of members of visible minorities say they experience discrimination, it is difficult for governments in power and citizens in general to ignore the problems of discrimination and linguicism, both in Quebec and in Canada. Moreover, these results show that linguicism is experienced mainly by Anglophone minorities in Quebec, by Francophone minorities outside Quebec, and by allophones both in Canada and Quebec. All data from the EDS survey and other ad hoc studies show the importance of taking action to fight prejudice and discrimination.

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Parallel Accommodation? Managing Diversity Within Montréal's English-Speaking Community

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Abstract: A large percentage of Quebec immigrants are English speakers. Inevitably, therefore, English-language institutions are involved in newcomer integration and, more broadly, in the management of diversity. Yet, Quebec debates on the accommodation of diversity often pay insufficient attention to Montréal's English-speaking population. This paper examines the place of English speakers in such debates. It is contended that more attention needs to be directed to the gap between discourse and practice in the accommodation of diversity in Montréal's English- and French-language institutions.

1. Introduction

Quebec debates on the accommodation of diversity often pay insufficient attention to Montréal's English-speaking population. In part, this is attributable to the idea that French-language institutions and the Francophone population are wholly responsible for the reception and integration of newcomers. In 1974, French was declared Quebec's official language and in 1977, legislation required that the vast majority of immigrant children attend French-language elementary and secondary schools. By virtue of this, immigrant integration is considered primarily the responsibility of the Francophone majority. In 1990, on the issue of immigrant integration, the Government of Quebec described one of its principal objectives as the harmonious integration of newcomers of all origins into the Francophone community. Nearly all Quebeckers recognize that knowledge of French is essential for full participation in Quebec society. The elements of immigrant integration into Quebec society have gone virtually unchanged over the past two decades. They are described in the Government of Quebec's 1990 policy statement on immigration and integration, which stipulates the following.

IN INTEGRATION

1. The development of French-language instruction services and promotion of the use of French among immigrants and Quebeckers from the cultural communities.

2. Increased support for an open host-society and for the full participation of immigrants and Quebeckers from the cultural communities in Québec's economic, social, cultural and institutional life.

3. Measures aimed at developing harmonious intergroup relations among Quebeckers of every origin. (MICC 1990, p. 19).

A large percentage of Quebec immigrants are English speakers. This reality means that English-language institutions are inevitably involved in newcomer integration and, more broadly, in the management of diversity. At some level, therefore, it only makes sense to include the institutional leaders of Montréal's English-speaking community in deliberations

TABLE 1: **Mother tongue English and French, 15 years of age or over, by generational status, Montréal, 2006**

Selected groups	Mother tongue English	Mother tongue French
Total population 15 years of age or over by generational status	254,420	775,655
1st generation	57,050	86,345
2nd generation	86,035	56,975
3rd generation or more	111,335	632,330

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2006.

over policy making with regard to diversity. The alternative is to generate policy that defers to local bodies when it comes to determining how best to accommodate religious and cultural differences. In other words, let English-language institutions determine which model best suits them when it comes to such matters. But that approach risks undercutting the possibility of a broad consensus on best practices in accommodation. Consequently, newcomers and their descendants may gravitate toward the sector they believe to be more accommodating (that is, outside of the primary and secondary schools where legislation directs them to French-language instruction).

Despite differences in the demographic composition of Montréal's mother tongue English- and French-language groups, there are similarities in the way diversity operates in the city's English- and French-language institutions. Nonetheless, opinion varies considerably between Anglophones and Francophones on the degree to which, and the circumstances under which, diversity should be accommodated

That which follows will briefly examine the place of English speakers in provincial debates on diversity. It will focus specifically on the views of the province's English speakers on the issues at the centre of the debate on reasonable accommodation. In February 2007, the Government of Quebec established a commission

to look into the reasonable accommodation of religious minorities—the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, commonly known as the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (see Maryse Potvin's paper in this issue). To satisfactorily treat the subject, a more detailed analysis is required. Our objective is limited to examining the demographics of diversity in Montréal's English-speaking community and to looking at differences in Quebec public opinion on the accommodation of diversity.

2. The demographics of diversity in Montréal's English-speaking community

Historically, the vitality of Quebec's English-speaking communities relied heavily on immigration. Although the vast majority of immigrant children attend French-language elementary and secondary schools, as observed below, immigrants and their descendants continue to represent a large share of Montréal's ethnically diverse English-speaking population.

As further observed, in 2006, on the Island of Montréal, some 17% of the mother tongue English population were born outside of Canada; another 13% were born elsewhere in Canada. This contrasts with Montréal's Francophone population where some 8.5% are foreign-born. The mother tongue of the vast majority of

TABLE 2: **Immigrants and non-immigrants born in or outside province of residence, by mother tongue English and French, Montréal, 2006**

Selected groups	Total – Mother tongue	Mother tongue English	Mother tongue French
Total population by immigrant status and place of birth	1,823,905	318 ,185	909,200
Non-immigrants	1,225,970	258,970	814,675
Born in province of residence	1,148,395	216,050	786,885
Born outside province of residence	77,575	42,920	27,785
Immigrants	560,390	53,645	85,690

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2006.

TABLE 3: **Immigrant population with mother tongue English, French, and English and French, by period of immigration to 2006, Montréal**

Period of immigration	Total	Mother tongue English	Mother tongue French	Mother tongue English and French
	560,390	53,645	85,690	3,140
Before 1961	55,810	7,255	4,980	330
1961 to 1970	60,900	9,535	9,615	325
1971 to 1980	70,195	10,100	12,420	375
1981 to 1990	91,085	8,520	12,630	590
1991 to 2000	145,715	11,175	22,400	925
1991 to 1995	74,595	6,135	10,145	520
1996 to 2000	71,120	5,035	12,255	410
2001 to 2006	136,675	7,060	23,640	595

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2006.

immigrants is neither English nor French. However, among immigrants whose mother tongue is English, French or both official languages, the two groups were at near parity in the 1960s. In the 1990s, French clearly outstripped English by two to one, and by over three to one between 2001 and 2006.

According to the 2001 census, while 40% of the larger non-Christian minorities in Quebec report that the language they speak most frequently in their homes is neither English nor French, a larger share of these religious minorities speak English most often in their homes as opposed to French. Clearly, many members of minority religious groups in Quebec secure services in English-language institutions, be they schools (at all levels), hospitals, social services or employment agencies. It should follow therefore that any debate about the accommodation of minorities in Quebec or about the issue of addressing cultural differences must involve the English-speaking population through its institutions and representative leadership, which has a long tradition of dealing with these issues. Multiple identities are an important defining

TABLE 4: Language spoken most often at home, by religious identification, Quebec, 2001

Selected religions	Total population by language	English	French	Non-official language
Selected religions – Total	7,125,575	700,890	5,862,120	421,475
Roman Catholic	5,930,380	314,180	5,375,015	162,465
No religion	400,320	72,120	275,685	41,530
United Church	52,950	46,110	4,520	1,260
Anglican	85,475	63,955	4,135	15,655
Non-Christians Total	272,660	84,920	54,245	108,300
Muslim	108,620	10,805	32,680	49,775
Jewish	89,915	63,575	13,130	10,160
Buddhist	41,375	2,560	7,650	27,850
Hindu	24,525	6,465	645	15,080
Sikh	8,225	1,515	140	5,435

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001.

characteristic of Montréal's English-speaking population because many people with English as either their mother tongue or their home language identify with various ethnic, religious or visible minority groups. Being an English-speaking Quebecker cannot be equated with belonging to a dominant ethnic group. Stated another way, the English language is not the means by which a particular expression of ethnicity becomes salient. The demographic diversity of Montréal's Anglophone community also results in substantial contact between those who report that their mother tongue is English and various ethnic and religious minorities. A May 2009 survey conducted by Leger Marketing reveals that some two thirds of Anglophone and Francophone Montrealers report frequent contact with immigrants. When it comes to ethnic and religious minorities, as observed below, Anglophones reported considerable contact with Jews, Italians and Greeks. For their part, Francophones reported the most contact with people of Italian origin, but nonetheless reported less contact than Anglophones with this group. Francophones report more contact with

Muslims than Anglophones do, but considerably less contact with Jews.

3. English and French opinion on reasonable accommodation

Prior to and during the Bouchard-Taylor Commission hearings on reasonable accommodation, there was much discussion about the identity crisis ("malaise identitaire") faced by the province's majority Francophone population. In the Commission's consultation document, a possible explanation offered for the opposition of many Quebeckers of French-Canadian origin to reasonably accommodating certain minority religious practices was that it represented the protest of a four-century-old founding people worried about the preservation of its heritage. The consultative document's preferred explanation for the adverse reaction to accommodation was that Quebec's Francophone majority also sees itself as a fragile minority within North America.

The Bouchard-Taylor report may give the

Mother tongue English and French reporting that they "often" have contact with immigrants and selected ethnic and religious groups, by percentage, Montréal, 2009

Selected groups	Mother tongue French	Mother tongue English
Immigrants	66.3	66.0
Jews	20.7	60.4
Muslims	37.8	26.9
Greeks	22.0	41.5
Italians	48.8	62.3
Chinese	26.5	34.0
South Asian	26.8	35.8

Source: Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies, May 12, 2009.

impression that Quebec's English-speaking institutions are a model in addressing the challenges that arise from the evolving population diversity. Little attention is paid to the issue of diversity management and inclusion with English-language institutions, so it is difficult to assess the degree of inequity that exists on the basis of, for example, visible minority status. It has been widely documented that historically, those institutions that operated primarily in English have not always been accommodating. Prior to the 1960s, publicly supported educational, health and social service institutions were organized along confessional lines and in general, Protestants and Catholics sought services on the basis of their religious identification. "Others" were required to adapt (Jews were considered Protestants for education purposes) or set up parallel services that did not benefit from similar levels of public support. Obviously, since that time, the situation has evolved considerably. Language has largely replaced religion as the defining aspect of public institutional life. The province's largest English-language regional school board, the English Montreal School Board (EMSB), has recently described its approach to accommodating diversity as follows:

The EMSB welcomes and respects the ethnic and cultural diversity of its student population.... A "Glossary of Key Terms" in the area of Multicultural Education has been developed and distributed to schools to familiarize administrators, teachers and staff in general with terms such as anti-racist education and heritage languages. A revised 1999 edition of the international calendar, containing the dates of religious and national holidays worldwide, was also prepared and distributed to all schools (see Quebec Community Groups Network 2008).

Most contemporary observers believe that Montréal's English-speaking community and its institutions are "accommodationist" in their philosophy and practice. As we shall observe, public opinion surveys support that view. Still, we know relatively little about how ethnic and visible minorities fare within English-language institutions. What we do know is that the group that collectively defines itself as English-speaking does not tend to say that it suffers from an identity crisis. Rather, leaders of the English-speaking community contend that they lack recognition for their contribution to Quebec society.

Surveys conducted before the 2007

Combined percentages who strongly and somewhat agree with selected statements on accommodation of diversity, by mother tongue French and English, Quebec, 2009

Strongly and somewhat agree that ...	Mother tongue French	Mother tongue English
Quebec immigrants must give up their customs and traditions and become more like the majority of Quebeckers	58	32
Quebec society should try harder to accept minority group customs and traditions	19	64
Muslim girls should be allowed to wear the hijab in public schools	32	63
Muslim women should be allowed to wear the hijab (the veil covering the hair but not the face) in public	64	85

Source: Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies, May 12, 2009.

Bouchard-Taylor Commission revealed that the mother tongue English population supports a fair degree of openness to diverse cultural and religious practices. Indeed, there are important differences in opinion between Anglophones and Francophones when it comes to issues of accommodation of religious diversity. In 2007, some 75% of Anglophones felt that Quebec society should be more welcoming toward immigrants compared with 53% of Francophones (Leger Marketing 2007).

In the aftermath of the Commission hearings, the differences in opinion between Anglophones and Francophones persisted. The gaps are illustrated in the responses to questions cited in the table below.

Anglophones are much more likely than Francophones to think that Quebec society should try harder to accept minority group customs and traditions, more likely to think that the province should be more welcoming to immigrants, and more likely to support the wearing of the hijab by Muslim women.

4. Accommodating models of diversity

One keen analyst who has worked in both the federal multiculturalism program and the Quebec Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigration and cultural communities] believes that the differences between multicultural and intercultural policies are more semantic than real. Amy Nugent (2006) contends the following:

> Popular discourse and much academic analysis seem to take their cue from the adoption of the word interculturalism itself, suggesting a different approach to that of multiculturalism, suggesting cohesion and integration over fragmentation and atomization. The policies and their broad aims do not reveal this difference. Rather, it is evident that the policies are very similar in their origins, aims, and evolution. Each policy is limited by individual fundamental rights and freedoms as guaranteed in bills of rights and by the jurisdiction's respective language laws ...

When surveyed by Leger Marketing in August 2007 on preferred models for managing cultural diversity, the largest plurality of Quebec's English

TABLE 7: **Responses to survey question "Acknowledging that French is the official language of Quebec, which of the following three models of cultural diversity best suits Quebec society in your opinion?" by percentage**

Model of diversity	Mother tongue French	Mother tongue English
Multiculturalism - If they so choose, minorities maintain their own customs and traditions	28.8	44.9
Melting pot model - Encourage fusion of various cultures to form a new national community	46.5	40.6
Civic model - Minorities are discouraged from forming communities and urged to abandon their cultural practices	21.2	14.5
Do not know / Refuse to answer	3.5	–

Source: Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies, August 28, 2007.

respondents opted for what was described as a multicultural model. However, a significant percentage also favours what is referred to below as the melting pot. Differences between the two models may not be as important as one might think and thus, reactions may simply reflect the extent to which the terms positively or negatively resonate with respondents. Whatever their respective understanding of the concepts of multiculturalism and the melting pot, as revealed in Table 7, Anglophones and Francophones differ on the preservation of minority ethnic and religious customs and traditions.

5. Conclusion

The Quebec government is legitimately concerned about the preservation of the French language. It therefore attempts to direct newcomers to French-language institutions for purposes of integration. Still, a minority of the province's immigrants are English-speaking and, notwithstanding the requirement for children to attend school in French, they will often gravitate toward English-language institutions. Much of the integration process they undergo will involve securing services that are publicly funded. Yet, it is unclear whether the institutions through which they become more familiar with

Quebec are equipped to provide them with the language knowledge they need to fully participate in Quebec society. Some observers will undoubtedly insist that this larger process of adaptation should not be part of the mandate of English-language institutions and yet, for many English-speaking newcomers, it may be best to equip those institutions with the capacity to assist them in French-language acquisition and encourage intercultural exchange with French speakers. The alternative for these immigrants may be no such contact with the language or culture of the majority and an eventual exit from the province. Not including Anglophones and their institutions in the process of managing diversity risks leaving out many Quebeckers who identify with ethnic, racial and religious minorities. Despite the differences of opinion on accommodation that have been cited above, there may not be substantial divergence in the practice of accommodating diversity between Montréal's English- and French-language institutions. Researchers should direct greater attention at the gap between discourse and practice in the accommodation of diversity in Montréal's English- and French-language institutions.

About the Author

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Montréal: A Multicultural City: Overview of Research on Ethnic Concentration

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Abstract: This article presents an overview of recent studies on the distribution of immigrants and minority groups in Montréal. Conducted by "Housing and Neighbourhoods" researchers with the Quebec Metropolis Centre, Immigration et Métropoles (QMC-IM), the studies raise a number of questions regarding the multicultural nature of the city and changes in urban disparity.

The issue of the distribution of immigrants and ethnic minorities in urban areas has recently returned to the fore in Quebec. In the wake of debate over the accommodation of cultural differences, some of the questions raised by the Bouchard/Taylor Commission concerned the "ghettoization" of Montréal. Those questions seem to be rooted in fears that were often voiced during the Commission's hearing consultations, among them fear of geographical and other divisions undermining the unity and solidarity of Quebec society. The Commission's report states several times that these fears are largely based on the widespread notion that the Montréal area is subject to extensive compartmentalization (Consultation Commission 2008, p. 205). Pointing to the results of comprehensive studies, the commissioners are quick to point out that that representation is inaccurate. They note also that the studies cited are "incomplete" since social relations are rarely confined to one part of the city. Ethnic concentration, therefore, does not always go hand in hand with the exclusion or isolation of minority groups. The observation is not new. It has been made before in many contexts and for many groups. It clearly illustrates the complexity of the relationship between the different aspects of social life as seen throughout the city or in individual neighbourhoods.

Another event made the issue of the distribution of ethnic minorities in the city front and centre. The August 2008 riots that erupted in Montréal North after police shot and killed a young man cast a spotlight on a neighbourhood rife with poverty and tension between youths and law enforcement officers. There was still night-time unrest in the area in June 2009. These events heightened the public's unease. They also raised questions about the concentration of certain ethnic minorities in the city, as part of the area is partly Haitian and Latin American. Comments made by editorial writers and bloggers often went too far, causing the neighbourhood and its residents to be stigmatized. Very few observers looked at the big picture and saw that urban disparity is as much a social problem as it is an ethnic one, if not more. The social dynamic in a given neighbourhood is not determined by the presence of one or more minority groups alone. On the contrary, it is often influenced by the socio-economic standing of the people who live there. It is wise to keep these factors in mind when examining the issue of the concentration and dispersal of ethnic groups in an urban setting.

It then becomes important for researchers to consider these factors in order to clarify the theory and the methodology. Terms and their definitions are key to any examination of the segregation and concentration of minority groups in a city, and the way the phenomenon is measured is also very important.

Proper use of basic notions

Inaccurate use of certain notions can be dangerous. The ultimate effect is to nourish, often inadvertently, the prejudice and discomfort felt by the majority. This is true of the word "ghetto" and the more recent term "ghettoization." What is a ghetto? What social reality does it encompass? How can the term be defined? The first answer to these questions might be that the term was first used some 500 years ago in Italy to denote the Jewish area of a city, and it is probably reasonable to think that such areas existed before the word was coined (Wirth 1980). So much for the history of the word! A second answer might entail consideration of modern use of the term. The term "ghetto" is closely associated with the notion of segregation, that is, the isolation of a portion of the population, often a minority, by the majority. Over time, three criteria have emerged as determining whether a particular area is a ghetto: 1) there must be a high concentration of an ethnic group in the area; 2) the concentration of that group must be involuntary (that is, the product of specific legal provisions or of discrimination); and 3) the group in question must be socially disadvantaged. Research consistently finds that these three conditions never seem to be met in Canadian cities. Studies conducted in Montréal are no exception. There are no large urban areas in Montréal that fit the definition of "ghetto," and there is nothing to suggest that that is going to change.

The notion of segregation is equally problematic. It in fact covers two scenarios. First, it refers to situations where an ethnic group is concentrated in a city because the group is discriminated against and isolated by the majority (Grafmeyer 1994). This is in line with the traditional and more accurate definition of the term. It is associated with a specific model of interpretation of the trajectory of immigrant and minority populations in urban areas. The model based on the assimilation of immigrants and minority groups theorizes that they will tend to disperse as they integrate into the dominant society. It is the "melting pot" model in which residential mobility goes hand in hand with upward social mobility.

The term "segregation" is then used to designate situations in which groups are willingly concentrated in a particular area. In those cases, the principle is more one of concentration or voluntary congregation than segregation. This second reading of residential segregation is tied in with the pluralist model, which is based on a vision of society where the socio-economic and political integration of all is desirable but is not automatically linked to the physical dispersal of ethnic groups and is not an impediment to equal opportunity. Ethnic groups are therefore not always concentrated in a particular area against their will. However, those groups also have to maintain neighbourhood-wide social links and cultural activities. Such situations were first observed in the 1960s in American cities, but again, it is quite likely that they existed long before that (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). In many cases, the groups in question have successfully integrated into the host society. What was once a ghetto is then considered an enclave, even though the notion of enclave also raises questions because it implies that the people who live in an enclave do not share the standards and values of the dominant society.

These two models are not exclusive. It is even quite likely that the two situations they describe co-exist in a given city. That co-existence also highlights the fact that one of the foundations of ethnic concentration and of its interpretation lies in the residential options available to households based on their socio-economic standing and other factors, such as ethnic origin, family make-up and the state of the housing market at a given point in time. The two models also provide a greater understanding of the normative quality often associated with ethnic concentration. It is perceived by some observers as an evil that has to

be eradicated and by others as a necessary step in the integration of newcomers into a host society. Recent studies in Montréal have tried to avoid that normative trap by focusing on investigation that fosters a description and interpretation of the phenomenon that recognize the complexity of ethnic concentration.

Measuring and describing ethnic concentration

The choices researchers make in order to measure ethnic concentration are crucial because they have a significant bearing on their findings. Montréal has thus come to be described as a city where ethnic concentration is higher than in Toronto or Vancouver. However, that conclusion is based on the use of a limited number of segregation indicators—the most commonly used research method. But the indicators do not take account, if any, of the size of the population groups. It is true that some minority groups— Jews, for example—are highly concentrated in specific areas, but it must be made clear that they also live in areas where 90% of their neighbours are members of a different group. Briefly stated, Jews are at once highly concentrated and very exposed to diversity in Montréal. They are not an exception. In Montréal, most minority groups share their neighbourhoods with an ethnically diverse population. That is the main reason why it is superfluous to speak of ghettos and ghettoization in Montréal in examining the issue of ethnic concentration.

A more accurate method is to include different aspects of residential segregation in measuring concentration (Apparicio, Leloup and Rivet 2006; Apparicio, Leloup and Rivet 2007). One study took that approach based on the five aspects

TABLE 1: **Definition of the five dimensions**

Dimension	Definition
Evenness	Evenness refers to the distribution of one or more population groups among the areal units of a city (census areas, for example). Evenness indices measure the over- or underrepresentation of a group in the areal units of a city: the more unevenly a group is distributed over the unit, the more it is segregated.
Exposure	Exposure refers to the degree of potential contact between the members of the same group (intragroup) or between the members of two groups (intergroup) in an areal unit. It measures the probability of a group member meeting a member of his or her group (isolation) or a member of another group (interaction) in his or her areal unit.
Concentration	Concentration refers to the actual physical space occupied by a group. The smaller the proportion of the city a group occupies, the more the group is concentrated.
Clustering	The more a group occupies contiguous areas of a city, thereby forming an enclave in a city, the more segregated it is in terms of clustering.
Centralization	Centralization indices measure the distance between the group and the centre of the urban area, which is normally defined as the business centre and surrounding area. The closer a group is to downtown, the more centralized and segregated it is.

Source: Massey and Denton. 1988.

of residential segregation identified by two American authors (Massey and Denton 1988). The five aspects are listed and defined in Table 1. The researchers then calculated for each dimension a number of segregation indicators applicable to the immigrant population, which itself was described on the basis of variables available in the census: region of birth, country of birth, mother tongue, time of immigration, ethnic background, visible minority status and religion. The overall exercise generated a large body of data, namely segregation indicators for each sub-group of the eight variables. To summarize the information, the researchers produced an ascending classification, the purpose of which was to relate groups of immigrants based on their segregation profile. Figure 1 lists the 12 classes identified using this statistical technique and shows that very different populations share the same segregation profile. Class 6 is a good example of the phenomenon. It includes a number of characteristics associated with populations from South and Southeast Asia, as well as immigrants born in Greece and Jamaica. These groups share a segregation profile which indicates that they are unevenly distributed and relatively concentrated in the city. However, they are neither isolated nor congregated and live far from the downtown core; this information is deduced from the table in the lower right corner of the figure. These classes do not all present this population heterogeneity, nor do they all have the same segregation profile. Class 1, for example, appears to be far more homogeneous than Class 6 in terms of groups.

Many conclusions can be drawn from this study. We will focus here on the multicultural nature of Montréal. Earlier results highlight a specific model of integration of immigrants into the city. It was defined by previous studies as an integration model based on "segmentation": different waves of immigrants settled in the city in different ways and in different areas that put them in closer contact with one of the two majority groups: Anglophones and Francophones

(Germain 1997). The affinity was often based on language, culture and religion. What is new is that it is far more likely to occur today in areas where the community is made up of descendants of past immigrants as well as recent immigrants. This observation is confirmed by a longitudinal study of the residential path of immigrants who arrived in the late 1980s (Zhu and Leloup 2007). Their mobility can be described as a series of moves that, in most cases, ended in neighbourhoods where there are other groups of longer-standing immigrants and members of their own group.

This residential dynamic does not, however, create ghettos or enclaves in Montréal. The application of other analysis techniques is useful in testing the hypothesis. Those techniques were recently developed by geographers (Poulsen, Johnston and Forrest 2001). Their purpose is to identify different types of neighbourhoods based on ethnocultural make-up. Table 2 shows the classification used in a 2001 comparative study of Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver (Leloup 2007; Leloup 2008). The classification has been enhanced by differentiating within each category between advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhoods. A neighbourhood is considered to be disadvantaged if at least 40% of households live below the low income cut-off determined by Statistics Canada. Figure 2 is a map showing the results of the classification for Montréal. There are relatively few polarized or mixed neighbourhoods in Montréal compared with the other two cities. The map also shows that most neighbourhoods in which there is diversity are still on Montréal Island because the dispersal of immigrants and minority groups has by and large not yet reached the suburbs. What the map does not show is the possible relationship between the concentration of certain groups in the city and social disadvantage. Generally, Montréal appears to be a city in which the proportion of low-income households and the number of disadvantaged neighbourhoods are much higher than in other parts of the country. Table 3 reflects that perception. It shows the relative proportion of

the population living in a neighbourhood where at least 40% of households are below the low income cut-off. In the population as a whole, this proportion is three times higher in Montréal than in Toronto and Vancouver. It is also interesting to note that the gap between the total population and visible minorities is greatest in Montréal. Otherwise stated, visible minorities are more likely to live in a disadvantaged neighbourhood than the rest of the population, irrespective of their standing relative to the low income cut-off.

Research outlook

The studies discussed confirm a series of trends witnessed in the past: ghettos do not form in Montréal; immigrants are still concentrated primarily on the island; and their integration into the city takes different paths. Beyond these oft-repeated findings, these studies identify recent changes. The ethnic make-up of Montréal has grown more complex in the past decade because of high immigration levels. That complexity is also evident in the geographical distribution of immigrants. The neighbourhoods in which newcomers settle are growing more diverse and no longer correspond with previous transition areas; new immigrants are gradually moving into more homogeneous areas and suburbs. This means that newcomers can end up in areas where the host population is dominated by one of the two majority groups or long-standing immigrants. This could explain in part the unease voiced in debates over reasonable accommodation as a growing proportion of the population that once had little exposure to ethnocultural diversity comes into contact with newcomers. This should be a focal point for Domain 6 researchers with the Quebec Metropolis Centre in the coming years.

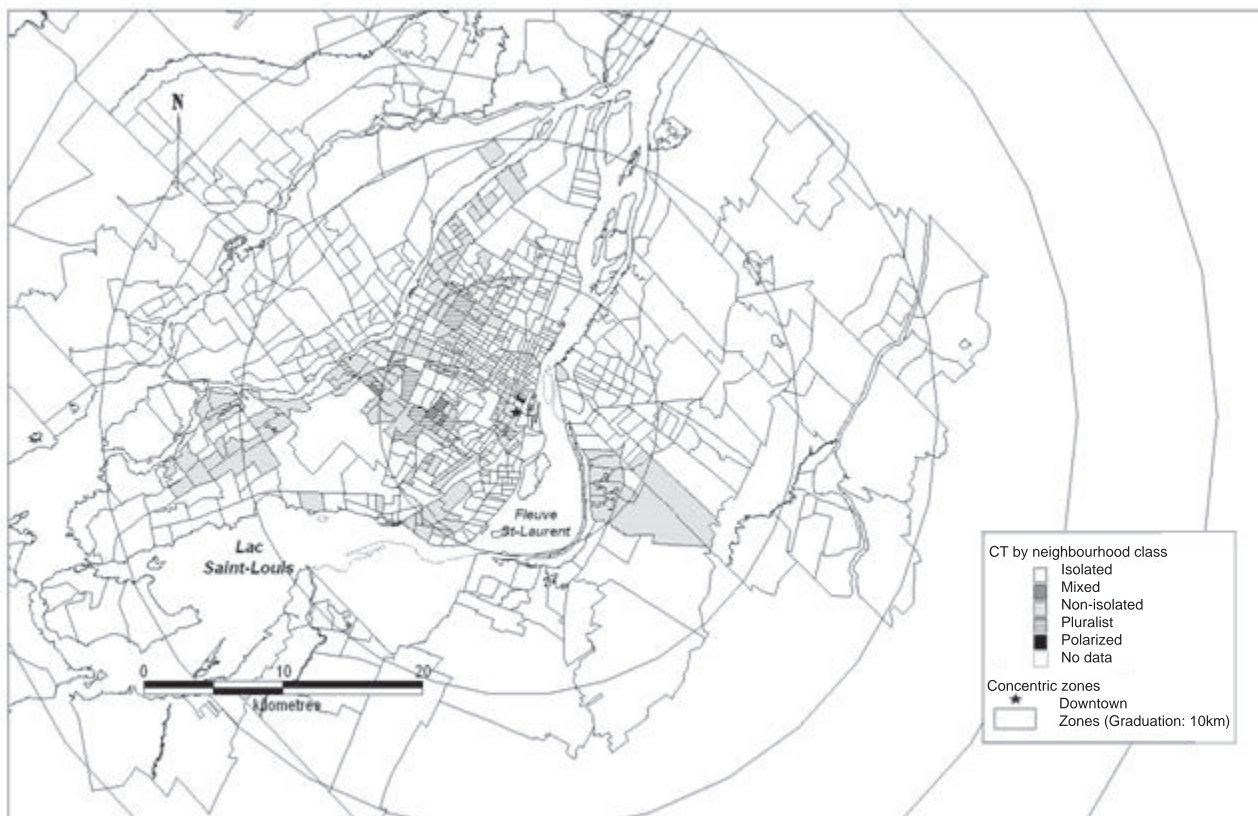FIGURE 2: **Dendrogram of classification of immigrants**

TABLE 2. Classification of neighbourhoods by ethnic composition

Type	Abbreviation	Definition
Isolated host community	Isolated	<20% visible minorities in neighbourhood (CT*)
Non-isolated host community	Non-isolated	20% to 50% visible minorities
Pluralist enclave	Pluralist	50% to 70% visible minorities
Mixed minority neighbourhood	Mixed	>70% visible minorities with no dominant group
Polarized minority neighbourhood	Polarized	>70% visible minorities with one dominant group (>60% of all visible minorities from one group)
Ghetto	Ghetto	Similar to polarized minority neighbourhood but with one added criterion: 30% of total population comprising the dominant group live in neighbourhoods of this type

Source: Adapted from Poulsen, Johnston and Forrest (2001 and Walks and Bourne 2006.
*Census Tract.

These studies also raise issues of urban disparity. There may be valid grounds for rejecting the notion of ghettos in relation to ethnic concentration in Montréal, but it must also be acknowledged that the city is characterized by a high rate of poverty and that poverty is not evenly distributed across the city. Visible minorities are also overrepresented in residential areas that are economically and socially disadvantaged. In that respect, researchers are faced with the same dilemma biologists were a decade and a half ago regarding the issue of racism. French geneticist Albert Jacquard was astonished at the time that racism could persist when biology had disproved the notion of race based on the exploration of the human genome. Racism is primarily a social phenomenon, with no basis in biology. The same is true to some respect with the notion of ghettos. Ghettos do not officially exist from a geographical standpoint, but they can develop as a social structure, a place where marginalized individuals are sheltered from stigmatization, even though they know that exclusion and disparity are part of the package. Such processes can occur on a smaller scale in an urban setting, such as in a social housing complex (Leloup and Germain 2008). The next question awaiting researchers, a question that probably needs to be addressed immediately bearing in mind recent events in Montréal North, is this: Montréal may be a multicultural city, but is it a fair one?

About the Authors

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	Montréal	Toronto	Vancouver
% households (total population)	19	6	5
% low-income households (total population)	35	14	11
% visible minority households	42	10	6
% low-income visible minority households	54	19	10

interactive atlas: http://atlasim2001.inrs-ucs.uquebec.ca/).

Xavier Leloup is a sociologist and professor and researcher with the Institut national de la recherche scientifique (INRS) Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société in Montréal. He teaches in the INRS's urban studies program. Housing and habitat issues are his primary interest. He recently conducted studies of the spatial distribution of immigrants and visible minorities, housing conditions among immigrants, social housing, and design features that attract families with children to high-density urban areas. He co-edited, with Martha Radice, Les nouveaux territoires de l'ethnicité, published in 2008 by Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

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RIGHT
FIGURE 1: **Dendogran of classification of immigrants**

Class 1
North America [RB]
United States [CB]
French [MT]
Western Europe [RB]
France [CB]
French [EO]

Class 2
Northern Europe [RB]
United Kingdom [CB]
English [EO]
German [MT]
German [EO]

Classe 3
All immigrants
Non-official languages [MT]

Class 4
1991–2001 [PI]
All visible minorities [VM]
Roman Catholic [RA]

Class 5
Jewish [RA]

Class 6
South Asia [RB]
South Asian [VM]
Philippines [CB]
Philippine [VM]
Philippine [EO]
Greece [CB]
Greek [MT]
Greek [EO]
India [CB]
Indian [EO]
Hindu [RA]
Jamaica [CB]
Sikh [RA]

Class 7
Southern Europe [RB]
Italian [MT]
Italy [CB]
Italian [EO]
1991–1995 [PI]
North Africa [RB]
Southeast Asia [RB]
Caribbean and Bermuda [RB]
Black [VM]
Creole languages [MT]
Haiti [CB]
Haitian [EO]
Orthodox Christian [(RA)]

Class 8
English [MT]
Northern and southern Europe [RB]
Before 1971 [PI]
1981-1990 [PI]
1971-1980 [PI]
Other Christian denominations [RA]

Class 9
Egypt [CB]
Poland [CB]
Polish [MT]
Polish [EO]
Portuguese [MT]
Portuguese [CB]
Spanish [MT]
Central and South America [RB]
South America [RB]
Central America [RB]
Latin American [VM]
Rest of Africa [RB]
Southeast Asian [VM]
Buddhist [RA]

Class 10
Vietnamese [MT]
Vietnam [CB]
Morocco [CB]
Russian [MT]
Russian [EO]

Class 11
Western Asia [VM]
Chinese languages [MT]
Eastern Asia [RB]
China and dependencies and Taiwan [RB]
People's Republic of China [CB]
Chinese [VM]
Chinese [EO]

Class 12
Western and Central Asia and Middle East [RB]
Lebanon [CB]
Lebanese [EO]
1996–2001 [PI]
Eastern Europe [RB]
Arabic [MT]
Arab [VM]
Muslim [RA]
No religion [RA]

[RA] Religious affiliation
[MT] Mother tongue
[VM] Visible minority
[EO] Ethnic origin
[PI] Period of immigration
[CB] Country of birth
[RB] Region of birth

Centres of Gravity

Dimension	Evenness		Exposure		Concentration		Clustering		Centralization	
Class	IS	G	xPx	Eta²	DEL	ACO	ACL	DPxx	PCC	ACE
1	0,257	0,351	0,018	0,006	0,630	0,895	0,004	0,016	0,018	0,716
2	0,448	0,573	0,009	0,006	0,653	0,885	0,002	0,007	0,019	0,622
3	0,409	0,544	0,268	0,131	0,759	0,948	0,084	0,225	0,011	0,803
4	0,376	0,512	0,145	0,073	0,757	0,949	0,042	0,118	0,010	0,810
5	0,760	0,871	0,094	0,086	0,885	0,983	0,034	0,028	0,026	0,875
6	0,635	0,789	0,047	0,041	0,839	0,977	0,011	0,012	0,006	0,828
7	0,472	0,618	0,056	0,039	0,777	0,963	0,021	0,034	0,004	0,801
8	0,374	0,492	0,055	0,025	0,731	0,939	0,014	0,044	0,013	0,760
9	0,407	0,538	0,017	0,010	0,759	0,956	0,005	0,012	0,006	0,800
10	0,505	0,665	0,015	0,011	0,824	0,979	0,005	0,010	0,008	0,879
11	0,486	0,628	0,026	0,018	0,799	0,967	0,004	0,015	0,030	0,842
12	0,461	0,615	0,050	0,034	0,796	0,971	0,015	0,034	0,018	0,822
All	0,463	0,601	0,046	0,029	0,769	0,954	0,014	0,029	0,012	0,797

Classification determined by ascending hierarchical classification
using Euclidian metrics and the Ward cluster criterion (1969).
Processing and calculation done by authors.

Our diverse cities   179

The Residential Situation of Recent Immigrants to Quebec: An Overview

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Abstract: This article describes the residential situation of recent immigrants to Quebec based on the concept of a household defined as a private occupied dwelling. The situation of immigrant households is compared with non-immigrant households according to a wide range of variables.

1 – Socio-economic portrait of recent immigrant households

Significant increase in immigrant households over the past few years in Quebec

Although it is interesting to know the development of the immigrant population with respect to housing, it is preferable to analyse the issue with respect to households, assuming that a private occupied dwelling equals a household. In this respect, we noticed that from 2001 to 2006, the number of immigrant households[1] in Quebec increased more quickly than the number of non-immigrant households. Specifically, there were about 340,200 immigrant households in 2001, and almost 407,500 in 2006 (+20%), but the number of non-immigrant households only increased by 5%, rising from 2.62 million to 2.76 million during the same period. Moreover, about 68,400 of the 407,500 immigrant households in Quebec in 2006 (17%) had recently immigrated.

There are more couples with children in immigrant households that have recently arrived in Quebec

Immigrant households in Quebec, regardless of when they arrived, more often consist of traditional families—couples with children—than non-immigrant households. 27% of non-immigrant households consist of couples with children, compared with 30% of households whose members immigrated before 1986 and 44% of recent immigrant households. Consequently, immigrant households are less often composed of single persons and childless couples than other Quebec households. In fact, 27% and 32% of Quebec households are childless couples and single persons, respectively, compared with 17% and 23% of newcomers. Immigrant households that arrived after 2000 also make up a larger proportion of households that are [translation] "not families of two or more people," that is, cotenants, than other immigrant or non-immigrant households. In 93% of cases, recent immigrants are tenants who probably live together to share rental costs (but it should be noted that the concept of a family household is very restrictive). Finally, households that immigrated after 2000 are less often composed of single-parent families than other households.

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1   For a household to be considered an immigrant household, the principal income earner in the household, that is, the person who contributes the most to the rent, must be an immigrant.

Recent immigrants are young households

In Quebec, a little over 45% of recent immigrant households have a principal income earner under the age of 35, compared with 18.5% of non-immigrant households. This significant proportion of young people is linked to the fact that the economic immigration class has predominated in Quebec over the past few years. Moreover, in only 1.7% of cases, the principal income earner in recent immigrant households is aged 65 years or older. These households are most likely composed of seniors who want to be closer to family members who have already settled in Quebec, In non-immigrant households, a little over one out of five households (21%) is aged 65 years or older.

Predominant regions of origin of newcomers differ from those of households that immigrated before 1986

The predominant regions of origin of Quebec immigrants who have stayed in Quebec differ depending on when they immigrated. Recent immigrants are now more likely to be from the Maghreb or the Middle East, while Europeans occupy second place (they are first among other immigrant households). Newcomers from Europe are from different regions than the Europeans who immigrated to Quebec years ago. For example, 50% of the immigrant households from Europe that arrived in Quebec before 1986 were from Southern Europe and 14% were from Eastern Europe. But the complete opposite is true for European immigrants who arrived after 2000: less than 3% come from Southern Europe and almost 55% from Eastern Europe. Asia is now the third most significant region of origin for recent immigrants (fourth in the case of immigrants who arrived in Quebec before 1986), and there are more immigrant households from East Asia that arrived after 2000 than those from Southeast Asia. Moreover, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa rank fourth and fifth, respectively, on the list of regions of origin of recent immigrant households in Quebec (they are in sixth and seventh position in the case of households that immigrated before 1986). The regions of origin for other recent immigrants to Quebec are, in order of importance, the Caribbean, the United States and Oceania; while in the case of households that immigrated before 1986, the Caribbean and the United States were in third and fifth position, respectively.

Women are less likely to be the principal income earners in recent immigrant households

41.8% of non-immigrant households in Quebec have a woman as the principal income earner. In immigrant households, this rate decreases to 35% and drops to an even lower 30% in households that immigrated after 2000. In tenant households that immigrated before 1986, half have a woman as the principal income earner, while that proportion is lower among households that recently immigrated to Quebec (31%).

Income is lower in households that immigrated to Quebec after 2000

The longer immigrant households have been in Quebec, the better their financial situation becomes. Proportionally, more households that immigrated before 1986 have an income over $100,000/year (16.5%) than non-immigrant households in the same situation (14%). However, barely 4% of recent immigrants have that level of income. Moreover, while 17% of non-immigrant households have an income under $20,000/year, that is the case for almost 40% of households that have recently immigrated. That proportion is just under 20% in households that immigrated before 1986. Also, about one third of all immigrants (35%) and non-immigrants (33%) in tenant households have an income under $20,000/year, compared with 44% of tenants who have recently immigrated.

2 – Recent immigrant households and housing

Low rate of home ownership among recent immigrants

Overall, almost 62% of non-immigrant households in Quebec are homeowners. That proportion falls to just over half (51%) among immigrant households in Quebec. However, the rate of ownership in these households increases with the number of years they live in Quebec. While only 16% of recent immigrant households own their own home, this rate increases to 41% for households that immigrated between 1986 and 2000, and it reaches almost 68% when they have been living in Quebec for over 20 years. People in this last group are largely part of a wave of immigration from Southern Europe, and the majority of them (78%) own their own homes.

Recent immigrants are poorer and spend a significant portion of their income on housing

Compared with non-immigrant households, a larger proportion of immigrant households are living under the low income cutoff and spend 30% or more of their income on housing. This ratio indicates that the poorest households spend a relatively large portion of their income on housing. Immigrants or not, this situation affects tenants more often than homeowners; but whether they own or rent their dwelling, immigrant households are more often in this situation than other Quebec households. This is even more apparent in households that have recently immigrated: almost 50% of recent immigrant tenants living under the low income cutoff (60% of households that immigrated after 2000 are in this situation) spend 30% or more of their income on housing, compared with 32% of those who immigrated after 1986. As for non-immigrant tenant households, 27% of them are in this situation.

Crowding is more common among recent immigrants

For the purpose of this article, a dwelling is considered crowded when there is more than one person per room. In general, crowding is something that only marginally affects non-immigrant households throughout Quebec, with the exception of Northern Quebec: only 0.3% of homeowners and 0.7% tenants are affected by crowding. The situation is quite different for immigrant households, who are more likely to live in crowded conditions when they are renting or have just arrived in Quebec. In fact, 1.7% of all immigrant households live in crowded dwellings, compared with 8.1% in rental housing; in the case of recent immigrants, these rates increase to 2.9% and 10.4%, respectively. The rate of crowding among recent immigrants is even higher elsewhere in Canada than in Quebec, particularly among tenants.

Recent immigrants are more mobile than other households

Quebec households, immigrant or not, move more often when they are renting. Moreover, among tenants, there is little difference between the number of non-immigrant households that have moved over the past five years (almost 56%) and the proportion of immigrant households (about 58%). However, whether they own or rent their homes, households that immigrated to Quebec before 1986 move proportionately less often than non-immigrant households in Quebec. The more recently the households have immigrated, the higher their mobility, which is normal given that in the months following their arrival, recent immigrants may have to live in several places before finding one that meets their needs. Of the immigrant households that have lived in Quebec for a longer period and moved in 2006, 75% stated that they moved within the same administrative region, similar to non-immigrant households. However, among

households that moved to another administrative region, a little over a quarter of non-immigrant households and a little over 60% of immigrant households moved to the Montréal administrative region, which is still a magnet for immigrants.

Most immigrants live in Montréal

In Quebec, 20% of non-immigrant households live in the Montréal administrative region, i.e. the Island of Montréal. In contrast, almost 70% of all immigrant households in Quebec live in that area. This difference is seen in both homeowners and tenants. Moreover, there is no significant difference between households that immigrated to Quebec many years ago and recent immigrants: the majority of them live on the Island of Montréal, particularly if they are renting a dwelling. By broadening the concept to Montréal's surrounding areas—specifically Laval, Montérégie, Lanaudière and the Laurentians—we see that nine out of ten immigrant households have chosen to live in those areas, whether they own (90%) or rent (92%) their home. Once again, there is no significant difference between households with recent immigrants and those with immigrants who have been living in Quebec for many years.

About the Author

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Montréal: Housing Programs and Measures to Respond to the Needs of Immigrant Households

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Abstract: Montreal has a wide range of housing programs and measures intended to ensure a balanced supply and real social diversity, and to improve the existing housing stock. This study shows that the participation rate of immigrant clienteles in these programs is greater than their relative demographic weight in the population, and that this occurs without specific mechanisms to target their participation.

Introduction

Housing measures in Montreal are designed to take into account various municipal preoccupations including demographic (keeping families in town), social (combating social exclusion) and economic (consolidating the urban space, supporting growth) concerns, and they are supported by the desire to preserve the social, economic and ethno-cultural diversity that breathes life into Montreal neighbourhoods.

The last two housing action plans (2002-2005; 2006-2009), resolutely focused on maintaining an inclusive social climate, led to the creation of more than 10,000 social and community housing units, and nearly 40,000 interventions on the private housing stock, including facilitating access to home ownership and residential renovation programs, fighting against unsanitary housing conditions, building housing adapted for families, and encouraging the inclusion of affordable housing units in large residential projects. The Montreal approach, based on a holistic vision of living environments, also includes close cooperation and partnerships with civil society stakeholders, in particular in the neighbourhoods to be revitalised.

The Montreal context

In the 2006 census, immigrant households (or, more precisely, those where the main income earner was born outside Canada) made up 32.9% of Montreal households. One in five immigrants has arrived since 2001. If, historically, immigrant households could generally hope to experience housing trajectories similar to those of the host population, newcomers are now having to cope with a slowdown in access to home ownership, as well as an increase in the proportion of their overall income spent on housing (on this, see Leloup, 2005). In this context, the question to be asked is whether the city's actions related to housing ensure equal take-up for immigrant households, including recent newcomers, who might be expected to experience greater difficulty in accessing programs.

This article will discuss this "housing" response to the needs of immigrant households. It is important to note that Montreal offers a host of social development services and programs that are addressed to immigrant communities in particular. However, only housing-related programs will be discussed here.

Rate of Participation of immigrant households in municipal housing programs

In order to determine this, we analysed six measures or programs of interest to immigrant households: the Plan d'action pour la salubrité des logements, [Action plan to promote sanitary housing conditions], the two main municipal residential renovation assistance programs, the management of public social housing (HLM), the social and community housing development program, AccèsLogis, and finally, the municipal program to promote home ownership. For each of these programs, we first identified the percentage of immigrant households within a particular target population (low-income rental households, first-time buyers, et cetera). That percentage, which could be called the "immigrant potential", varied according to the measures and programs studied.

Data on immigration or the ethno-cultural origin of users are not compiled for all of these programs. In certain cases, to complete the available data, we examined the geographical distribution of projects or measures, and compared them to the concentration of newcomers, a more stringent measurement than a comparison with the distribution of older, settled immigrant households (see the map at the end of this article). Information from program managers and local stakeholders was also taken into account.

Action plan to promote sanitary housing conditions [1]

The Action plan to promote sanitary housing conditions targets private buildings that have serious safety and hygiene deficiencies. Launched in 2008, this three-year plan targets the inspection and bringing up to standard of 10,000 apartments, located in approximately 70 buildings or groups of buildings.

Most of these buildings are multi-unit rentals built between 1950 and 1970. They are often part of large complexes that include several hundred apartments. Inspections revealed deficient management and maintenance practices for which several of the owners have bad track records in this regard.

Initially designed for modest- or moderate-income groups (see in particular Suttor, 2009), today, these buildings house a low-income population, for the most part of immigrant origin. The proportion of immigrant households was measured precisely on the largest site covered by the Action Plan, a group of 23 buildings and close to 600 apartments. The study (Chesnay, 2008) revealed that 77.3% of occupants were of immigrant origin.

Building inspectors working in the context of the Action plan confirmed that a similar percentage was observed in most of the buildings they visited. By comparison, immigrant households represent 35% of very low income[2] Montreal tenants overall.

Another indicator is the percentage of buildings located in sectors with a high concentration of recent immigrants. In fact, no less than 68% of inspections took place in these sectors.

Several known factors contribute to channelling immigrant demand toward this segment of the residential market, such as low incomes, discrimination experienced by immigrants and families with children, lack of knowledge of the housing market or of their rights and recourses. Other factors come into play as well, such as the availability of apartments in these large building complexes, and the presence in the neighbourhood of members of the same immigrant communities.

1　http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=4977,15897685&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

2　This percentage represents the proportion of tenant households (family and non-family) of immigrant origin (where the head of household was born outside Canada) whose income is equal to or less than 50% of the regional median income of rental households. Note that the definition is different from that used by Chesnay (occupants born outside of Canada).

Renovation assistance programs

The two main programs, Rénovation majeure and Rénovation à la carte,[3] offer grants to the owners of rental properties. The amounts of these grants are on average $17,900 per housing unit for major renovations, and $3,100 per apartment for lesser renovations financed through lump sum amounts ("à la carte"). Eligibility and grants also vary according to criteria such as the presence of an owner-occupant or the location of a building within or outside a targeted zone.

A survey of owners who benefited from these programs showed that for the 2007-2009 period, 35.7 of them were of immigrant origin; this percentage is the same whether the properties owned were multi-unit rental buildings or "plex-type" buildings (with 2 to 5 units). It is difficult to precisely establish the "immigrant potential" of these programs, on the one hand because of the number of parameters involved, and on the other because the census only provides data on owners who live in their building. The only reference thus remains the percentage of immigrant owners in Montreal, which was 37.1% in 2006, a statistic to be retained only as an indicator of the situation.

Although building owners constitute the target group for these programs, the real beneficiaries are the tenants in the renovated buildings. As there is little data available on these tenants, a spatial analysis was undertaken to see whether these buildings were located in sectors with a high concentration of recent immigrant households. Since 2006, 40.9% of buildings and 55.3% of housing units subsidized by these two programs have been located in these sectors. These programs have resulted in considerable investments in neighbourhoods where newcomers settled; overall, some 3,200 housing units have been improved. Our discussions with certain owners and local stakeholders tend to confirm that the ethno-cultural profile of the occupants was the same as that of the surrounding neighbourhood.

Social and community housing programs

Insofar as social housing is concerned, the main programs have distinct components for families, the elderly, and vulnerable clienteles. We chose here to examine the family component for which immigrant demand is high.

Public housing program, family component

The stock of public housing created between 1965 and 1995, makes the Office municipal d'habitation de Montréal (OMHM) the city's most important lessor of subsidized housing for low-income households. Some 9,700 apartments are located in so-called "family" buildings and represent approximately half of public housing on the island of Montreal.

A recent study (Leloup and Gysler, 2009) of families living in public housing showed that 68.2% of adults in these families are of immigrant origin. By comparison, immigrants represent 62.5% of the target group of families with children, who are tenants and whose incomes are equal to or less than 50% of the average income in the region.[4] The number of immigrant-origin households living in housing managed by the OMHM is expected to increase over the long term. An examination of their waiting list shows that immigrant households are at the top, largely because of their poor housing conditions (cost, overcrowding, unsanitary conditions were considered in the analysis).

The factors that explain the presence of these

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3   Major renovation: http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=4977,15819740&t_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL
Renovation à la carte: : http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=4977,15830835&t_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

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4   This measure provides the most reasonable approximation of the immigrant potential of this program in the absence of available data on rental immigrant households living under the specific low-income housing eligibility thresholds.

immigrants in the low-end private rental market appear to be the same as those that lead these households to public housing: poverty, discrimination, etc. But there is another non-negligible factor at play that draws immigrant households toward public housing: the availability of large apartments (with up to 5 bedrooms) suitable for large families.

The AccèsLogis[5] social and community housing program, family component

AccèsLogis, a cost-shared program of the Société d'habitation du Québec (Quebec Housing Corporation) is the main social and community housing development tool. The program is open to cooperatives, non-profit organizations and para-municipal corporations, and ensures a certain social diversity by reserving, thanks to rent supplements, up to 50% of the housing units in its family sector for very low-income households (the remaining rental units are occupied by modest-income households). The city acts as an agent of the government and manages this program on the island of Montreal. Since 2002, due in large part to this program, Montreal has supported the creation of more than 10,000 social and community housing units,[6] 3,605 (86 projects) of which were slated for families.

The immigrant potential of this program has proved difficult to measure, in particular because of the income mix it permits: half of the housing units are not subject to income limits, which prevents an accurate assessment of the target group. Moreover, available data does not make it possible to determine the percentage of households of immigrant origin in the projects.

In light of this, we turned to two indicators to summarily assess the projects developed under this program. On the one hand, 35 of the 86 family projects (i.e. 40.7%) were located in areas with a high concentration of recent immigrant households. These 35 projects included 1,191 housing units (i.e. a third of the total "family units"). They include new construction as well as projects involving the purchase and renovation of dilapidated buildings, welcome measures to improve living conditions in these sectors. With very rare exceptions, project managers confirm that their primary clientele is drawn from the immediate neighbourhood.

Housing units for large families was the second indicator. Those who promote community housing note that apartments of three or more bedrooms, the production of which remains one of the objectives pursued by the city, are almost entirely occupied by families of immigrant origin or visible minority families. Since 2002, of the 3,605 family housing units (with two bedrooms or more) brought on-stream, 1,831, i.e. half, have three bedrooms or more.

The property ownership program

The property ownership program [7] is another important element in the social diversity equation; it offers grants to first-time buyers ($6,500 for couples or single individuals, $10,000 to families) for the purchase of an affordable new property.

A recent survey (Ad hoc Recherche, 2009) contacted 1,200 households among those who benefited from the program,[8] and showed that 28.2% of purchasers were of immigrant[9] origin. By comparison, immigrants make up 30.3% of the target group for this program.[10]

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5   http://www.habitation.gouv.qc.ca/programmes/acceslogis.html

6   A general overview of the 2006-2009 operation is available on the habitermontreal.qc.ca. site.

7   For a detailed description of the program, go to: http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=4977,15547564&t_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

8   Since 2004, this program has assisted 5,500 households, 3,600 of whom received a questionnaire for this survey.

9   Ad Hoc Recherche defines the immigrant household based on the origin of the main income earner or of the spouse.

10   The clientele is that of Montreal renter households, aged between 25 and 54 years of age, whose income in the 2006 census was between $40,000 and

There is, however, a bias that needs to be pointed out. In a market where the construction of small-sized units is predominant, the main parameters of the program (new buildings, moderate maximum prices, eligibility limited to first-time buyers) give an advantage to small households. One notes, in fact, that half (48.3%) of those who benefit from the program are single individuals, and 22% are families. We broke down the results according to the type of household. Immigrant purchasers made up 15.7% of the single purchasers, but 58.9% of families. By comparison, the immigrant proportion within the target clientele is 16.7% among single individuals and 44.3% among families.

Conclusions

In light of the socioeconomic realities and the market dynamics set out in this article, it was to be expected that immigrants, in particular newcomers, would be present in large numbers in programs designed for households in need or those who have inadequate housing conditions. The analysed data confirm that for measures and programs involving rental housing, both in the private and public sectors, immigrant clienteles have participation rates that are equal to or higher than their percentage of the population.

As for measures to promote home ownership, the overall immigrant representation is conclusive, in particular that of immigrant families. Moreover, in the wake of the city's new family policy, adjustments were made to this program in 2008 to reach a greater number of families; this should have a positive effect on the future participation of immigrant families.

Generally speaking, the results show that the programs reach immigrant households without resorting to specific measures to target them. The City of Montreal, moreover, shows its sensitivity to the needs of new Montrealers through other measures such as the Inclusionary Strategy, designed to allow for the creation of communities with diverse incomes and housing, or through intersectoral, integrated urban revitalisation measures implemented with social partners in several neighbourhoods. All of these initiatives, which have an impact on living environments, proceed from the same intent: to meet housing needs and preserve Montreal's inclusive character.
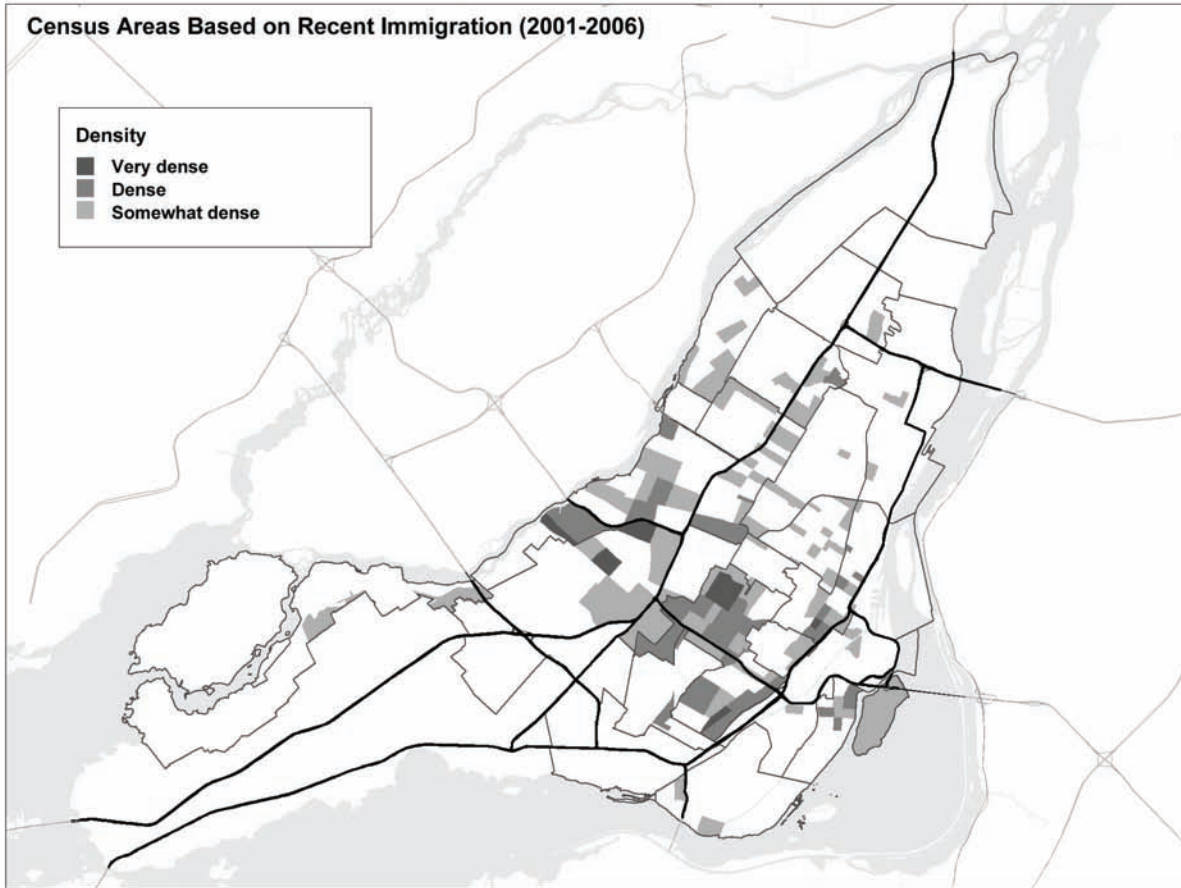
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$75,000 for single persons and couples, and between $50,000 and $75,000 for families.

Census Areas Based on Recent Immigration (2001-2006)

Density
- Very dense
- Dense
- Somewhat dense

Note: The concentration was determined using an indicator based on the percentage of the immigrant population that arrived between 2001 and 2006.

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Community-Based Strategies to Fight Immigrant Poverty: New Approaches

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In collaboration with Sébastien Laroche and Monique Berthiaume

Abstract: The growing diversity of the profiles and experiences of immigrants adds a degree of complexity to the intervention of community-based organizations that support them. This is leading organizations to consider a variety of intervention strategies and to rethink the issue of the most appropriate geographic areas of reference for reaching the most disadvantaged immigrant populations.

In recent decades, community-based organizations have seen their role increase in many areas of society. Immigrant reception and integration organizations (french learning, reception and settlement, integration and promotion of citizenship) are no exception, particularly with reduced government involvement in these areas. However, organizations that fight against poverty in a larger population are also increasingly affected by the diversity of populations in need. What strategies have they developed to respond to new situations? What are the relationships between the various types of organizations (mainstream, reception and settlement, community-based)? In short, what "social safety net" is forming locally to reach the most vulnerable immigrants and racialized groups?

Focus groups have been held in many neighbourhoods and in different organizations to try to answer these questions. Because of the funding it provides, Centraide of Greater Montreal is well placed to contribute to the dialogue on anti-poverty strategies in areas with large immigrant populations, as is the case in Montréal. Before we get to these strategies, we need to look at how they are influenced by changes in immigrants' needs.

An increasingly complex reality

Since the early 1990s, immigrant populations have been increasingly diversified in terms of origin, age, education, socio-economic status, etc. This means that there is a range of immigration profiles.

Despite having sociodemographic characteristics that are often conducive to their integration,[1] particularly labour market integration, newcomers are not faring as well as we might think. In 2004, one in five recent immigrants of working age was living in poverty, compared with approximately one in 10 for other Canadians, whether they were born in Canada or immigrated over 15 years ago[2] (Fleury 2007). In addition, their household disposable income is significantly lower, and they are overrepresented among all groups of poor people, whether or not they are working. Finally, the housing conditions of recent

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1 The average level of education of newcomers has never been higher. This reality is a result of policies and immigration action plans, at both the federal and provincial levels, in which recruitment strategies focus on skilled workers. In Quebec, actions supporting settlement focus on integration into the labour market and on francization.

2 In this study, the recent immigrant category includes immigrants who have been here for 15 years or less.

low-income immigrants are cause for concern. Studies agree that the situation of newcomers in recent years is not improving as quickly as that of their predecessors.

This information confirms that the first years of settlement are a critical time for economic and social integration, as well as for citizenship.

Workers with community-based organizations that help the most disadvantaged are therefore faced with diverse profiles of populations that might require particular skills. Although the situation generally improves after a few years, all the months and years of insecurity and a sense of rejection can cause irreversible damage, making the intervention more difficult and integration all the more critical. These challenges persist for many second-generation youths.

An evolving territorial distribution

Added to the diversity of immigrant profiles is increased geographic mobility, pre- and post-migration, which varies from one community to another.[3] Canada is not always the first destination of newcomers, regardless of their status; they have sometimes lived for several years or months in a country other than their country of birth. In addition, the settlement patterns in the Montréal census metropolitan area are far less clear than in the past (see Leloup and Apparicio article).

The neighbourhood is no longer the only reference point. The urban experience extends into various spaces, including where people live, where they work and where they socialize (Poirier 2008; Germain and Poirier 2007), further complicating the work of field workers. Groups of immigrants, whether concentrated or not, are also exposed to a high level of

3   In this study, "community" refers to cultural community, in other words, related to an origin, even though the term community does not necessarily reflect the experience of its members. For instance, can we speak of a German community or a French community?

diversity. For example, neighbourhoods with large immigrant populations and a diversity of origins, or inversely, neighbourhoods with large immigrant populations and little diversity, and neighbourhoods that have still had relatively little exposure to immigration but that are changing.

In short, the integration process seems less and less linear and the workers are often faced with mobile populations that are not always easy to reach because they are scattered, because of cultural or linguistic barriers or, finally, because they do not use the services of community-based organizations.

Women and young people: Specific needs

The status of immigrant women is distinctive. They are generally less likely to participate in the labour market than other Canadian women, in spite of their high levels of education. Some immigrant women enter the labour market and become important family providers, which does not necessarily lift them out of poverty if their spouse is not working or if they are single mothers. Their integration into the labour market can help them integrate socially faster than their spouse, although such empowerment can be a source of conflict. Many workers with immigrant women's organizations have noted the negative impact of the cultural distance between spouses who are integrating at different rates.

Other women do volunteer work to compensate for the absence of paid work and become part of community-based organizations. Some women remain isolated. Along with education, the language factor plays a significant role in this difference of attitude. The problem, then, is reaching those isolated women and giving them access to services. This process is particularly important because they are not eligible for settlement services like French courses if they have lived in Quebec for more than five years. Often, women decide to take French courses when their children are old enough to go to

school.

Cultural distance also affects relationships between young people and their parents, and it provokes intergenerational conflicts.

Between 2003 and 2007, the Montréal region welcomed 12,215 children under five years of age, and the fertility rate is higher among recent immigrant women. The study on the school readiness of children in Montréal indicates that, in neighbourhoods with high rates of immigrant and allophone children, children are more vulnerable in terms of their cognitive and linguistic development, communication skills and general knowledge. In addition, immigrant children more often live in disadvantaged neighbourhoods than native-born Canadian children, and living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood is a significant factor in school readiness.

By focusing on the situation of young children, this study provides a comprehensive understanding of the academic performance of young immigrants and visible minorities. Black youths in particular have especially high drop-out rates. But regardless of their origins, all of these young people are likely to experience family pressures to succeed, to feel torn between the values of their family and those of the host society, and to experience significant difficulties at school, not to mention the stress of migration for those not born here.

Changing support strategies

The changing intervention methods of the various organizations and projects supported by Centraide of Greater Montreal, under the influence of government policies or based on their own observations, illustrate the complexity of the problem.

Traditional immigrant reception and integration organizations have seen many trends: certain programs had to be dropped because of a lack of

specific funding, such as pairing; others have been strengthened—particularly anything relating to job integration—whether for newcomers, young people from cultural communities or employers.

Organizations have also extended their interventions to the following areas: reducing school drop-out rates (through homework programs, for instance), supporting child development, developing parenting skills, and providing support for women.

Similarly, organizations whose work did not relate specifically to immigration and diversity have put in place measures to bring cultures together and to promote francization, reception and integration (providing orientation services for immigrant families, making specific efforts to reach newcomers, etc.) in order to better meet certain needs identified in their area. Many also obtain funding from the Quebec Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [department of immigration and cultural communities]. These organizations are mainly those targeting young people and families or, more generally, those providing neighbourhood resources.[4] They are spread out in various Montréal, Laval and Longueuil neighbourhoods, as well as in less diverse neighbourhoods that have undergone certain changes over the past few decades with the arrival of new populations.

Many initiatives are also the result of joint undertakings developed locally or in cooperation with funders. Since the end of the 1990s, Centraide has supported accessibility initiatives in many of Montréal's neighbourhoods. Led by neighbourhood round tables,[5] these initiatives are

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4   Neighbourhood resources, recognized as such by Centraide of Greater Montreal, include community recreational, public education, and outreach centres.

5   Montréal's neighbourhood round tables are cross-sectoral, multi-network consultation groups that work with neighbourhoods or districts. Centraide supports them through the Initiative montréalaise de soutien au développement social local, a financial partnership with the City of Montréal and the Montréal public health department.

designed to improve the inclusion of immigrants through the mobilization of local stakeholders and the support of a resource person to carry out facilitation and consultation activities (Poitras 2009). This experience furthered the players' awareness of the specific challenges related to diversity and immigration.

Other initiatives were developed following certain local findings and combined several issues, including drop-out rates, interethnic mixing, and youth and intergenerational relationships. These issues led to the mobilization of organizations, citizens and institutions in the Saint-François de Laval neighbourhood in order to improve a tense situation by working with young people (school retention, prevention of street gangs) and through activities that bring people from different cultures together.

What strategies beyond programs?

Examining the range of interventions highlights the many challenges and shortcomings that narrow the scope. All the organizations working in a neighbourhood do not necessarily know one another, despite the existence of sectoral or neighbourhood consensus-building bodies, which can have negative consequences on the continuity of services. For people in need, it is often difficult to be referred from one person to another and to have to explain their situation and needs over and over again. That difficulty is particularly true for immigrants, because of language considerations or because of a lack of understanding of the role played by community-based organizations in the delivery of social services.

As well, workers with community organizations rarely have a clear picture of the objectives to be met as an organization or as members of host communities dealing with reception and integration or with cross-cultural relations. What is each individual's responsibility beyond the fields of intervention related to their mandate

or to the activities funded by programs? What changes should be made, and what analyses are being conducted on local issues in order to identify these changes?

Certain innovative initiatives aim in part to address some of those issues. The document Reflection and Self-evaluation on Intercultural Inclusiveness in your Organization – Leader's Guide developed by the Carrefour de ressources en interculturel (CRIC) is a good example (see next article).

On a related note, the Femmes-Relais project in the Saint-Michel neighbourhood responds to many needs: the isolation of certain women who are new to Canada and who do not speak the language, access to services, lack of positive experience of other women who have been in Canada for longer periods of time, and the challenges faced by various organizations in reaching these isolated women and their families. This project centres on the recruitment of women from cultural communities in the neighbourhood, particularly newly established communities, and on their role in bridging the gap between isolated women from the same community and the services offered by organizations and institutions in the neighbourhood.

Community strategies

As noted earlier, the arrival of an immigrant population in a community puts pressure on community-based organizations. The characteristics related to poverty seem quite specific to the immigrant population, and they are often more transient. We can easily find ourselves having to meet the needs of one population that has pulled out of poverty mixed with a population that tends to stagnate in poverty. Interventions must address all of this at the same time while ensuring a balance between targeted interventions and broader interventions.

Two questions emerge in addressing these

constraints:

First, are community-based organizations still the best models for integrating immigrants? Yes, absolutely. However, organizations are facing new challenges and must develop new intervention strategies to deal with the changes in their client populations. The two examples mentioned above illustrate some of the characteristics of these strategies: the ability to work in collaboration (coordinated efforts) or even in partnership; the ability to ensure that a mandate is used in service to the community; and the ability to reflect the collectively defined vision in daily actions (change of practices).

During this process, a significant question remains: which local community are we referring to? We know that the areas of reference vary from one organization to another, from one institution to another (health and social service centre areas and districts, for example), and from one ethnocultural community to another. It is not uncommon for residents of one neighbourhood from one community to visit institutions belonging to their community in another neighbourhood (churches, for example). Once again, it is a community issue. If the neighbourhood is the area of reference for the intervention, the actors involved must have a broad vision of that area of reference and must try to mobilize both endogenous and exogenous resources.

These are challenging steps, but they will help more adequately respond to the complexity of the situation and the issues, and they will unlock the most promising potential.

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Reflection and Self-evaluation on Intercultural Inclusiveness in your Organization – Leader's Guide: a tool for reflection within organizations

CARREFOUR DE RESSOURCES EN INTERCULTUREL

Abstract: This article looks at the document Reflection and Self-evaluation on Intercultural Inclusiveness in your Organization – Leader's Guide, developed in 2007 by the Carrefour de ressources en interculturel (CRIC). This tool is one of the pillars of the CRIC's method of support. It is used to identify the strengths of a work team and to take stock of the intercultural dimension of organizations while promoting the development of more inclusive practices.

The *Reflection and Self-evaluation on Intercultural Inclusiveness in your Organization – Leader's Guide* is an initiative of the Carrefour de ressources en interculturel (CRIC) designed to promote greater inclusiveness of immigrants in Montréal's Centre-Sud [centre-south] neighbourhood. CRIC is an independent community organization that brings together and develops intercultural resources with and for agencies and residents of the Centre-Sud neighbourhood in order to promote intercultural bridge-building among all the communities in the neighbourhood.

About the neighbourhood

Montréal's Centre-Sud neighbourhood is bordered by Sherbrooke Street to the north, the Canadian Pacific rail line (east of Frontenac Street) to the east, the St. Lawrence River to the south and St. Denis Street to the west. Formerly a working-class neighbourhood that was traditionally made up of French-speaking (and Catholic) French Canadians, the Centre-Sud neighbourhood has undergone a significant socio-demographic transformation as a result of the increase in immigration in recent years. Indeed, one in two immigrants settled in the neighbourhood between 1991 and 2001.

Immigrants represented 17% of the population of Centre-Sud according to the 2001 census, and 22% according to the 2006 census. Also, this sector of the Ville-Marie borough suffers severe socio-economic disadvantage. Approximately 60% of its residents born in Quebec live below the poverty line, and this proportion is even higher among ethnocultural communities (CSSS Jeanne Mance, 2008). The Centre-Sud neighbourhood has a higher unemployment rate than the average for Montréal: 14% of residents receive employment insurance. The neighbourhood also has a high proportion of social and community housing—22.6% of all housing—and much of that housing is occupied by families from ethnocultural communities. The schools in the district are among the poorest on the Island of Montréal. Consequently, a sense of insecurity is one of the major obstacles to the population's well-being: homelessness and prostitution are significant problems.

The *Carrefour de ressources en interculturel*

CRIC was created in 1999 as a result of intercultural tensions in low-income housing developments in the Centre-Sud neighbourhood. CRIC was an initiative undertaken by a number of agencies

and institutions in the neighbourhood seeking a resource to help them meet the new challenges associated with immigration. The diversification of the neighbourhood presents new challenges to these organizations, and CRIC helps them to examine their practices.

In 2006–07, in collaboration with Annick Germain, a professor and researcher at the Institut National de Recherche Scientifique (INRS), CRIC conducted a study on the perceptions that immigrant residents of the Centre-Sud had of their neighbourhood, particularly in terms of employment, food businesses, schools, security, cleanliness, neighbourhood ties and access to information. The survey gave 75 immigrants an opportunity to express their opinions. As a result of the study, CRIC asked community stakeholders to participate in developing neighbourhood guidelines for including immigrants and intercultural relations in Centre-Sud. That research was the starting point for a number of CRIC projects, including the *Reflection and Self-evaluation on Intercultural Inclusiveness in your Organization - Leader's Guide*.

Reflection and Self-evaluation on Intercultural Inclusiveness in your Organization - Leader's Guide: a chance for team reflection

To meet the needs of its members, CRIC has developed a tool for self-evaluating the intercultural dimension of their organizations. The guide enables organizations to undertake an internal process of reflection on a number of aspects of their teams' intercultural dimension. This process encourages the identification of elements that will help better meet the needs of all members of an organization in a culturally diverse context. It also fosters the identification and sharing of team strengths in relation to interculturalism and lays the foundation for a more inclusive and diversified organization. It reinforces a team's ability to welcome people of all origins.

The CRIC's guide has three sections. The first section deals with the analysis of intercultural relations, encouraging reflection on existing relations between the organization and immigrants and an assessment of the organization's intercultural skills. The second section deals with the analysis of the current level of inclusion, which examines each person's role in inclusion and their acceptance of differences in the organization. The third and last section provides for conclusions, allowing the team to complete the reflection by establishing short- and medium-term priorities for action, at the appropriate pace for the organization. The guide therefore supports the process of reflection by encouraging the organization to look within and identify its strengths and potential for improvement. The entire process found in the guide represents a springboard for organizational change with a view to inclusiveness and diversity.

CRIC's method of support

Since developing this tool in the fall of 2007, CRIC has supported seven organizations in their process of reflection and action. The support offered to the work teams undertaking this process consists of a cycle with five phases:
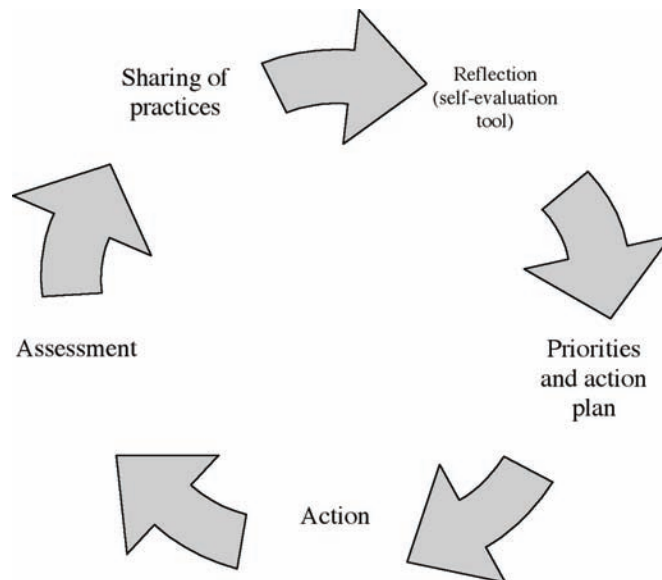
1. Reflection: a tool for self-evaluation
2. Development of priorities for action and an action plan
3. Action
4. Assessment
5. Sharing practices to promote reflection

CRIC's method of support consists of an approach designed to empower work teams so that organizations can carry out the process of reflection independently. Each team chooses a person responsible for the process who will be equipped and supported by CRIC during the process of reflection, development of priorities for action and of an action plan, implementation of the action plan, and assessment. The guide provides many tips to help the discussion leader guide the process of reflection within their own work team.

In this way, the organizations gradually assume responsibility for change. The type of support given by CRIC depends on the needs of each organization. This support may be centred on the process of reflection and on developing an action plan, or it may cover the entire process from reflection to the development of an action plan and, finally, the assessment.

In the last phase of CRIC's method of support, it organizes a discussion group in which the organizations concerned can share their good practices for inclusiveness and the measures they have used as a result of their team's process of reflection. On one hand, it provides an opportunity to recognize organizations' efforts and commitment and, on the other, it represents a forum for sharing good ideas and practices with other organizations, thereby multiplying the effect. Sharing practices allows organizations that have undertaken the process to attest to the results and thus inspire other organizations to engage in their own process of reflection.

About the Carrefour de ressources en interculturel

The Carrefour de ressources en interculturel is an independent community organization that brings together and develops intercultural resources with and for agencies and residents of the Centre-Sud neighbourhood in order to promote intercultural bridge-building among all the communities in the neighbourhood.

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Emancipation and Disenchantment in the Face of Cultural Diversity: Changes in Social Action in Disadvantaged Multiethnic Neighbourhoods in Brussels and Montréal[i]

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Abstract: An international comparison of discourse among social workers in severely disadvantaged neighbourhoods with a large immigrant population raises disturbing questions about changes in these workers' attitudes toward their "clients," and highlights their increasing concern about cultural distance (language, religion, etc.).

Introduction

"These street educators are youngsters out to change the world using the sociology of Bourdieu and Touraine." – paraphrase of a comment by a young person from Cureghem in Brussels.

Brussels and Montréal have many things in common (size, linguistic make-up, federal context, etc.) but also many differences, particularly in the area of immigration (immigration policy, integration philosophy, ethnic and social immigration profiles). However, our survey of social workers in two severely disadvantaged neighbourhoods with a large immigrant population brought to light many similarities in their discourse about their "clients."

This article looks at the gap between the actions and perceptions of community-based organizations and associations (in which the social worker is the central figure) and the groups they serve in neighbourhoods with an ethnically diverse population. Our thesis is this: in the dual context of, on the one hand, a restructuring of local governance that brings together community-based organizations and associations and public institutions and makes them more professional and, on the other hand, the ethnocultural diversification of urban societies, social workers' sense of action is slipping from one of emancipation to one of cultural conformity.

In both Montréal and Brussels, local community-based organizations and associations are the products of social movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s around a paradigm of emancipation often accompanied by an ideology of self-management. However, the objective of emancipating the poor from the oppression of the dominant class gradually

evolved into an objective of helping the most disadvantaged, and then, more recently, into an objective of preventing the risks of social breakdown. One of the first changes in paradigm was the professionalization of community-based organizations and associations, which have gradually shifted their focus to delivering services. Social workers are no longer perceived as a group of volunteers from the community; they are university-trained to provide a professional service to a neighbourhood "clientele." As one worker in the Parc-Extension neighbourhood (described below) of Montréal said, "Many organizations were not created through the will of the community, but simply through the action of highly skilled and effective community organizers. However, the roots sometimes do not run as deep."

This professionalization also means contractualization—having a formal agreement between public bodies and community-based organizations and associations for service delivery, funding and, therefore, accountability. Terms like "neighbourhood contracts" and "security contracts" are used to designate a set of policies the implementation of which depends largely on associations. In both Brussels and Montréal, many "city trades" have been created (urban stewards, social protection officers, park wardens, street patrollers) and are paid and trained by associations, using public funds. In return, public officers are increasingly integrating a community- and association-based approach into their operations. Examples include proximity policies under which "socio-community officers" are responsible for social intervention and prevention.

This interconnection between public officers and association representatives weakens the vectors of opposition that once came from the associations movement. We no longer talk about emancipation and social justice but rather, of pacification and social cohesion. The goal is to ensure that things do not "blow up," not to end the oppression of the poor. This blurring of the line between the public sector and associations makes the mission of associations more difficult. As one Montréal worker explained, "For a large part of the population (new immigrants), the idea of free community services is something they have never known. They often think—mistakenly—that if they go there, they are practically handing themselves over to the state, into the hands of the police."

As the missions of associations shift, public institutions are also changing their missions. The state is aiming more at reassuring than at protecting. The distinction is an important one. Protecting means ensuring the well-being of the population by providing a minimum income, social services, civil and military protection, etc. (Castel 2003). Reassuring, on the other hand, means quelling their fears through words or symbolic acts, without necessarily changing the physical conditions and tackling the threat head-on (Isin 2004). Reassuring is therefore a matter of pacifying rather than reducing injustice. In a risk-prevention approach, one of the preferred means of pacifying is to act on social conditions and "bricks and mortar" in "sensitive neighbourhoods," "priority zones" and the like in order to prevent delinquency or other "threats" to community life. That is what our colleague Andrea Rea has labelled the social security State (Rea 2007). In Brussels, this change is visible; in Montréal, it is hidden behind health care issues. The result, however, is the same: tighter social control and thinking in terms of "risk factors."

In this context, social cohesion becomes the condition for social action; it is the starting point, not the goal. This is a second shift in paradigm. Social cohesion is a strong concept that assumes cultural conformity, meaning acceptance of common values. One Montréal worker explained the distance between workers and residents in this way: "There are also rules which they have a duty to follow but which they are not necessarily prepared to follow: equality between men and

women, the use of French ... what is happening right now is a push for mosques ..."

This surge in the notion of social cohesion, especially in Brussels but also in Montréal, sooner or later leads to the notion of a common culture. In this case, that means *francization* and secularism, which are becoming unavoidable for immigrants if the goal is to establish a helping relationship. That, in any event, is what we understand from the comments made by workers describing the neighbourhoods where they work.

Parc-Extension (Montréal) and Cureghem (Brussels): Different neighbourhoods, similar situations

For a comparative study of urban social policy in neighbourhoods of Montréal and Brussels with a large immigrant population, we selected the two neighbourhoods with the largest proportion of immigrants—Parc-Extension and Cureghem—both of which have immigrant populations that account for more than 60% of the total population. The population of Cureghem largely comprises people from Morocco or Turkey, southern Europe (Spain, Portugal, Italy), Poland and, more recently, Africa. In Parc-Extension, the residents are mostly from southern Asia (almost 60% of recent immigrants) and many are refugees. The neighbourhood, which for a long time was associated with Greek immigrants, is also home to people from the Caribbean and Central America. In both neighbourhoods, the proportion of young people is higher than in the rest of the city. In terms of space, both neighbourhoods are enclosed within physical boundaries (rail lines, fence, canal) and have a dense urban fabric and relatively rundown housing that is inadequate and ill suited to the needs of households that are larger than the average in both cities.

Both neighbourhoods have been the target of many initiatives by public bodies, including investment aimed at preventing the abandonment of these neighbourhoods, which have been suffering for

decades (rehabilitation of community facilities, infrastructure, housing and public spaces). They are no longer "forgotten" neighbourhoods, but they are still highly stigmatized. We conducted about 30 interviews and focus groups with workers[1] in the two neighbourhoods in order to explore the dynamics introduced by these programs there. The interviews brought to light discontent regarding relations between workers and some neighbourhood residents, specifically in connection with cultural differences.

The hypothesis we put forward in order to understand this discontent questions the ability of the community-base model—the product of a collective history where its architects were socialized in a political and ideological environment strikingly different from the environment in which immigrants (especially those who have arrived since the 1980s) live today—to adapt to the realities of neighbourhoods with a large immigrant population. The corollary question is whether social workers have difficulty identifying with people from environments that they themselves have not experienced. It is probably not by chance that almost all immigrants (and there are few of them in organizations that do not have a specific mandate to work with immigrants) who head community organizations in Montréal are originally from Europe. If immigrants are more involved in associations in Brussels, it is because many of them have adopted the assimilationist approach and do not want to represent their ethnocultural community of origin.

Cultural (in)competencies and the desire for recognition among workers

Although the distance between associations and the communities they serve is widening, workers

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1   We interviewed social workers from a variety of public and parapublic organizations, associations and community groups, as well as local elected officials. Only a few were part of an organization whose mission specifically targeted the integration of recent immigrants. The others had a broader clientele.

are no less committed to "serving." At the same time, however, they are not questioning their approach or trying to understand how newcomers see things. Instead, they express frustration at immigrants' failure to take advantage of their services and at the difficulty they have in reaching their clientele. Workers will say, for example, "It's so hard to reach these people! It's like climbing Mount Everest!" The message behind this frustration is the lack of recognition that workers feel. In Montréal, in addition to the difficulty faced in reaching new immigrants, they have also mentioned a certain doubt about the usefulness of their work because, they say, "All these immigrants think about is going to Toronto."

When explaining this lack of recognition, the workers we interviewed do not question their own cultural competencies. On the contrary, they are quick to point out the lack of interest that immigrants seem to have in Quebec culture, starting with their disconcerting "values": "They always have to push their way in, like they did in their country; it's a very demanding clientele." One worker in Brussels said, "… the problem of cleanliness, which is a very complex problem, is, among other things, linked to a population in which there is a significant number of newcomers. Because they are new here, they don't know the rules—like putting out the right colour bag, or sorting the trash on the right day."

In Montréal, the explanations continue with examples of immigrants' lack of understanding of the democratic process. Community-based organizations have an organizational culture characterized by internal election procedures that, we are told, newcomers not only do not understand, but also actually thwart by means of backroom negotiations and block voting. The lack of recognition that workers feel leads to explanations that mention the incompetence, individual or collective, of immigrants. In Brussels, this "incompetence" of immigrants is perceived by officials of associations that have

many young employees from the Maghreb (North Africa). In the second half of the 1990s, Cureghem was the scene of urban riots. After that, the neighbourhood became part of the second series of neighbourhood contracts (Rea 2007). Millions were spent in the neighbourhood refurbishing public spaces, building community facilities and organizing sociocultural activities led by people who had participated in the riots (young immigrants) and who were hired for that purpose. The main objective was to give those young people jobs, often through client-based processes.

Fifteen years on, however, tension is resurfacing between these young employees and social workers who have a longer history in the neighbourhood and who are mostly native-born Belgians. The Maghreb youths consider these jobs to be theirs ("We fought, and because we did … we got jobs—especially jobs as activity leaders. These are our jobs."). The social workers with more experience think that these youths lack skills ("And I inherited a prevention service that was a disaster in 2001.").

Collectively, this lack of skills attributed to immigrants stems from the fact that the architects of the programs think that projects aimed at immigrants are missing their mark. One government employee who deals with the selection of projects had this to say about an application for funding from a soccer club: "A coloured person kicking around a ball doesn't make it Social Cohesion [name of a program]. It's no laughing matter."

Distancing as a way of affirming cultural conformity in social action

What is it about immigrants' behaviour that bothers workers? In Montréal, it is first and foremost language, but also, as in Brussels, religion. In Parc-Extension, the leitmotiv among workers is immigrants' lack of knowledge of French: "They don't even want to try to

take French courses." Quebec policies on the acceptance of immigrants centre on francization, which must be at the heart of all community organizations. Most community workers fully support that mission. Only some challenge it, but few feel that other needs should be met first.

In addition, there is a sense of rivalry between mutual help systems, the associations movement and immigrant communities. As one Montréal worker put it, "... an alarming number of community centres are actually mosques in disguise." Another said, "We have services there that are actually developed and delivered by a community, but they acquire a religious element. So, the people who go to the mosque, to the religious ceremony, on Fridays also get other services there, and it's always services of a religious nature." This rivalry increases the already strong competition for public funding, but on a deeper level, it strikes social workers at the very heart of the values that underlie social action, particularly gender equality. As one Brussels worker said, "The problem we have is that a number of associations have almost exclusively Maghreb-immigrant membership and, unfortunately, that membership is still mostly male ... It's a very difficult debate ..." It is a debate that, in Quebec, was front and centre during the crisis over reasonable accommodation, a debate which is not over and which is fraught with misunderstanding and fear. A female worker in Brussels made a similar comment: "I think we are starting to open our eyes, but for years, the Muslim religious phenomenon was played down ... We have to watch out, though, because something is happening. They treat us like fools." We tend to avoid bringing up religion in the public debate, knowing that the outcome of those discussions is uncertain.

Openness in approaches?

The community action model that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s is being severely tested in neighbourhoods with a large immigrant population. In our view, the issue is not one of ideology or politics, but rather of reciprocal recognition. The problems associated with immigrants' language and religion stem from the difficulty of linking different approaches to social intervention (or mutual aid). These approaches are closely related to separate processes of socialization ("native-born" workers and newcomers). Instead of describing these divergent approaches to action as "incompetent," we should advocate a common quest for knowledge. However, for the time being, at least in Montréal and Brussels, cultural conformity appears to be the preferred route.

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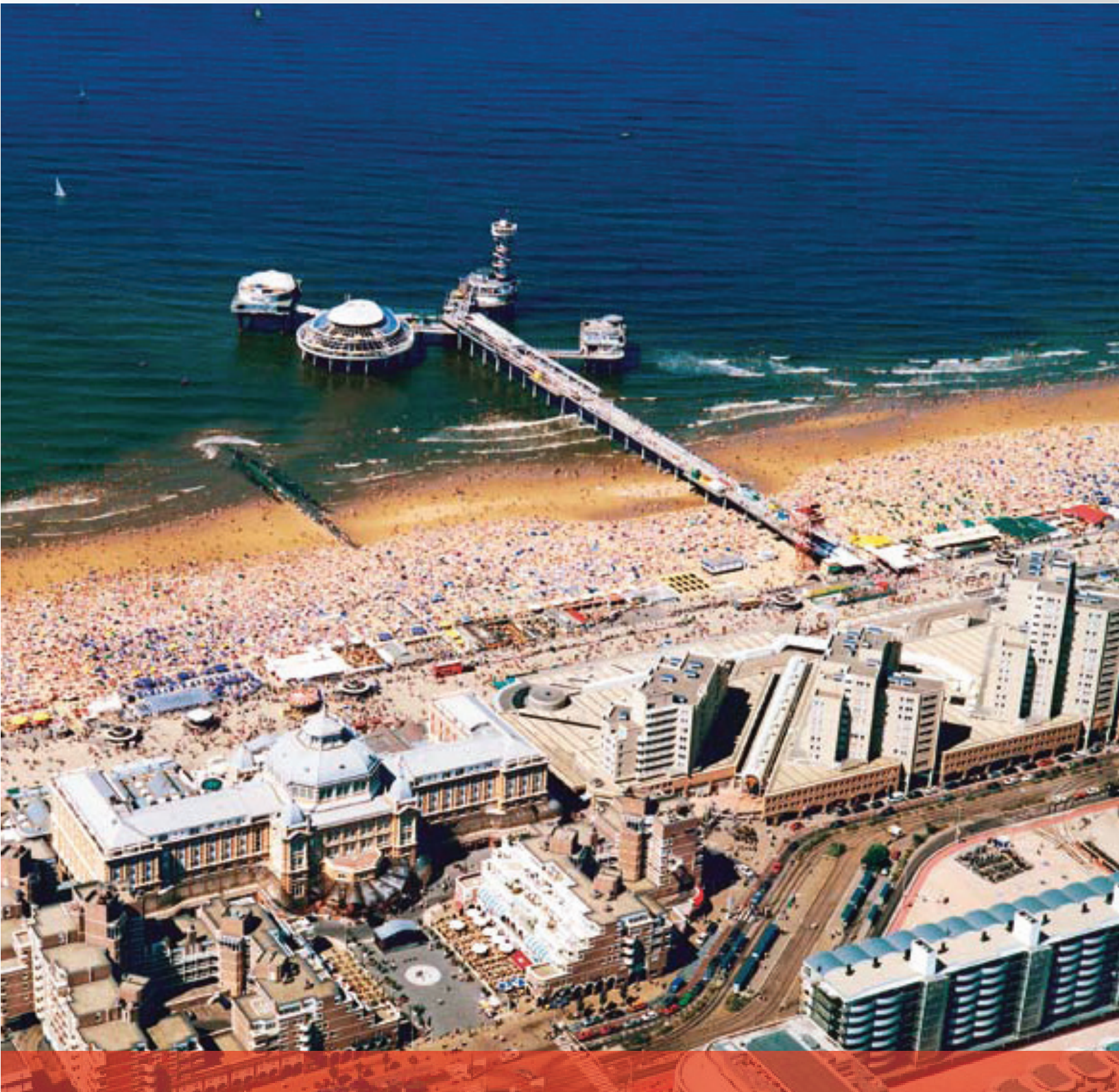
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