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EDUCATION AND INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT MINORITIES:

A CASE STUDY OF THE HAITIAN COMMUNITY IN QUEBEC

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

EDUCATION AND INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT MINORITIES:

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Léopold Pompilus

This thesis examines the immigration and integration of Haitians in Quebec society. First, a historical background of this process is presented. Second, there is a discussion of how education is strongly linked to the Haitian's particular status in Quebec. This status is subject to the political climate and commitment of the Quebec government to establish French culture as the dominant one. Finally, different interviews with Haitian respondents and participants are introduced. The findings of the cases studied suggest that some of the Haitians who arrived here in the 1960s (first wave) became "upwardly mobile" and benefited from unprecedented opportunities in Quebec. Unlike the first wave, the second and succeeding waves of Haitian immigration arrived in Quebec in a different political and socioeconomic context. Because many of these individuals had little education, they went to work mainly in factories. However, many of those who were well-educated failed to secure a job despite their education. This situation forced the latter into unemployment and underemployment. Starting with the assumption that education and employment are the main variables for achieving immigrant integration, this thesis seeks to understand these two different contexts of Haitian immigration and their effect on the integration process of these individuals in Quebec society.

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Finally, I would like to thank all the target respondents and participants without whom to this study would have been impossible.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to contribute to a better understanding of the role of education in the integration process of immigrant minorities (1). This study focuses mainly on the Haitian community in Quebec society, specifically on the personal experience of Haitians who immigrated to Quebec at different periods in time. It is often argued that education has helped the first wave (2) of Haitian immigrants to integrate into Quebec mainstream society. Similarly, it is suggested that the second wave has failed to integrate in the host society or to improve their socio-economic situation because of their lack of education and low socio-economic status (Tremblay, 1991, p. 94; Bernèche, 1990, p. 9; C.C.C.I., 1993, p. 39, 40). These assertions contain some elements of truth that are self-evident. Indeed, the first wave of Haitian immigrants in Quebec were, for the most part, well educated and managed to integrate in all sectors of activities here, while it seems to be the other way around for the second and other waves. Most Haitian immigrants in the 1960s landed good jobs shortly after they arrived in Quebec. Such was not the case for many Haitian immigrants in the 1970s and 1980s.

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(1). As Professor Olivier has suggested, the line between integration and assimilation is blurred, and very often integration becomes synonymous with assimilation. For example, Gordon suggests that "in structural terms, ... integration presupposes the elimination of hard and fast barrier in the primary group relations and communal life of various ethnic groups of the nation. It involves easy and fluid mixture of people of diverse racial, religious, and nationality backgrounds in social cliques, families (i.e., intermarriage), private organization, and intimate friendships"(Gordon, 1964, p. 246).

(2). I use the term "wave" in this thesis to refer to a particular group of Haitian immigrants who arrived in Quebec during a specific period of time.

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However, these statements on the Haitian integration in Quebec are rather superficial for they describe a reality that is too complex to be contained in a few sentences. They fail to explain why unemployment and underemployment among educated Haitians remain so high and so pervasive over the past decade. I suggest that, in order to better understand the Haitian integration in Quebec, one should consider not only the pre-migratory variables (1), such as education and socio-economic status, but also the context of immigration, the degree of tolerance of the host society and individual adaptability. For instance, it has been suggested that, during the "Quiet Revolution" (2) Quebec society had a more positive attitude toward immigrants in general and Haitian immigrants in particular. The remarkable impact of the "Quiet Revolution" on the conventional sectors such as education, health care and the economy has had some unintended consequences on Quebec societal structure and ideologies.

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(1). There is no consensus on how to define the variables for immigrants integration in the host societies. However, I draw on the viewpoint advanced by Lebon to lay ground for this study. In the view of the latter, one may assume that the integration of foreign citizens in France is successful if the immigrant women have about the same number of children as the French women, if the number of immigrant students in special aid is not higher than that of the French students, and if unemployment among its potential workers is not higher than among the French workers (Actes du Séminaire sur les indicateurs d'integration des immigrants, 1994, p.26).

(2). According to Linteau,Durocher, Robert, and Ricard (1989), the concepts of «Quiet Revolution» or «Révolution Tranquille» were used to for the first time by a journalist in *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) to describe the changes that began to occur in Quebec after 1960. There is still an ongoing debate on the scope and definition of these concepts. For these authors, "Au sens strict, la Révolution tranquille désigne habituellement la période de réformes politiques, institutionnelles et sociales réalisées entre 1960 et 1966 par le gouvernement libéral de Jean Lessage. ... Au sens large, l'expression est aussi utilisée pour caractériser l'ensemble des décenies 1960 et 1970, marquées par le triomphe du néo-libéralisme et du néo-nationalisme ... L'idée clé est alors celle du «rattrapage». Il s'agit d'accélérer un processus de mise à jour et de modernisation qui s'est amorcé après la guerre mais qui, au Québec, a été considérablement freiné par le conservatisme du gouvernement Duplessis (p. 421, 422).

The changes that had occurred in Quebec societal structure were affected, in part, by the presence of an increasing number of Haitians and other immigrant minorities since the 1970s. The warmth and consideration that Quebeckers showed in the 1960s have been replaced with a more individualistic inclination that characterizes today's post-modern Quebec. Also, worth mentioning is the vacuum created by the Catholic Church in Quebec public life. In the 1950s and 1960s the Catholic Church was an important reference that played a major role in the adaptation of many Haitian immigrants in Quebec. As the "Quiet Revolution" began to provide Quebeckers with better opportunity, the influence of the Catholic Church began to crumble (1). Consequently, the second and succeeding waves of Haitian immigration arrived in a Quebec where the humanistic moral authority invested in the Church was progressively replaced by a competitive, self-centered philosophy. Finally, in the process of redefining a collective identity, Quebec society became more ethnically oriented. In that process, the *self* was no longer the French-speaking member of the Catholic Church; it became the ethnic French-Quebecker. This ethnic reference is based specifically on primordial characteristic of the French Quebecker. Therefore, it excludes any a *other* French-speaking "nonwhite" Allophone or white Anglophone. In a study on the immigration issue in Quebec, Denise Helly (1992) identifies a (progressive) school of thought in the Quebec establishment which she explains as follows:

> Selon eux, la majorité de la population provinciale a fort peu été
> expolée aux influences extérieures jusque dans les années 1960,

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(1). Although I mention the role played by the Catholic Church in Quebec society in the adaptation process of the first wave of Haitian immigrants, this thesis focuses specifically on the role of education in the Haitian integration in Quebec society.

demeurant centrée sur des référents identitaires locaux et, de ce fait, n'a pas acquis la notion d'une collectivité politique basée sur l'affirmation d'un seul critère de similitude entre les individus: les libertés fondamentales. Des fractions de cette population de souche adhèreraient au contraire à une définition de la collectivité basée sur la proximité et la similitude culturelles, sur la fermeture et «l'entre nous» de l'univers ethnique. Les référents territorial et juridique ne seraient pas des catégories premières de définition de la notion de 'Québécois' dans l'esprit de ces francophones de souche car ils construiraient leur identité sociale à partir d'une histoire et d'une culture particulières, dites canadiennes-françaises (p. 128).

This "hard version" of primordialism in today's Quebec society has contributed in hampering the integration of Haitians and other ethnic minorities. Anton L. Allhar's (1994) understanding of this concept of primordialism helps to illustrate my position. For Allhar, the term "primordialism" or "primordial attachment" can be understood in two senses:

> ... the hard and the soft. The hard version of the term holds that human beings are attached to one another (and their communities of origin) virtually by mutual ties of blood that somehow condition reciprocal feelings of trust and acceptance. It is the type of attachment that siblings or parents and their offspring are said to experience, and implies an unquestioned loyalty or devotion purely on the basis of the intimacy of the tie. In this sense primordial attachment is natural, automatic and supposedly prior to explicitly social interaction. ... On the other hand, the soft meaning of the term stresses the social, non-biological bases of attachment and draws attention to the importance of interpretation and symbolic meaning in the individual's social organization of his or her life. In other words, feelings of intense intimacy and belonging do not have to be mediated by blood. They can be socially constructed as in the case of fictive kinship or love for one's country, and excite in adherents the same passion and devotion found among blood relatives (Anton L. Allhar, Canadian Ethnic studies, XXVI, No. 3, pp. 19, 20).

Equally important is the education variable. There is no doubt that education (understood as formal and informal education) was the main variable that helped the first wave of Haitian immigration to integrate in the workplace in

Quebec. Today, despite its limitations education is still the only means available to Haitians and other ethnic minorities to achieve social mobility or, at least, to improve their lot in Quebec. The very presence of Haitians in Canada and Quebec in the 1950s and 1960s was possible because of education-related issues. Consequently, education was the instrument that helped the first wave of Haitian immigration to benefit from the 'social mobility' opportunity provided by the "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec. However, after the "Quiet Revolution" the Quebec educational system became more demanding and the marketplace more competitive. Therefore, the second wave of Haitian immigration came here in a social and economic context that is rather paradoxical: on the one hand, the "Quiet Revolution" helped to build a modern, competitive education system; on the other, most of these people had little instruction. As a result, they were unable to mobilize the necessary resources to compete in that market-driven economy.

The early 1970s marked, in my view, a turning point in the process of Haitian integration in Quebec. Before that period, Haitians used to be regarded as highly educated professionals and intellectuals. As more uneducated Haitians began to arrive in this province, negative stereotypes and prejudices came to affect the host society's perception of Haitians. This situation was influenced by the shifting economy which created a context that gave rise to high unemployment even among educated Haitians (1). Today, there is little

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(1). In the introductory chapter of a book entitled Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities, Rothermund suggests that "formal education has certain limitations and may fail in achieving those ends because it is essentially an instrument of the self-recruitment of the educated and as such a filter and not a medium of integration. It is designed so as to integrate only those who can play the game according to the prevalent rules"(in Ruthermund & Simon, 1986, p. 2).

evidence that the socio-economic situation of most of Haitian immigrants in Quebec is improving. Based on the situation of these different waves of Haitian immigration, I suggest that the "Quiet Revolution has provided the most favourable circumstances for educated Haitians to integrate in the workplace. Their integration in the workplace has been, in my view, the first step toward their full and effective participation in the host society's affairs. Therefore, I understand integration as a two-way process whereby members of the host society and immigrants work together to help the latter become active and productive members of that society. Unlike the assimilation process in which social interactions between immigrants and members of the host society encourage them to develop and internalize similar patterns of behavior, integration is a process that helps immigrants to participate fully in all aspects of life in the host society, while maintaining their culture. Whether Haitians and other ethnic immigrants can achieve this level of participation in Quebec without facing resistance is arguable. Similarly, education is considered here as a necessary but not a sufficient variable for immigrant integration.

From a broad perspective, the concept of education is defined as part of a lifelong process, but with critical stages, whereby individuals, through interactions, develop the necessary skills to fit successfully into their environment and thereby contribute positively to the well-being of their fellow citizens. This thesis deals with informal as well as formal education. The latter is defined as "the process or product of a deliberate attempt to fashion experience by the direction and control of learning" (in Marler, 1975, p. 11). The term education may be used to mean: the activity of educating the young; the process of being educated; the result of that activity and process that the "educand" acquires, i.e., an education; the discipline of education (which studies

the activity and process mentioned above) (in Marler, 1975, p. 12). Based on these considerations, I believe that the education variable alone cannot account for the socio-economic discrepancy that exists between the first wave of Haitian immigration, on the one hand, and the second and succeeding waves, on the other. It is the purpose of this thesis to attempt to dissipate these myths and confusions regarding two different socio-economic contexts, for the contribution of the context of immigration on the integration of Haitian immigrants in Quebec is undeniable.

Methodology for this study

The methodology underpinning this study is a blend of anthropological, social-cultural and social-psychological understanding. Mary Catherine Bateson's (1994) Peripheral visions has a tremendous impact on my perception and understanding of culture in relation with "self" vs. "other". "Peripheral vision" can be defined as another way of seeing culture, peoples, places, institutions, events etc., which conveys a more thorough understanding of the observed phenomena. We can reach a true understanding of these phenomena only by looking from different angles, not necessarily with an anthropological eye. Bateson suggests, for instance, that:

> The body's truths are often concealed, so it is not always easy to learn about birth or sex or death, or the curious and paradoxical relationships between them. We keep them separate and learn about them on different tracks, just as we learn separately about economics and medicine and art, and only peripheral vision brings them back together. Experience is structured in advance by stereotypes and idealizations, blurred by caricatures and diagrams (p. 5).

A more direct contribution of Bateson's approach to this study is her interpretation of the concept of "personhood". In her view, "personhood" is

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socially constructed and "arises from a long process of welcoming closeness and continues to grow and require nourishment over a lifetime of participation"(p. 62). She suggests that: "Almost everywhere, however, a person is one who knows others even as she or he is known: more than a living tissue, a participant. Exclusion and second-class membership, when full humanity is denied are assaults, bloodless murders" (p. 62). Peripheral Vision, as Bateson has suggested, becomes essential, a key element that guides the actions and interaction of the people in a community "for all those others present with me now are a source of identity and partners in my survival" (p. 75).

The theories that have been reviewed for this thesis provide the understanding that the Quebec government, the different pressure groups in the host society and the immigrant-adjustment agencies should work together to encourage immigrant integration. For example, I draw on the "theory of group life" advanced by Gordon (1964) to suggest that the integration (not assimilation) of Haitian immigrants proves to be very challenging, but it is nevertheless attainable. To achieve immigrant integration, efforts should be directed simultaneously toward Haitians' integration in the workplace and the education centres. It is often suggested that the workplace, schools and education centres are the loci 'par excellence' for socialization and self-assertion. Subtle but coordinated pressure exerted on minorities has a negative effect on the lives of thousands of immigrant and second-generation Haitians - both in the workplace and in the schools. Based on Gordon's theory, I suggest that structural assimilation of Haitian immigrants in Quebec society is both undesirable by most Quebeckers and impossible to attain. Instead, pressure exerted on Haitian immigrants and their children to encourage assimilation, however well-intended,

may be tension-producing and contribute to place them in a subordinate position.

Primary data for this thesis was collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews of Haitians who arrived in Quebec between the 1950s and the 1980s. Interviews were also conducted with two community leaders, a French-Quebec employee in a Quebec institution, and a Quebec-born Haitian teacher. Secondary data was gathered from extensive library research. The documents reviewed came from different sources: Concordia University Library, Conseil des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration (Quebec), Mile-end Library, Bibliothèque de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, McGill Library, Bibliothèque de la "Communauté Chrétienne des Haitiens de Montréal", "Centre de Recherche Caraïbes" and other private sources. In addition to these sources, important information was gathered during random discussions with other Haitians and a few members of the host society. With a conscious effort to control bias (1) and unethical interpretation, data is also drawn from my own experience as a Haitian immigrant on the one hand, and as a teacher on the other. I consider myself fortunate to have been involved in the education of such a diverse clientele in Quebec (2). In addition to my life and work experience in Quebec, my understanding of the immigrant integration

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(1). Eisner encourages the use of voice in qualitative inquiry (1998, p. 36). Peshkin takes a more moderate stance by suggesting that subjectivity may sometimes be taken as "virtuous," and that subjectivity should not be confused with subjectivism which exalts personal feeling as "the ultimate criterion of the good and the right" (Webster's in Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 104). Although I subscribe to the view that objectivity is out of reach of human beings, I will strive to avoid biases that might undermine my effort to carry out a scientific study.

(2). The latter comprised Anglophones (Italians, Greeks), Francophones (French Quebeckers), Haitians and other Allophones, and Orthodox Jews.

issue is also the result of extensive reading of the literature from different fields of study which deal with education and minority integration. While analyzing and interpreting the primary data, I attempt to establish relations of cause and effect among the different actors of the Haitian integration.

Limitations of this thesis

In this thesis, the integration process of sixteen Haitian immigrants is examined. These individuals arrived in Quebec from the 1950s to 1986 and were living here at the time of the interview. The intent is to determine whether their education helped them integrate in Quebec society, and if so how. The respondents are chosen from different periods of immigration, and are highly educated in general. Efforts were made to design and interview a group of participants that is representative of the Haitian society and the Haitian community in Quebec. The participants include teachers, university professors, doctors, nurses, unemployed Haitians and a factory worker. I also interviewed two resource persons in the Haitian community. Additional information was collected during the interview of the director of a well-known Haitian centre in Montreal, and the director of a new centre in Laval. Finally, I interviewed an employee at a well-known Quebec institution. The identities of these individuals shall not be revealed. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of the topic under consideration, many other issues may be raised. However, this study focuses specifically on the contributions and limitations of education in the integration process of the first and second waves of Haitian immigration in Quebec.

The next chapter of this thesis provides a historical perspective of the Haitian immigration in Quebec. A thorough review of the literature helps to

provide a better understanding of the Haitian immigration in Quebec. Chapter three deals with education and the socio-economic situation of the Haitians in Quebec. Attempts are made to address the issue of Haitian mobility after they arrived here. Chapter four reviews three relevant theories on minority integration: Gordon's "theory of group life", the "theory of structural vs. cultural inter-dependence" advanced by Hoffmann-Nowotny, and Krau's "multifaceted interaction model". I attempt to highlight specifically the contributions and limitations of these models in addressing the issue of Haitian integration in Quebec. Chapter five deals with the methods of data collection and data analysis. The data analysis introduces the profiles of sixteen target respondents. These profiles summarize mainly the life experience of the respondents since their immigration in Quebec. The experience of these individuals helps to better understand the process of Haitian integration in Quebec. Finally, chapter six provides a general conclusion of this thesis. Attempts are made to link the empirical findings to the theoretical assumption. Recommendations for future studies conclude the thesis.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND HAITIAN MIGRATION: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter addresses the issue of Haitian immigration from a historical perspective. Haitian migration is a historical process which is extended over many centuries but the presence of a Haitian community in Quebec began only five decades ago. The first Haitians who arrived in Quebec were mostly students and very often they returned home once their studies had been completed. Before they began to arrive in Quebec middle-class Haitian students used to travel to France or Belgium to pursue their studies (1). However, as the Second World War broke out in Europe in 1939 and continued until 1945, Haitian students began and continue to come to North America. Quebec became the choice of many Haitian students because of the French language (2), and because of the assistance that many Catholic missionaries, most of whom were French-Canadians (3), offered to those students.

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(1). Haitians' historical inclination for foreign education may still be alive today. De Ranceray (1979) reported that 52% of 422 Haitian university students considered pursuing their studies in Europe, 28% in the United State and Canada, and 6% in Latin America (p. 92).

(2). Perhaps, future research on this issue will provide a better understanding of the roots of the mild empathy that Haitians generally show concerning some issues in Quebec - the language issue, for instance. For, it is often suggested that these two peoples share, to a certain extent, some common cultural features. Among them are the French language and some aspects of the French culture, the Catholic religion, and their struggle for self-assertion.

(3). Because the word "Quebecois" was not known in Haiti in those days, the term "French Canadian" was used to refer to the French-speaking citizen from Canada in general. Some observers suggest that "French Canadians" began to arrive in Haiti after 1945 (Dejean, 1990).

The Haitian educational system has used French as its official language until 1987, as a result, the French language helped explain the presence of the first Haitian students in Quebec. Paradoxically, while Haiti maintained a colonial French-speaking status, less than 15% of the Haitian people (in Haiti) could more or less speak that language as opposed to nearly 100% who could speak Creole (Saint-Germain, in Revue des sciences de l'éducation, Vol. XXIII, no 31997, p. 616). This "diglottism" was a legacy of the colonial French regime, but most importantly of the Haitian ruling class, which successfully maintained French as the language of instruction (1). Consequently, Haitian students came to Quebec to avoid the language barrier.

Before they began to arrive in Quebec, Haitians used to migrate to the United States, the Caribbean and Europe. In the mid 1600s, a group of African-Haitians (slaves who accompanied their masters) arrived in Charleston County, South Carolina, to settle on rice plantations (Laguerre, in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, 1983, p. 446). The Haitian immigration in the United States was also pioneered by such individuals as Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, a mulatto fur trader and the founder of the city

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(1). Saint-Germain defines the linguistic situation in Haiti as follows: "Une situation disglossique existe lorsque, dans une même communauté linguistique, une autre langue constitue une valeur et remplit des fonctions précises. Tel est le cas d'Haïti. On admet que le créole est la langue parlée et comprise par tous les Haïtiens, mais qu'une seconde langue, et ce depuis l'indépendance en 1804, a servi à la séparation sociale."

Saint-Germain refers to a previous article to explain that "la situation linguistique en Haïti est caractérisée par un état de disglossie résultant de la pratique de couple opposée: maître-esclave, culture européenne-culture africaine et créole, colonisateurs-colonisés, classe dominante-classe dominée, instruits-analphabètes" (Saint-Germain in Revue des sciences de l'éducation, Vol. XXIII, no 3, 1997, p. 615).

of Chicago who arrived in the United States in 1772; a troop of eight hundred Haitians ("men of colour") (1) who took part in the war for the American independence in 1779. It is reported that more than 50,000 planters, free blacks and slaves decided to settle in the United States during the Haitian Revolution. Furthermore, Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint Méry (1750-1819), a historian and former Haitian government official settled in Philadelphia (Laguerre, in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, 1983, p. 446). This Haitian immigration into the United States continues even today.

Before, and especially during, the American occupation in 1915, until the Cuban Revolution in 1958, Haitian migrants used to be seasonal workers in Cuba and the Dominican Republic where they worked mainly as 'braceros' (sugar cane cutters) (Souffrant, 1974; Magloire, 1984; Labelle, 1987; Dubuisson, 1988; Dejean, 1990). Haitians can also be found in France, Belgium and other parts of Western Europe, in most countries in Latin America, especially in the neighbouring islands such as Guadeloupe, Martinique, Jamaica, Nassau, the Bahamas, etc. (Laguerre, in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, 1983; Magloire, 1984; Dubuisson 1988; Dejean, 1990). This brief outline of the Haitian migration suggests that their presence in

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(1). Haitians are a mixture of different ethnic groups but mainly Blacks from Africa. According to Laguerre, Haitians originally came from "the coast along the Bight of Benin, and from what are now Angola, Senegal, Benin (formerly Dahomey), the Ivory Coast, and the Congo (Laguerre, 1983, p. 446). Fouchard (1972) provides a account of Haitian origin from Africa. For Magloire (1984), Haitians are first of all: " ... les premiers habitants de l'île. Leur croisement avec les Catalans et les Castillans explique la première génération de métis. Puis en 1625 c'était le tour des Bretons, des Normands, des Niçois, des Nantais qui s'établissaient dans la partie occidentale de l'île. ... Vers 1755, à la faveur de la traîte des Noirs, ce fut le tour des Aradas, des Congos, Nagos, Fangs, Ibos et Mandingues ..." (p. 35). However, Barros (1984) suggests that Blacks began to arrive in Haiti in the first decade of the 16th century.

Quebec or elsewhere is informed by the same historical logic: to seek political freedom and better opportunity while responding to the demand of the job market in those countries (Magloire, 1984; Tardieu, 1979). For more than two decades, Quebec seemed to offer these opportunities to Haitian immigrants. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the fact that these two peoples share certain cultural features may explain why more than 90% of Haitian immigrants who were admitted into Canada between 1968 and 1992 had chosen to come into Quebec (Dejean, 1978; Bulletin statistique annuel & Statistiques et indicateurs, 1968, 1993).

Political and Economic Context of the Haitian Migration

Some observers argued that each wave of Haitian emigration corresponds to a national crisis or to the demand of the job market in the host countries (Magloire, 1984; Nicholls, 1996). For example, between 1956 and 1963 Haiti had experienced the most massive exodus of its intelligentsia. In the view of Nicholls

> ... migration is by no means a new phenomenon; during the present century Haitians have frequently gone to Cuba and to the neighbouring Dominican Republic in search of work, and political exile has been a feature of national life since the earliest days. Yet with the Duvalierist era the problem has reached new proportion. Large numbers of skilled and semiskilled workers have left: for example, of the 761 doctors graduating from the medical faculty in Port-au-Prince between 1945 and 1968, only 242 were practising in the country by 1970 (Nicholls, 1996, p. 240).

Indeed, during that period, many Haitian intellectuals, lower middle-class, middle-class, and upper-middle class, professionals and semi-professionals, left the country to settle in the United States, Canada/Quebec and Africa (1).

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(1) It is reported that about five hundred Haitians from different fields were hired by UNESCO to work in Africa in 1963 (Magloire, 1984). However, between 800 and 900 Haitian teachers left 'Congo-belge' a few years later because of the "Zairisation" of the public service in former Zaire (Dejean, 1990, p. 39).

Between 1956 and early 1960s, Haiti went through many unfortunate economic and political situations leading to a crisis that drove many peasants into the cities, while many well educated, intellectually able individuals fled the country. In 1959 the price of the Haitian coffee plummeted; in 1963 hurricane Flora destroyed the harvest, the same year the American governmental economic assistance was at its all time low (Magloire, 1984). The political situation was equally chaotic. After President Magloire was forced out of power in December 1956 there followed almost ten months of political instability and confusion (Nicholls, 1996, p. 207). When François Duvalier took office in 1957, many concerned citizens including the political elite and a few business persons decided to flee the country because they were afraid they might be considered politically liable. Despite Duvalier's decision to stop this massive "brain drain", government statistics confirmed it was the period in which the largest number of educated Haitians ever fled the country (Magloire, 1984).

Haitian Migration and the North American Context

The 1960s witnessed some drastic changes in the immigration policy both in the United States and in Canada. The cold war had reached its highest point. This situation created more refugees than the previous immigration policy was capable of sustaining. Also, the post-industrial boom of that period increased the demand for more skilled workers which the local work force could not provide (Purcell, 1995). On the other hand, the civil rights movement in the United States gained momentum. That movement challenged the structural racism of American society. It is arguable that beside the other contextual changes mentioned above, the civil rights movement had an impact on the abolition of the discriminatory immigration policy in the United States of America. Much of what is said above could apply to the Canadian context. In the 1960s

the Canadian economy was booming. There was a great demand for new immigrants to meet the needs of a complex industrial, urban, society. The previous Canadian immigration policy, which was also based on discriminatory laws, began to soften in 1962 (Kalback, 1974, p. 3). Further steps were taken in 1966 which gave way to the new admission procedure based on an applicant's level of education and occupational skills, the local demand, and personal adaptability regardless of their race and nationality. This new Canadian immigration policy opened the door for educated minorities (1) (Moodley in Banks and Banks, 1995, p. 802).

In Quebec, the death of Premier Dupplessis in 1959 gave way to a new era in Quebec politics. The new government headed by Premier Jean Lessage passed a new bill in 1961 ('La grande charte de l'éducation'). The purpose of that bill was to promote a 'true Revolution' in Quebec's educational system. Paul Gérin-Lajoie, who later became the first Education Minister in Quebec, was instrumental in what came to be known as the "Quiet Revolution" (Dupuis, 1991, p.10, 11). To carry this 'Revolution' through, the Quebec government needed a qualified work force that was not available here. Because of its political and linguistic agenda, Quebec sought to encourage the immigration of French-

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(1). The Second World War did not bring immediate changes in the discriminatory, racist, immigration policy of the Canadian government. For in June 1950, a government document on the immigration issue stated: Les noirs étaient considérés comme non admissibles à moins d'entrer dans les catégories priviligiées ou d'être conjoints ou enfants mineurs de résidents canadiens (Canada, M.M.I., Étude sur l'immigration et les objectifs démographiques du Canada/Le Programme d'immigration, 1974, p. 23). I believe that these changes occurred because of the demand for more skilled workers, the refugee problem created by the cold War, the unintended consequences of the civil rights movement in the United States and, to a certain extent, a feeling of guilt or uneasiness, which emerged in the Western world after the second world War.

speaking professionals, semi-professionals from Europe and North America. As the European immigrants showed little interest to come, efforts were made to promote job opportunities, through different Canadian agencies abroad, for other French-speaking citizens from the Caribbean and Africa. It is in this context that the first Haitian professionals and semi-professionals arrived in Quebec.

Classification of the Haitian Immigration

As already mentioned, the literature on the Haitian community in Quebec often refers to Haitian immigration as comprising more than two waves. However, I believe some clarification is necessary to better understand the nature of these waves and the context in which they arrived here. Based on my understanding of the challenges facing Haitian immigrants and Haitian-Quebeckers in the job market, I propose to approach this issue from a different angle. First, while better job opportunities often imply a high level of schooling, the latter does not necessarily equate better job opportunity. Although education may be a necessary condition for immigrant integration in the job market, it is not a sufficient condition. Second, little was said about the other variables which help to define those waves, or about the variability of the job market between 1960s and 1970s. It appears that there was a great demand for manual workers in the 1970s, as opposed to the mostly white-collar jobs that were available in the 1960s. Third, too much emphasis is put on the lack of education of the second wave of Haitian immigration while it is often the other way round for the first wave. For example, of the 568 Haitian immigrants admitted in Quebec in 1968, 36.3% were reported to have no schooling - the second highest in 10 years of Haitian immigration in Quebec, which was matched only in 1977 (41.6%). My contention is that about one-third of Haitian immigrants in the 1960s had professional and semi-professional credentials. Yet, this is the highest

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percentage in the Haitian immigration and probably the highest percentage among many other communities in Quebec since the 1960s (see Table I, p. 22).

In stating these facts, I do not intend by any means to downplay the contributions of the Haitian professionals and semi-professionals in carrying through the "Quiet Revolution". Instead, their professional achievements, of which all Haitians and many Quebeckers are rightfully proud, have rarely been officially acknowledged. Public discourse in Quebec, too often, contrasts these two waves of the same community. In doing so, thousands of courageous Haitian workers contributing to the Quebec economy are ignored. When associated with ignorance and opportunism, this pattern of generalization and out-of-context statements concerning this issue, give rise to negative stereotypes which tend to justify unfair treatments suffered by thousands of born Haitian immigrants and Haitian-Quebeckers.

The classification of Haitian immigration must be considered both in light of the situation in Haiti which brought on these waves, and the changes in the Canadian immigration policy (Dejean, 1990, p. 35-58). From this stance, Haitian immigration in Quebec comprises many different periods or waves: the 'pioneers' (1940s-1962), the 'first wave' (1962-1967 and 1967-1972), the 'second wave' (1972-1978), the 'third' and 'fourth waves' (1978-1980; 1980-1986), etc. (Dejean, 1990, p. 35-58). The following sections attempt to provide an overview of the first three periods (or waves), for I believe that little has changed in the socio-economic situation of the Haitian immigrants since the second wave.

The Pioneers

Before the first "wave" of Haitians began to arrive in Quebec in the 1960s, there were certain well-established Haitian families already present in the province. Those Haitian immigrants are, in my view, the 'pioneers' of Haitian immigration in Quebec and or their successful achievements over the years had already sent a symbolic message to their fellow citizens in Haiti to the effect that Quebec was a land of opportunity. The data collected from government statistics suggests that the first Haitians began to arrive in Quebec in the 1950s (Immigration Statistique Canada, Ottawa, 1974). But, other private sources, such as members of the Catholic Church, Haitian professionals, and other immigrants contend that Haitians have been in Quebec as early as 1940 (Dubuisson, 1988, p. 17; see also chapter six below). Between the 1940s and early 1960s, Haitians who came to Quebec comprised a few Haitian government officials and professionals. However, the majority of these individuals were students who decided to stay in Quebec after their studies had been completed. As mentioned earlier, the chaotic political and economic situations in Haiti between the fall of Magloire in 1956 and the early years of Duvalier regime (1957-1963) were not encouraging signs for the return of these individuals. It is reported that 280 Haitians were living in Quebec before 1961 (Recensement du Canada 1986, Compilation spéciale, MCCI). But Dejean (1990) suggests that there were about 2,000 Haitians in Quebec in 1965. Many of those pioneers married Quebeckers and since then their children have moved to become successful in Quebec. It is my understanding that the experience of many of these Haitian pioneers, some of whom are now dead, would be helpful to the current and future generations of Haitians and Haitian-Quebeckers.

The First wave

The Haitian immigrants who arrived in Quebec between 1962 and 1972 benefited from a more open and less racially biased, immigration policy. After the Second World War the federal government decided to resume its immigration policy which was halted for more than a decade. In May 1947 Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced that Canada needed immigrants but that they would be selected with great care and in restricted number. Immigrants from Asia would remain undesirable (Tepper, in Berry & Laponce, 1994, p. 101). In 1949, the 'Oriental Exclusion Acts' were removed from the statute books (Tepper, in Berry & Laponce, 1994, p. 102). In 1950, blacks were still undesirable but would be allowed in Canada if they belonged to certain categories of immigrants (Kalback, 1974, p. 3). In 1962, all discriminatory laws were removed from Canada's immigration policy and a point system based on level of education, occupational skills, local demands and personal adaptability was put in place (Moodley in Banks & Banks, 1995). As more immigrants were needed to keep up with the growing economy, the Canadian government declared, in October 1967, that all visitors who wished to remain here could apply for permanent residence. That year alone 223, 000 visitors applied to stay (Dejean, 1990, p. 36). It is in that period that the number of Haitian professionals and semi-professionals began to increase (see Table I, p. 22).

The first wave of Haitian immigration in Quebec is subdivided into two periods. The first period (1962-1967) began with the new immigration policy based on the point system during the early stage of the 'Quiet Revolution", i.e., a few years before "Expo 1967". The second period was after the Expo (1967-1972), and marked the new immigration policy in 1967, i.e., during the stabilisation of the 'Quiet Revolution'. It appears that the worldwide publicity

stunt concerning 'Expo 1967', and the media coverage of that event had succeeded in attracting many tourists from different parts of the world. It is likely that many of these tourists were potential immigrants who decided to either stay or come back to Montreal shortly after. Although there had been reasonable job opportunities in that period, some Haitian observers suggest that Quebeckers were much warmer and more generous toward the Haitians who came here before the "Expo 1967".

Table I

Number of years of schooling of the Haitian-born immigrants in Quebec 1968 - 1977						
Level of schooling	0 %	1 - 7 %	8 - 10 %	11 - 12 %	13 - 14 %	15 + %	Total
1968	36.3	0.9	5.6	11.8	13.0	32.4	568
1969	25.7	3.0	8.5	14.1	15.7	33.0	658
1970	22.3	2.9	8.7	18.5	19.7	27.9	908
1971	19.0	4.0	11.7	24.7	21.3	19.3	1060
1972	23.2	5.5	13.1	23.7	18.3	16.2	1009
1973	6.3	12.3	24.9	31.5	16.2	8.8	2266
1974	7.2	22.9	28.4	24.8	10.9	5.8	4856
1975	13.1	30.7	25.8	20.1	6.0	4.3	3422
1976	32.6	17.1	22.3	17.4	5.9	4.7	3094
1977	41.6	18.6	17.9	12.6	5.7	3.6	2011
Total de 1971-1977	20.4	15.8	20.5	22.1	12	9	
Total (%)	22.7	11.8	16.7	19.9	13.3	15.6	19852

(Cf. Collection statistique et indicateur & Bulletin statistique annuel 1968-1978)

Critics seem to agree that the first wave of Haitian immigration to Quebec was better educated than the succeeding waves (Dejean, 1978, p. 39, 40; Tremblay, 1991, p. 94; Bernèche, 1990, p. 9). In the view of Dejean (1990):

> On peut avancer que, d'une manière globale, les Haïtiens arrivés au Québec avant 1970 connaissaient, déjà en Haïti, une situation socio-professionnelle relativement confortable. Ils étaient en nombre relativement restreint et appartenanent généralement au monde universitaire ou à celui des professions dites libérales (p. 36).

However, Magloire (1984) is more cautious in his analysis of the socio-economic status of the Haitians who immigrated to North America in the 1950s and 1960s. He explains that:

> ... selon toute vraissemblance, ce ne sont pas les propriétaires de moyens de production, ni les financiers, en un mot les élites économiques, ni non plus les privilégiés qui ont émigré en grand nombre aux U.S.A. Ce sont plutôt les chômeurs, les prolétaires, et tous ceux qui luttent pour le minimum vital. La même observation semble être juste en ce qui concerne les autres pays du Tiers-monde (Magloire, 1984, p. 16, 17)

A more realistic understanding of the Haitian emigration in the 1960s must seek the middle ground of these two opposing views. Despite the undeniable differences in their education and socio-economic status, these Haitians were mainly dissatisfied with their economic situation and the lack of perspectives for the future occasioned by the Duvalier regime. Many additional factors might further their despair and increase their motives to leave. For example, the lack of freedom of speech and association, threats, coercion and fear of repression, the absence of justice, the hope that they could improve their lot abroad or the belief that life would be better or at least could not be worse in

North America, might force many Haitians of the first (and later of the second) wave to leave the country after "Baby Doc" came to power in 1971.

The Second Wave (1972- 1978)

Native Haitians cherish their culture and life experience in their native land. Even under the most dreadful situations many Haitians shunned the idea of leaving their country. Yet, at times, some seem to have given up hope to gamble with their lives to reach the "promise land" in North America (1). In the early 1970s, two of the most powerful events that account for migration movements around the world set the stage for the migration of what Professor Olivier called 'le pays profond' ('the inner countryside'). First, after having introduced his nineteen year-old-son Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") to the Haitian people as his successor and president for life, François Duvalier (Papa Doc") died in April 1971. The stakes were very high in Haiti, especially among the different political groups in exile, also in the Haitian diaspora. The prospect for a smooth transition was slim. To consolidate the power of the young president, the Haitian militia ("Tonton Macoutes") made no efforts to target the so-called 'threats' among the Haitian people. Peasants were harassed and driven out of

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(1). For many Haitians, the idea of fleeing the country in shaky boats is something that only desperately poor Haitians would attempt to do. These individuals are often referred to as the 'boat people' and usually receive unwelcome and humiliating treatment from the American government, as opposed to the Cuban "Boat People" who are generally treated as heroes. Because of Quebec's geographical location many (illegal) Haitian immigrants in the early 1970s, who could not come here by boat, managed to come by plane - hence the name "Flight People". According to Dejean, many of these Haitians had also been unfairly and harshly treated in that period by some Canadian custom agents who could not speak French, let alone Creole (Dejean, 1978; Dejean, 1990).

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their plots of land; the middle-class and upper-middle-class intellectuals were targeted for refusing to cooperate, and sometimes simply for being knowledgeable. Secondly, equally disturbing in that period was the deprivation of the country's economy. In Port-au-Prince and in the rest of the country the living conditions became unbearable for the less fortunate people. Very often the only help these people could count on came from a close relative who had already left the country. Rather than providing for family members indefinitely, many Haitian immigrants often choose to pay for or to sponsor the recipient's emigration. This was, in my view, the context in Haiti which set the stage for the second wave of Haitian immigration.

Parallel to this chaotic situation in Haiti, the immigration policy in Canada was rather favourable until November 3, 1972. The Canadian government withdrew its decision taken five years earlier which allowed visitors to apply for permanent residence here. Because of that sudden shift from a soft, welcoming policy to a tough, gritted teeth decision, many Haitians were caught off guard. Unaware of, or ignoring, the recent policy change, about 1,500 Haitian immigrants found themselves trapped in what has come to be known as "The Drama of the 1500" (Dejean, 1978 and 1990) (1). In the view of Dejean, to justify

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(1). According to some Haitians interviewed for this study, a few sweatshop and factory owners in Quebec were, in part, responsible for the immigration of these Haitians in the early 1970s. For Dejean, a well-known "Tonton Macoute" and owner of some travel agencies in Haiti and some airlines were also to be blamed (Dejean, 1978; 1990).
— Some observers suggest that this episode of the "Haitian drama" encouraged many Haitians to join the "Parti Quebecois" for the latter, and many ordinary Quebeckers, unconditionally supported the Haitian immigrants during this crisis. However, I believe that some soft separatists and a few hard-liners among the Haitian middle-class and lower-middle-class were inclined to rally Marxist and neo-Marxist movements because of their own 'noble cause' in Haiti.

its latest decision the federal government accused the community leaders and other "unscrupulous, immigrant smugglers" of taking advantage of the 1967 provisions. These individuals were pointed out for promising many Haitians that they would be given work and immigration papers in Canada if they agreed to pay large sums of money for their trip (Dejean, 1978, p. 153).

As president of the "Bureau de la communauté chrétienne de Montréal" in that period, Dejean played a major role in rallying support and sympathy against the decision of the Canadian government to expel those 1,500 Haitians. Dejean's main argument was that, although some of these Haitians had left Haiti for economic reasons, their economic situation was forced by an outlaw regime, which openly and publicly murdered anyone who dared to disagree with its policy. In a letter to the federal minister of immigration and Labour, Dejean states:

> Je ne dis pas que tous ces Haïtiens sont des refugiés politiques, au sens précis où ce terme est employé dans la convention de Genève. Certains n'ont jamais milité dans aucune organisation politique en Haïti où à l'étranger. Beaucoup ne sont pas partis premièrement pour des motifs politiques, mais la plupart ont été forcés de quitter leur pays à cause d'une situation socio-économique invivable, créée par un régime répressif dont vous connaissez aussi bien que moi, les hauts faits tristement célèbres (Dejean, 1978, p. 148).

As mentioned, Haitian immigrants in the second wave had, in general, fewer years of schooling than those in the first. For instance, in 1974 the level of schooling of the 4,856 landed Haitian immigrants was very low; only 5.8% had 15 and more years of schooling. In 1977, of the 2,011 Haitian immigrants admitted in Quebec, only 3.6% had 15 and more years of schooling, compared to 33% (out of 658) in 1969. Education is, in my view, a necessary variable for

the successful integration of adult immigrants into the work place. It is rightfully asserted that education has played a major role in the successful integration of many Haitians in the 1960s. It is equally plausible that the lack of education might have hampered the integration of thousands of Haitians in the workplace in the 1970s, 1980s and today (Table II). However, it is my contention that, just as the lack of education may hamper immigrant integration in the work place, a good education may not be a sufficient guarantee for successful integration of immigrant minorities in the Quebec work place.

Table II

Year	0 - 6 N	0 - 6 %	7 - 13 N	7 - 13 %	14 - 16 N	14 - 16 %	17 + N	17 + %	Total 100%	NM	Number of Haitian Immigrants
1978	92	17.7	369	71.0	49	9.4	10	1.9	520	-	1625
1979	67	17.4	242	62.9	61	15.8	15	3.9	385	-	3867
1980	67	13.8	315	65	83	17.1	20	4.1	485	-	1594
1981	390	18.4	1420	67.7	228	10.7	48	2.3	808	-	3582
1982	315	19.3	1101	67.7	182	11.2	29	1.8	1627	-	3396
1983	145	20.2	430	59.8	59	8.2	26	3.6	719	59	2754
1984	90	21.3	270	64.6	64	15.3	13	3.3	418	1	1356
1985	54	16.9	203	63.4	43	13.4	20	6.3	320	-	1253
1986	95	15.0	386	60.9	110	17.3	43	6.8	634	-	1655
1987	142	18.4	460	59.5	127	16.4	44	5.7	773	-	2053
1988	127	23.3	317	58.3	75	13.8	25	4.6	544	-	1399
1989	184	20.5	519	57.8	130	14.5	65	7.2	898	-	2177
1990	173	20.4	503	59.2	113	13.3	61	7.2	850	-	2071
1991	301	22.9	770	58.5	177	13.4	69	5.2	1317	-	2526
1992	223	20.5	667	58.6	170	14.9	69	6.1	1139	-	2165

Table header: Number of years of schooling of the Haitian immigrant workers in Quebec: 1978 - 1992

(cf. Collection Statisitques et indicateurs & Bulletin statistique annuel 1978-1993)

The relationship between education and employment among immigrant minorities in Quebec society is very complex and multifaceted. Different competing ideologies seem to affect the chance of educated Haitians and other

immigrant minorities to have access to better jobs. For instance, unemployment among French-speaking Africans is very high despite the fact that they have the second highest level of schooling in Quebec. Yet, high unemployment among these (educated) individuals is often considered an exceptional case of educated and unemployed immigrants, as opposed to that of the Haitian community which is believed to be a typical case, i.e., the result of low level of education:

> À l'exception des pays Africains, on constate que plus le pourcentage des personnes faiblement scolarisées est important, plus le taux de chômage est élevé. Les personnes originaires des Caraïbes, qui connaissent le taux de chômage le plus élevé, constituent aussi le groupe le plus faiblement scolarisé. Les individus provenant des États-Unis sont les plus scolarisés en moyenne et forment un des groupes les moins affectés par le chômage (C.C.C.I., juillet 1993, p. 30).

This statement, and other similar statements (1), has some serious flaws. First, it is true that the Haitian community has one of the highest level of unemployment in Quebec. What is not true is the assertion that Haitians (the main Caribbean group) have the lowest level of education. The "Ministère de l'éducation du Québec" (Juin 1991) published a study on the level of schooling of Quebec residents based on the data from Statistic Canada (1886). This study suggests

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(1). Drawing on the socioeconomic situation of Haitians in Quebec, and especially on the findings by Neil (1985), Tremblay (1991) suggests that: "Neil (1985) comme plusieurs autres chercheurs, résume la situation en disant que la première vague se composait d'immigrants indépendants, main-d'oeuvre jeune et qualifiée qui ira vers des emplois professionnels et techniques. La seconde, au contraire, est composée d'individus pour la plupart parrainés moins scolarisés, moins qualifiés, se dirigeant vers le secteur manufacturier et celui des services... Ces différences semblent suffisamment grandes à Neil pour qu'il oppose les deux vagues selon des critères de classes" (p. 94). Bernèche (1990) also advanced a similar argument (p. 9).

that: "La communauté haïtienne se trouve immédiatement au-dessus de la moyenne québécoise à chacune des étapes. Il faut toutefois noter que la proportion d'adultes haïtiens ayant atteint l'université dépasse de façon significative le proportion québécoise (M.E.Q., 1991, p. 5). Indeed, 57.4% of Haitians aged 15 years and more were high school graduates in 1986 compared to 56% of French-Canadians, 40.8% of Italians, 39.7% of Greeks, and 31.9% of Portuguese. The discrepancy between Haitians who attended university and members of these communities was even more revealing: 20.9% compared to 14.2% of French-Canadians, 12.7% of Italians, 13.4% of Greeks, and 7% of Portuguese (M.E.Q., 1991, p. 5). The correspondence between employment and education in these communities is the other way around - especially in the Haitian community. Despite these facts, the Quebec establishment keeps using the same old "cliché" which seeks to explain high unemployment among Haitians and other immigrant minorities based on their (low) level of education. Second, this argument is rather paradoxical: on the one hand, Africans are considered an exceptional case of highly educated and highly unemployed individuals, on the other, the education variable is used to justify either high unemployment among Caribbeans (Haitians) and other immigrant communities or high employment among immigrants from the United States. Although the ethnic origin (race) of these U.S. citizens and the types of jobs they hold are not mentioned, I believe that citizens of the most powerful nations in the world are, in general, treated with respect in most Western countries. Such is not the case for immigrants from what are awkwardly called "Third World" countries.

In this chapter, I have attempted to explain the context in which the different waves of Haitians immigrants arrived in Quebec. I have argued that the immigration of these people was informed by the same historical logic that

encouraged migration movement around the world: to seek political freedom and better economic opportunity. Haitian immigration to Quebec began with Haitian professionals and students who decided to stay in Quebec after their studies had been completed. I also stressed that Haitian professionals were allowed in Canada because of the need for more educated workers in order to keep up with the local economy. Consequently, the discriminatory immigration policies of the 1940s and 1950s were replaced by other more welcoming policies in 1962 and 1967. These policies encouraged many dissatisfied Haitian professionals and semi-professionals to immigrate here. However, in 1972 the Canadian government decided to reverse its previous policy in an attempt to stop the flow of (what was then perceived as) 'poorly educated' Haitians in Canada. Furthermore, because of the outcome of the "Quiet Revolution" in a shifting economy, the job market becomes more competitive. This situation is used by the competing societal ideologies to create and justify high unemployment and underemployment among educated Haitians in Quebec. The next chapter deals with education and the socio-economic situation of the Haitian immigrants in Quebec.

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIOECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE HAITIANS IN QUEBEC

This chapter seeks to establish a relationship between education and the socio-economic situation of Haitian immigrants in Quebec. It is particularly important to know whether the integration of Haitian youth in the Quebec school system was successful, and if not, what is the nature of the obstacles which hampered this process. Similarly, it is important to address the limitations imposed by certain adult education programmes where some Haitian immigrants are students, especially the French courses offered in the COFI centres. Attempts will also be made to address both unemployment and the mobility issues in the Haitian community in an effort to understand how the pre-migratory social status of these individuals is mediated in Quebec society. Finally, the limitations of education in bridging the social inequality gap will be addressed from a broader perspective in Quebec, Canada, and the United States. The rational that informs this analysis is that education is an instrument at the service of the political and economic structures of a society and as such, its function is often [not always] to protect these structures. However, education remains the cement that keeps most Western societies together through the ideology of merit and upward mobility.

Haitian Youth and The Quebec school system

As the data shows (Table II), the second and succeeding waves of Haitian immigrants and immigrant workers in Quebec are comprised roughly of 80% of individuals with less than 14 years of schooling, and about 20% of them had less than seven years. Furthermore, the data gathered from government publications

shows that between 15% and 20% of these immigrants of both sexes were of school age, and about 60% of them were between 20 and 34 years old (Bulletin Statistique annuel & Statistique et indicateur 1968-1992) (1). This implies that the latter were likely to have children shortly after they immigrated here. The traditional societal ideology in Haiti views education as the only worthy means toward social mobility. However, for many Haitians, education is an end in itself. Referring to Haitians' conception of education in Haitian society, De Ronceray (1979) argues that:

> L'éducation, définie comme un bien de consommation, a une valeur et répond à divers niveaux d'aspiration et d'expectatives. Pour certains, l'éducation peut être un moyen de réaliser de l'argent, de gagner du prestige, de la sécurité, de l'indépendance. Pour d'autres, c'est une fin en soi. ... Dans le contexte haïtien sous-industrialisé, l'éducation joue le rôle de symbole de prestige et fonctionne comme un instrument politique des classes moyennes dans leur ascension sociale (p. 53).

Haitian immigrants' expectations of the Quebec school system, concerning the integration process, were, in my view, very high. The only way the school system would have partly succeeded in meeting some of these expectations was to make the necessary adjustments both at the structural (the school system and the curriculum) and at the individual level (teachers and other school personnel). Such an approach would require that these 'poorly educated, illiterate' immigrant students be regarded as individuals who had not yet had a chance to fully

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(1). It is reported in the latest census that 49,395 Haitians were living in Canada in 1996, among them 92.1% (45,470) chose to live in Quebec. The Greater Montreal area is the home of 94.7% Haitians (43,070: 56.4% women and 43.6% men). Furthermore, the age of the Haitian immigrants comprised 7.7% between zero and 14 years old, 14.9% between 15 and 24, 41.7% between 25 and 44, 26.8% between 45 and 64, and 9% are reported to have been 65 years and more (Recensement 1996, compilation spéciale, MRCI).

develop their potential (1). Teachers' selection and training would be instrumental for the success of the students' education and integration into the school system and later in society. The teachers' role in that process, more precisely their relationship with these students, should seek to compensate for lack of care and attention the latter might receive at home. Noddings (1995) explains the rationale behind this approach as follows:

> The relationship in poor children's lives are not necessarily poorer than those of wealthy children ... But realistically, we have to recognize that an impoverishment of spirit often accompanies financial poverty. People may work hard with little in return; they may suffer the denigrations of "being helped"; they may feel helpless because they cannot provide for their children as they would like to do. And deep inside they may doubt that their children's efforts in school will ever pay off. Thus, even where love characterizes the relationship, poor parents may not be able to "present the world" as their wealthier counterparts do. In heroic cases, they have exactly the effect described by Buber - meaninglessness, darkness, fear, and callousness recede. In ordinary cases, however, poor parents may become for their children the living representation of meaninglessness and helplessness (p. 172).

This relationship should be based on the concepts of "whole persons," whereby teachers are involved not just as instructors in their relations with students, but also as mentors. For Noddings, this would mean that " ... teachers and students should stay together, by mutual consent, for several years. Time should be spent on the development of trust so that the advice, care, and instruction given

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(1). Referring to Cooley's 'seed bag' analogy to explain why "genius" does not appear to be unequally distributed among groups and races, Russell Jacoby (1995) argues: " For Cooley, the seed bag is mankind, the seeds are genuis and talent, and the soil - some cultivated, some rocky, and some abandoned - represent the very diverse historical conditions. 'Something like this, I think, is the case with a stock of men passing through history.' Amen" (cf. Jacoby and Glauberman, The Bell Curve Debate, 1995, p. XII).

by the teacher will be received by students with an understanding and appreciation" (p. 172, 173).

Unfortunately, the problems encountered by the Haitian students in the Quebec school system became more complex, therefore, more difficult to tackle as the number of Haitian students kept increasing in the 1970s. Critics seemed to agree that the Quebec school system has failed to integrate these students. Researchers began to pay closer attention to this problem as early as 1970 (Chrispin-Brutus, 1970). During the second-half of the 1970s and especially at the beginning of the 1980s, many studies explored this situation (Ravary, 1977; Pierre-Jacques, 1979, 1982; Olivier, 1980; Laferrière 1978) (1). Drawing on the immigration experience in some European countries and the United States, those studies began to provide pertinent information on the nature of the problems faced by all parties in their attempt to deal with this unanticipated educational crisis. In 1982, the Centre de Recherche Caraïbe organised a seminar in Montreal which gathered the Haitian academe and many other professionals from Haiti, the United States and Quebec. The purpose of that seminar was to provide a better understanding of the problems facing Haitian students in the Quebec school system. In the view of some participants, those problems (students' placement, cultural shock, language handicap, racism, xenophobia, and ethnocentrism) were similar to those facing immigrant students in other big cities (Olivier, in Pierre-Jacques, 1982, p. 13). The diagnosis of these students was equally disturbing: some had

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(1). In a study published by CECM (1978), it is reported that, of 1013 Haitian students 499 (49.3%) had one year deficit, 324 (32%) had two years, and 190 (18.8%) lagged behind for three years or more (cf. Pierre-Jacques, 1982, p. 13).

a chronological deficit of as many as seven years, material and cultural poverty, parents' illiteracy and sometimes their immigration status, their maladjustment and authoritative method of child rearing. Those problems are believed to have a direct impact on the children's cognitive and affective skills (Pierre-Jacques, 1982) (1).

Today, despite some improvement, the performance of Haitian students is still lower than most other ethnic groups. In 1988, St-Germain did a comparative study on the performance of some high school students in Montreal. The study focused on Allophone students in the French sector, and on Francophone and Anglophone students each in their respective sector. He found that the Haitian and the First-Nation students were the least successful in the government exams in 1987 (with 63.6% for the Haitians and 63.1% for the First-Nations). The Haitian students had the lowest average in the final report (with 68.1%, compared with 70% for the First-Nation students, and 77.7% for the Francophones) (St-Germain, 1988, p. 3) (2). Similarly, Tschoryk-Pelletier (1989) did a study on the performance of some Cegep students from different ethnic groups in Montreal (3). Her findings suggest that the Haitian students showed the lowest performance among all the ethnic groups studied (Tschoryk-Pelletier, 1989, p. 42). More encouraging for the Haitian students are St-German's

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(1). In a study of 1,800 Haitian students, Ravary (CECM, 1977) found that 56% had a chronological deficit of one year, and 27% of two years (Ravary, in Pierre-Jacques, 1982, p. 13).

(2). The Anglophone students fared better than all the other ethnic groups, with 70.6% in the government final exam, and 85.8% in their final mark. German, Pole, Italian, Greek students fared better than the Francophone students in the final report (St-Germain, 1988, p. 3).

(3). The Haitians averaged 64.3%, compared to 67.7% for the students from Latin America, 68.3% for those from Northern Africa and the Middle-East, and 77.1% for those from Asia (Tschoryk-Pelletier, 1989, p. 42).

findings that they fared better in the English sector than all the other ethnic groups, both in the government exam and the final report (75.5% and 93%, compared with 73.8% and 90.9% for the Jewish students) (St-Germain, 1988, p. 5). This discrepancy between the performance of Haitian students in the French sector and those in the English sector was believed to be, in part, the result of Bill 101, i.e., Haitian students had been recently immersed in the French sector, while those in the English sector were studying in English for a much longer period of time.

Nevertheless, these are case studies and the findings are based on sectional, rather than longitudinal, data. Findings based on sectional data cannot measure students' progress. Furthermore, those studies did not consider students' length of residence in Quebec, their parents' education and the extent of their exposure to the language of instruction. Therefore, these findings must be used cautiously to avoid stereotyping and generalisation. On the other hand, failing to acknowledge that Haitian students are facing mounting challenges at different levels in the Quebec education system would mean failing to acknowledge the efforts and contributions of some practitioners and educators and their helpful assistance to thousands of Haitian students. Also, some successful remedial programs such as «Le Relais» in the CSPGM, and «Projet Haitien» in the CECM are encouraging paths that should be further explored (1).

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(1). These projects consist of after-school classes for Haitian students with learning difficulties and behavioural problems. Of the one hundred students enrolled in the «Projet Haitien» from 1984 to 1990, it is reported that 31.5% graduated from high school, 3.5% had a vocational diploma, 9% graduated from high school, and 1.7% had a university diploma. Only 19.1% of them dropped out (AEHQ, memoire présenté au CCCI, 1996).

Haitian Immigrants and Adult Education in Quebec

Haitian immigrants are also to be found in two other sectors of Quebec education system: adult education and literacy programmes. As mentioned earlier, Haitians value education as the most worthy path to escape marginality. Compared to Quebec, adult education and literacy programmes in Haiti are marginal. Because of this situation, many Haitians (in Haiti) who wished to go back to school were unable to do so (De Ronceray, 1979). But in Quebec, any well-intended individual has free access to compulsory education. My assessment is that most Haitian immigrants have attempted to attend one of these programmes in Quebec. However, because of numerous challenges facing them in their daily lives, many are compelled to quit. A study published by the Quebec government came to a somewhat similar conclusion. The study focused specifically on the need of adult Allophone immigrants to learn French. It is reported that Haitians are among the immigrants who have a positive attitude toward the French classes despite their low rate of attendance (51%). However, the reason put forward to explain such a low rate of attendance is not convincing:

> Malgré la grande attirance qu'ils manifestent pour les services de francisation, ces immigrants fréquentent moins les cours, sans doute parce qu'une forte proportion d'entre eux sont admis dans la catégorie de la famille et qu'ils ne reçoivent au cours de leur formation pratiquement aucun autre soutien financier que celui que leur procure le garant (Collection Notes et Documents No 7, 1997, p. 12).

The situation facing these people is more complex than this study has suggested. I believe that the problems facing these immigrants are threefold. First, it is true that the immigration policy that informs the family reunion programme hampers the adaptation process of the recipients and unfairly

increases the financial burden of the already precarious sponsors for many years. But those individuals, including the refugees and a few illegal Haitian immigrants, are among the most precarious subclasses of immigrants. Very often, they are requested to work in underground sweatshops and factories for a few days at a time. These random job opportunities along with other family-related problems can better account for such a low rate of attendance among the Haitian immigrants. Second, many Haitian immigrants attend these classes not so much to learn basic French but to perfect their French skills. Because of their previous education experience in Haiti, some of these adult learners need more advanced conversation and corrective grammar classes. Therefore, putting them in the same classes as other "parfait débutants" (true beginners) who have never studied (in) French is a recipe for a high dropout rate. The interest these individuals show for the more advanced French classes is self-explanatory. I observed the same phenomenon in high school English classes where French-speaking and Greek students are placed together. I believe that some well-structured and integrated Haitian learning centres would do a better job than these 'one-size-fit-all' government French programs.

Third, the success of any human activity depends on the motives that inform their endeavour. In other words, the higher the motives, the greater is the success of that person. In that perspective, two parties have justifiable motives to entertain French classes: the Quebec government, and the (Haitian) immigrants. The former pays for the French classes as a way of keeping up with its linguistic agenda. From the Quebec government perspective, French-speaking immigrants will help to increase the number of French-speakers in North America. The ideology that informs the process of immigrant integration in the workplace underlies the French language as prerequisite. Also, Bill 101 is

based on the same ideology (1). This ideology, on the other hand, goes along with one of the motives that encouraged the latter (the immigrants) to leave their country. The problem becomes obvious, however, when many of these immigrants encounter contradicting messages in their everyday lives. Rather than relying on the opportunities education can provide, many Haitian immigrants begin to realize that neither the French language nor education can successfully help them escape marginality. As already mentioned, one of the historical ideologies that bind citizens together in North America (in Quebec) is the 'meritocratic ideology' expressed in the 'upward mobility dream' (2). Education is supposedly the instrument 'par excellence' that helps achieve this aim. If education fails to provide the possibility for upward mobility to many citizens, especially to members of some specific ethnic groups, why should they be involved in French classes or any other educational programs? In other words, why should Haitian immigrants and Haitian-Quebeckers strive to attend language classes, basic schooling or higher education if there is a distinct possibility that, in the end, they will remain in the factories or unemployed?

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(1). Bill 101 "la loi 101" (The Charter of the French Language) is one of the language laws adopted by Quebec governments in an attempt to address the problems faced by the French language in North America (Bourhis in Berry & Laponce, 1994). The article 72 of that bill states that schooling at all level - kindergarten, elementary and high school - must be conducted in French. Parents who have reasonable motives to continue their children's education in English may apply for a special permit under the notwithstanding clause (article 73) (Dupuis, 1991, p. 247).

(2). Upward and downward mobility are the result of **circulation mobility**, i.e., "movement up or down the occupational ladder that is not a function of changes in the types of jobs available, but a feature of the openness or fluidity of the occupational structure"... Whereas "**structural mobility** results from a change in the occupational structure of a society" (Statistic Canada, Catalogue 11-6126, No. 5, p. 43).

Socio-economic Status of the Haitian Immigrants and the Work place

This section attempts to address the nature of the socio-economic status (S.E.S) of Haitian immigrants in Quebec and its impact in the workplace. The first question that needs to be bebated is whether Haitian immigrants maintain and improve their social status in Quebec, or whether they become downwardly mobile. Unfortunately, very little has been said on this issue in the current literature. However, I suggest that most middle-class and lower-middle-class Haitian immigrants of the first wave were successful in substantially improving their socio-economic status in Quebec. The second and succeeding waves were, in my view, less successful in general. In the latter instance, some Haitian immigrants managed to improve their economic situation, but only a few of them succeeded in maintaining or improving their S.E.S. Yet, many of these individuals are confined into a lower social status in Quebec society. A study published by the Quebec government (M.C.C.I., 1991) suggests that more than 50% (42% out of 81.1%) of Haitian workers were factory employees in 1986 (cf. Labelle and Goyette, 1993, p. 12). It was also reported that 15.3% have been employed in the medical and other related sectors, 6.4% in the accommodation and restaurant sector, 6.1% entertained retail activities, 5.5% were working as teachers and other related services, and 5.8% in other sectors for a total of 81.1 % of Haitian workers (Labelle and Goyette, 1993, p. 12). Unlike the second wave, Haitian immigrants who arrived here in the 1960s were mainly white collar workers. Dejean (1978) reported that, for 371 Haitians working in Canada in 1969, 87.9% (326) were white collar workers, compared to 12.1% (45) blue collar workers (Dejean, 1978, p. 4).

This data shows a drastic shift in the occupational status of Haitians over the past 16 years. It is self-evident that besides the increase in the number of

Haitian workers since the 1970s there was also substantial difference in their social status in general. However, as mentioned earlier, one must be cautious about the nature of that difference. For example, statistics cannot explain the personal and social variables and obstacles which come into play in the adjustment process of different individuals in a different socio-economic and political context. Dubuisson (1988) has made an attempt to provide ground for further considerations on the issue of social status among Haitian immigrants. He suggests that Haitian immigrants comprised working-class (which includes mainly unskilled workers), middle-class (which included a few business persons, managers, investors, and some self-exile politicians), and lower-middle-class individuals. The latter comprised some self-employed, small business owners, professionals, semi-professionals, etc. (Dubuisson 1988, p. 42, 43). As Dubuisson mentioned, Haiti is a developing country; its societal structure is different from that of a (post)modern society like Quebec. Therefore, many middle-class and lower-middle-class Haitians who are unsuccessful in securing a job in the work place may become downwardly mobile. Inversely, some working-class immigrants who succeeded in improving their economic situation in Quebec may attempt to endorse the values of a higher social status. However, the individual's economic position may not always reflect her/his social status. For, although both social status and economic position can be achieved in the host society, the latter seems to be more dependent of pre-migratory conditions. Thus, the Haitian community has failed to substantially improve its socio-economic situation in Quebec. Many studies have suggested an ever-increasing gap between these individuals and members of the host society, even after a lengthy period of residence.

In 1995 the Quebec government (C.C.I.M.) published a study entitled

Portrait des hommes d' origine haïtienne de la région de Montréal which

provides some pertinent information on the socio-economic situation of the

Haitian immigrants in Quebec. Based on the data from statistics Canada, this

study estimated that about 43,000 Haitians were living in Quebec in June 1994

(1). Among those Haitians, it was reported that 10,906 (25%) were welfare

recipients in 1994, compared to 10.7% Quebeckers. The findings also suggest

that 36.4% of Haitian children between zero and 12 years old were living in a

single-parent family, the second highest level after the Jamaicans (41%). The

percentage of single-parent family among French-Canadians during the same

period was 23.6% and only 13.2% for immigrants from other countries (C.C.I.M.

1995, p. 14). Furthermore, it is estimated that 23% of the male Haitians aged

between 25 and 44 years old were unemployed in that period, compared to

10.5% of French-Canadians. Also, only 4.3% of the Haitian-born immigrants

and 6.8% of second-generation Haitians (1) between the age of 25 and 44 were

members of executive boards or hold managerial positions in the job market,

compared to 12.5% of French-Canadians (C.C.I.M., 1995, p. 20). However, this

study reported the level of unemployment among Haitian males. I believe that

unemployment and underemployment among Haitian women are even more

critical.

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(1). This study draws on data from Statistics Canada which is published every
five years.   In June 1991 it was reported that 36,000 Haitian born immigrants
were living in Quebec. With an estimated 2,500 new immigrants every year, the
number of Haitian born immigrants in 1994 was estimated to 43,500.   The
accuracy of such a prediction relies solely on the government's ever-shifting
immigration policy, and on the assumption that all Haitian immigrants remain in
Quebec.   But the latest publication from Statistics Canada reported that 49,395
Haitians were living in Canada in 1996, and 45,470 (92.1%) in Quebec.   The
above prediction falls short of 3,000 Haitians in Quebec.

This study confirms my claim that there is an increasing gap between Haitian immigrants and the French-Canadians concerning their socio-economic conditions. Quebec-born Haitian children are 1.5 times more likely to be raised by a single-parent family than in a Quebec family and 2.5 times more likely that their family will be welfare recipient, and 2.3 times more likely that their parents are unemployed, and about twice less likely to be promoted in an executive board or management position in Quebec. This situation becomes very complex when the process of victimization comes into play to seal the fate of these citizens in society. The most common form of this victimization process is discrimination. This study also suggests that the second generation of Haitians seems to fare a little better than the second and succeeding waves of Haitian immigrants. However, these individuals are also facing serious challenges to secure a good job here despite their linguistic and cultural competence. Other studies (Labelle & Levy, 1993; Pongnon, 1992) suggest that Haitians are victims of systemic discrimination in the hiring process, especially during the job interviews (1). But those difficulties may be more striking among the first generation of Haitian immigrants. This may explain why there is, in my view, a small gap between the first and the second generation of Haitians in Quebec. Another contributing factor is the fact that, during the 1970s and 1980s the Quebec government decided to give little recognition to the experience and certified diplomas originating from Haiti. This situation has forced many lower-middle-class and middle-class Haitian immigrants into the factories and the taxi industry. Dubuisson puts it as follows:

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(1) In his thesis entitled Le chômage des jeunes de la communauté haïtienne de Montréal: les diplômés-es de l'UQAM, Renel Pongnon found that unemployment is extremely high among the Haitian undergraduates and graduates at UQAM. He suggests that this situation may be, in part, the result of discriminatory methods of hiring (Pongnon, 1992).

Aussi le professionnel haïtien qui débarque à Montréal, livré à lui-même, est forcé, s'il veut demeurer et survivre, d'accepter un emploi de journalier, entraînant comme conséquence sociale un changement de cadre occupationnel et d'ambiance sociale de travail. De même, bacheliers et finissants du cycle d'études secondaires haïtiens sont réduits, à Montréal, à mettre en veilleuse leurs aspirations professionnel les. Cette situation du sujet occupant la position de classe ouvrière tout en conservant sa référence idéologique petite bourgeoise est vécue différemment selon les personnalités. Elle peut être la source de tensions et de conflits psychiques assez graves et engendrer du moins des sentiments de frustration, de dévalorisation et de dépréciation (Dubuisson, 1988, p. 46, 47).

As this section has shown, the second and third waves of Haitians are less successful in improving their socio-economic conditions than the first wave. However, the argument that the first generation of Haitian immigrants were successful in their attempt to integrate into Quebec mainstream society because of their socioe-conomic status (middle-class intellectuals, professionals and semi-professionals) is an overstatement. The above analysis provides little ground to support this assertion. This variable alone cannot explain why the first wave of Haitian immigration was, in some respects, more successful than even some of their children. It is obvious that many educated Haitians have failed to integrate into the workplace and thereby participate in the communal life here. However, the reason of this failure must be found in the structure of Quebec society. Perhaps, Peter S. Li's (1988) observation on the issue of immigrant minority mobility after the Second World War can help explain the inequality facing Haitians and other immigrant minorities in the Quebec job market today. In his book entitled Ethnic Inequality in a class society, Li wrote:

Judging from the changing occupational structures in Canada, especially in the period after the Second World War, it is obvious that postwar immigrants to Canada have better opportunities in nonagricultural occupations than those who came earlier in the century. But such improved opportunities may have little to do with

greater equality. If it took European immigrants who came in the nineteenth century a number of generations before they moved from agricultural pursuits to industrial jobs, and if postwar immigrants from Third World countries landed immediately in professional and technical occupations, it is only because these groups entered Canada at a different stage in the development of the economy, and consequently were responding to different demands of the labor market. Thus, mobility resulting from major occupational shifts in itself does not necessarily imply more equality of opportunity (Li, 1988, p. 13,14).

The above sections sought to briefly outline that many Haitian youth failed to integrate into the schooling system in the same way that Haitian adults failed to integrate in the workplace. Although many Haitians still rely on education and schooling as the main tools for escaping marginality, many educated Haitians are facing mounting obstacles in the job market. Because of the high level of unemployment and underemployment among educated Haitians and other minorities, I believe that education alone cannot account for minority integration in Quebec society. However, has education helped narrow the social inequality gap over the past decades in Quebec, Canada and the United States?

Education and Employment in Quebec: A General Perspective

Many initiatives undertaken by the Quebec government over the past years suggest that there are general concerns with the obvious limitations of the education system since the "Quiet Revolution". It appears that not only has education failed to reduce social inequality but, in some instances, it contributed to it. In the spring of 1995, the Quebec government undertook a public hearing on education through a process that has come to be known as the Estate General on education. In the document that was published following the hearing, the Commission expressed great concerns about the limitations of (Quebec) education to provide equal opportunity to all Quebeckers: "A feeling of

urgency, expressed in many different ways, was apparent all through the hearings. This is not surprising in light of the fact that, in all Western countries, the criticism now being levelled at education systems is as harsh as the expectations of them are high" (Estate General on education, 1996, p. 1). This report further suggests that:

> The need to reestablish the principle of equal opportunity was expressed in various ways. Warnings were given about certain practices that compromise free education, proposals were presented to give priority to lowering the dropout rate, and demands were made to provide a more adequate response to the needs of certain categories of students, such as students from the cultural communities and underprivileged backgrounds, and students with learning or adjustment difficulties. In this connection, the situation of schools in Montreal, which almost inevitably find themselves facing all the most difficult problems at the same time, cannot be tolerated any longer. Schools must not only avoid deepening social divides, they must also help to reduce the factors of exclusion (Estate General on education, 1996, p. 2).

Following the recommendations of the Commission, a group of curriculum experts was formed with the purpose of coming up with new ideas on how to review the curriculum. The new curriculum advocates a cognitive society. In a document published by the Ministry of Education, a new approach to education is adopted; it is called " Prendre Le virage du succès". Children begin school at an early age and students are provided with technical training to better compete in the job market (Plan d'action ministeriel pour la Réforme de L'Éducation, 1997, M.E.Q.). Despite some improvement in this curriculum, one may 'rightfully' be skeptical obout the oucome of these measures.

Some studies have attempted to address the limitations of education in Québec society, particularly its failure to solve the problem of marginalisation

faced by many social groups within a broader economic context. For example, Claude Trottier (1998) highlights the structural changes that have occurred in the world market economy. In his view, those changes created more precariously but demanding, part-time jobs and fewer good jobs (Trottier, in McGill Journal of Education, 1998, Vol. 33, No 2, spring 1998). Drawing on the work by Dubet (1996), Trottier suggests that the problem of marginalisation may begin in school, although the scope of this phenomenon is more significant in the job market. Trottier agrees with the idea advanced by Dubet (1996). The latter contends that:

> Plus l'école intègre d'élèves longtemps, plus elle se massifie, plus elle exclut en même temps. En effet, toute l'orientation se fait selon le principe d'orientation négative. L'élève ne choisit que ce qui lui reste à choisir en fonction de ses performances. Il se trouve engagé dans un processus d'exclusion relative (cf. Trottier, in McGill Journal of Education, 1998, Vol. 33, No 2, spring 1998, pp. 183).

Trottier raised some key issues, and his analysis provides a clear understanding of the nature of the marginalisation problem in Quebec society. His argument that society should acknowledge voluntary work and other related activities is worth mentioning. Also, his ideas of sharing work with the unemployed 'or/and' of sharing the country's wealth more equitably are encouraging signs of social enlightenment. However, his idea of establishing "un revenu de citoyenneté inconditionnel, cumulable et permanent" ('a concurrent, unconditional and permanent income for Quebec citizens') needs a more careful analysis for it might have, in the long run, the same stigmatizing effect as the current welfare system. Furthermore, Trottier seems to advocate the idea of preparing students for such a shifting, profit-driven, economy. This idea may, under normal circumstances, improve some individuals' chances to

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get a job. The problem is that nobody knows for sure whether by the time those students will be graduated if they will perhaps not have to face the same marginalisation problem in the job market as their parents. Finally, with no efforts to understand the scope of this problem among the most vulnerable groups, such as immigrant minorities, Trottier failed to provide a more thorough account of this issue in Quebec society at large.

Other studies and government reports attempt to rationalise high unemployment among immigrant minorities. The most common arguments often suggest that the job market become more competitive. Therefore, only the best workers will be selected (C.C.C.I., 1993) (1). These studies often suggest that there are fewer and fewer jobs in the conventional sectors, technical skills are in greater demand, English is required. Also, applicants need to have job experience, good manners, positive attitudes, etc. In other words, applicants must be middle-class Quebeckers or 'neo-Quebeckers', with as little 'residue' as possible from their culture of origin. These may be legitimate expectations in such a competitive economy driven by maximum profit. But these expectations have the potential of being biased toward minority candidates regardless of their competence.

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(1). This report draws on a previous study to suggest that: "Dans l'ensemble, les réponses des employeurs sont à l'effet que la raison principale qui motive les employeurs à embaucher un individu plutôt qu'un autre est la même, quelle que soit l'origine du candidat: c'est le plus apte à accomplir les tâches qui occupera le poste. 'L'employeur semble plus préoccupé par l'éfficacité de l'employé au travail que par les considerations sociales de l'immigrant' (p. 2). En général, les employeurs sont plutôt favorables à l'embauche d'immigrants car ceux-ci, disent-ils sont plus stables et plus productifs que les travailleurs natifs (C.C.C.I., 1993, p. 53).

Education as "The Great Equalizer": A General Perspective

For more than a century, schooling and education were believed to have the potential to narrow the social inequality gap. The view of education as the "great equalizer" may originate from Horace Mann. Because he benefitted from the 'mobility dream' himself, Horace Mann played a key role in the common school movement and the feminization of teaching during the 1840s and 1850s in the United States (Grumet in Interchange, 1981, pp. 170)(1). At the end of World War Two and especially during the 1960s, Canadian and American governments began to invest large sums of money in their education systems with the assurance that they were investing in human capital. It was the beginning of a new era in education dominated by the liberal reformers. The 'investments' in education were intended to help the economy of these countries and the less fortunate but capable citizens. However, by the 1970s critics began to examine closely the role of schooling in America's market-driven economy. In 1976, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, two prominent neo-Marxist thinkers, published their study entitled Schooling in Capitalist America: Education Reform

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(1). My intent is not to review the theory or any other theories or positions mentioned in this section, but rather to reveal some pertinent critiques that were held against schooling and education concerning their inefficiency in bridging the gap of social inequality. However, to do justice to women I would like to include an excerpt of Madeleine Grumet's critique of "the correspondence theory". For Grumet, this theory "... was myopic in its preoccupation with those processes of schooling that recapitulate class structure and the relations of the workplace ... (unwittingly perhaps) recapitulated the hegemony of masculine work and experience, blatantly ignoring the experience of mothers, daughters, and teachers (pp. 166). For Michael B. Katz (1976), the feminization of teaching coincided with the development of public education, "which occurred with remarkable swiftness around the middle of the nineteenth century in the eastern United States and a bit later in Canada... As the ideology of domesticity to which I have referred would lead us to expect, the moral and spiritual role assigned to women not only justified but made imperative their entrance into classrooms as surrogate mothers (Katz in History of Education Quarterly, 1976, pp.389).

<u>and the Contradictions of Economic Life</u>. This study, despite its limitations, helped cast serious doubt about the true nature of the role schooling has played in American society. They call their theoretical analysis "the correspondence theory". Five years after the first publication of their book, the authors wrote an article in which they summarized their view of the role of schooling in American society:

> In *Schooling in Capital America* we began by asking what might be expected of an adequate educational system. We found that three goals were central to the traditional liberal conception of the social role of schooling. First, education should be *egalitarian* in the sense of acting as an effective force for overcoming the natural, social and historical inequalities that tend inexorably to arise in society. Second, education should be *developmental* in the sense of providing students with the means to develop the cognitive, physical, and aesthetic powers they possess as individuals and as human beings. Third, education should be a means of what Dewey has called the 'social continuity of life'. That is, education should promote the smooth integration on individuals as fully functioning members of a society (in Dale R., Esland J., Ferguson R., MacDonald M., 1981, pp. 45, 46).

The authors went on to summarize their main critiques of the American schooling system as follows:

> We also argued spefically that the current relationship between education and economy is ensured not through the *content* of education but its *form*: the social relation of economic encounter. Education prepares students to be workers through a *correspondence* between the social relations of production and the social relations of education (pp. 46).

The *correspondence theory* is also grounded in findings that suggest that equal education does not lead to equal access to economic opportunity in American society. For instance: "For young black men aged 25-34 years, the gap in years of education in 1972 was only 4 percent below that of similar aged white males.

Yet the income level of these black men was 30 percent below that of similar aged white men" (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 35). Bowles' and Gintis' *correspondence theory* had a major influence on radical theories of schooling and laid ground for what has come to be known as the "hidden curriculum theories" (Aronowitz &Giroux, 1993, p. 70). By the end of 1978 and early 1980s, educators and policy makers seemed to agree that schools have failed in promoting equality.

Moreover, the neo-Marxists, critics of the failure of schooling and education have emerged from different schools of thought: from the conservatives to the liberals, the Marxist, and the 'neo' schools that are associated with these major schools, and the critical thinkers. In the United States the liberal reforms that took place during the civil rights movement were under mounting attacks during the Reagan and Bush administrations (in the 1980s). However, those liberal reforms were not so much aimed at re-evaluating the function of schooling and education in American society as to provide better access and education opportunities to Blacks and other ethnic minorities (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993, p.14). In so doing, they endorsed the meritocratic ideology of schooling and education. Wotherspoon (1991) draws on the work by Hunt (1984) to describe a meritocracy as an ideology in which "education systems operate as rational mechanisms which allocate labour market positions and social rewards on the basis of individual achievement and capability, regardless of a person's social background" (pp. 18).

The meritocratic ideology is based on various versions of human capital theories. The main focus of the latter was that, "as the scale and complexity of production increased, 'knowledge' had replaced ordinary capital as the critical

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input factor through which the liberal goals of national economic growth and individual success could be achieved" (Hay & Basran in Wotherspoon, 1991, pp. 36). In Canada, John Porter (1965), among many other social scientists, provided another version of the meritocracy. Porter's <u>Vertical Mosaic</u> stressed the relationship between education and social mobility. In his view, education was the main avenue for upward mobility (1). However, as Hay and Basran have noticed, Porter himself realized in 1981 that increasing education in Canada did not result in decreasing inequality (pp. 36).

Conservatives and neo-conservatives were also concerned about the failure of school in American society. The former advocates that public school curricula should stress the "language of achievement", "excellence", "discipline" and "goal orientation". In the view of Aronowitz and Giroux (1993), this discourse "really means vocational education or, in their most traditional mode, a return to the authoritarian classroom armed with the three Rs curriculum" (p. 14). School is seen as an instrument for accumulation of capital. Therefore, a New School Order is necessary for the establishment of a New World Order "driven by the ideology of corporate capitalism and the structuring principles of institutionalized racism" (p. 8, 9). The school system must seek to promote and legitimate competition, success selfishness, and a common culture. School failure (in the neo-conservative era) was seen, not as a result of widespread poverty of resources and human compassion, but because of students' poor character and poverty values. To address these issues, school must return to the "basics" with more power for teachers and administrators over the curriculum (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993).

Finally and broadly stated, the critical pedagogues (Freire, 1973 and 1995, Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993) view schooling and education as an instrument for maintaining and reproducing structural inequality through the overt and hidden curricula. For the latter (Aronowitz & Giroux), schooling has failed to bring about social changes because the content of the school curricula does not consider the needs and preoccupations of the learners. In the view of Giroux and Aronowitz (1993), teachers and academic who function as transformative intellectuals must "... critically interrogate existing school curricula, the hidden curricula, policy formation at the local and state levels, the form and content of school texts, their own ideologies and the working conditions under which teachers operate" (p. 50). Of all the critics who addressed the issue of education and inequality, Caroline Hodges Persell (1977) has provided one of the most pertinent analyses of this issue.

The "Theory of Social Standing and Socio-economic status"

In Education and Inequality, Persell (1977) proposed the above theory to explain how an individual's position in societal structure of dominance bears on her/his educational achievements. Her main assumption is that these two concepts, i.e., socio-economic position and educational achievements are interrelated. She began her analysis by defining numerous sources for her theoretical basis. Persell contends that "the structural basis of stratification in a society and the legitimating ideologies used by that society are two critical determinants of the degree to which the society relies upon the educational system as a mechanism for legitimating social inequality" (p. 6). Furthermore, the structure of dominance in a society is related to educational structures and ideologies, and is intimately bound up with the latter to recreate and legitimate domination. Drawing on the work by Weber (1946), Persell refers to the term 'structure of domination' to

suggest that people in position of greater power and privilege use the superior resources at their disposal (political, ideological, military, or symbolic) to maintain themselves (p. 6). To develop her theory, Persell draws on the structure of American society which, in her view, comprises multiple axes of stratification such as the ownership and control of productive resources, the hierarchy of occupational statuses, and a caste system that excludes people based on their race and sex. These complex structures are maintained and legitimated by the societal ideology of merit, competition, and social mobility (p. 16). According to Persell, the meritocratic ideology is so pervasive that not only does it obscure and legitimate widespread inequalities of wealth, but it also justifies racial and occupational inequalities (p. 18).

In this chapter, I sought to explain that many Haitian youth fail to integrate into the Quebec schooling system in the same way that educated Haitian adults fail to integrate into the workplace. Although Haitians still consider education as the only means for escaping marginality, many of these individuals are facing mounting obstacles in the job market today. I also attempted to show that education alone cannot help bridge the inequality gap in such a shifting, profit-driven economy. Structural and social inequality are very complex issues in a (post)modern society for they are legitimated under the disguise of merit and equal opportunity. Therefore, the failure of educated immigrant minorities (the Haitians, in this instance) to integrate into the Quebec job market is part of a larger problem which is the existence of rampant social inequality. This situation gives rise to different interpretations of this problem and how it must be addressed. However, as Persell has suggested, the educational system itself is a mechanism for legitimating social inequality imposed by the societal structure of domination and its dominant ideologies. In

the context of Haitian integration in Quebec, Persell's theory would suggest that job opportunities for educated Haitian immigrants (first or second wave alike) are based on the need of Quebec's societal structure of domination and its dominant ideologies. In other words, the integration of educated Haitian immigrants in the Quebec job market and mainstrean society can be smooth or difficult, according to the need of its societal structure of domination: the political elite and business leaders. Haitians can be regarded as highly or poorly educated, French-speaking or Creolophone; their accent may be praised or the subject of discrimination when they are no longer needed. Indeed, as I attempted to show, these stereotypes concerning Haitians (and other immigrant minorities) in Quebec has very little to do with the reality as expressed in previous studies. The next chapter seeks to explain how this process of domination works, more specifically, how different ethnic groups in modern and (post)modern societies compete for social and economic advantages, and how the competing ideologies affect the integration of immigrant minorities in those countries.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The intent of this chapter is to examine three theories which focus on the integration of immigrant minorities: the 'theory of group life' advanced by Gordon (1964), Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory of 'Structural vs. Cultural Interdependence' (1986), and Krau's (1991) 'Multifaceted Interaction Model'. These theories provide an understanding of the nature of group life, especially of the possibilities and limitations that effect the integration process of immigrant minorities and their children in a modern society. It is my belief that, to better understand the situation of ethnic minorities in a complex society, empirical considerations must be blended with theoretical interpretations. However, the scope of these theories must be understood in the Canadian and Quebec context. To do so I propose to assess their contribution and limitations in addressing the issue of Haitian integration in Quebec.

Another aspect of these theories that is worth mentioning is the context in which they were designed. Gordon's theory was intended to address the issue of group life during the civil rights movement in the United States. Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory is, in his view, universal although he warns against "transferring conclusion from one context to another". Krau's model is also universal, but it targeted specifically the Western countries and Israel. These theories were not designed to deal with the issue of minority integration in Quebec. Research on this issue is at its early stage in Quebec. Therefore, any contribution from the current Western literature must be encouraged.

The Theory of Group Life

In <u>Assimilation in American Life</u>, Milton M. Gordon (1964) articulates his 'theory of group life' in the United States. He proposes to provide a better understanding of the nature of group life itself within a large, industrialized, urban nation composed of a heterogeneous population (p. 3). He was mainly concerned with the social relationships that affect life within the Black, Jewish, communities and other communities of European origin. Gordon draws on the concept "peoplehood" to suggest that despite the progress of civilization, the huge nation is still regarded today as "the people"; the remnants of former types of ethnicity are then regarded as inconvenient vestiges to be tolerated in a democratic state but not to be encouraged (p. 24). Man seems to be endowed with some essential element which compelled him to merge with some small ancestral group of fellows. This sense of ethnic belonging is still going on in the twentieth-century (p. 25).

Gordon argues that there are two types of social groups: The primary group and the secondary group. The former refers to the intimate friends we invite to our house regularly for dinner and to whose parties we are invited in return, and the latter is a group in which contacts tend to be impersonal, formal or causal, non-intimate, and segmentalized (p. 32). In a modern complex society, the ethnic group bears a special relationship to the social structure which distinguishes it from all small groups and most other large groups. For, "within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary and some of the secondary relationships throughout all the stages of the life-cycle" (p. 34). Family life and religion are two examples of ethnically enclosed institutions.

Even education can be ethnically enclosed if it is based on "parochial" school systems. As for the economic and institutional activities - save the political or governmental institutions - they defy ethnic enclosure in the United States more than any institution (p. 35).

Gordon draws on the "ideal type" model advanced by Max Weber to propose a hypothetical assimilation scenario of some imagined Mondovian immigrants into a Silvanian host country. He proposes seven subprocesses that would have taken place in the Silvanian society (Table 5). In his view, cultural assimilation, or acculturation is sometimes the first and only type of assimilation to occur among some minority groups and this may continue indefinitely

TABLE 5. THE ASSIMILATION VARIABLES

Subprocess or Condition	Type or Stage of Assimilation	Special Term
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society, on primary group level	Structural assimilation	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation
Development of sense of people-hood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation	None
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation	None
Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional assimilation	None
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation	None

(Gordon, 1964, p. 71)

(p. 77). Gordon contends that cultural assimilation of second-generation immigrants has been encouraged by the school system. However the success of minority acculturation has not guaranteed their entry into the primary groups and institutions of the white Protestant group in the United States, nor has it eliminated prejudice and discrimination (p. 78). For Gordon, structural assimilation rather than acculturation will guarantee entry of minorities into the inner circle of the core society and lead to large-scale intermarriage. The latter has the potential of encouraging the other types of assimilation. Therefore, structural assimilation, rather than acculturation should be the first step toward assimilation (p. 81).

Gordon goes on to suggest that an ethnic group may be characterized by two types of cultural patterns and traits: The intrinsic, and the extrinsic culture. The intrinsic culture comprises the ethnic group's religious beliefs and practices, its ethical values, its musical tastes, folk recreational patterns, literature, historical language, and sense of a common past. These are essential and vital ingredients of the group's cultural heritage. The extrinsic culture such as dress, manner, patterns of emotional expression, and minor oddities in pronouncing and inflecting English, tend to be products of the historical vicissitudes of a group's adjustment to its local environment (p. 79). Differences in extrinsic culture are more crucial in the development of prejudice than those of an intrinsic nature (p. 81).

This analysis focuses on the structural rather than the psychological characteristics of individuals and groups in America. For Gordon believes that those characteristics belong to groups - primary and secondary groups - and that the nature of these groups and their interrelationships have a profound impact

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upon the way in which people of different ethnic backgrounds (and social class) regard and relate to one another (p. 234). He contends that "the United States has been a multiple melting pot in which acculturation for all groups beyond the first generation of immigrants without eliminating all value conflict, has been massive and decisive, but in which structural separation on the basis of race and religion - structural pluralism - emerges as the dominant sociological condition" (p. 234, 235). In his view, intimate primary group relations reduce prejudice, while a lack of in-group, to a certain extent, out-group contacts tend to promote ethnically hostile attitudes. He warns that structural separation of ethnic groups can proceed to a point where it is dysfunctional both for the creation of desirable attitudes and relations between the groups and for the workable operation of the society itself (p. 236). Gordon argued that structural and cultural pluralism in moderate degree are not incompatible with American democratic ideals, but the subversion of this principle by ethnic considerations would appear bound to produce, in the long run, confusion, conflict, and mediocrity (p. 236, 239).

Gordon suggests that immigrant-adjustment agencies should not make any particular efforts to force structural assimilation on the immigrants for their socioeconomic status will make such efforts futile and tension-producing. In his view, even the individuals who will make major structural contact with native subsocieties can profitably use the communal base of their own group to make their initial adjustment, and to fall back upon if their tentative interethnic primary group contacts prove unsatisfactory (p. 242). Gradual incorporation of the immigrant and elements of his culture are to be encouraged. Gordon was also concerned with the native-born children's tendency to become alienated of their immigrant parents and the culture they represent. In his view, this may be the result of their affirmative response to the higher status American cultural values.

Efforts should rather be directed toward helping the second-generation child to gain a realistic degree of positive regard for the cultural values of his ethnic background. For the latter is the basis of a sound, healthy psychological state of mind (p. 245). Finally, Gordon contends that government's interventions should be limited to effecting desegregation. In his view, governments should avoid imposing integration or interfering in any way with those personal choices in primary group relationships and individuals' organisational affiliations for inter-ethnic or intra-ethnic communality are beyond the scope of a government mandate (p. 249).

The Theory of Group life in the Canadian/Quebec Context

In an attempt to understand Gordon's theory in the context of Haitian integration in Quebec, I propose to highlight the Canadian and Quebec official policies of intergroup relations, i.e., relations involving immigrants and minorities vs. majority French-Quebeckers. The Canadian official societal policy is expressed in the metaphorical concepts of a "mosaic society" - as opposed to the "melting pot" policy of the United States. Multiculturalism and the image of a mosaic are two related concepts which describe a similar reality in Canada. In 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau expressed that reality as follows: Canada is a multicultural country within a bilingual framework (Tepper, in Berry & Laponce, 1994, pp. 102). He proposed a series of new measures which intended to assist the ethnic communities in their effort to maintain their culture within the Canadian framework:

> First, resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all
> Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort
> to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada,
> and a clear need for assistance, the small and weak groups no less

than the strong and the highly organized. Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society. Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity. Fourth, the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society (House of Commons, 1971, p. 8546, cited by Moodley in Banks & Banks, 1995, pp. 802).

Canada's multicultural policy originated from the reports of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the mid-1960s and the Official language Act of 1969. Some observers argued that by initiating these commissions the Canadian government's intent had not been to institute the policy of multiculturalism (Wilson, in Miranda & Magsino, 1990; Tepper, in Berry & Laponce, 1994; Moodley, 1995; Reitz & Breton, 1995). In the view of Wilson, "For a brief interval in the late 1960s, Canada became defined as a bilingual-bicultural state, ostensibly marking the attainment of official dualism sought by Henri Bourassa and his ideological successor, Pierre Trudeau" (Wilson, in Miranda & Magsino, 1990, p. 26, 27). It appears that the Royal Commission's intent had been to address the issue of Canadian identity, which was thought to be too elusive. Therefore, the dualist ideology would seek to cement the country's identity by bridging the cultural inequality gap between the *two* founding peoples: English and French Canadians (Moodley, 1995; Reitz & Breton, 1995; Tepper, 1994; Wilson, 1990). However, pressure exerted by the many ethnic lobby groups and the desire of the Liberal Party to garner the ethnic vote, forced the federal government to release Book 4 of the Royal Commission in 1970. The idea of a multicultural rather than a bicultural Canada began to gain momentum after publication of Book 4. For Tepper, Book 4 is "a byproduct of the effort to resolve issues relating to dualism, which pointed to the existence of

The Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups" (Tepper, 1994, p. 102). It was in that context that Canadian 'multiculturalism' emerged in 1971. Perhaps, some observers' skepticism is understandable for they argue that Canadian multiculturalism is an effective means of managing diversity and thereby of keeping the country united (Tepper, 1994; Reitz & Breton, 1995).

The federal government's decision to officially institute multiculturalism has been received with mixed reactions. Some liberal citizens acclaimed this idea in general, but the more nationalist individuals in English Canada strongly opposed it. Also opposing the multicultural policy were the First Nations, the French Canadians especially the Quebeckers. For the latter, Canada's multicultural policy is a direct attempt to disregard its historical claims of a distinct society (Reitz & Breton, 1995, p. 14; Labelle & Levy, 1995, p. 10). In fact, the notion of immigration itself has long been perceived in Quebec with great suspicion and anxiety for it was believed to be a tool in the hand of the English Canadians (M.C.C.I, 1990, p. 6). However, since the creation of the Ministry of Immigration in 1968, the *Québec Charter of the French Language* (better known as Bill 101) in 1977 and the Couture-Cullen Agreement in 1978, Quebec's succeeding governments have taken a series of measures which sought to gain control over the process of immigration and integration on its territory (M.C.C.I, 1990, p. 15; Langlais, Laplante & Levy, 1990, p. 29). In 1976, the "Parti Québécois" formed the elected government and, as a result, they endorsed the "Quebec Charter of Rights and Freedoms" (1995). This gesture gave way to the official recognition of "cultural pluralism" in Quebec society. Following the Canadian multiculturalist model, the Parti Quebecois government designed a policy which geared toward cultural convergence (Reitz & Breton, 1995). This notion portrayed Quebec as a French nation and, as such,

immigrants are encouraged to gear their culture toward that of Quebec society (Labelle & Levy, 1995, p. 10). These measures preluded the publication by the Liberal government (in 1990) of the first policy statement on immigration and integration: Let's Build a Quebec Together.

The liberal government defined its integration policy based on the Parti Québécois' "cultural pluralism". In this document, Premier Robert Bourassa stated that "Immigration has a priority in building a dynamic, competitive and open society, in redressing the demographics, adapting our economy to the new international realities" (M.C.C.I, 1991, p. III). Two other ministers of the Bourassa government advanced: "The states, institutions, associations, municipalities and social bodies are all reflected upon the pluralism of our society" (p. V); "We seek a better knowledge and understanding of Quebec society amongst the cultural communities, a greater recognition of Quebec's pluralist reality amongst the general public" (p. VII) (1). These statements consolidated the foundation of the Quebec policy of "cultural pluralism". Based on this policy, immigrants are required to agree upon the moral contract that guarantees their successful integration into a Quebec society. This moral contract includes: First, recognition that Quebec is a society in which French is the common language of public life; second, that Quebec is a democratic society in which everyone is expected and encouraged to participate and contribute; and third, that Quebec is a pluralist society open to multiple influences within the limits imposed by

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(1). Monique Gagnon-Tremblay was Ministre des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration and Normand Cherry, the Ministre délégué aux Communautés Culturelles.

the respect for fundamental democratic values and the need for intergroup exchanges (p. 15, 16, 17). It is, in my view, the context in which Gordon's theory may be understood.

Today, Gordon's 'theory of group life' is still relevant. Despite technological and scientific breakthroughs over the last three decades, little has changed in the nature of social group relations in general. Immigrants keep coming to North America, majority vs. minority relations in the United States, Canada and Quebec are more complex than ever. Consumerism and individualism are rampant. Social and racial inequality show no signs of decrease. With the lack of leadership and social class divisions even among Haitian immigrants themselves - especially between first and second-generation immigrants - the prospect for concerted actions to lessen inequality and promote better economic opportunity for that community is becoming dimmer. It is in that perspective that the contribution of Gordon's theory and the other models must be understood.

In Quebec, Gordon's definition of social group relations (p. 2) suggests that relations between Haitians and Quebeckers are for the most part of secondary type. Primary group relations between Haitians and Quebeckers may occur in a small degree and involve very few individuals. Second-generation Haitians entertain primary group relations with Quebeckers more frequently than Haitian immigrants mainly because of their cultural proximity. Contrary to second-generation Haitians, interactions among adult Haitian immigrants and Quebeckers in general are very limited and occur mainly in the workplace. Therefore, their socialisation with Quebeckers is at best of secondary type. As human beings, we are endowed with adaptative skills which allow us to survive

in unfamiliar environments. Because of cultural and social class differences that effect relations among Haitian immigrants and French Quebeckers, lower-middle-class and working-class Haitian immigrants have made great progress over the last decades to establish their own network of organizations and informal social relationships in Quebec society. Small businesses and other organizations in the Haitian community offer a variety of services and products which, as Gordon puts it, permit and encourage many Haitians to remain within the confines of their community: from church services and recreational activities, restaurants, beauty salons, charter buses, etc. Because of educational barriers and social class divisions, many Haitian immigrants may, indeed, remain confined to their sub-society throughout all the stages of the life-cycle. However, for some educated and 'upwardly mobile' Haitian immigrants, this sub-society provides them with social-psychological readiness to go through their integration process into a much broader society in Quebec.

Community agencies provide newly-arrived immigrants with the necessary environment to develop a reasonable degree of institutional readiness which may allow them to move to a much broader (sub)society. During the transitional period leading to her/his integration, the upwardly mobile Haitian learns how to mediate between her/his intrinsic and extrinsic culture and that of her/his environment. It is a process of self-discovery and self-awarness which is shaped by the immigrant's interaction with members of her/his own community, of other ethnic communities as well as with members of the host society. During this process, the immigrant is in an evolving psychological state of mind. The conflicting and sometimes hostile reactions she/he receives may somewhat encourage what the tenets of symbolic interactionism refer to as the "looking-glass self", i.e., she/he modifies their behavior according to her/his interpretation

of others' actions (Mead, 1934, in Persell, 1977, p. 15). However, as Persell has suggested this pattern of behavior modeling goes beyond the "looking-glass self", for immigrants and individuals in general are capable of resistance to temperament, personality and natural drives (Persell, 1977, p. 16). Therefore, the decision to continue this process of integration is not always self-imposed. Very often the immigrant's decision depends on the nature of her/his experience with members of the host society and the price vs. advantages that are involved in this process. Similar interpretations have been put forward in the literature on immigrant integration.

Clément et al. (1991) presented a study which sought to "investigate the modes of acculturation endorsed by Haitians living in the region of Montréal". They compared the acculturation model advanced by Berry (1984) and that proposed by Clément and Noels (1991). They summarize the theory by Berry as follows:

> ... les attitudes de l'individu à l'égard de ses individus ou des groupes viviant dans des sociétés pluralistes dépendent des réponses à deux questions fondamentales: (1) Mon identité culturelle première vaut-elle la peine d'être conservée?, et (2) Est-ce-que des contacts positifs avec le groupe dominant sont importants pour moi? La combinaison des réponses ("oui" et "non") à ces questions engendre quatre modes d'acculturation, à savoir: (1) l'intégration ou il y a à la fois volonté de conserver son identité culturelle première et d'être ouvert à d'autres groupes; (2) l'assimilation, où l'on désire avoir des contacts positifs avec d'autres groupes au détriment de son identité culturelle première; (3) la séparation ou la ségrégation où seule l'identité première est valorisée et, finalement, (4) la marginalisation où les identités première et seconde sont toutes deux rejetées (Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, 1991).

Other theories mentioned in this article suggest that the identity of a person may change based on the situational constraints facing them. The

individual is believed to have different behavioral patterns which correspond to different identities. She/he must choose the identity that allows them to display a positive image of herself/himself in a particular situation (pp. 82). The authors conclude that the (Haitian) acculturation is dependent of attitudes of the majority members in the host society and the context in which relations occur among these two social groups (pp. 92).

Gordon's main theoretical contribution to this thesis is based on his clear description of how social groups work and how different types of assimilation occur. However, his contention that structural assimilation must occur naturally, without government intervention is a gross exaggeration of social determinism. It is true, though, that the state cannot dictate the behavior of members of the different social groups in a democratic society. But the state has the moral obligation and the authority to intervene whenever necessary to fight injustice and narrow the social and racial inequality gaps. For example, without government intervention, slavery and segregation might still be socially acceptable in today's America. The struggle for a better, more just, society is the duty of all citizens and social institutions, including the state. Although inequality may affect the lives of some specific groups of individuals more than others, it must be dealt with as a social problem and, as such, its effect on most social groups is a matter of degree. This may explain why some critics of Gordon's theory suggest that his statements are more of a conservative who is trying to sound liberal (Yinger, in Tremblay, 1991, p. 8). From that perspective, Gordon's theory shares some grounds with the model by Hoffmann-Nowotny.

Theory of Structural vs. Cultural Interdependence

In a paper entitled <u>Assimilation and Integration of Minority and Cultural Pluralism: Sociocultural Mechanism and Political Dilemmas</u>, Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny (1986) proposes a theory of minority integration - *Theory of Structural vs. Cultural Interdependence* - based on social determinism. In his view, structure and culture are two basic sociological categories in ordering social reality. His main assumption is that these two concepts are interdependent, for "structural factors and structural change influence cultural factors and cultural change, and vice versa (in Rothermund & Simon, 1986, pp. 198). By structure, Hoffmann-Nowotny means a set of interrelated social positions (or units), whereas culture is a set of interrelated symbols (values and norms). He argues that each society has a self-regulated mechanism to protect the collective interests (political, economic, community: gemeinshaften) of its members. These three sets of interests can bind the members together regardless of the differences in age, sex, social stratum, occupation, language, religion and so forth (pp. 198). Hoffmann-Nowotny further contends that there exists in every society a minimum of agreement, consensus, or similarity among those who constitute the group. Because of this societal imperative, immigrants should seek to develop similar patterns of behaviour and habits with the other members of the host community without which "attempts at integration on the sole basis of political and economic factors appear doomed" (pp. 200). Similarly, the community is believed to have precedence over the administrative and political regulations in complex societies, for the functioning of those societies relies on the support of the community. From that perspective, "education alone cannot 'solve' majority-minority problems, although - under favourable conditions - its contribution can be very important" (pp. 200).

Another equally important feature of Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory is the notion of tolerance versus intolerance of heterogeneity. In an open society cultural pluralism, understood as cultural heterogeneity, creates structural segregation, thus social inequality. However, a certain degree of cultural homogeneity in a structurally segregated society (such as the situation of Blacks in America) will occasion anomie. On the other hand, "a structural policy would instead be geared toward equal chances of participation in the goods and values of the immigration countries for all its members" (pp. 207). In order for this structural policy to be enforced, minorities should accept to give up their culture and assimilate in the host society (pp. 207).

Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory helps shed lights on the broad structural context in which the integration of Haitians must be approached. In the Canadian context this model would suggest that multiculturalism could be a two-edged sword in dealing with immigrants and ethnic minorities. For if cultural heterogeneity (understood as multiculturalism) "is nothing but a necessity for the maintenance of the structural design" of the country, multiculturalism helps ethnic minorities' self-assertion while weakening the potential for regionalism and separatism in Canada. On the other hand, if cultural heterogeneity creates structural inequality, immigrant minorities run the risk of remaining marginals while celebrating their cultural heritage and, as a result, the possibility for sharing the goods and values of the country may be marginal. In other words, multiculturalism would be a political strategy which helps to keep the country together while protecting the vital interests of the majority group (or groups) (Reitz & Breton 1994).

This analysis would be equally true of Quebec's cultural pluralist policy. If it is not possible, as Hoffmann-Nowotny contends, to combine just any culture with just any structural setting without creating anomie, Quebec's cultural pluralist policy is a contextual adaptation of the multicultural policy. By imposing French as *the* official language, the Quebec model designs a context in which Anglophones are compelled to choose between their assimilation and their marginalisation. Furthermore, by allowing immigrants and minorities to maintain their culture, the policy of cultural pluralism sets the stage for large scales of marginalisation among immigrant minorities, for the degree of structural integration would depend on the immigrant's level of cultural assimilation. In other words, the chance of two equally educated Haitians of the same social background but different level of acculturation would not be the same in the Quebec job market. As it has been shown elsewhere in this thesis, the line between Haitian immigrants and second-generation Haitians is very thin. What is certain, though, is that the chance of two equally educated, Quebec-born individuals - let's say, a Haitian and a person of European origin - of the same social background and the same level of acculturation would not be the same in the job market. My contention is that, today education and the level of acculturation have very limited effect on racial barriers in Quebec and in North America. I suggest that the model advanced by Hoffmann-Howotny has some serious flaws.

First, the idea that "political, economic, and cultural interests can bind the members together regardless of the differences in age, sex, social stratum, occupation, language, religion ... " is an argument often advanced by some racist advocates. This argument is often called "*the zero-sum game of power and resources*". In the view of Feagan and Vera (1995), the zero-sum theory

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assumes that there is a scarcity of critical societal resources for which racial groups inevitably contend (p. 2). They contend that "Many whites see nothing positive in the integration of blacks into their organizations and communities because they view life as a zero-sum game in which black gains mean great white losses "(p. 3). Second, cultural assimilation (or acculturation) of many young Haitians in a structurally segregated Quebec, indeed, creates anomie and encourages these individuals' marginalisation. In another chapter of the same book, John Simon suggests that Hoffmann-Nowotny's model reduces *ad absurdum* some major issues facing ethnic minorities attempting to improve their plight. He argued that "burying such powerful social determinants as ethnicity, religion and race in a catch-all category called 'culture' does more to obscure the problems of minority groups than clarify them" (Rothermund & Simon 1986, p. 210). For Simon, because minorities are different from each other as they are different from the majority or dominant group in the host countries, the problems obstructing their integration may vary according to the particular situation (pp. 210). Simon contends that the most compelling determinant of integration remains race. In his view, "although every respectable study on the subject has shown that race does not determine intelligence or even say very much about an individual's physiology, racial barriers remain extremely difficult for minority groups to overcome" (pp. 213). Finally, Simon concludes that Hoffmann-Nowotny's assertion that cultural pluralism leads to stratification and segregation is irrelevant in the American context. In his view, this model raises, instead, questions about the kind of diversity a society is willing to tolerate. The United States tolerates different religions more readily than different races (pp. 215). Although Gordon's "theory of group life" and Hoffmann-Nowotny's "theory of structural vs. cultural interdependence" have contributed to my understanding of the Haitian integration in Quebec, they failed to explain why the integration of

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educated Haitian immigrants was successful in the 1960s and less so in the 1980s and today. Perhaps the model advanced by Edgar Krau (1991) will address some of these limitations.

The "Multifaceted Interaction Model"

In a book entitled The Contradictory Immigrant Problem, Edgar Krau (1991) proposes to address the problems raised by emigration and immigration throughout the world from a socio-psychological perspective. He began by suggesting that this issue is multifaceted and involves three dimensions interacting with one another: a) the"length" dimension of time-events, b) the "width" dimension of events' domains, c) the "depth" dimension of the social vs. the individual level (Krau, 1991, p. XViii). For Krau, the immigration phenomenon is a cruel, self-repeating, never-ending, drama in which the immigrant plays the main role but which also involves other actors such as the donor population and the donor government, the host population and the government of the host country. Each of these actors may have antagonistic interests and a different perception of the same reality. It is those competing psychological and social forces that determine the contradictory nature of the immigration problems (p. 6, 7). The author draws on Taft's taxonomy to refer to the immigrant's adjustment process as comprising the following steps: *Adjustment, adaptation, integration, assimilation (identification, interiorisation, and satisfaction)* (p. 55, 56, 57). In his view, many contradictions are intermingled in this process:

> The contradictions and tensions between the salience of the various actors and the roles of the immigration drama, the gap between objective reality and subjective appearance or delusively perceived reality, the conflict between the objective conditions of reality and the

endeavours to distort them out of prejudices and ideological commitments... (p. 61).

Krau goes on to suggest that the immigrant integration is hampered by his strong aspirations in the area of motives which pushed him to immigrate, the exaggerated favourable information (legends) on the host country he received prior to his immigration and the vocational difficulties in the host country. He argues that vocational difficulties often force immigrants into downward mobility which even the second generation may fail to overcome (Krau, 1991, p. 65). Prejudice and lack of economic opportunity force immigrants to settle in poverty stricken neighbourhoods; their isolation hampers their enculturation which further hampers their socio-economic integration - hence their marginalisation (p. 66, 67). On the other hand, the host society's unrelenting demand that the immigrant adjust quickly to the new culture also obstructs his integration. Krau was critical of the idea that an adjusted immigrant must be "satisfied, while functioning inconspicuously". This idea suggests that the immigrant should give up entirely his past identity, he should not draw the attention of the police and relief agencies to himself and must not have success (p. 69).

Krau suggests that attitudes towards emigrants and immigrants could improve if we understand first, the objective economic conditions in the host society and second, what triggers those negative attitudes and contradictions (p. 72). In his view, the immigrant integration is obstructed by the contradictory objective socio-economic basis and the supra-structural sphere of ideology, beliefs and attitudes held by the actors 'performing' in the host country (p. 110) . Previous findings were used to illustrate a paradox between economic necessities and ideological perception of events concerning the usefulness of immigration. For, on the one hand, there is a demand for the immigrant as

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cheap labour force; on the other, she/he is rejected as a member of the American society with its resulting rights (p. 115). This lack of a clear ideological background observed in the American immigration policy, for instance, is responsible for "sudden policy reversals, ranging from permissiveness and legalisation of undocumented immigrant status, to a strengthening of border patrols and subsequent acts of enforcing repatriation" (p. 116). For Krau, contrary to the role played by the official ideology in the American immigration policy, its role was instrumental in facilitating the return of the first cohort of Jewish immigrants to Israel. However, the government measures and steps toward the immigrants' integration seem less successful after the 1970s. For bureaucrats often oppose immigrants because of the support and 'favors' they get and, as a result, this situation often drive them to frustration and despair (p. 119).

The immigrant integration is also obstructed by discrimination. Krau contends that many accusations against immigrants are based upon gross exaggerations and false data. Those accusations are simply used to denigrate immigrants and stir up emotions against them in public opinion (Krau, 1991, p. 136). The consequences of false accusations against immigrants are real for they set in motion a "self-fulfilling prophecy", which makes the originally false conception come true (Merton, 1957, in Krau 1991, p. 136). Drawing further on the "labelling approach" (Jones, 1977), Krau argues that the bulk of deviant behaviour blamed on immigrants is of the secondary deviance type for they are forced into such a behaviour as a result of public opinion in the host society (p. 138). He contends that the immigrant's acceptance and economic integration should occur before his acculturation, for he must maintain his own identity and

have something to fall back on to give him self-respect. Therefore, cultural pluralism is the right way of achieving immigrant integration (p. 132).

Krau rebuffs the assertion that competition for economic advantages might nurture negative attitudes and discriminatory practices against immigrants. In his view, immigration is accepted only when there is an economic demand for an immigrant work force or at least the possibility to integrate them into the existing economic system. Second, immigrants are generally forced into lower-paying jobs for which there is little competition in the host country (p. 143, 144). Instead, Krau suggests that those problems occur simply because immigrants are different from the local population. Therefore, the nature of the problem is psycho-sociological in its causal aspect rather than economic (p. 145). He contends that there is a general assumption that subgroups are minorities. As a result, their members experience a wide range of discriminatory behaviours and frequently are relegated to lower positions in the social status hierarchy because of their difference. The apparent purpose of such a demeanour is to dominate the other, to maximally enlarge one's pleasure, wealth and glory beyond any rational consideration. Similarly, man is endowed with an ethnocentric inclination to consider his own group or race as superior to those of others, and to strive to increase the power distance between them and the weaker ones (p. 151). The immigrant is then trapped in a vicious circle: his 'differentness' sets into motion the machinery of segregation which prevents any attempt on her/his part to change and assume a cultural-spiritual profile similar to that of the host society (p. 154).

Equally problematic is the education and training that immigrants receive in the host country. For Krau, those courses prevent the very rapprochement of

the two groups they were intended to encourage. They generally focus on the official, literary language of the host country and on occasional problems, while failing to adapt their teaching methods to the immigrants' pattern of learning. As a result, immigrants achieve a low level of assimilation on specific contents. Furthermore, because of his exclusion from daily familiar verbal communication, the immigrant acquires the public's language only passively, hence the reproduction of a classic pattern of linguistic domination (p. 154). On a more psychological level, the mere existence of the immigrant in the host society occasions value conflicts and creates the feeling of threat which engenders an attitude of defensiveness. This defensive attitude becomes manifest in two major consequences: a) emotional thinking (which is characterised by unwarranted generalisations); b) aggression (which is believed to be hereditary in man). Krau concludes that discrimination and aggression are displayed against immigrants deprived of social power because they are different. This mere difference is considered to be a threat to the values and the customs of the majority population, to their self-image and their self-esteem (p. 159, 160).

Krau's scepticism of the immigration process is conditional for he suggests that "it should not be overlooked that the historical sense of immigration, and that scores of immigrants achieve adaptation in reasonable time spans" (p. 257). In his view, the immigrant integration is possible if the host society puts an end "to the hypocritic 'legalistic' interpretation of all declarations and treaties concerning human rights ..., and to the conditions contradicting all moral standards which are forced upon immigrants" (p. 340). He argues that the integration policy in some Western countries achieves the same result as the South African apartheid policy. He further argues that the state should not be an instrument of oppression against the immigrants or the natives and that any

limitations imposed upon inhabitants should be rational and reasonable, not subject to 'passions' (p. 343). Krau agrees that there are certain conditions that may positively influence the attitudes of the host society toward immigrants. In his view, catastrophic events or the feeling of guilt, or both, are not sufficient conditions for achieving this objective. He argues that the Swedish integration model - the most successful among the Western countries - provides some key steps for the success of this process. For instance, in 1975 the Swedish government introduced the principles of equality, freedom of choice and solidarity in the immigration policy. Members of the host society are encouraged to work in cooperation with the immigrant groups. In 1976 local and regional elections were fully open to immigrants who have lived in Sweden for at least three years. As a result, nearly 400 immigrants were elected to the provincial parliaments and municipal councils. For Krau, the success of this process is due to the absence of emotional and bias logical analysis in the debate on the issue of immigrant integration in Sweden (p. 364)

Krau concludes that the successful social and economic integration of immigrants in the host society seems to occur through a combination of four factors: "The feeling of guilt, economic necessity, national or regional solidarity in an egalitarian structure of society and a rational, sincere, benevolent approach in the absence of prejudice and agitation" (p. 365, 366). In this process, the mass media should instill the corresponding views, beliefs and attitudes in the public opinion. For Krau immigrant integration will be possible "only if the ideas of pluralism in the framework of national identity and of brotherhood between men working for the prosperity of the same nation, are accepted" (p. 372). This can happen "only in a sound society, where the feeling

of collective solidarity is not obscured by greedy hunting of prerogatives and advantages over one's fellow citizen" (p. 374).

As a native Romanian, Krau is an immigrant himself who has been living in Israel since 1977. He approached this topic from an academic point of view as well as from the perspective of his own life experience. In such instances, the researcher often gives an insight that other researchers might fail to display. However, in those circumstances emotional thoughts are difficult to control. Perhaps, this is one of the pitfalls that Krau fails to avoid. For instance, with no effort to consider every immigrant's experience as unique and different Krau refers to the immigration phenomenon as a "cruel, self-repeating and never-ending drama"(p. 6). Furthermore, his interpretation of the emigration phenomenon may be characteristic of some communist countries like former Romania. Contrary to this understanding and because of the Haitian political and economic situation over the past three decades, emigration was considered as a rather positive phenomenon. Under those circumstances, not only did some Haitians agree that their parents and children should leave but they often encouraged them to do so. Such may not necessarily be the case, however, in Cuba or in other neighboring islands. Finally, immigration may not be the paradise that many Haitian immigrants dreamt about prior to their immigration. However, this new reality cannot match the horror and desperation that many of these people were so happy to leave behind. The achievement of many Haitian immigrants toward self-fulfilment in Quebec has been hampered by subtle or blatant acts of racism and discrimination and many more have been the victim of shameful exploitation. Yet, very few of these people would agree to remain in Haiti if they were given a second chance. Therefore, it would be an overstatement to suggest that the living conditions of most Haitian immigrants in

Quebec are cruel or worst than it would have been if they had decided to stay in Haiti. As Young has observed,

> Krau almost completely discards the successful cases of social and educational programs designed to help immigrants, as well as the triumphant stories of countless immigrants who have overcome the many challenges inherent in all international migration situations and now enjoy remarkable personal development and social success (Young, Yun Kim International Journal of Intercultural Relations, Vol. 16, pp. 347-351, 1992).

Krau's model of immigrant integration is quite benevolent and too demanding of the host countries. Nevertheless, he has made an important contribution to the existing literature, especially to the topic under consideration. First, his three-dimensional approach, i.e., "length", "width" and "depth" is very pertinent. It is also my understanding that the Haitian immigration to Quebec must be approached from a three-dimensional perspective as suggested by Krau. For example, the "length" dimension refers to the time continuum extending from the events which make potential Haitian emigrants consider leaving Haiti up to their final routing (1) in Quebec. The "width" dimension concerns the domain of interaction or life domain. This includes interaction between Haitian immigrants, their family, the public opinion, members of the host society and Quebec government. Finally, the "depth" dimension comprises the difference between the social vs. the individual level of behavior. As Krau has

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(1). By routing I refer to the immigrant's final adaptation in the host society. For example, in Quebec Haitians can be found in each of the following adjustment processes: Assimilation, integration, separation and, to a lesser degree, marginalisation. Here my understanding is different from the point of view advanced by Krau. For, the latter seemed to target the immigrant's assimilation in the host society as the final objective of the adjustment process.

argued, "the social actors participate in the events both as individuals and as members of social groups", because "each event has an individual side with a psychological content of actors' behavior and a social content defined by the social conditioning and social meaning of the individual behavior (Krau, 1991, p. XViii- XXi).

Second, Krau's interpretation of the contradictions and tensions between the salience of the various actors and the role of ideology in the process of immigrant integration is also important. Contrary to Gordon's and Hoffman-Nowotny's theories which rely mainly on social determinism, Krau's model suggests that societal ideologies can be acted upon and negative attitudes of the host citizens toward immigrants can change. To encourage positive change we must understand: first, the immigrant's objective economic contributions in the host society and second, what triggers these attitudes which are so negative in their consequences (Krau, 1991, p. 72). My contention is that the problem facing the Haitian immigrants in Quebec may be more complex than Krau seems to suggest. Haitians face different forms of discrimination in Quebec: racial, ethnic, social, etc. However, racism and discrimination occur within the context of a wide range of other forms of victimization such as prejudice, prejudgement, stereotypes, sexism, etc., and as such, they must be understood as social phenomena. From a historical point of view, racism emerged as an attempt to justify slavery. Racism emerged specifically when some Englishmen who had travelled through Africa began to develop a set of negative stereotypes about African character and behavior. Africa was "usually pictured as the home of the most unmitigated form of 'savagery', involving canibalism, sexual promiscuity, and bizarre forms of pagan ritual" (Fredrickson & Knobel in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, 1983, pp. 833). Enslavement of

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Blacks in the 17th century (as it was the case in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the early 1500s) were justified on the ground that they were deviated from the true faith: Christianity. As many Blacks began to be converted to Christianity, a new rationale was adopted in the 1660s: conversion did not require manumission (freedom). A new concept "race" was invented to justify slavery. Therefore, conversion did no longer require manumission for slavery came to be justified based on racial rationale, not heathenism (Fredrickson and Knobel, 1983; Allport, 1955).

Although racism began as a means to justify economic exploitation, it has evolved over the centuries to become the most complex social and psychological phenomenon. Racism is approached from different perspectives based on specific fields of study (see Poliakov, 1980, 1981, 1987). Racism can be defined as "an ideology of intellectual or moral superiority based upon the biological characteristics of race ... It entails a willingness to discriminate based upon a perceived hierarchy of superior and inferior races" (D' Souza, 1995, p. 27) (1). (Social) discrimination refers to actions that serve to limit the social, political, or economic opportunities of particular groups. When such actions become institutionalized through either law or custom, they result in substantial inequalities in group access to wealth, social status, and political power (Fredrickson and Knobel, 1983, pp. 830). Allport (1955) made a clear distinction between discrimination and prejudice. He suggests that:

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(1). Although Dinesh D'Souza's (1995) The End of Racism is well researched, I disagree with his understanding and analysis of racism in the United States. For David Theo Goldberg (1996), this book is "an extreme and contorted work extended too much license by those who should know better ..." (Goldberg, in The Review of Education/Pedagogy/Cultural Studies, 1996, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 231-265).

... what we call discrimination usually has to do with common cultural practices closely linked with prevailing social system, whereas the term prejudice refers especially to the attitudinal structure of a given personality (Allport, 1955, p. 514).

Indeed, *prejudice* is "an attitude of generalized hostility or aggression against a group of human beings who are thought to have some undesirable characteristics in common. It manifests itself in such ethnic stereotypes as the lazy Negro, the drunken Indian, the unscrupulous Jew, or the unruly Irishman" (Fredrickson and Knobel, 1983, pp. 830). Similarly, *prejudgement* is thought to have its source in personality disorders of bigoted individuals or it may be a manifestation of conformity to group norms. For Allport, "prejudgments become prejudice only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge" (Allport, 1955, p. 9). Along this continuum is the concept stereotype (1). A *stereotype* is "an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category" (Allport, 1955, p. 191). (Ethnic) *stereotypes* are the perception shared by an in-group of an individual who belongs to an out-group as sharing the same characteristics. Ethnic stereotypes are different from sexual stereotypes, for women may also share the perception of their in-group. Stereotypes based on sex - such as

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(1). Allport provides six approaches to prejudice: *historical, sociocultural, situational, psychodynamic, phenomenological,* and emphasis on *earned reputation.* He summarizes these as follows: "A person acts with prejudice in the first instance because he perceives the object of prejudice in a certain way. But he perceives it in a certain way partly because his personality is what it is. And his personality is what it is chiefly because of the way he was socialized (training in family, school, neighborhood). The existing social situation is also a factor in his socialization and may also be a determinant of his perceptions. Behind these forces lie other valid but more remote causal influences. They involve the structure of society in which one lives, long-standing economic and cultural traditions, as well as national and historical influences of long duration. While these factors seem so remote as to be alien to the immediate psychological analysis of prejudiced acts, they are, nonetheless, important causal influences (Allport, 1955, p. 208)

anti-feminism or extremist feminism - reflect two basic ingredients of prejudice: denigration and gross overgeneralization (Allport, 1955, p. 34) (1). Finally, *sexism* is, in my view, the belief held by some individuals of either sex, but often males, according to which one sex is thought to be intellectually, morally, and physically superior to another. Therefore, the dominant sex has the right to subjugate the "inferior" one. In the case of Haitian women in Quebec, they may face many forms of victimization based on their sex, race and ethnic origin. All these concepts are socially constructed and as such, they have no real consequences. However, when they are perceived as real they bear so heavily on the target group(s) that their negative consequences can never be fully estimated.

Referring to racism in the United States, Feagan and Vera argued that:

> Typically, racist acts and practices are institutionalized, they are embedded in and shaped by social contexts. These practices have sometimes been defined as illegal under U.S. law. This is the case for certain types of blatant employment, educational, and housing discrimination ... However, a significant number of (these) actions ... have not been defined as illegal. Indeed, some of these practices may be so embedded in the way U.S. institutions operate or so subtle or covert that it may be difficult for a white-controlled legal system ever to deal effectively with them (Feagan & Vera, 1995, p. 7-8).

The authors advanced the "waste theory" which, in their view, explains the presence of racism in the American society. They drew on the social surplus product concept advanced by Georges Bataille (1988). In the view of the latter, "societies ordinarily generate more energy and human resources than are necessary for sustaining life at a minimum level . . . The excess energy . . . must be spent, willingly or not, gloriously or catastrophically" (Feagan & Vera, 1995, p. 8). Central to the "waste theory" is the idea that:

Racism is a tremendously wasteful set of practices, legitimated by deeply embedded myths, that deprives its victims, its perpetrators, and U.S. society as a whole of much valuable human talent and energy and many social, economic, and political resources" (p. 8).

In Quebec, the "waste theory" would suggest that unemployed and educated Haitians who are doing menial work and Haitian dropouts who become marginals because of racism and discrimination represent tremendous waste for Quebec society, for their family, and the Haitian community. Because of the scope of this problem in a society still in denial, very little improvement in race relations, as suggested by Krau, can be expected in any foreseeable future. There can be no unilateral solution to such a complex issue. This may be one of the biggest challenges facing all well-intended Quebec citizens on the eve of the new millennium. For history teaches us that a society that does not thrive to live in peace with itself passes its own problems to future generations.

The four combining factors advanced by Krau which can account for the successful social and economic integration of immigrants seem relevant in the context of this thesis. Some of these factors might have been in effect during the "Quiet Revolution", especially in the 1960s. During the early stage of the "Quiet Revolution" the presence of French-speaking educated immigrants was both a political and an economic necessity for the success of the government initiatives. Because of the imperatives of that period, Quebeckers were very supportive of the immigrants and many of them opened their heart and homes to accommodate Haitians and other immigrants. Prejudice and ethnic agitation seemed to be absent. Instead, Haitian immigrants became the subject of curiosity and admiration. It is, indeed, some of the conditions that helped the integration of the first wave of Haitian immigrants in Quebec. However, those

conditions were no longer available in the late 1970s, 1980s and today. As it has already been mentioned, many changes have occurred in Quebec society since "the old good days". Today French Quebeckers are not so keen on immigration despite the fact that the Quebec population is getting old and their birth rate is among the lowest in the world (1). Some observers even suggest that the number of Quebec representatives in the Canadian confederation and its survival in such an impressive English-speaking world may be uncertain if its population keeps decreasing (Langlais, Paplante & Levy, 1990, p. 19). Yet many Quebeckers believe they would be better off without immigration. Quebec decision-makers seem to fail to agree on a clear ideological direction on the immigration issue. This situation bears negative consequences on immigrant integration in this province.

Denise Helly (1992) studied the content of some interviews she conducted with 41 influential citizens, including Quebec government officials: Ministers, members of Quebec Parliament, researchers, journalists, etc. All the 'interviewees' are believed to have had an impact on the immigration phenomenon in Quebec because they have dealt with this issue at an important level. Helly identified four main schools of thoughts with regard to the vision these individuals have of the Quebec government policy toward immigrant integration: a) the advocates of a *Francophone Nation-State* (n=20), which is subdivided into two groups: the *Meritocrates* on the one hand, and

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(1). In 1988, the birth rate was 1.69 in Canada and 1.48 in Quebec; the third lowest rate among 13 countries. Italy had the lowest birth rate (1.33), following Germany before the reunification (1.40) (p. 39).

Affirmationists on the other, b) the proponents of the *Francophone Pluralist Nation-State* (n=8), c) the *Republican State* (n=7), and d) the *Ethnic State* (the extremist nationalists) (n=4). Although each of these schools of thoughts has specific views on this issue, some of them agree on certain aspects of it. Therefore, they can be regrouped into two main streams. The first stream is called the *interventionists* (the advocates of a *Francophone Nation-State* and the *Ethnic State).* They avocate an independent Quebec and the government intervention to protect and promote the French language and culture. The second, the '*noninterventionists'* (the *Francophone Pluralist Nation-State* and the *Republican State)* argues that the state must remain neutral with regard to the nationalist project and must neither support nor encourage the existence of a cultural hierarchy in Quebec society. In the view of the latter, this (current) cultural policy contributes to subordinate the immigrant communities and their culture to an inferior status (p. 115-151).

It is important to understand how each of these schools of thoughts address the role of immigration in Quebec society. However, only the argument of the first school of thought is analysed in this thesis. For the advocates of a Francophone Nation-State (n=20), the French language is *the* necessary condition for immigrant acceptance in Quebec. Therefore, the government must play a key role in achieving this goal. There are three different trends within this school of thought: some suggest that the role of the government should be limited simply to encouraging the immigrant's linguistic integration. Others argue that the State should also help the immigrant's social and political integration. Yet others contend that the immigrant integration should include linguistic, political and cultural aspects (p. 115, 116).

The *Meritocrates* argue that immigrants are Quebec citizens with the same rights as native Quebeckers, therefore, they must not have any special treatment from the government. This group seems to contradict itself for, on the one hand they argue that the insignificant number of immigrants working in the Quebec public sector is due to both a historical situation and the current budgetary problem, yet on the other they oppose any government initiative to hire immigrants as civil servants. Their main explanation is that immigrants did not face any systematic discrimination to integrate into the Quebec civil service in the 1960s. This group contradicts itself further by arguing that unless immigrants become assimilated they cannot hold any high position or work in the public sector in Quebec (p. 118).

The *Affirmationists*, on the other hand, advance that immigrants should attend programs that help them develop their social and linguistic competence that very few of them have before they could work in the Quebec public sector. They argue that immigrants need to acquire a good understanding of the public service and of the Quebec State before their social and political integration could be encouraged. This group is in favour of a public discourse and a few symbolic measures that promote immigrant integration and acceptance. They are willing to accept some political actions from the ethnic minorities that might challenge the "power monopoly" of French Quebeckers, but they believe that such actions must have the support of advocates of the Francophone project. They also stand against systematic government measures that would force them to share power with Quebec ethnic minorities (p. 120, 121).

As Helly's analysis has suggested, there is an ambivalence on the issue of immigrant integration in Quebec society. This ambivalence on the issue of

immigrant integration is reflected in the schools and in many other public institutions. Two important, yet disturbing, arguments may be raised concerning the position of these 'interviewees'. First, there seems to be an implicit agreement among them that the immigrant economic integration must be decided based on her/his level of assimilation in the host society. None of these participants has ever mentioned the possibility that immigrants who have pertinent experience in a particular field might be paired with French-Quebeckers to gain the necessary experience and better mastery of the French language and Quebec culture. Instead, the immigrant is referred to a training center where she/he must acquire not only the linguistic competence necessary to integrate into the workplace but also social competence and knowledge about the Quebec institutions. In other words, the immigrant must achieve structural and civic assimilation before they can begin to put bread on their table. The COFI centres are certainly not the place where these skills can be acquired, nor is the workplace where immigrants tend to be confined. Nevertheless, their progress will be assessed during job interviews in which all kinds of coded ways are developed to assess their level of assimilation. But before they can have the opportunity to meet the gate keepers, budgetary problems must be solved. It is this sad reality of the immigrant integration policy in Quebec that force some Quebec observers to suggest that "le Quebec n'a pas réussi - ou si peu - l'intégration des communautés installées ici depuis parfois plusieurs générations" (Langlais, Laplante & Levy, 1990, p. 8). For Bibeau, Chang-Yip, Lock, Rousseau, Sterlin:

> Malgré l'incontestable progression de nos législations en ce qui a trait
> aux rapports interethniques, il n'en reste pas moins qu'il est très
> difficile tant pour les personnes membres des groupes culturels
> majoritaires que pour les néo-Quebécois, de construire
> quotidiennement ensemble une société pluriethnique véritable et une

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nouvelle identité collective. Des forces sociologiques adverses et des intérêts contradictoires sont en présence, agissant souvent dans un sens contraire à celui proclamé par les lois; de même, quelques processus psychologiques fomdamentaux sont toujours là pour protéger l'identité des menaces de l'altérité et de la différence (p. 87).

The second point that is worth mentioning here is that, despite Quebec's official policy of "cultural pluralism", immigrant culture is undeniably subject to *reification, ossification* and *relativisation* in Quebec. I draw on Orteza y Miranda and Bellous (1990) to define these concepts as follows:

To *reify* a culture is to perceive its bearers as passive recipients of implicit and explicit cultural forms or elements; these forms become imbedded concretely in people's minds and guide their behaviors and conduct. To *ossify* cultural boundaries is to presume a uniformity within a culture and to assume the illegitimacy of any cultural form which appears foreign or alien to the established one. Consequently, there develops an automatic rejection of change and a hardening of accepted cultural forms. To *relativize* cultural forms is to assign cultural forms as unique growths or creations of a given people or group. Thus, no cultural form or element is understandable outside of the way of life lived by any particular group" (p. 11).

The policy of "cultural pluralism" in Quebec should gear towards more acceptance of immigrants and an unambiguous approach of education for cultural pluralism in the schools, universities and training centres. Rather than conceiving Quebec society as static and its culture as essentially the way of life of the "old-stock French-Quebeckers", this policy should define these concepts as two changing entities that are "connected with the past but dynamically webbed to the present and the future" (Orteza y Miranda and Bellous, p. 12; see also Olivier, in Séminaire sur l'intégration ... 1993, p. 30). Unfortunately, the fear of the "other" gives rise to a Quebec society that is turning inward. Immigrants are reified and ossified during their selection, establishment and location (the

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regionalisation of immigration). In this process, immigrants are considered as deficient individuals who must be kept at bay for a period that may extend over many generations. They no longer have dreams, projects or desires but, instead, they must meet the demand of Quebec economy and solve its population crisis.

Finally, Krau deserves credit for providing a clear psychological explanation of the value conflicts that the mere presence of immigrants occasioned in host countries. Although his contention that these problems can be solved through better understanding ... is, to say the least, naive. This would imply that these problems are the result of ignorance. The average Quebecker knows how useful immigrants were during the "Quiet Revolution" and still are for the survival of a strong Quebec society. Yet very few are willing to share their power and privilege even with the immigrant children and grand children. The real question is not whether Quebeckers are aware of the usefulness of immigration, etc. The question should be, instead, would they agree to yield a few seats in the Quebec Parliament and other decision-making bodies to competent Haitians and other minorities today? Or, can minorities and immigrants be helped or allowed to integrate in all the key domains of Quebec society without having to face rejection and pressure to solve the dilemma between their existence and their essence? Too often racism and discrimination are disguised under the pseudonym of culture in Quebec society. Behind the disguise of this cultural determinism of French-Quebeckers is their unequivocal effort to remain different from the "others". In so being, the domination over all non French-Quebeckers is reduced *ad absurdum*, i.e., a mere question of protecting the Quebec cultural values. Most Quebec residents would agree that Quebec language and culture must be protected. However, skepticism arises

when negative attitudes, hostility and discrimination affect immigrants and minorities who are desperately trying to learn French, those who speak it well but with their own accent as well as those who speak it with the Quebec accent. These are the issues that need to be addressed in the debate on minority and immigrant integration for the superior interest of Quebec society.

In this chapter I attempted to introduce some theoretical frameworks on immigrant integration. Three models were discussed: Gordon's "theory of group life", Hoffman-Nowotny's "cultural vs. structural interdependence" and Krau's "multifaceted interaction model". The limitations and contribution of these models were dealt with more specifically in the context of Haitian integration in Quebec. Gordon's theory provides a good understanding of group life, the effect of ethnic organizations on the process of immigrant integration and assimilation. However, his argument against any government intervention to help this process puts serious doubts on his true political agenda. He has been dismissed as a conservative who is trying to act like a liberal. Hoffman-Nowotny's "theory of structural vs. cultural interdependence" was useful in that it helps to provide a hypothetical yet critical interpretation of Canadian multiculturalism and Quebec "cultural pluralism". This theory also proves to have some serious flaws for it fails to acknowledge that race, rather than culture, is the most determinant factor for minority integration. Finally, Krau's "multifaceted model" has its own limitations; it fails to acknowledge that the immigration phenomenon is not so cruel for countless of immigrants and that not all government programs fail to influence the lives of immigrants positively. However, Krau's model has contributed to the theoretical understanding of the Haitian integration in many respects. First, his three-dimensional approach to immigration and integration, i.e., the "length", "width" and "depth" is pertinent.

Second, his interpretation of the contradictions and tensions between the salience of the various actors and the role of ideology in the host societies is relevant for this thesis. Third, his four combining factors which may account for the successful social and economic integration of immigrants seem relevant in explaining the failure of Haitian integration in Quebec. Finally, his psychological explanation of negative attitudes toward immigrants in host societies helps to shed light on some problems facing Haitians and other immigrant minorities in Quebec.

In conclusion, the main argument in this chapter is that education (understood as informal and formal education) is not a sufficient condition for immigrant integration in Quebec society. As Rothermund has suggested, formal education is essentially an instrument of the self-recruitment of the educated and as such a filter rather than a medium of integration. An individual may be well-educated and still have to face subtle or blatant discrimination in the Quebec job market. This situation is all the more complex, that educated applicants are often excluded based on historical ground, i.e., they are not descendants of the first settlers or, at best, they are not assimilated with the majority French-Quebeckers. As already mentioned, cultural assimilation of immigrant minorities (Haitian-Quebeckers, in this instance) is not a guarantee for structural integration in a closed society like Quebec. The assimilated individual (minority) is, after all, a 'visible immigrant minority' who, in the view of some ethnic nationalists, must be kept at bay to protect the cultural integrity of the host citizens - the old-stock French-Quebeckers. Because of this situation, many educated (immigrant) minorities have to go on welfare or into the factories. The irony is that education (perhaps rightfully) remains for Haitians the only worthy means for escaping marginality. The truth is that most educated individuals in

that community remain marginals despite their education for education is a mechanism for legitimating social inequality imposed by the societal structure of domination and its dominant ideologies.

Under these circumstances, three options are left to be explored by the Haitian community leaders: a) political actions in the form of lobby groups; b) a change in their integration approach which may be geared toward a better economic structure (business and investment in their community and other communities with similar problems); and c) options a) and b) together. The first option must be handled carefully otherwise it may create more problems than it can solve; the second remains to be understood. The next chapter discusses the methods of data collection and data analysis.

CHAPTER V

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter deals with the methods and techniques used to collect and analyse the primary data necessary for this study. As mentioned earlier, the design of this study is based on qualitative educational research. The main assumption is that the nature of group life in general and the Haitian community in Quebec in particular is heterogeneous. Therefore, Haitians achieve different levels of adjustment in Quebec society ranging from assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation. To better understand the perception and life experience of different members of the Haitian community, an appropriate technique for primary data collection must be used. Drawing on these considerations, I decided to collect primary data based on in-depth interviewing (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). In-depth interviews were conducted based on the semi-structured interviewing method. Although semi-structured interviewing is a relevant method for data collection, it has its own limitations. For instance, the researcher "may lose the opportunity to understand how the subjects themselves structure the topic at hand" (p. 97). But interviews were conducted with the assumption that "good interviews are those in which the subjects are at ease and talk freely about their points of view" (p. 97). An interview guide is designed specifically to offer respondents the possibility to share their opinion freely on research issues. This technique of data collection in qualitative research is approached based on the interpretation advanced by Bogdan and Biklen. The latter suggest that,

> Qualitative interviews vary in the degree to which they are structured.
> Some interviews, although relatively open-ended, are focused around
> particular topics or may be guided by some general questions. Even
> when an interview guide is employed, qualitative interviews offer the
> subject a chance to shape the content of the interview (p. 97).

The profile of sixteen target Haitian respondents was designed and individuals who meet these profiles were contacted for an interview. Interviews were conducted specifically with Haitian immigrants who arrived in Quebec between the 1950s and 1986. The life experience of these individuals provides the necessary data for assessing the process of Haitian integration in Quebec. In addition to these sixteen target respondents, four more participants were interviewed: a Quebec-born Haitian teacher, two community leaders and a French-Quebec employee. The profile of the Quebec-born Haitian teacher is not analysed in this thesis because it does not fit into the design of this study. However, the experience of that participant helps understand the process of Haitian integration from the perspective of a second-generation Haitian. The community leaders provide additional information on the problems facing the Haitian community today. Finally, the French-Quebec employee helps understand the functioning of Quebec society at the institutional level.

Target respondent selection sought a middle ground approach between single-case study and a large survey or telephone interviewing. For life story based on a single-case study would fail to provide any generalisable patterns of Haitian integration in Quebec. Although the life story of a single Haitian respondent may be a "typical" case of Haitian adjustment in Quebec, it would fail to provide convincing, comparable data that is necessary for understanding the interwoven variables of minority integration. For the success or failure of a single individual to achieve satisfying status may be seen as a rare occurence. On the other hand, survey and telephone interviewing have their own limitations. These techniques may be very useful for collecting data on a broad scale, superficial level, whereas, products consumption, client satisfaction, level of students' employment and voters' opinion are some of the areas covered by

these techniques. However, the scope and nature of immigrant integration and the resources available for this study make it difficult to consider a broader sample. To address these problems and in an attempt to trade breadth for depth, I decided to study many cases which involve different levels of analysis: individual, institutional and community.

Considerable effort was made to select participants whose life experience is considered pertinent enough to contribute to the understanding of the Haitian adjustment in Quebec. Also important in the sampling process was the participants' social status, their age upon arrival in Quebec, occupation, and, to a lesser extent, physical appearance. Two of the sixteen target respondents are light-skin and could easily, save a few minor oddities, claim to be from other countries. The assumption that undergirds this choice is to know whether the challenges facing light-skin Haitians were different from those facing what can be awkwardly called the "typical" Haitians. In other words, whether racial proximity helps acceptance and structural integration of light-skin Haitians in Quebec society. Meetings were scheduled with the participants who were interviewed on separate occasions. Interviews were conducted in French, except for one respondent who, despite his fluency in French, chose to speak Creole. Some participants have been interviewed once, others twice, yet a few of them have been interviewed on three different occasions. All interviews had been recorded on tape with the consent of the participants. Questions covered respondents' education, career, achievement and life experience in Quebec. Among the individuals who had been requested for this study, five declined involvement or failed to return my call (Table III).

Table III

	Number of Target Respondents and Participants Interviewed	
	Males	**Females**
Retired Teachers	2	2
Teachers	1	1
University Professors	2	
Doctors	1	2
Nurses		2
Taxi Driver	1	
Factory Worker	1	
Unemployed		1
Unemployed Student		1
French Quebec Employee		1
Community Leader/Worker	2	
Total	**10**	**10**

Interview Guide

The interview guide covers the period that begins with the respondent's emigration from Haiti until the day of the interview. The rationale behind this is that the motive that informs an individual's choice to leave her/his country may hamper or contribute to their adjustment in the host society. For instance, an individual who came to Quebec with the purpose of studying may not make any considerable effort to become familiar with the customs, culture and institutions of Quebec society. Similarly, a person who reluctantly left her/his country because of political turmoil may be trapped in a vicious circle of uncertainty with regard to her/his future in the host society. The same push vs. pull factors that determined emigration may continue to affect adjustment in the host society for

many years. On the other hand, individuals who resolutely left their country with intent to live elsewhere may be more inclined to put up with certain conditions and challenges that a typical immigrant may find too demanding. Another variable that is considered in selecting the target respondents is their age upon arrival in Quebec. For instance, the respondents who arrived in Quebec at an early age seem to face the future with less uncertainty. As a result, their adaptation is much easier, compared to some adult immigrants who may find it very difficult to begin a resocialization process. However, these are not sufficient conditions for integration. Other determining factors such as education and participation in communal life and interactions with other well-established immigrants and with members of the host society are equally important. Questions posed to respondents sought to assess the degree to which their decision to live in Quebec, education and participation in communal life of Quebec society has helped their integration. The analysis in previous chapters showed that the importance of these factors varies according to the period of immigration, pre-migratory factors such as education, S.E.S., attitudes, competing and contradictory ideologies in the host society. To the extent that the data collected shows otherwise this view will be re-examined. If, on the contrary, the analysis of the primary data confirms these assumptions, this study will have made a contribution to the current understanding of minority integration in general and of the Haitian integration in Quebec in particular (see Questionnaire in Appendices).

Interviews with community leaders

Two community leader/workers were interviewed. One of them is the director of a well-known Haitian centre. That centre had a great impact on the Haitian community in the past. Today, it provides services to many Haitians and some

immigrants from other countries. To the extent that the director of that centre has a certain impact on community issues, he may be considered a community leader and his understanding of the Haitian integration is worthy of consideration. On the other hand, the centre in Laval seeks to provide better readiness to "at risk" and disadvantaged children at the day care and Kindergarten level. Also targeted by that centre are Haitian elders who often are subject of abuse and neglect from their own children and grandchildren. Because of their poor knowledge of the French language, these individuals often stay at home, deprived of any basic social activity. Any attempt to help these individuals needs to be encouraged. However, budgetary problems seriously limit the scope and activities of that centre which is compelled to maintain a rather marginal status. Based on these considerations the content of this interview will not be included in this current study.

Interview guide with the community leader

The interview guide includes issues of community concerns. The rational for including community leaders in this study is threefold. First, immigrant organizations emerge in the host society when members of that community are facing problems that are beyond the scope of random or individual actions. Second, because of the nature of their work, community leaders may provide a unique understanding of this topic (integration) that researchers may fail to consider. Third, community leaders are, after all, mediators between the government and members of the community they represent. Therefore, it is necessary to know how they approach the issue of Haitian immigrant adjustment in Quebec. Some of the questions targeted mainly the Haitian centre in Montreal. The following topics were discussed: the date that the centre began to work with the community; its aims and clientele; the sources of its funding;

how the centre manages to mediate between the agenda of its stake-holders and the interests of the Haitian community. Other questions target issues such as: the main problems facing the Haitian adult-clientele; whether the lower S.E.S of some Haitian parents have any impact on their children's performance at school; if yes, how that centre helps to address this problem; the interviewee's opinion about the future of the Haitian youth in Quebec with regard to their socio-economic situation. The interview also focused on other issues such as: how the Quebec government can better help to improve the situation of the Haitian community; can education help Haitians find a (better) job in Quebec. Other issues were covered during the interview. These include: whether the participant thinks there are any advantages for Haitian immigrants who choose to immigrate to Quebec today and whether the political and economic situation in Haiti has had any negative impact on the Haitian community in Quebec.

Interview with an employee in a Quebec institution

As mentioned earlier, an employee at a Quebec institution was also interviewed. This individual's account on the functioning of that institution helps to reconstruct the different policy changes that have occurred in that institution since the "Quiet Revolution".

Theoretical Interpretations

The theoretical framework that informs the data analysis is borrowed from Peshkin. The latter views research theory as "a conceptual framework for reaching understanding" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 21). Based on this view, I propose to analyse the primary data within the framework of the interpretivist theory. This theory designed by Geertz (1973) and Denzen (1988), proceeds by "thick description," i.e., description that goes beyond the mere or bare reporting

of an act (thin description), but describes and probe the intentions, motives, meanings, contexts, situations and circumstances of action" (Denzin in Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 19). This understanding guides the analysis and interpretation of the primary data presented below.

Interviews at the Individual Level

In an attempt to work within the framework of the different periods of Haitian immigration, this section is subdivided into three different sub-sections. Each sub-section corresponds to one of the three periods of immigration mentioned in chapter two. Based on previous definitions of the different periods of Haitian immigration, some target respondents pertain to two different periods of immigration because their life experience in Quebec had been interrupted at some point in time. The profile of these individuals provides convincing evidence that the stereotypes concerning the different waves of Haitian immigration have little to do with individual immigrants. It is rather a generalisation of a perceived reality which has more to do with the possibilities that were available in the host society during each period of immigration. Therefore, I distance myself from any stereotypical use of the term "wave" in dealing with the Haitian integration in Quebec society.

The Pioneers

Dr. McArthur Camus

Dr. Camus' presence in Montreal in the early 1950s made him one of the Haitian pioneers in Quebec. After defending his thesis at "École Normale Supérieure" in Haiti, Dr. Camus was offered a scholarship to pursue his studies in Montreal. He was admitted in psychology where he completed a bachelor's degree, a Master's and all doctoral courses in Psychology in one of the main Universities

in Quebec (1) Dr. Camus was among the first Haitian students who had shown a particular interest in clinical psychology in Quebec. As a student in Montreal in the early 1950s, Dr. Camus was among the very few blacks in the city. In his view, Quebeckers were rather amazed to see a black person:

> ... I used to see almost no other blacks in Montréal. Maybe there were other blacks near Via Rail, on the trains or in "La Petite Bourgogne", but I never saw any black person in the city of Montreal and especially in Outremont and Côte-des-Neiges. I never saw any black face even when I went in the countryside - in Joliette, for instance ... In those days people used to gather in the street; they would follow me; they would tell me that it was the first time they saw a black person and that I "broke the French language". It was quite a show. ... There were about two other Haitians on the university campus. Later, some scholarship holders from "Organization Mondiale de la Santé" began to arrive ...

In 1956, Dr. Camus went back to Haiti and began his field work research for his doctoral thesis. He became a University professor and civil servant shortly after he arrived in Haiti. However, during the early years of Duvalier, he became subject to threat and coercion from some of the most notorious thugs of the Duvalier regime:

> I had a terrible experience in Haiti. I did not like my work place, yet I was protected. I had been interrogated twice. The first time, I was asked "How come that you often talk on TV and radio and never said a few words about Duvalier. You never said what the government did for the mentally ill". In fact, they did nothing for those people. ... On another occasion, I was asked why I did not have the president's picture in my office. ...

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(1). In the view of a participant, the contribution of Dr. Deny Lazur, a French-Quebec Psychiatrist, in developing what he has called "the Haitian psychology" in Quebec is worth mentioning. In the view of another respondent, Dr. Lazur helped train many young Haitian psychologists in Haiti and in Quebec.

By 1963, things got worst for Dr. Camus who then requested help from some influential friends and managed to leave Haiti with his family. He went to the United States where he taught psychology for one year before he finally decided to come back in Quebec.

Dr. Camus managed to have many job offers before he moved back to Quebec. In his view, getting a job in the early 1960s was easy for not only were there very few candidates, but there were also fewer French-Canadian intellectuals and professionals. He got his first job as a psychologist soon after he arrived in Quebec. He then began to work in a hospital while writing his doctoral thesis. As soon as he defended his thesis, he was 'fetched' to teach in one of the Quebec universities where he became a professor. Dr. Camus married a French-Quebecker and has many children. He is very pleased with his children's professional achievements in Quebec.

For Dr. Camus, defining his own identity is a very complex issue. He defines himself as a Haitian based on his origin, values, cultural traditions and family ties. He had also lived and worked in Haiti. However, he believes he has already spent most of his life time in Quebec. Moreover, his professional obligations make it more difficult for him to identify himself as Haitian. He is often commissioned to represent all Quebeckers in some decision-making bodies. Unlike his experience in the United States, Dr. Camus has never been victim of discrimination in Quebec. However, he believes he had been subject to religious scrutiny in the 1960s.

Dr. Ryan Seymour

Dr. Seymour arrived in Montreal in the early 1960S. As a student in a Catholic college in Haiti, Dr. Seymour wanted to become a Jesuit priest himself. After his baccalaureate in Haiti, and in agreement with his parents, he was sent to study in a Jesuit seminar in "lower Canada" - which included Quebec. Dr. Seymour spent the first two years in *noviciate* and theological training (*scholasticat*) and in that 'noviciate'; he took his vows of poverty and began to study philosophy the following year. However, during those years he began to raise doubts about all the implications of embracing the religious life. Finally, he decided to leave the Jesuit seminar and began to lead a secular life. After numerous vocational considerations, he enrolled in psychology and did his bachelor's, master's and a doctorate degree. During the first weeks after he left the Jesuit seminar, Dr. Seymour found a teaching position. A few years later, he married a French Quebecker and has many children.

Today, Dr. Seymour is a Psychologist and head of the psychology department in a hospital in Quebec. He is also the administrative coordinator of all psychiatric care in that hospital. Beside his current occupation and high school teaching experience, Dr. Seymour also taught at different levels, including master's, doctorate and post-doctorate. He believes that his values, attitudes and education had been the key to his personal and professional achievements. Finding a job had never been a problem for him. He even turned down many good job offers either because he thought he was too young to hold such high positions or because he wanted to remain aloof from any religious influence.

Dr. Seymour defines himself as a Quebecker of Haitian origin. He believes that his identity today is the result of a long process of self-definition. During his early years in Quebec, he mainly identified himself as Haitian based on his roots, his reference and life experience there. He even considered going back to Haiti once his studies were completed. Today, he believes his Quebec identity is due to the fact that he has already spent twice as much time living in Quebec. For the most part of the past 38 years, his family reference, professional training, and work experience had been from Quebec:

> I tend to say at the very moment that I am a Quebecker of Haitian origin. In the beginning I used to see myself as a Haitian immigrant in Quebec who, at some point, will have to go back in Haiti. But, as time went by and because of my life experience here ... I studied here, my schoolmates were mainly Quebeckers. There were not so many Haitians here. We were about 300 or 400 and we used to meet quite often ... During the "Expo 1967" many Haitians immigrated here and the Haitian community began to emerge. However, my friends and my social environment were mainly Quebeckers ...

Despite his close ties with French Quebeckers, Dr. Seymour was involved in many projects which sought to help the Haitian community here. Dr. Seymour is rather philosophical about racism. He explained that, in his early years, he became the subject of curiosity and admiration. He was sometimes identified as some famous American basketball or baseball player - Jacky Robinson, for instance. People often talked to him in English and were amazed when he spoke to them in French. They also admired his rather unusual accent. On a more intimate level, some parents opposed the idea that he went out with their daughter, others were pleased by the idea. In the end, drawing on his 38 years in Quebec, Dr. Seymour felt his experience was about 97% positive.

The First Wave

<u>Ralph Lambert</u>

Professor Lambert immigrated to Quebec from a prior immigration country where he was studying. In 1961, Professor Lambert was a young student in Haiti when, like many other young Haitian students and intellectuals of his generation, he became involved in a student strike against the Duvalier regime. After his studies at École Normale Supérieure, he could not find a teaching position in the public sector for the government would not hire anyone who was considered an enemy of the Duvalier agenda. He managed to leave the country and went to study in another country. However, during his summer vacation in Montréal (in the mid 1960s) some of his old friends from Haiti encouraged him to immigrate to Quebec for there were great opportunities for educated immigrants in those days. Professor Lambert finally decided to stay and found a teaching job the same month he arrived here. After securing a better future for his family, Professor Lambert went back to school and completed many degrees including a doctorate. He soon found a job in a university in Quebec. Today, Professor Lambert considers himself among the lucky few who have achieved both professional and personal satisfaction.

On the identity issue, Professor Lambert argues that after more than three decades in Quebec the question of identity is no longer an issue for him. In his view, after all those years he has acquired a sense of belonging, i.e., a multiple identity which allows him to identify himself at the same time as Haitian, Quebecker or Canadian. He is no longer in a state of ambivalence on this issue for:

Although I left Haiti, Haiti is still in my heart. On the other hand, it is impossible to live in a country for more than thirty years, especially when you arrived young, without being shaped by that country. For the identity of an individual is the result of the different places in which that person has lived. I feel quite comfortable today; it has not always been the case but today my identity problem has been solved.

Professor Lambert believes that, except for a few racist jokes, comments or teasing, he has never really been victim of blatant racism. Instead, he was sometimes the subject of what he called "paternalism", whereby some individuals try to protect him from harm. In his view, if he has not been victim of racism, this has more to do with the place and environment where he works, therefore, it would be unfair to suggest otherwise. However, he argues that "in an all white society and, to a certain extent, in an all human society there is a need to fight racism, discrimination, social exclusion, xenophobia, etc".

Dr. Kim Desrosiers

Dr. Desrosiers was only ten when her parents decided to immigrate in Quebec in the mid 1960s. Dr. Desrosiers' father, Mr Desrosiers, was among the few Haitian students who came in Quebec during the Second World War (1). According to Dr. Desrosiers, her father came to Quebec "because he wanted to pursue his studies in French in North America". With the help of some relatives who were already here, her father enrolled in biochemistry at University of Montreal in the early 1940s. Her father also spent a few years in the Canadian army (in Quebec) during the Second World War. After his studies in Montreal, her father went back to Haiti where he studied to become a medical doctor. But

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(1). Dr. Desrosiers' account of her father helped to support previous assumptions to the effect that Haitians had been in Québec in the early 1940s. What has not yet been mentioned in the literature on Haitian immigration in Canada and Quebec is the fact that there might have been Haitians in the Canadian army during the Second World War. Further investigations on these issues would make a great contribution to the current literature.

in the 1960s, the political instability in Haiti forced her father to move back in Quebec with his family. Dr. Desrosiers was very young when her parents came here. Although she was light-skinne, she remembered that Quebeckers were very naive and inquisitive about the very few Blacks in the city. Looking back today, she considered that her father's social status was much better than hers:

> Today, doctors do not have the same social status. Of course, we have a certain social status but in those days, after the priest and the mayor of a town or a city came the doctor. My father was an immigrant doctor. Therefore, he was acknowledged as such. I am not representative of the "typical" immigrant because I did not face any obstacles here.

Dr. Desrosiers did her high school, Cegep and a bachelor's degree in biology in Quebec. She went back to study in Haiti where she did her medical degree. She moved to the United States in the 1980s and stayed there for three years to do her medical residence. Dr. Desrosiers finally came back here and spent a year in internship to get her Quebec medical licence. Soon after her internship, she found her first job in a hospital in the Quebec region. Today, Dr. Desrosiers has two part-time jobs. She married a French Quebecker and has no children. Dr. Desrosiers defines herself as a neo-Quebecker. She was only ten when she arrived here and has always lived in places where there are no (or very few) Haitians. She understands and enjoys listening to Creole but does not speak it. Her experience in Haiti, save the first year, did not work out the way she expected. After all those years in Quebec, she found it difficult to cope with some features of the Latin culture in Haiti - the status of women, for instance. However, she always considers that her country of origin is Haiti. Dr. Desrosiers believes she might have been victim of subtle racism, such as jokes and comments but not of blatant racism. In her view, racism may be the result of fear:

I was surprised to see that, in the United States some individuals entertained negative attitudes toward blacks and refused to associate with them. But, because I was Francophone, these people agreed to talk to me. Perhaps, if I were a black American they would have avoided me.

Diane Vernet

Mrs Vernet was a young elementary school teacher in Haiti when she decided to immigrate to Quebec in the mid 1960s. She left Haiti because she wanted to secure a better future both professionally and personally. She decided to come to Quebec especially because she wanted to teach in French. Mrs Vernet arrived in Quebec at the end of summer and became very active in a Montreal Catholic Church. A Haitian priest presided over that church. A few weeks after she arrived here the priest recomended her to a French-Quebec family which hired her to take care of their children. The host family also helped her take the necessary steps to find her first teaching job the next year. She was required to pass an exam before she could be granted the Quebec teaching permit. But she was thrilled when the director general (of what comes to be known as a school board) came to her house to have her sign her first teaching contract. Mrs Vernet believes she was blessed by God, for not only did she have a terrific career but she was also admired by her friends, her students and their parents. She married a French-Quebecker and has two children. Today, Mrs. Vernet is retired but volunteers her time to assist those who need help.

Mrs Vernet approached the identity issue from a humanistic point of view for she defines herself as a citizen of the world. In her view, what matters is that she always opens her heart to whoever comes to her:

I love people so much and I love my country very much. I also had a great childhood and I have a pleasant recollection of my country. When I arrived here, I found the same warmth that I enjoyed in Haiti despite the cold. I was warmly welcomed here; I had some very good friends and a wonderful career in Quebec. Therefore, I cannot say that I am not a Quebecker or Canadian. ... I am where I feel comfortable and I open my heart to all. That is all.

Mrs Vernet said she has never been victim of discrimination in Quebec. Although she admits that she saw discrimination later in Quebec, yet she argues that she has never been the target. In her view, racial discrimination emerged when Quebeckers began to feel threatened:

When we were just a few, there was no need to feel threatened. But when people feel they were being invaded, ... It all began after the "Expo 1967". Then, in 1970 and 1971 we began to feel that things were no longer the way they used to be. People felt as if they were being invaded; they felt that this is no longer their country. Therefore, they began to panic ... For instance, the notion of positive discrimination refers to the idea that "their people" come first, then the others. I think that we would have done the same thing if we had been in their place.

Randal Destin

Mr. Destin arrived in Quebec in the late 1960s. He left Haiti because of the political situation during the Duvalier regime. He came here as a visitor when he suddenly "fell in love with that country" and decided to stay here. Mr. Destin went to work as a high school teacher in another country until he decided to stay here during his summer vacation. He has a university diploma from Haiti and has also completed courses in two other programs in Quebec. He found his first job a few weeks after he arrived here. Mr. Destin's children are doing very well in Quebec society. Today, he is retired from teaching but is still working as a

self-employed citizen. He also finds time to volunteer some teaching workshops in a youth centre.

Mr. Destin defines himself both as a Quebecker and Haitian. The environment and circumstances in which he finds himself determine his emotional identity:

> If I am in a normal environment in which there is no ethnicity involved I feel that I am a Quebecker, while if I am involved in ethnic activities I feel quite Haitian. ... I do not feel pressured to identify to any particular group; it is almost unconscious.

Unlike many other respondents who were facing the dilemma whether to stay here or not, Mr. Destin never raised this issue, for he was convinced he was here to stay. This absence of dilemma and probably his prior immigration experience had contributed to his adaptation into Quebec:

> My adaptation into Quebec was quite unnoticed. The climate did not bother me. I could not expect the climate to change because of me. I accepted it just the way it is or I should move elsewhere. But I did not have any choice ... Of course, I had random feelings of nostalgia, but nothing major. Just thinking that on the other side there was Duvalier whom nobody really wanted to face ... better stay here. This helped to cool the passion.

Mr. Destin believes that he might have experienced discrimination at least on one occasion, but this incident did not really bother him: "Maybe, but it was a matter of no particular importance from a single individual. In the work place, I had no such experience but maybe on the street or somewhere else". However, he was quite forthcoming about explaining racism and prejudice:

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You know, prejudice and racism can be very subtle, but it can also be very blatant. But, it is something that we can fight through education ... However, the real victim of racism is the perpetrator. There is an apparent victim and a real victim of racism. I am just the apparent victim, but the real victim is the perpetrator.

Roy Wallace

Mr. Wallace was a high school teacher and a civil servant at the Ministry of education in Haiti. In summer 1967, he decided to visit Expo in Montreal. Because of the new regulations imposed by the Duvalier regime at that time, he made sure he had the necessary documents and an official authorization which would allow him to leave the country. However, he was told by the immigration agent that teachers were not allowed to leave the country and that the only valid authorization came directly from President Duvalier himself. Therefore, he was forced to cancel his trip. In 1969, two years after his first attempt, Mr. Wallace decided to take another chance but this time without any authorization and it worked. At first, he wanted to visit Quebec and go back home. Then, he changed his mind when he realized that he could pursue his career here and earn more money in one day than he earned in a month in Haiti. He began to do substitution teaching the same year and found a teaching position the year after. Mr. Wallace has a diploma from École Normale Supérieure in Haiti and did a degree in France. He also completed two other programs in Quebec. Concerning the issue that sometimes Haitian teachers feel they would be more useful in Haiti than in Quebec, Mr. Wallace answered:

No, this is not just an impression; it is a certainty. As an educator, my place is in Haiti for 90% of Haitians are illiterate. What am I doing here? I think I am a ... for Haiti paid for my elementary, secondary and university studies. Haiti helped me to find a scholarship for France. After my studies in France, I went back to work in Haiti from 1962-1963 until 1969. Then I came here ... But all the other Haitians students who also were scholarship holders went to work in Africa. It

was during the independence of the African countries and there were very good jobs ... Because I promised my students that I would be there during their baccalaureate, I kept my promise ... But it was an emotional disaster for me when I came here. I could have taken a job in La Gônave (Haiti) for 40 or 50 dollars a month, but I did not have the courage to do so. Instead I came to work here for 35,000 dollars a year. Therefore, I am a ...

Mr. Wallace is light-skinned but a "typical" Haitian who likes to speak Creole and goes to Haiti very often. He defines himself as Haitian, "I remain Haitian and I will always remain Haitian until the last day of my life. I am Haitian based on my physical appearance, my language, my culture, you name it". Today, Mr. Wallace is retired and single; he has no children for he believes he does not know how to raise them. On the issue of discrimination, Mr. Wallace suggests that any black person who pretends that he has not been a victim of discrimination is not telling the truth:

> Of course. There is not even one black person who has not been victim of discrimination in this ... country. ... Last time, I went to a restaurant with a friend. The persons sitting at the next table came after us, but they were served by the same waiter while we were sitting there waiting. My friend said to me " Listen, I am not going to belittle myself for such an incident. I am familiar with the place". I said "No, I am not going to put up with such an insult. If you don' t mind, let's go somewhere else"...

Mireille Dorvil

Mrs. Dorvil arrived in Quebec in the late 1960s. She first came during the "Expo 1967" and managed to bring her diplomas to inquire about the possibility to immigrate here with her family. Mrs. Dorvil was mainly worried about the future of her three children in Haiti for the political situation under the Duvalier regime forced the country into a dead-end dictatorship. She received quite positive information to the effect that she was qualified to teach in Quebec and that if she

decided to come here she would receive a teaching permit. Then, she went back to Haiti after Expo and thought about it for two years. Finally, she decided to come back here a few years later. Both Mrs. and Mr. Dorvil completed their studies from "École Normale Supérieure" in Haiti. They were both teaching in some private colleges before they immigrated to Quebec. Mrs. Dorval went back to school in Quebec and completed two bachelor's degrees. Before they could find a teaching job, Mrs. Dorvil and her husband found their first job in a factory. While working in the factory, they applied for a teaching position which they found the following year. Mrs. Dorvil is a mother of four children and has many grand children. Her children are doing very well in Quebec. Today, Mrs. Dorvil is retired but she is still involved in community programs.

Mrs. Dorvil defines herself as a neo-Quebecker. Her philosophy is that of an optimistic individual:

> I say to myself that I must not worry about racist individuals ... I have my own goal in life; I want to have a better life for myself and for my children ... My roots are still in Haiti; I used to spend my vacation in Haiti. I used to go there in June and come back just before school resumes in August. But I live in a society, therefore I have to integrate into the communal life of that society.

Mrs. Dorvil believes she has been victim of racist comments, but she has never experienced blatant racism:

> Even some of your colleagues at work may tell you things ... Whenever something happened, they bring you newspaper cutting or they stick to the wall. But we must keep going, because I knew that I was coming to a different society. I have not lived elsewhere but I find Quebeckers very open. But in all societies there are a few rotten apples.

The Second and Third Waves

<u>Anne-Renée Toussaint</u>

Mrs. Toussaint left Haiti because she wanted to achieve a better life in a modern country. As a student at "École des Infirmières in Haiti", Mrs. Toussaint used to read Quebec-published magazines and other professional journals. After her graduation, she went to work for two years to complete her nursing residence while applying for a Canadian immigration visa to come to Quebec. As soon as she finished her nursing residence, she received her immigration papers. She arrived here in the fall of the mid 1970s. Mrs. Toussaint began to do occasional work two weeks after she arrived here. In order to have her nursing licence in Quebec, she was required to take two training courses for three months. She found her first job the very day she finished her training. While working full time, Mrs. Toussaint did a bachelor's degree in nursing. In her view, although her husband was reluctant about immigranting to Quebec, he is very happy today, especially for the future of their two children. Mrs. Toussaint understands the identity issue as follows:

> I am in the country, I have no choice but to do like the others do. I am a "Quebecker-Haitian" or a "Haitian-Quebecker". I keep both identities because sometimes you need your Haitian identity; on other occasions it is your Quebec identity that is necessary. Therefore, you need to learn to cope with both ... If you want to survive that is what you have to do.

On the issue of discrimination, Mrs. Toussaint believes that it is impossible to have never experienced some form of discrimination:

> Well, ... it is impossible to have never been subject to discrimination. I once had a bad experience with a patient. She was a young girl who just had an accident. I took great care of her for she was already my patient. When I arrived the next day I was assigned to another

patient. I asked why? My supervisor explained to me later that the patient asked for a white nurse. This happened quite recently. Because of my experience in Quebec, I managed to overcome obstacles. Perhaps if it had happened in the beginning of my career I would have packed my bag and gone back home.

Justin Saint-Armand

Mr. Saint-Armand arrived to Quebec in fall of the mid 1970s. He grew up very close with his older brother. When the latter immigrated to Quebec four years earlier, Mr. Saint-Armand felt bothered by his absence. Although he enjoyed his job in Haiti, he finally agreed to immigrate to Quebec to be with his family and to live the immigration adventure. However, Mr. Saint-Armand felt he was more useful in Haiti:

> Before coming here, I was a farm technician. I graduated from a professional school where I learned mechanics and farming. My job was mainly to advise farmers on how to better farm. I did this job until, unfortunately, I left to come here. It was a terrible shock for me because I was involved in an afforestation project in Haiti. I was young and dynamic. Fortunately, I saw all the progress that had been made in the fight against erosion in that region eleven years later.

Mr. Saint-Armand's technical skills helped him to find his first job only twelve days after he arrived here. A few years later, he faced another challenge in his job: his company moved to Ontario and they offered him the opportunity to move out. But he refused to face the uncertainty a second time and began to drive a taxi. Today, Mr. Saint-Armand drives his own taxi and managed, with his wife, to raise four children. Apparently, Mr. Saint-Armand is a successful hard-working person, but deep inside he is a soft-spoken, broken-hearted individual who is suffering from the pitfalls of his profession:

> Working with the public requires self-control, a special approach and a philosophy which is different from that of the normal secular life. I

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learn a lot in this job, especially about self-control. Some days, we may experience terrible things. On some occasions I have to let go and cry. My family is sometimes moved by what I have to face in this job. But with time, the dust fell off and I try to do my utmost to be honest with myself and with others ... with our clients, so that we can be consistent in our actions. It is only then that those who would like to blame us will have no ground to do so.

Mr. Saint-Armand defines himself as a Quebecker from a legal perspective, but he ads:

> ... when we identify ourselves as Quebeckers, the emotional response sometimes makes us feel very uneasy. ... But, I cannot always say that people are dishonest because we (people) are alway reluctant to accept things we do not know. Therefore, I agree that a Quebecker is surprised because, for him a Quebecker is a white, blue-eyed, individual.

As a taxi driver in the 1970s, Mr. Saint-Armand felt he was in the front line of racial discrimination. He was among the first Haitian taxi drivers in Montreal and participated in the campaign which sought to allow Haitians into the taxi industry:

> When I began to work as a taxi driver, I used to cry every day. I began to seriously consider moving back to Haiti. I was compelled to do something that I did not really want to do. ... When I began to drive a taxi, there were no Haitians in that business. Unfortunately, many people refused to accept this idea because they were not familiar with Haitians. Sometimes, I was waiting in the line; when it was my turn I pressed on the microphone, but the dispatcher would tell me that this client is not for you because she/he mentioned he did not want a black taxi driver. Those kinds of incidents are very harmful ...

Dr. Suzie Germain

Dr. Germain immigrated to Quebec in the mid 1970s. At first, she wanted to go to Africa to specialize in tropical medicine. Then, upon her parents' insistence that she would be better off in Quebec, she finally decided to join some of her relatives here. Dr. Germain graduated from the medical school in Haiti. Her

decision to leave Haiti is quite typical of many Haitian women. She refused to work in a system which often forced women, including professionals, to compromise themselves before they could get a job. Two years before she decided to immigrate to Quebec, she took the Quebec medical test which was mandatory for all foreign doctors. In the 1970s, before a successful candidate could be eligible for internship, they had to go through a waiting list. In that year, the waiting list was between two or three years. Dr. Germain did her internship and began to work in the early 1980s. Dr. Germain took many other training courses which helped her to upgrade her professional skills. As a mother of two and full-time worker, Dr. Germain's strong will helps her to achieve both personal and professional satisfaction. Today, she identifies herself as Haitian:

> I have a hard time identifying myself as a Quebecker, but Quebeckers themselves say that I have nothing in common with Haitians, except for your skin color. Maybe it is because of the way I integrate in the system; I feel quite comfortable and at ease. Some people even thought that I was born here. Not so long ago, I was talking with someone whom I have known for five years; I was explaining that it was snowing when I arrived in Quebec. The person was surprised to hear that. She/he said, "What do you mean? You are an immigrant? I said, "yes, I arrived on such and such date". She/he said "I cannot believe it! I always thought you were born here!

> ... During the AIDS incident, I had a patient who thought I came from ... I don't know. A friend brought me a newspaper cutting of an article which dealt with Haitians and the AIDS virus. The article was on my desk when the patient came. She said, "Did you hear what is said about Haitians?. I said yes, I feel concerned by that. She said " Why do you feel concerned? Are you Haitian?" I said, yes. She went on to say "I did not know you were Haitian; I thought you came from North Africa ..." I said "No, I am Haitian". Since then, she never came back to my office. She went to see another doctor who then was on vacation. With a little bad luck, she bumped into me again ...

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Dr. Germain believes she was not really a victim of racism and discrimination in Quebec: "Save the incident I just told you, I do not think I was victim of discrimination. I have experienced the reaction of some racist individuals. For instance, one of my patients once told me '"Before you touch me wash your hands, you are not as clean as I am'". The incident Dr. Germain referred to happened during her first job interview:

> ... I found a job announcement in a local newspaper and I sent my CV to that medical center. When I called to inquire about the job, I was told that someone else had it. Two months later, I saw the same job announcement in the newspaper. So I called them back. The person I talked to was quite embarrassed; she/he had a hard time justifying this discrepancy. They finally agreed to schedule an interview with me ... When I arrived there, I was welcomed by an army of interviewers, ... two specialists from each medical field. They asked me all kinds of medical questions, I answered them all. At the end of the test, I asked them, "Why did you ask me medical questions? Do you have doubt about the credibility of the Quebec medical exam?" They looked at one another and said nothing. At some point, their behavior got my adrenaline going. Another interviewer asked me, "Do you know what a coil is?" The job was to work with old people. I said, "What does a coil have to do with old people?" ... Later, another one asked "Do you speak English?". I said "No, I mainly learned to translate texts, but if I find myself in an English-speaking environment I can manage to survive. Another question was "Do you speak Spanish?" I said "Well, listen! I am a doctor, if I could speak English, Spanish and French I would certainly go elsewhere, not here". Then I stood up and left the room ...

Claudette Jean-Pierre

Mrs. Jean-Pierre came to Quebec in the second half of the 1970s. Unlike many other respondents, she did not choose to immigrate to Quebec; it was her parents who applied for her immigration visa. She had just completed her baccalaureate in Haiti when she received her landed immigration visa. After she arrived in Quebec, she spent three years in a Cegep and got a diploma in nursing. She went on to spend a year in psychology. She also did a bachelor's

degree in sociology and then a certificate in social-psychology. Mrs. Jean-Pierre's education helped her to be quite versatile. She began to work as a nurse in the mid 1980s. Today, she works mainly as a social-psychologist and often draws on all her skills to face the challenges of her job. Mrs. Jean-Pierre is married and has two children.

Defining her identity has never been a problem for Mrs. Jean-Pierre. At first, she thought she came here just for her studies after which she had intended to go back to Haiti. But, like many Haitians, she found herself trapped in a dilemma which she is about to solve. She considers herself Canadian from a legal perspective but Haitian based on her identity and culture. Although she arrived here quite young, her interactions with French-Quebeckers was rather shallow:

> It is really difficult to explain. When I came here I never felt integrated, I mean with Quebeckers. I always hung out with Haitians ... because there were a lot of Haitians in the cegep I attended. We were always together. My relationships with Quebeckers was very shallow because I could not relate to them. I had nothing in common with the Quebeckers. Therefore our relationship was just technical and superficial. That was it.

Mrs. Jean-Pierre has not been a victim of discrimination in her job, but she might have been involved in responding to some discriminatory comments:

> ... Not my colleagues, some patients may say "do not touch me with your dark fists", or they may refuse your help if it is a black person who is in charge on the floor (hospital). People have a hard time accepting the idea that a black person is a supervisor ... These kinds of negative attitudes, I have dealt with them quite well; they do not bother me. ... Sometimes, your colleagues may slip some indirect, subtle comments. They alway want to remind you that you are black, immigrants, things like that, that they did us a favor to let us come

here ... sometimes, when they see a Haitian patient they may say "one more Haitian, why don't they go back to their country? They come here to be taken care of with our taxes, and then they go back home". Sometimes, I reply but sometimes I do not bother replying. My colleagues are quite educated, they will never say "we don't like you". However, sometimes they may say things that are really hurtful.

Jessey McGregor

Mr McGregor was a high school student in Haiti when his parents decided that he should immigrate to Quebec. He landed in Quebec in the early 1980s and went straight to high school and later to Cegep. He went on to do a bachelor's degree in science, and then a master's degree. Mr. McGregor is a full-time science teacher. He is married and hopes to have children in the future. He addressed the identity issue as follows:" ... I consider myself Haitian, but as a Haitian living in Quebec. Therefore, ... I respect the laws of Quebec society, but after all I am Haitian". Mr. McGregor was quite outspoken about the integration issue:

> I tend to believe that people in Quebec are different from the Americans where one group may threaten another because the latter lives in their neighborhood. I have never felt this kind of aggressiveness here. But, as immigrants and "visible minorities" we may have to face unpleasant experience. ... Sometimes we may have to work under such pressure that we would have never experienced had we not been Haitians. For that reason, I may say that the Haitian community is somehow victim of mental violence. People often talked about integration, but integration is not assimilation. How can you ask a young man who arrived here at the age of sixteen to melt into the host society just because he lives in that country. Nobody, unless he is willing to relinquish his own self, can achieve such level of assimilation ... There must be a certain fusion between the immigrant's culture of origin and culture he receives in the host society. Neither culture should seek to erase the other; they both must cohabit so that the Haitian immigrant can really feel accepted in this welcoming land. Because of that kind of pressure, we [Haitians] often take refuge in our own culture, our clubs, our restaurants, ... our theater, our personal stories in a attempt to avoid assimilation ...

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Mr. McGregor's account of his experience with racism was more blatant , but it was rather random racism which did not target him in particular. On one occasion he was involved in responding to racism physically:

> I was in the métro, I was holding a metro bar. The driver suddenly stepped on the break and I was projected against another man. He began by saying to his wife that I smelled, that I am a nigger with my stable perfume. I tried to explain to him that he should not say such things and that if it had not been by accident I would have never done him such a favor. Then he hit me. Well, I was not as wise as Jesus to show him my other cheek. So I hit him back ...

Robert Saint-Victor

Mr. Saint-victor immigrated in Quebec in early 1980s for several reasons. First, he came to reunite with his wife; second, he thought he would be able to improve his economic situation and third, he wanted to have a foreign diploma. Before he came to Quebec, Mr. Saint-Victor defended his thesis in Anthropology and worked mainly as a high school teacher. After his graduation, he found a job as a sociologist in southern Haiti (Petit-Goâve) and did research on the farmers of that region. In Quebec, Mr. Saint-Victor did a Master's degree in Anthropology. He later did another Master's in sociology. Today, Mr. Saint-Victor is in his early fifties, but he is looking forward to completing a bachelor's degree in teaching French as a Second Language. He found his first job in a factory shortly after he arrived here. He went on to work in his current job where he mainly does unskilled labor.

Mr. Saint-Victor defines himself as a Haitian who is trying to integrate into Quebec society: "My perception of myself is that I am genuinely Haitian. I try hard and by all means to integrate into the Quebec society, but I remain

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profoundly Haitian". Mr. Saint-Victor was very uneasy when he was asked to define his current occupation:

> You know, when we leave our country we do not have the country tied at our heels. We are compelled to do whatever job we find. ... First of all, I am middle-aged, the government will not hire me to do certain types of jobs. They are very sensitive about the age factor. In fact, I would say that I am doing a job that is quite dirty, not a dirty job but I would say that my job is very dirty. I do not need to specify the type of job I am doing, but I work in the soft industry, specifically in the textile industry.

Mr. Saint-Victor shuns any attempt to apply for a better job. He understands that education and technical training are important in today's society:

> ... I must say that education may always help someone. The more we are educated the better advantage we can take of it because society changes rapidly. For me, I can tell you, honestly, that I know very little about computers. If I had any computer skills I would probably get a better job.

Mr. Saint-Victor's understanding of the importance of education is quite paradoxical: On the one hand, he admits that higher education can be an asset; on the other, he argues that higher education fails to improve his own socioeconomic situation:

> ... To answer your question, I must say that Quebec society is unfair to me. Speaking of higher education, I did too much. Yet, I am still dragging my feet in that society. To be honest with you, I am in part responsible for that situation. I can tell you, from my distant observation of that society, I understand so well how it works that I no longer apply for jobs elsewhere. This may be my mistake. You may call me a defeatist, right! But I tried so hard to apply for all kinds of scrappy jobs ..., they took my CV and threw it in the garbage.

Mr. Saint-Victor is convinced that he was victim of discrimination. But, he rather inferred having been a victim of discrimination, for he did not mention any personal experience of discrimination or racism. Instead, he tends to generalize his perception of the Haitian reality in Quebec:

> When you apply for a job and they call you for an interview, during the interview you just look at the face of that person, if she/he does not like you ... It is very subtle. Besides, ... we are all victims of discrimination in Quebec society ...

Sabine Prince

Mrs. Prince arrived in Quebec in the early 1980s. She was only ten years old when her parents decided that she should move to Quebec. Because of the situation in Haiti, her parents wanted her to have a better future. Mrs. Prince went to high school in Montreal. After high school she completed a three-year program in a Cegep. Today, Mrs. Prince is doing a certificate in archives (public record). She hopes to find a job and start a family. Mrs. Prince worked as a telephone operator during a summer vacation. She later went to work in a factory where she mainly did unskilled labor. She defines herself as a Haitian and believes that education can help Haitians find a job. But, she goes on to add that higher education may even hamper a person's chance to find a job:

> There are some places that will not hire someone if they have a higher degree. ... For me, I would say it depends. ... Before ... yes, but today ... it depends ... For instance, in teaching, ... If someone has a higher degree, she/he may have hard time finding a job here. The teacher who has a lower degree has a much better chance to find a job. Today, even if someone is competent it is not easy.

Mrs. Prince believes she has never been victim of racial discrimination in Quebec.

Martine Domingue

Mrs. Domingue left Haiti at the age of fifteen. Because of the political situation that prevailed in Haiti after the fall of Duvalier, Mrs. Domingue's parents decided to send her to Quebec to pursue her studies. Because she was their only daughter, her parents wanted her to have a better education, i.e., a better future. Mrs. Domingue arrived in Quebec in the mid 1980s and went straight to high school. She completed her high school studies and went on to study business administration in Cegep. She also did a bachelor's degree in finance. Mrs. Domingue took a year sabbatical and went to work in a linen factory. Today, she is a single mother and unemployed. She is currently enrolled in a program which provides the unemployed with better job search skills. In her view, the obstacles facing her on the job market are twofold: the lack of English skills and work experience:

> ... To me, my biggest problem is my lack of English skills for I do not speak English well enough. You have to master English 100%, not just 50 or 60% ... Also the lack of experience which, in my view, is a nonsense. How can you gain any experience at all if you never have a chance to start somewhere?

Mrs. Domingue identifies herself as a Haitian. Although she has been living in Quebec for more than twelve years and went to school in a French-Quebec suburb, she believes she has never been able to identify herself as a Quebecker. She found it particularly difficult to be accepted by French Quebeckers during her university studies:

> When the professor gives the course outline and asks the students to do team work, you have to find your own team. That's hell! Sometimes, you may be the only black person in the class, nobody wants to work with you. Sometimes, I had to tell the professor that I could not find a team. Then, she/he would find me a team ... because

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I can't do the assignments alone. I would ask them if I could join their team, but they would say they have enough students ... Unless you find other black students ... I did not like those kinds of experience.

She believes she has been victim of subtle discrimination, but never directly:

Not directly, but of course, with the students when I was at the university. We (Haitian) suffer from discrimination one way or the other and I think we will always have to face discrimination here. We are treated like strangers among Quebeckers and this will never change. Even my child who was born here, he will always remain a stranger because he has Haitian blood. Sometimes, they may not have any intention of behaving like this, but they do it anyway ...

Interview at the Institutional Level

This sub-section seeks to analyse the changes that have occurred in the Quebec society at the institutional level. To do so, I propose to summarize the main points of an interview which I conducted with an employee in a French-Quebec institution. This single case involves a highly selective institution. It was selected in an attempt to understand why some Haitian doctors are working as "part-time" teachers or taxi drivers (1). Therefore, it may not provide sufficient ground for generalising the findings. However, it may help to confirm the accounts of some target respondents. This case also helps to support my claim that Quebec institutions have often forced professional and semi-professional (Haitian) immigrants into downward mobility.

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(1). Many attempts were made to interview some of these individuals (Haitian doctors), but they never returned my phone call. However, I understand and respect their decision to decline any involvement in this study.

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The case of the Quebec Institution

Like most institutions in Quebec society, that institution has managed to adjust itself to needs of its shareholders. These adjustments often require new regulations and higher standards for its local members. However, very often regulations are put in place just to enforce the law of "supply and demand". This interview helps illustrate this:

In the beginning, foreign doctors were required to spend only a year of internship in Quebec, then they would receive the Quebec medical licence. Later, a system of mandatory exams was instituted. These were admission exams for all foreign doctors who wanted to come into Canada or the United States ... To better serve the foreign doctors who wanted to come to Quebec, a similar exam was offered in the embassies of some European countries ... The foreign doctors who passed those exams could come here and spend a year of internship ... This was in the 1970s. In those days, there was no quota. There was a shortage of Quebec doctors here. Therefore, foreign doctors were integrated into the Quebec medical system without any quotas ... Then, in the beginning of the 1980s a quota system was put in place. There were 35 positions available for foreign doctors who then had to apply directly to the medical schools ... Candidates were chosen based on their CV and on their work experience as a doctor ... Some of them were put on a waiting list ... In the beginning, there were a few dozens foreign doctors on that list ... Between 1980 and 1985, this number had increased dramatically. At some points, about 150 foreign doctors who already passed the exams were waiting for a medical position ... These doctors went on a hunger strike to force the government into action ... The government made a list called "the unemployed doctors", with those who were considered landed immigrants before 1984. And they were integrated into the Quebec medical system ... in 1985 ... and 1988. In 1988, a new regulation required that foreign doctors spend two years in medical schools. ... Today, in 1998, there was no exam. So, the last exam was in 1997. ... Now, the government said there are no more jobs. Therefore, there are no more exams; we stop organizing exams for foreign doctors. There were not enough resources, then they decided to slash in what was available. Today, foreign doctors can try to be admitted in a medical school and do their doctorate degree in Quebec. Some of them applied to become full-time students. Of course they will not start in first year ... However, the medical schools have already refused 2000 Quebec candidates

because they must respect the quotas. Therefore, there are highly selective ... There was a foreign doctor who decided to go to court because she said that her medical degree is equivalent to that in Quebec ... I think she won the case ... The judge ordered that [we] should decide whether or not [we] recognize foreign medical degrees. In fact, [we] have always recognized these degrees. But, it is the "Ministère de la Santé et des Services Sociaux" that decided to no longer hire foreign doctors ...

Interview at the Community Level

The Case of the Haitian Community Centre

According to the director of that centre, its goal is:

> ... to integrate the Haitian community in the host society. The main problem that needed to be addressed in the beginning (1970s) was the status of the undocumented Haitians. If we help to regulate the immigration status of these individuals, we open a door for their social, economic and political integration ... We help them find a job and deal with the public services ... Generally speaking, we focus on their integration ... The services we provide to the newly arrived immigrants are part of the integration process. We welcome them and brief them on the functioning of the host society, we refer them to the institutions on the country so that they learn how this country works and participate in the communal life. [However] ... the government does not provide special services to any individual who has been living here for more than three years for it is believed that the immigrant becomes a (local) citizen after three years. That person is said to have been accompanied long enough to be able to work without that crutch. However, we know that people do not act as if they were admitted in college where they study the society for three years after which they receive a diploma which allows them to function well in society. Some people have spent most of their lifetimes here, yet they do not know how to apply for their pension ... The main problem facing these people is that they do not know how the host society functions ... For instance, many Haitian parents failed to adopt the host society's method of child-rearing, which is through dialogue and negotiation. As a result, they often find themselves in the D.P.J., social services, foster homes. This situation has occasioned an over-representation of the Haitian community in sheltered homes ... We are currently working on a program which seeks to establish a liaison between the Haitian youth who live in sheltered homes and their parents. For we believe that the family remains the best place to educate children ... This problem gives rise

to the obstacles facing these youth to integrate into the Quebec job market ... We strive to integrate these young people in the job market; we help them to prepare their CV; we show them how to introduce themselves to potential employers, so that they can have a chance to show their competence; we show them how to behave in public places to encourage positive attitudes. We must make a good impression, be well-behaved and develop good social behavior so that people can accept us and give us a first chance. Otherwise, we become failures. [marginals]. That's right! That is why single-parent families are increasing. These are poverty-driven factors in all communities. Besides, we are an immigrant community that are facing problems in the job market without necessarily being highly skilled, you can imagine the income of these families ...

On the impact of parent S.E.S. on their children's performance at school .

Absolutely. When the percentage of a single-parent family is high, there are fewer resources available, less income and less time to raise a child. You are compelled to work twelve hours a day; you don't have time to help three of four children do their homework and supervise their studies. Therefore, these children are left on their own and become their own supervisor. What can you expect ... [Their future] ... I am rather optimistic, I know that more and more of our youth are going to college. Their education is more diversified and more in touch with today's reality than the education we have received. We had a more academic and less technical education ... I think that our youth will be better prepared than their parents were. Of course the Haitians who came before have succeeded in improving their socio-economic situation. But, this happened in the historical context of the "quiet revolution". They needed these technicians. Therefore, they received them with open arms. Today, there are more middle managers and senior executives in Quebec than is necessary. Quebec no longer needs skilled immigrants, except for a few technical jobs in the airplane industry ...

On the Quebec government policy on minority integration

Today, the Quebec government has instituted the "Ministère des Relations avec les Citoyens et de l'Immigration du Québec". This decision may help put an end to ethnic isolation and fight the idea that there is a multiethnic Quebec. We are all Quebec citizens ... with the right to have a say in public affairs ... Nevertheless, I think it is necessary to have some windows of opportunity which will allow us to participate in the communal life ...

On the importance of education in immigrant integration

Of course! In all societies education is the key that gives access to better living conditions. When the first wave of Haitian immigration arrived in Quebec, they encountered no obstacles because they were professionals. But the second wave faced more problems because there were fewer jobs and they were much less educated. Therefore, education is above all the key that provides us with our own ticket into the Quebec society.

On the issue of discrimination and some possible actions

Yes. To me, the fact that we are visible minorities, hampers our smooth integration. Some studies have shown that such problems exists in housing and the taxi industry. ... At the age of forty, a person is not so old; you have pertinent work experience and a diploma. So, what is the problem? Unemployment in the Haitian community, to make it short, is twice as much the unemployment average in Quebec. The youth we hire here cannot find work, yet they were educated in the same schooling system as everybody else. So, what is the problem? We must work with potential employers to show them our competence and expertise that we have able individuals, to explain to them that we have a pool of workers who can do the job they want. We must work with the government to encourage it to resist to the wind of change that is blowing all over America against the equal opportunity programs. There must be more programs in all sectors of activity that promote equal opportunity. There must be new regulations that oblige subsidized companies to have a program of equal opportunity before they could be eligible to government subsidy ...

This chapter sought to introduce the methods of primary data collection and analysis of the life story of Haitians who immigrated into Quebec between the 1950s and the 1980s. The purpose of this analysis was mainly to identify patterns of changes in the process of minority integration in general and of the Haitian integration in particular. Attempts were made to compare and contrast the life stories of the target respondents. Further steps were taken to help better understand these stories in light of the account of two other members of the civil society: an employee at a Québec institution and the director of a Haitian community centre. As mentioned, three different levels of data analysis were

considered: the *individual level*, which comprised the sixteen target respondents, the *institutional level*, which included an institution of the host society and the *community level*, which involved the director of a Haitian community centre. Each of these levels of data analysis showed some distinctive features of the process of Haitian integration. But many patterns of data are common to the three levels (sources). These cases were based on the previous assumption that the "Quiet Revolution" had provided the most favorable circumstances for educated Haitian immigrants to integrate into the Quebec work place. Their integration in the work place (economic integration) has opened the door toward their full integration (social, civic and political) integration into Quebec society.

The data has shown that the social and political context that effected Quebec society in the beginning of the "Quiet Revolution" provided a distinct possibility for upward mobility to all, including educated immigrant minorities. For instance, Dr. Camus' and Dr. Seymour's continuing education allowed them to have access to better positions than their previous jobs. Because of the opportunity that was available in those days, Dr. Camus and Dr. Seymour managed to have remarkable careers. Their professional achievements helped them contribute to their utmost to the well-being of other members of Quebec's larger society. Professor Lambert also benefited from the upward mobility provided by the "Quiet Revolution", for he succeeded in moving from teaching in high school to university professor. As a scholar, he also contributed to Quebec academia. All the other respondents who arrived in Quebec in the 1960s found their first jobs rather easily and managed to have a successful career here. Some of these respondents managed to develop their human potentials to their utmost, because the host society provided them with the opportunity to do so.

Also, worth mentioning is the fact that the Quebec institutions were more open to educated Haitians and other immigrants because of the great demand created by the "Quiet Revolution". Today, the Quebec government (or the institution responsible for that matter) no longer grants the Quebec licence to foreign doctors. But, in the 1960s, immigrant doctors found their medical licence in Quebec rather easily. On the other hand, the pioneers and the first-wave respondents deserve credit for their personal achievements in Quebec. It would be unfair to belittle decades of hard work and self-sacrifice under the disguise of "upward mobility opportunity". For, even under the ideal circumstances most individuals would fail to achieve (high) status. As already mentioned, status achievement in Quebec society involves many other variables such as individuals' pre-migratory conditions (education, goal and social status), their resources, personal adaptability, and the need of that society. The achievements of these individuals should be used as a success story both for members of the host society and for current and future generations of Haitians and neo-Quebeckers. Nevertheless, because of the obstacles facing Haitians today it is tempting to wonder what would have happened if these individuals had immigrated to Quebec, say, thirty or twenty years later. Or, how many Dr. Camus, Dr. Seymour, Professor Lambert or Dr. Germain would be upwardly mobile in Quebec society today if they were given a chance? How many more educated Haitians are driving a taxi, working in the factories or collecting welfare today because of a lack of opportunity? This is a tremendous waste for these individuals, for Quebec society and for the Haitian community. This lack of opportunity observed among Haitian immigrants since the 1980s is, in part, occasioned by the current changes in the Quebec economy. However, one of the key moments of the Haitian (dis)integration in Quebec is the arrival of many poorly educated Haitians in the 1970s (in the second wave). As already

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mentioned, this situation occasioned the drastic reversal of the Canadian immigration policy in fall 1972 and that sudden policy reversal led to "the drama of the 1500". Perhaps, this incident and especially the media coverage it occasioned came to reverse the myth that Haitians are well-educated immigrants.

Until the 1970s, Haitian immigrants managed to benefit from the 'upward mobility dream'. However, in those days Quebec institutions began to be more demanding, and the job market more competitive. This situation was due in part to the positive outcome of the "Quiet Revolution" which helped to raise the level of education. The "Quiet Revolution" also helped to modernize the economy and improve the standard of living of the average Quebecker. Despite those changes, many Haitians who arrived in Quebec in the 1970s managed to find a job and continue their career today. For instance, Mrs. Toussaint was hired the very day she had completed her retraining. Mr. Saint-Armant's technical skills helped him to find his first job a few days after he arrived here. But the job market began to be out of reach of many Haitians in the beginning of the 1980s. Although Mrs. Jean-Pierre had attended nursing school in Quebec, she did not find her first job as easy as Mrs Toussaint. Dr. Germain arrived here in the mid 1970s, but she received her Quebec medical licence in the early 1980s and found a part-time job shortly after. Dr. Desrosiers was the daughter of a doctor; she grew up and went to school in Quebec in the 1960s. She was probably among the lucky few graduates from Haiti who managed to have the Quebec medical licence in the late 1980s. Obviously, her family resources helped her to overcome some obstacles facing foreign graduates in the 1980s and today. She could afford to enroll in a medical school in the United States after her medical

degree in Haiti. Yet, she would have been in a much better position with the same credentials if she had been here in the 1960s.

During the last decade and today, the social standing of Haitians on the job market shows no signs of improvement. Yet, some educated Haitians managed to find a job. For instance, Mr. McGregor found his current teaching job in the early 1990 after he had completed his master's degree. However, the possibility for upward mobility has been marginal for others. Mr. Saint-Victor found his first factory job three weeks after he arrived here. However, his attempts to find a better job was unsuccessful. Had he been here in the 1960s, he would probably be a civil servant today for his credentials would have helped him to find a better job. Also, there would be no need for Mrs. Prince to accept a factory job in the 1960s. Mrs. Domingue would probably secure a good job in Quebec if she had immigrated in the 1960s. Before she came here, Mrs. Domingue was a "lower-upper-middle-class" Haitian. When she arrived in Quebec, she went to high school in a suburb in greater-Montreal not as a newly arrived immigrant but as a foreign student. Yet, despite her diplomas and her courageous efforts to find a job today, she is facing the dreadful reality of living in a poor neighborhood like many other single-parents in the welfare system.

These observations are not intended to dismiss the fact that some Haitians are facing problems in the job market which are mainly due to a lack of competence. Indeed, problems related to competence may prevent many Haitians to have a better opportunity in the job market. Under such circumstances, the first step toward a solution is that concerned individuals should be honest enough to admit that there are problems. Then, permanent solutions can be found when necessary. However, Haitian immigrants have too

often been put under so much pressure in the work place that they cannot be as effective as they would be under normal circumstances. Today, some Haitians who have held a job for many years are facing unbearable stress in the work place. The level of despair facing some respondents (some of whom are not included in this study) in the Quebec work place today raises great concerns for the mental health of these individuals. It is obvious that the job market in the 1960s is different from today's. However, despite the structural and contextual changes of the job market today, the socio-economic situation of many educated Haitians in Quebec would not be so precarious if they did not have to cope with racial and ethnic discrimination in their everyday life.

The data has shown that the level of "tolerance" in Quebec society was high in the 1950s and 1960s. Dr. Camus' and Dr. Seymour's accounts suggest that Quebeckers were rather inquisitive and naive about blacks in the 1950s and 1960s. Although Dr. Seymour reported to have been a victim of segregation and racism, these incidents occurred mainly when he began to work as a psychologist in the 1970s. The latter also mentioned that he went to live with some of his friends' families after he left the Noviciate. Mrs. Vernet explained how supportive Quebeckers were of her and how they helped her to find her teaching job. Some respondents began to report discriminatory incidents in the 1970s. Mr. Saint-Armand mentioned his ordeal in the taxi industry in the 1970s after he had lost his job. Dr. Germain reported to have been treated unfairly during a job interview. Another respondent reported to have witnessed general hostility and racial comments against Haitian patients in her work place. Mr. McGregor explained how he had been involved in a racial incident in the metro. The latter explained also how stressful his job is. Mrs. Domingue reported to have suffered segregation during her university studies. The incidents reported

by the respondents began to occur mainly in the 1970s as more Haitian immigrants began and continue to arrive in Quebec.

Racial discrimination seems to have an impact on the respondents' relationships with members of the host society, especially during the last two decades. Intermarriage or amalgamation between Haitians and French Quebeckers occurred mainly with Haitians who arrived in Quebec in the 1950s and 1960s. Dr. Camus, Dr. Seymour, Dr. Desrosiers and Mrs Vernet married French Quebeckers. Unlike the pioneers and first wave respondents, those who came after the 1960s chose their mates mainly within the Haitian community. A plausible explanation to this situation could be that there were fewer Haitians, therefore, there were better intergroup relationships and higher level of structural integration. Haitians had better access to the inner circles of French-Quebeckers in the 1950s and 1960s. Contrary to these periods, when more Haitians began to arrive in Quebec in the 1970s, and because of the negative perception, these new immigrants have experienced, intergroup relations between Haitians and members of the host society deteriorated. As a result, structural integration and intermarriage (amalgamation) between Haitian immigrants and Quebeckers became marginal. This lack of positive intergroup relationships contributes to the emergence of the Haitian community and its institutions in Quebec. Contrary to Gordon's observation of a multiple melting pot in the United States, many Haitians remain confined to their community, not so much because they choose to do so but, because of stereotypes and negative attitudes that are directed against them in their dealing with other members of the host society. Paradoxically, it is this situation that engenders a sense of ethnic identity and better awareness among Haitian immigrants in Quebec. For, many middle-class and lower-middle class Haitian immigrants

began to understand that, after all, they are bound to face some common obstacles in the host society: racial and ethnic discrimination. This sense of awareness is based on primordial characteristic of race and ethnicity and has engendered unintended consequences concerning the adjustment process of many Haitian immigrants. Instead of encouraging assimilation, pressure and discrimination often encourage middle-class and lower-middle-class Haitians to maintain their Haitian identity. This may explain why the respondents who arrived in the 1970s (the second and third waves), save Mrs. Toussaint who considers herself as Quebecker-Haitian or Haitian-Quebecker, identify themselves mainly as Haitians.

The life experience of these respondents does not help support the claim that age is the most important variable for individuals' identity or for economic integration. For instance, Mr. Destin immigrated to Quebec in his late thirties, yet he defines himself both as a Quebecker and Haitian. Unlike Mr. Destin, Mrs. Prince arrived here at the age of ten and Mrs. Domingue at the age of fifteen and they both identify themselves as Haitians. Furthermore, Mr. Destin and Mr. Wallace immigrated to Quebec in their late thirties, yet they managed to continue their professional career rather smoothly. On the other hand, Mr. Saint-Victor was two or three years younger than both Mr. Destin and Mr. Wallace when he arrived here, but he failed to do nearly as well as the latter. The findings seem to suggest instead, that attitudes in the host society are more determinant of an individual's identity and economic integration. However, there seems to be a relationship between the respondents' age upon arrival in Quebec and the period of immigration in the adjustment process of Haitian immigrants. For instance, Dr. Camus was in his early twenties when he arrived in Quebec in the early 1950s and Dr. Seymour arrived here in the early 1960s at the age of

eighteen. They both achieved Amalgamation and Structural Assimilation. Dr. Desrosiers immigrated to Quebec in the mid 1960s at the age of ten. Not only did she achieve structural assimilation and amalgamation, but she also lost or failed to acquire the Creole language (1). Mr Vernet was 26 when she arrived here in the mid 1960s, yet she married a French-Quebecker and is very involved in the French-Quebec sub-societies. None of the respondents who arrive here after the 1960s have married a French-Quebecker. Although the immigrants' age may help achieve different degrees of adjustment the host society's attitudes toward the latter seem to be a more important variable in their integration process than age.

Finally, the story of the light-skinned respondents failed to confirm the assumption whether the adjustment of light-skinned Haitians in Quebec was easier than the other "typical" Haitians. The most important variable that helped Dr. Desrosiers was mainly her family resources. In other words, her middle-class status and values helped her use her family resources effectively to move into such highly selective profession in Quebec. As a non-white individual Dr. Desrosiers reported to have experienced prejudice and at least on one occasion, racial (or ethnic) discrimination. As for Mr. Wallace, after close to three decades living in Quebec, his Haitian identity is stronger than ever. He has a special bond with Haiti and takes so much pride in referring to his Haitian identity that the very idea of integration in the host society is, in his view, synonymous with assimilation. From a cultural point of view, Mr. Wallace is a "typical" Haitian and

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(1). The use of the Creole language among certain social strata in Haiti (in those days) may, in part, explain why Dr. Desrosiers failed to speak it. Nevertheless, failure to acquire one's national language in favor of that of the host society is an indication of cultural assimilation.

his light-skin color does not affect his Haitian identity. Because of his culture, Haitian accent and color, Mr. Wallace has experienced prejudice and discrimination in the host society. For race and culture are the two most important triggers of racial discrimination in Quebec. The last chapter seeks to highlight the most important issues debated in this study.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This chapter provides a brief summary of the most important issues debated in this study and the findings that support the main assumptions. Starting with the purpose of studying the role of education in the integration process of immigrant minorities to Quebec, this study moves on to focus mainly on the Haitian immigrants and specifically on the life story of sixteen Haitians who arrived in Quebec between the 1950s and the 1980s. I sought to provide a better understanding of the obvious discrepancy that exists between these two main periods of Haitian immigration to Quebec. The stories of the respondents helped support the assumption that education has helped the first wave of Haitian immigrants to integrate into the Quebec work place. Their integration in the work place encouraged their full participation in the communal life of the host society. Most of these individuals arrived here as adults, yet their age did not have any particular effect on their adjustment process. Based on the assimilation variables advanced by Gordon, the stories of the pioneers (Dr. Camus and Dr. Seymour) and a first-wave respondent (Dr. Desrosiers who arrived here in the mid 1960s while she was only ten) have shown some patterns of (individual not group) assimilation: acculturation, structural assimilation, amalgamation. In addition to these variables, Dr. Desrosiers has shown a high level of identificational assimilation for not only has she lost or failed to acquire the Creole language, but she also reported to have mainly French-Quebeckers as friends. Although Professor Lambert refused to use the term "integration" to describe the immigrant adjustment process, he feels quite at home in Quebec. Mrs. Vernet married a French-Quebecker, but she has shown a high level of structural integration both in the Haitian community and in the

host society. Mrs. Dorvil and Mr. Destin are also well-integrated in the host society. As for Mr. Wallace, he seems to develop good relationships with French-Quebeckers but he rebuffs any conscious attempt to achieve integration. From that perspective, the "Quiet Revolution" has provided educated Haitians who arrived here in the 1950s and 1960s (pioneers and first wave) with the opportunity to be upwardly mobile. Therefore, these individuals have achieved different levels of adjustment in Quebec ranging from assimilation to integration and, in one instance, separation.

Unlike the pioneers and first wave respondents who found their jobs rather easily, those of the second and succeeding waves faced more discrimination and institutional obstacles. However, some of them managed to fare quite well in the end. Also, the degree of obstacles these people have encountered increased mainly at the end of the 1970s and in the beginning of the 1980s and today. One reason that may explain this difference was the changes that took place both in the Quebec job market and in most mainstream institutions in that period. For instance, Mrs. Toussaint found her first job the same year she completed her retraining courses. Mr. Saint-Armand began to work as a technician only twelve days after he arrived here. But Mrs. Jean-Pierre and Dr. Germain had to strive to have access to the job market in the early 1980s. The latter reported to have experienced blatant discrimination during her first job interview. Despite some major obstacles in the job market, there are still some opportunities in the Quebec job market today. However, unreasonable expectations of some potential employers and bias job interviews (systemic discrimination) forced many educated Haitians into unemployment and underemployment. Because they failed to integrate into the job market, these individuals cannot afford to maintain and improve their pre-migratory social

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status in Quebec. Therefore, they are inevitably confined to a lower status (downward mobility) in Quebec.

The analysis of the literature on immigrant integration in Quebec, especially on the Haitian community, suggests that the pioneers and first-wave Haitians were well educated in general. Their education helped them integrate in different sectors of the job market. These individuals were highly regarded and they contributed to the success of the "Quiet Revolution". However, they were not a homogeneous group composed of middle-class and highly educated Haitians, as public discourse in Quebec often suggests. Another point that is worth mentioning is the fact that the education variable is often used to justify unemployment and underemployment among Haitians and other immigrant minorities. As mentioned, Haitian immigrants do not have the lowest level of education (or schooling) in Quebec for the data from Statistic Canada (1986) shows that Haitians have a higher level of education than the French-Canadians and many other immigrant communities. However, unemployment and underemployment in the Haitian community are among the highest in Quebec - much higher than the communities which have a lower level of education. The analysis of the primary data (the interviews) suggests a similar conclusion, i.e., the education of respondents from the second and succeeding waves does not necessarily increase their chance in the job market. Most of these individuals, especially those who came in the 1980s, have worked in the factories despite their education. Their effort to move to another job has been unsuccessful. Despite that sad reality, many studies in Quebec explain high levels of unemployment and underemployment among Haitians and other immigrant minorities based on the 'level' of education of these communities - which was proved untrue.

Based on these considerations, and after a brief review of the literature in Quebec, Canada, and the United States, I suggest that education is ineffective in reducing social inequality in North America. Similarly, in the context of immigrant integration, education is not a sufficient guaranty for minority integration. I draw on Li's (1988) analysis to suggest that, if the pioneers and first-wave Haitians managed to integrate into the job market, and then in Quebec's larger society, this occurred during a specific period of Quebec history: the "Quiet Revolution". Therefore, the failure of many educated Haitians and other immigrant minorities to integrate into the Quebec job market is rather the rule than an exceptional case. Furthermore, Persell's theory of "social standing and socio-economic status" helps me understand that the opportunities for educated Haitian immigrants (first or second wave alike) are based on the need of Quebec's societal structure of domination and its dominant ideologies. In other words, education becomes an instrument that helps justify social inequality rather than for achieving greater equality. Haitians' inclination to emphasize educational achievement is being challenged by the obstacles facing those who are educated in the Quebec job market. This situation may serve as a deterrent to Haitian youth achievement at school, especially if family members are concerned. It is important that these students, as well as students from other immigrant communities, be given a chance to meet and exchange ideas and life stories with other immigrant minorities, and if possible with members of the host society.

Nevertheless, the process of Haitian integration in Quebec is hampered by the contradictions which arise among the different ideologies in the host society. For, while there has been a great demand for Haitian immigrants as cheap labour since the 1970s, the latter are rejected as members of the host

society with its resulting rights. In the 1970s, those contradictions were expressed in the despair of many business leaders to recruit more factory workers on the one hand, and the Canadian government's and other local citizens' hostility toward potential Haitian workers on the other. This negative perception of Haitian immigrants is extended, through generalisation, to all Haitians. Perhaps, future research may provide a better explanation on the origin of these negative attitudes which are reported by many respondents today, while it was the other way around in the 1950 and 1960s. Therefore, the assumption advanced in this study is that the negative (ethnic) stereotyping of many poorly educated Haitians of the second wave gave rise to prejudgement and prejudice which are severed by the political and economic uncertainty of the last decades and today. In a competitive, market-driven economy, this situation may increase the level of "intolerance" in a Quebec society deprived of its traditional moral authority - that was invested in the Church.

However, the economic situation of the Haitian community is so critical mainly because the idea of an ethnic community among many Haitians is still marginal. Unlike many other ethnic communities in Quebec in which their members strive to own the means of production, the Haitian community and its leaders produce the work force necessary for the success of these communities' businesses. Today, there are many Haitian *employees* in Quebec but very few employers and business-persons even among those who arrived here in the "good old days". Of course, the fear of being stigmatized as a community leader may dissuade many well-intended and well-established Haitians from promoting a strong Haitian community in Quebec. However, any attempt to put in place viable structures and a network of Haitian and other investors in that community will create job opportunities for many educated and competent Haitians who are

collecting welfare today. I believe that any French-Quebec leaders are willing to work with immigrant minorities for the advancement of Quebec society. With success and 'open-mindedness' comes acceptance and better inter-group relations. The experience of many Haitian intellectuals, professionals and, to a certain extent, other immigrant communities should help find a solution to the Haitian economic situation in Quebec today. As this study has attempted to show, job opportunities remain for educated Haitians the most effective means to achieve social integration. For their economic integration helps them maintain and improve their standard of living and their participation in the communal life. The Quebec government and its leaders cannot but praise such initiatives which are in the best interest of Quebec society.

Because of their heavy emphasis on education, many Haitians (and Haitian parents) made a great effort to achieve a good education. However, many of these individuals face what some observers called "systemic discrimination" in the selection process. This situation has encouraged many of these individuals into "downward mobility" in Quebec. Their "unflattering" economic situation further hampers their full participation in the communal life of the host society. There may be a way to lessen poverty and unemployment among the educated Haitians and because they are mainly French-speaking, Haitians show a special bond with Quebec. Therefore, there is a distinct possibility that social discrimination and marginality will decrease if better job opportunities help to improve their standard of living. However, no immediate changes can be expected in the current situation for individuals' attitudes do not change over night even when concerted efforts are made to achieve such objectives. On the other hand, in response to these negative attitudes many Haitians become less open to the local culture. Therefore, they become less

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inclined to identify themselves as Quebeckers. Even those who have a successful career and a good socio-economic situation maintain their Haitian identity. Further studies should seek to understand whether discrimination is a more powerful variable to ethnic retention than the lack of opportunity among educated Haitian immigrants in Quebec.

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Appendices

Research Questionnaire

1. When did you arrive in Quebec?

2. How old were you when you arrived in Québec?

3. Why did you choose to immigrate to Quebec?

4. Why did you leave Haiti?

5. How would you identify yourself: as Haitian, Quebecker or else?

6. How do yoy think Quebeckers perceive you?

7. How many children do you have, and how old are they?

8. How many years of schooling did you have upon arrival in Quebec?

9. Did you go back to school here?   Explain?

10. What was your occupation in Haiti?   Explain if necessary?

11. What is your current occupation?   Please, explain if necessary?

12. Did your education help you find a job here?

13. Is your education relevant for your current job?   Explain?

14. Can education help Haitians find a job here? Explain?

15. How did your parents or sponsors help your adaptation in Quebec society?

16. If you had a better education, would you be in a better socioeconomic situation today?

17. Do you agree with the following statement: The "first wave" of Haitian immigration comprised self-sponsored, young professionals, while the "second wave" included mostly sponsored, unskilled and poorly educated individuals who went to work in factories and the service sector?

18. Could such a view point have any negative impact on Haitian integration in Quebec?

19. An immigrant who wants to settle in a new country goes through an adaptation process. How was your adaptation in Quebec?

20. How did you get your first job here?

21. Did your experience in the workplace help your integration process?

22. What major challenges or obstacles did you have to overcome to integrate in the Quebec work place?

23. Are there any advantages for Haitian immigrants to Quebec today?

24. Has the political and economic situation in Haiti had any negative impact on your adaptation in Quebec?

25. Have you ever been victim of discrimination in Quebec?

26. If yes, how did it affect you ?

27. In your view, what might trigger such discriminatory behaviors or attitudes ?

28. If you could start over, what mistakes would you avoid making in Quebec?

29. If you were given a second chance, would you choose to remain in Haiti, immigrate in another country or province, or would you still immigrate to Quebec?

30. If you were given a second chance, what year would you choose to immigrate in Quebec?

31. Your final thoughts ...

CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Leopold Pompilus pertaining to the role of education in the process of minority integration under Dr. Joyce Barakett of Educational Studies at Concordia University.

I have been informed that the purpose of the research is to assess:

(i) the role of education in the integration process of immigrant minorities in Quebec.
(ii) whether there are other variables that must be considered to better explain the failure of some (educated) Haitians to fully integrate in Quebec society.

The research will be conducted through literature review and participant interviews. Each participant will be interviewed twice for approximately an hour per session and interviews will be recorded on a tape recorder. There will be no discomfort or risk involved and my confidentiality will be preserved.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences, and that my interviews may be used for future studies.

I understand that my participation in this study is confidential.

I understand that data from this study may be published.

I understand the purpose of this study and know that there is no hidden motive of which I have not been informed.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT.
I FREELY CONSENT AND AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print) _____

SIGNATURE _____

WITNESS SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____