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Transition, Settlement and Integration:
Recommendations for the Design and Development
of a Citizenship Programme for Francophone Immigrants in Quebec

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in
The Department
of
Education

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ABSTRACT

Transition, Settlement and Integration: Recommendations for the Design and Development of a Citizenship Programme for Francophone Immigrants in Quebec

Anna-Sofia Johansson

This study is an exploration of the juncture of immigration, immigrant integration and adult citizenship education in the Province of Quebec. Some of the issues addressed revolve around the belief that many factors impact on immigrants' ability to integrate into Quebec society and that linguistic proximity is not sufficient to ensure smooth integration and full societal participation. For this reason, this study's emphasis is placed on the transitional learning needs of francophone immigrants integrating into Quebec society. Some of the areas explored are: Canadian and Quebec immigration policies, immigrant integration, theoretical propositions and approaches to immigrant education, and frameworks, practices and forms of adult citizenship education for immigrants.

As it is believed that immigrants' transition, settlement and integration can be facilitated by participation in citizenship programmes, recommendations for the design and development of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants are provided. This includes a discussion of programme objectives and evaluation, recommendations for the selection of a philosophical framework for programme design and delivery, and recommendations for the selection of andragogical practices. Conclusions are provided in the form of recommendations for a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants to Quebec. These recommendations include suggestions for three programme components: Life Skills: Day-to-Day Life; Civics: Rights and Responsibilities, and Critical Reflection. A fourth programme component for the non-immigrant segment of the population is also proposed. Suggestions in terms of adaptable modules for each of these components are provided.

This thesis is dedicated to Magic

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I consider myself a very lucky woman for the simple fact that many people care about me. Without these people, my life would have no driving force. Without these people, I would never have completed my thesis.

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PREFACE

Throughout the past few years, I have enjoyed the opportunity of designing and delivering a number of “Basic English” programmes for recent immigrants and refugees. Although a small number of these programmes’ participants were allophones, the majority were francophones from countries as diverse as Haiti, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Congo, Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, and Mauritius.

During the course of these programmes, I observed that the participants frequently directed the discussions, focused originally on facilitating the development of “Basic English Skills for the Workforce”, towards issues surrounding transition, settlement and integration into Quebec society. In the beginning, their intent to explore these issues surprised me. *Why, I asked myself, are the participants so intent on discussing these issues when surely they have explored them by now?* I encouraged the participants to further explore these issues. As long as they were practising their burgeoning basic English skills, I felt that the objectives of the programme were being fulfilled. The ensuing student-centred, context-specific dialogues provided me with privileged insight into many immigrant realities. The serious and, at times, quasi-urgent tone of the classroom interactions also allowed me to understand the relevance and significance of such exchanges.

It was only later that I discovered that, “francophones,”--having come either from France or Belgium or from former colonies where the official or

administrative language remains French, are not provided with the opportunity to participate in comprehensive integration-type programmes in Quebec, unlike new allophone and anglophone immigrants. Francophone immigrants, upon arrival, are provided with brief information sessions by the Ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration to facilitate their socio-political integration into Quebec. On the other hand, non-francophone immigrants are provided with extensive Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants du ministère des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration, also known as "*COFI*" courses, upon arrival by the same ministry.

Francophone immigrants are not provided by the Quebec government with longer more comprehensive transition and settlement programmes for new immigrants. Perhaps this can be linked to the assumption that new francophone immigrants already possess the language skills deemed sufficient for adequate overall participation in Quebec society. If this is true, why did so many of my Basic English programmes' francophone participants continue to feel like isolated, unwanted outsiders? Why was there so much unanimous dissatisfaction regarding their integration process into Quebec society.

The "Basic English" classes became a venue for exploring many as-of-yet unaddressed issues. It is based on these few personal observations and experiences that I decided to concentrate my work on the adult learning needs of francophone immigrants in transition into Quebec society.

INTRODUCTION TO AREA OF RESEARCH

Mainstream Canadian society has tended, over the decades, to see immigrants as newcomers who do not require any real attention from the establishment (Porter 1965). However consider for a moment the infinite amount of stress endured by women, men and children who, pushed out of their countries of origin, are faced with the prospect of integrating, sometimes in full isolation into a host society whose institutions and infrastructures are incomprehensible, whose religions are unfamiliar and whose citizens really would rather continue on with their lives unhindered by the needs of newcomers.

Canada, internationally, is regarded as a humanitarian country which welcomes those who need or want to leave their country of origin. It must be recognised, this migration of people to Canada, and by extension, its province of Quebec, not only provides opportunities for immigrants and refugees, but also benefits the host society. Quebec needs immigrants out of self-interest. Acting as both consumers and workers, it must be appreciated, they help keep the provinces' economic wheels turning.

Between 1991-1995, 198,828 immigrants settled in Quebec (LeBlanc 1997, A6); approximately 37% of these were either francophone or capable of speaking French (Statistics Canada 1996). Although immigration is officially regarded as a

shared federal-provincial responsibility, Quebec has assumed broad powers to recruit and select its own immigrants since 1978 (Juteau and McAndrew 1992).

Monique Gagnon-Tremblay, former minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities (the provincial ministry which has since become the Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration) describes very clearly the definite provincial objective of increasing the number of French-speaking immigrants as follows: "For immigration to contribute to the survival of the French fact, the government has decided to favor francophone immigration in its recruitment and selection operations" (Toronto Star, December 5th 1990, A11). Under the government's immigration point-based selection criteria, "while candidates get six points for knowledge of English, they get 12 for knowledge of French and another two if they were educated in French" (Thompson 1997). If successful, this plan will double the number of French-speaking immigrants to Quebec. It is estimated that Quebec would then be getting approximately 20,000 francophone immigrants a year, up from a typical 9,500 a year. Within Canada's multicultural framework, the planned political, economic and social integration of these immigrants must become an educational priority.

Twenty thousand immigrants a year represents an enormous responsibility for Quebec as immigrants who do not develop the knowledge and skills necessary to participate fully in their new society, could become a heavy economic burden. New Quebecers, whether they be anglophone, allophone or francophone, need to be provided, during the often problematic integration

phase into their new society, with opportunities to develop the knowledge and skills necessary to fulfil the demands, as well as reap the benefits, of full societal participation and citizenship.

At first glance, it can be assumed that francophone immigrants do not require "transition" or "integration" programmes because they already possess sufficient language skills to integrate into the Quebec workforce. It is possible that this assumption has led to a situation where adult learners' needs, in this case adult francophone immigrants' needs, have not been adequately explored or addressed. At present there are the general installation programmes offered by the Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration and a few, scattered and scarce "transitional programmes" for francophone immigrants and refugees in Montreal. As the transition into Quebec's multicultural society can be facilitated by participation in such programmes, the creation of a comprehensive citizenship programme that would seek to meet the specific needs of francophone immigrants is entirely in order.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES

The Quebec society of the late 20th century includes an ever increasing number of new arrivals. Educational provisions that help adult immigrants integrate successfully are thought to be helpful.

The principal objectives of this research project were threefold. This research project's first objective was to examine the third phase of migration; the installation and integration of new immigrants in their new society. By looking into the literature on immigration and the immigrant experience, by interviewing experts from the field of adult immigrant education and by collecting important information via focus group sessions, this research project aimed to understand the developmental tasks of settlement faced by immigrants in a new society. A special focus on the realities faced by francophone immigrants in Quebec was emphasised as it was observed that more than mere linguistic proximity is required for smooth and effective integration into a new society. This group was selected as important to study because it was felt that its transitional learning needs have been largely underrated.

The second objective of this research project was to make the connection between adult learning, immigrant integration and citizenship. This second objective included examining the role and some of the important characteristics of adult citizenship education during integration. In order to fulfil the second objective of this research project, qualitative research activities focused on, among others, the integration phase of immigration as a transition which produces teachable moments (Daloze 1996) and developmental tasks that in turn, create "readinesses to learn" (Knowles 1980).

The third objective of this research project comprised the compilation of recommendations for the design and delivery of a citizenship programme for

francophone immigrants. This required the selection of an appropriate conceptual framework and congruent andragogical methods for the design and development of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants. An important part of this research project's work included an investigation of whether these needs are currently being met by providers of organised adult education programmes in Montreal.

Evidence that this type of research is necessary is not difficult to locate. Research has been undertaken throughout the years regarding the plight of immigrants in their new host societies (Gordon 1964, Porter 1965, and Breton, Reitz and Valentine 1981). Local newspapers also continuously run features on the often problematic integration of immigrants into Quebec's complex society. Regardless of multicultural policy making, incidents of majority intolerance and cultural conflicts in Quebec abound. Headlines like Montreal's *La Presse's* 1997 "Les francophone sont les plus ethnocentriques des Canadiens, concluent deux chercheurs ontariens" are good examples of the medias' contribution to the study of race relations in Canada. To compound this already problematic aspect of society, if the recent developments on the international front are any indication of what the future holds for Canadians in terms of newcomers, people will continue to emigrate in thousands away from their countries of origin. The Canadian trend of accepting immigrants and refugees will not come to an end anytime in the near future.

Knowles (1980) argued that the mission of adult education “can best be described in relation to satisfying three distinct sets of needs and goals: “1.) the needs and goals of individuals, 2.) the needs and goals of institutions, and 3.) the needs and goals of society” (Knowles 1980, 22). For the benefit of the individuals involved both immigrant and non-immigrant, as well as the social, political and economic stability of greater societal context, the development of adult education programmes that will continue to address these issues from the standpoint of a solid theoretical foundation seems logical, if not imperative.

METHODOLOGY

To fulfil the objectives of this research project on the convergence of adult education, citizenship, immigration and adult francophone immigrants, a qualitative approach was deemed appropriate. The research project flowed through five inter-connected and over-lapping phases. This included an on-going review of the literature, face-to-face interviews with experts from the field of immigration, immigrant integration and adult immigrant education, focus group sessions with adult francophone immigrants and an investigation of the existing transition programmes for adult francophone immigrants in Montreal. A final stage consisted of selecting a conceptual framework and drafting recommendations for design and delivery of a citizenship programme for adult francophone immigrants.

Phase 1: Review of the Literature

The first phase of this research project on the learning needs of francophone immigrants during their transition period into Quebec society consisted of a broad literature review which included exploration and examination of the topics of immigration, the immigrant experience, francophone immigrants, theoretical propositions and approaches to immigrant education and adult citizenship education programmes.

In order to determine the conceptual framework upon which this project would be developed, a review of the literature concerning theoretical propositions and approaches to immigrant education was undertaken. This included a review of the “assimilation versus integration” debate. A review of the body of knowledge was then conducted on the andragogical notions of transformative learning (Mezirow 1990), educational praxis (Freire 1970) and self-directedness (Knowles 1980). A review of the current literature was also undertaken on emancipatory citizenship education (Lynch 1992) based on the principles of multiculturalism, globalism, diversity and universal human rights.

For the purpose of this project, additional conceptual considerations were explored for their relevancy to the research topic. Chapter Six of C. Sleeter and C. Grant’s Making Choices for Multicultural Education: Five Approaches to race, Class and Gender (1988), entitled “Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist” (pp. 175-204) was consulted, as was Clive Beck’s article “Is

Immigrant Education Only for Immigrants?" (pp. 5-18), from A. Wolfgang's collection of works entitled Education of Immigrant Students (1975). These works were chosen as particularly pertinent to this research project because of their approach not only to immigrant education, but to the citizenship education of the non-immigrant segment of society as well.

Much has been written on the topic of immigration over the years (Piché and Bélanger 1995) and careful selection of relevant research was essential. As immigration to Montreal by francophone immigrants represents a particularly salient reality, specific attention was paid to research that could provide applicable knowledge and recommendations regarding this group of newcomers. Therefore a major component of this stage of the literature review consisted of investigating the group of francophone immigrants themselves. World Wide Web sites and documents from Statistics Canada were consulted as well as articles from the major Quebec newspapers in order to determine the approximate number and nature of francophone immigrants who arrive annually to the province of Quebec.

Once a reasonable understanding of the many developmental tasks of settlement and integration had been developed, a look into citizenship and citizenship programmes that would reflect these tasks was carried out. Citizenship and citizenship education have attracted much interest over the last century. For this reason, only literature applicable to the modern immigration reality was consulted, although some concepts and notion from more historical

works may of course have been used as the basis for discussion by the authors consulted.

Work by James Lynch entitled Education for Citizenship in a Multicultural Society (1992) and Keith A. McLeod's Canada and Citizenship Education (1989) were particularly relevant at this stage of the project as they discuss educational programmes that aim at facilitating democratic citizenship in culturally diverse societies within a global framework.

When it came to investigating citizenship programmes, ESL programmes from across Canada were studied for their significant contributions to immigrants' transition and settlement periods. Also reviewed were classes specific to citizenship-hearings for new immigrants as they provide valuable insight into the citizenship examination requirements in terms of Canadian geography, history, politics, economics and current issues. A survey of typical student-centred, context-specific life-skills-type programmes such as those found detailed and discussed in TESL Talk and TESOL Quarterly was also conducted.

In order to make recommendations for the design and development of a programme for francophone immigrants, a final phase of this literature review consisted of researching andragogical conceptual frameworks and practices. As the scope and objectives of this research project did not include the full design, preparation and delivery of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants, a comprehensive study of educational design and educational programme development did not take place. Instead, research into the

development of a citizenship education programme for francophone immigrants consisted of a brief examination of the stages of programme design and development as described by Knowles (1980) and by Caffarella (1988 and 1994). It was felt, based on this examination and survey, that recommendations could be made for the creation of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants to Quebec.

Phase 2: Preliminary Interviews

Once the literature review was underway, interviews with experts from the fields of immigration, immigrant integration and adult immigrant education were conducted. These interviews were held informally with Mr. Lamine Janneh, second-language adult educator and cultural interpreter for the Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'immigration; Dr. Gasha Masimango, former president of the Conseil de la Communauté Noire du Quebec; and Mr. Vicente Perez, administrative Director of the Minority Apprentice Project Inc. (MAP), a small yet efficient community centre in Montreal's Notre-Dame-de-Grâce neighbourhood whose mandate it is to facilitate the successful integration of immigrants and minorities into the Quebec workforce.

None of these interviews followed a formal interview protocol. Instead they consisted of first distributing copies of the research project's proposal to the experts for review, reflection and eventual consultation. Once these three experts

had had time to process the information in the proposal, casual face-to-face dialogues were held. The project's *raison-d'être*, working hypotheses and objectives were reviewed and interesting additions and perspectives were noted.

Casual conversations with various experienced MAP staff members also took place. As some staff members had immigrated from countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and Haiti, they were consulted for their valuable perspectives on the subject matter of this research project. Many incidents and personal stories were related. Much information and enthusiastic feedback were received, and many important aspects of the research project were fine-tuned.

Topic areas for a citizenship programme for recent francophone immigrants were suggested by the experts and staff members. These suggestions included adding to any citizenship programmes such topics as: roles and responsibilities; human rights; cultural conflicts; varieties of French, and Western gender roles.

Based on an assumption that francophone immigrants integrated much more easily and faster than their anglophone and allophone counterparts, Dr. Gasha Masimango did suggest that the design of this research project ought to include a quantitative study comparing the integration rate of immigrants from the three linguistic groups. He felt that, as a preliminary stage of this project, the integration rate of francophone immigrants into Quebec's society should be established, then compared to that of anglophone and allophone immigrants. Unfortunately, this would require a long-term time-line and much rigorous testing and measurement of a phenomenon that, as yet, remains difficult for this

student-researcher to measure with any accuracy. Ultimately, it was felt that the scope and objectives of this project did not allow for such an enormous undertaking.

Phase 3: Focus Group Sessions

The third phase of this research project on identifying and meeting the needs of francophone immigrants during their transition period into Quebec society consisted of conducting focus group/basic English sessions. These sessions were conducted with francophone immigrants on the topics of immigration to Quebec, the transitional period of integration into a new society and immigrant realities. In order to *give* something to the participants in exchange for their generous participation in this research project, the focus group sessions took the form of Basic English classes for immigrants.

On two separate occasions during the summer months of 1997, once in May and then again in July, 30-hour sessions of Basic English instruction were provided over ten days to small groups of francophone immigrants in order to explore the realities of the immigrant experience as perceived by francophone immigrants themselves. The Basic English/focus group sessions were offered to the Minority Apprentice Projects Inc.'s clients. The clients were offered the opportunity to learn and practice basic English skills, free of charge, in exchange

for the valuable information and insight they would be providing this research project in return.

Based on previous experiences facilitating similar basic language courses, the sessions were delivered by this student-researcher. Designed essentially in congruence with a Freirean generative approach, the classes took the form of group discussions on themes such as “tell me about yourself and your country of origin”; “what do you miss the most about home”; “what caused you to leave your country of origin”; “what convinced you to come to Quebec”; “what was your first impression of Quebec”; “what have been your biggest challenges so far”; “what would you write in a letter to a sibling intending to follow in your footsteps”, and “what would you do differently if you could do it all again?” Due to the sensitive nature of these themes, much care was taken to ensure participants of their right to abstain from divulging sensitive matters which they considered “too private”. Full anonymity was also assured.

Participants were selected to participate in the Basic English/focus group sessions if they fulfilled the following three conditions: 1) that they had immigrated to Quebec in adulthood; 2) that they were francophone or at least fluently French-speaking prior to their arrival to Quebec; and 3) that they accepted to explore their immigration experiences with the student-researcher/English instructor in exchange for basic English instruction. For the purpose of these focus groups, no francophone immigrants were turned away regardless of the amount of time since their immigration. Each participant was

perceived as possessing a valuable perspective on immigrating to Quebec as a francophone. The recent immigrants were a valuable source for their current ongoing “urgent” issues and experiences, whereas the less recent immigrants were seen as valuable sources of experiences for their long term perspective and salient memories.

Seven adult francophone immigrants participated in the first session, six participated in the second. In total, 13 francophone immigrants, 10 men and 3 women, participated in the focus group/basic English sessions. Ranging from 3 months to 21 years since their arrival, each participant had come to Quebec in adulthood. They came from countries such as Rwanda, Chad, the former Zaire, Burundi, Algeria, Morocco and Haiti. One participant came from Angola. He was included in this research project as he, like many of his fellow Angolan citizens, had been educated in French and was therefore regarded as a francophone by Quebec immigration standards.

Of the 13 basic English/focus group session’s francophone immigrant participants, 7 had Ph.D.’s, in such areas as Education, Engineering, Physics, and Architecture; 2 had Master’s degrees in such areas as International Relations and Chemistry, 1 had almost completed Medical studies, 1 had prepared to become a professional cook, 1 had studied to become a primary school teacher, and 1 had a high school leaving certificate from a Montreal high school. Those who had Ph.D.’s had worked in their fields prior to immigrating to Quebec; most either in universities as professors and researchers or in the research and development

departments of multinational companies. 10 of the participants had lived and worked in Europe before immigrating permanently to Quebec in such countries as Germany, Italy, Belgium, and France. In total, 9 of the 13 participants were married with children; of these 9 married participants, all had arrived to Quebec already married. Not one participant had married outside their race or culture of origin. 4 participants had arrived with children, whereas 5 had started their families only once in Quebec. Seven participants said they had been brought up in a Christian environment and 6 said they were raised in Muslim families.

At some point since their arrival in Quebec, 5 of the 13 participants had been employed. Not one participant however expressed any job satisfaction as none had found employment at their occupational level or in their field. This was especially true for the Ph.D.'s who had completed their studies and worked as chairs of university departments, tenured professors or researchers abroad.

Table 1. General portrait of 13 Basic English/ focus group participants.

Part.	Time in Qc	Gender	Education	Country of Origine	Civil Status	Religion	Qc Job Experience
1	3 years	m	Ph.D.	Burundi	Single	Christian	yes
2	13 months	m	Ph.D.	Algeria	Single	Muslim	no
3	5 years	m	Ph.D.	Rwanda	Married w/child	Christian	no
4	1 year	m	Ph.D.	Algeria	Married w/child	Muslim	no
5	21 years	f	DES	Haiti	Married w/child	Christian	yes
6	3 years	f	M.Sc.	Rwanda	Married w/child	Christian	no
7	2 years	m	M.A.	Chad	Married w/child	Muslim	no
8	7 years	m	DEP	Morocco	Single	Muslim	yes
9	6 months	m	Ph.D.	Zaire	Married w/child	Christian	no
10	14 years	f	B.A.	Haiti	Married w/child	Christian	yes
11	2 years	m	Ph.D.	Algeria	Married w/child	Muslim	no
12	3 months	m	Ph.D.	Algeria	Married w/child	Muslim	no
13	10 months	m	B.Sc.	Angola	Single	Christian	yes

Particular attention was paid to the marketing of these focus group sessions as false advertising of the sessions and exploitation of the participants, was considered ethically unacceptable. They were advertised as an opportunity for an exchange between a student-researcher/English instructor and participants. Upon initial contact, the classes were introduced to potential participants as an opportunity to learn and practice basic English skills in exchange for access to important research data. In order to further establish a clear understanding of the project's objectives, a consent form was prepared, translated into French, reviewed by the participants and instructor, and signed by all participants within the first two days of each session. Noteworthy here is the general observation that the ethical considerations considered essential by

the student-researcher were perceived as trivial to the participants. Not one participant manifested any negative reactions toward the focus group sessions' dual objectives and all were more than happy to participate in the data collection phase of a Master's thesis research project.

The main impetus of this phase of the project as stated above, was to develop an insider's view of what the immigration experience could be like for a francophone immigrant to Quebec. Via the classroom conversations and home work assignments, themes emerged and patterns became apparent. The participants joined in the group discussions enthusiastically. Reflections on experiences were shared, options for greater societal participation were explored and strategies developed. Many themes were to manifest themselves. Two themes in particular came as a surprise. They were that, despite linguistic proximity, decoding the host culture was difficult, which led to culture shock and many subtle yet important cultural conflicts. It was also unanimously agreed by the participants that the greatest barrier to full integration and participation in Quebec society is finding, getting and keeping a decent job. The interesting aspect of this theme is that the participants voiced that getting a job in Montreal requires at least a working knowledge of the English language. Employers demand a working knowledge of English, a language in which none of the participants felt fluent enough to function effectively in a workplace.

Phase 4: Exploration of Existing Programmes for Francophone Immigrants

The fourth phase of this research project on identifying and meeting the needs of francophone immigrants during their transition period into Quebec society consisted of exploring Montreal for existing programmes for francophone immigrants. In order to fulfil the objectives of this phase of the research project, an effort was made to locate transition, integration and citizenship programmes that target francophone immigrants to Quebec in and around the city of Montreal.

It became immediately apparent that many programmes for immigrants were available at both the government and community levels of society. Although it was not the student-researcher's intention to assess or evaluate these programmes, what became apparent is that very few of these programmes target or reflect solely the specific needs and aspirations of francophone immigrants during their integration period into Quebec's society.

Among the Quebec Government's Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration's many programmes and services for immigrants, it was discovered that sessions entitled "Information aux nouveau arrivants francophones" were offered to new francophone immigrants. Further investigation of these sessions via the Ministère's detailed website

(www.immq.gouv.qc/francais/d-30-5.htm) confirmed that these sessions were 20-hour packages offered to francophone immigrants following their arrival to Quebec.

The Quebec Government's Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et immigration's website advertised other government services for new immigrants which include: *service d'accueil et d'aide; cours de français gratuits; services d'insertion au marché du travail; évaluation des études; and administration des ententes*. Apart from the 20-hour information session and the general services, it would appear that no other programmes are provided exclusively for francophone immigrants by the Ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et immigration.

Many other programmes and services are however offered at the community level. Programmes, activities and other opportunities to develop the knowledge and skills necessary to integrate into Quebec society were located advertised in the 1996-1997 Bottin des activités de rapprochement interculturel en milieu communautaire: île de Montreal. Of the 103 community organisations listed in the Bottin, 60 separate organisations were listed as providers of activities "visant à développer la connaissance et la compréhension de la société québécoise" (Government of Quebec 1997, 63).

From the master list of the 60 community organisations listed as providers of the type of programme that interested this research project, every third community organisation was contacted for a total of 20 community

organisations. Telephone interviews were conducted with the 20 organisation's representatives. These telephone interviews followed the same general schedule: after having introduced herself and explained her research project's nature and objectives, this student-researcher asked the representative if the organisation provided citizenship or integration programmes for immigrants. The representative was then asked to describe the types of programmes provided. This normally consisted of a listing of the themes covered during organised sessions or programmes. He/she was then asked general questions about the cost, duration, frequency and attendance rate of these programmes. This was followed by inquiries related to whether or not these programmes were designed to meet or reflect the specific needs of francophone immigrants. These telephone interviews demonstrated that there are indeed integration-type activities presently being provided to recent immigrants in the Greater Montreal area. These activities, tailored to the needs of specific sub-groups such as immigrant women, parents, and adolescents are offered on a broad range of topics ranging from legal aid, and from breast cancer to recycling. The telephone interviews suggested, however, that a comprehensive citizenship programme for new francophone immigrants does not exist.

Phase 5: Recommendations for Principles, Design and Development of a Citizenship Programme for Francophone Immigrants to Quebec

A final fifth phase of this research project on identifying and meeting the needs of francophone immigrants during their transition period into Quebec society consisted of making recommendations for the development of a programme that will address the needs of francophone immigrants in transition to Quebec society. This phase, based on the four preceding phases of the research project, included the selection of a conceptual framework, the study of andragogical principles and practices, and the compilation of a list of grounded recommendations for the design and delivery of a citizenship or transition programme for francophone immigrants.

As the conceptual framework selected as most appropriate for this project emerged from the juncture of work by Lynch, Freire and Mezirow, the student-researcher allowed the experts and focus group/English sessions participants to generate the thematic contents of a future citizenship programme. The Freirean generative approach utilised in the data collection phase of the research project was considered an acceptable replacement for a needs assessment. As a result, general themes for a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants emerged. These themes included settlement issues, culture clash, rights and responsibilities, democracy and multiculturalism, access to information, making educated choices and conflict resolution.

The ensuing compilation of a list of recommendations for the creation of the life-skills-type citizenship programme for Francophone immigrants was based on the information received directly from the focus group/basic English sessions and from the interviews conducted with the experts from the fields of immigration, immigrant education and integration.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Canadian Immigration Policies

Immigration “is a form of migration that signifies the intention of a person to settle permanently in a new country” (Grolier Multimedia Encyclopaedia 1995). Canada, along with other countries such as the United Kingdom, Sweden, Australia and the United States of America, can be seen as an immigrant country. In other words, Canada owes much of its current prosperity to the contributions made by people born outside its territory. Based on the residuals of both English and French imperialist orders, as well as an accumulation of historical events and circumstances, Canada has become a multicultural country where people from all over the world live, work and bring up their children.

Immigration policies have contributed greatly to Canadian demographics; over the years, trends in immigrants have given shape to the face of Canadian

society. Based on an early urgency to populate a vast territory and supply a labour force, immigrants from “preferred nations” were recruited from the British Isles, Germany, the Netherlands and Scandinavia. These immigrants were selected “with reference to such criteria as the ease with which it was believed that they would assimilate into Canadian life” (Elliott 1979, 155). They were perceived as eager to assimilate into the dominant Christian white-anglophone mainstream (Bissoondath 1994). After these groups came the Italians during the post-war era, along with others from the Mediterranean region, followed by Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and Czechoslovakians. Although their immigration to Canada and their subsequent adjustment periods had not been trouble-free, their settlement and absorption into the mainstream was more or less taken for granted (Elliott 1979 and Drieger 1975). Until the post-war period, the English, and their dominant Christian, white-anglophone culture, were able to maintain their political, economical and cultural dominance in Canada by selecting and recruiting immigrants (Elliott 1979).

In 1967, a new immigration policy changed the face of the Canadian population. The 1967 Immigration Act, a turning point in Canadian immigration, eliminated for all classes of immigrants the potentiality for discrimination on the basis of race or national origin (Elliott 1979). This act introduced a “point system” of selection; immigrants were to be selected on the basis of points that were earned in areas such as education, occupation and language. This new system engendered a significant shift in sources of immigrants to Canada. Immigrants

from Asia, Africa and South America, previously discouraged from immigrating as they belonged to those “nationalities unlikely to assimilate and who consequently prevent the building up of a unified nation of people of similar customs and ideals” (Richard 1991, 8) began arriving in higher proportions.

Canadian demographics began changing dramatically during this period. The Immigration Act, as well as Canada’s post-war refugee policy greatly increased ethnic and cultural diversity (Richard 1991). This demographic transformation brought many race and ethnic-related issues into the forefront. Based on feelings of mainstream ethnocentrism, tensions between the mainstream majority and minorities were beginning to represent a real threat to national unity. A climate of ethnic stratification, initiated when the first French and English colonisers encountered each other two-hundred and fifty years before, and prolonged throughout centuries of competition for valued, yet scarce resources, created a situation where some ethnic groups had more power than others (Porter 1965). In Canada, the British and those groups that had assimilated the most completely into the British mainstream, enjoyed the greatest access to socio-political power. They occupied the top of the ethnic hierarchical structure and enjoyed a relative monopoly of power, privilege and prestige (Hughes and Kallen 1974). In the province of Quebec, although different in nature due to dominant national anglo-centrism, the same can be said regarding the French and those groups who had most easily assimilated into the French mainstream. Growing mainstream ethnocentrism led to inevitable problems: racism,

discrimination, inter-group tensions towards minority groups that were not assimilating completely into the mainstream culture contributed to the creation of outright hostile relations between certain race and ethnic groups (Hughes and Kallen 1974). For many new Canadians, their arrival and integration into Canadian mainstream was marked by whether or not the Canadian mainstream was willing to absorb the minority group in question. As well, their integration was marked by whether or not the minority group was willing and able to assimilate itself into the mainstream culture. For many new Canadians this was a very difficult and often impossible task.

It was within this climate of ethnic relations that Prime Minister Trudeau's Multicultural Policy for Canada was introduced in 1971. "In 1971 the government proclaimed its official stand on how to treat ethnic groups by enacting a multicultural policy" (Frideres 1989, vii). Within the framework of race relations, the goal of this multicultural policy was to ultimately reduce hostility and to encourage acceptance between groups. This goal can be broken down into four major objectives:

1. To permit cultural groups to retain and foster their identity;
2. To assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society;
3. To promote creative exchanges and interchanges among all Canadian cultural groups;
4. To help newcomers acquire at least one of the official languages (Frideres 1989, 3).

Whether or not this policy is having the desired effect on immigration, Canadian race relations and immigrant realities is difficult to determine. By 1981,

more than 60% of immigrants to Canada were coming from Asia, Africa, South America and the Caribbean (Frideres 1989). Evidence provided by research and popular media indicate that the integration of newcomers depends on many factors; the socio-political ethos of the host country being one of the most important. Much attention is still required in this area and special attention to the Quebec reality is also in order due to its often parallel yet distinct evolution since colonial days, as well as the fact that Quebec assumed in 1978:

le droit exclusif de sélectionner les immigrants de la catégorie des indépendants, à l'étranger ou sur place (...) il en est de même du pouvoir de reconnaissance du statut de réfugiés. A l'étranger, le Québec peut exercer auprès des réfugiés dont le statut est déjà reconnu, non pas une sélection au sens strict, mais un certain "ciblage" des personnes qui lui paraissent le plus susceptibles de s'adapter à notre société" (Juteau and McAndrew 1992, 168).

Immigration and Immigrant Realities

As immigrants are seen as a source of economic growth and social strength for the country, Canada will continue to allow immigrants to settle and become citizens. In October of 1997, Lucienne Robillard, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration tabled the 1988 Immigration Plan in the House of Commons (The Metropolis Newsletter, <http://crimiidu.metropolis.globalx.net>). This plan set the overall range for 1998 at 200,000 to 225, 000 immigrants and refugees. This range is 5,000 higher than the level for 1997. "These aren't arbitrary numbers. The decision to raise the levels was made after careful consideration with a view to

establishing the number of newcomers who will benefit Canada and Canadians”, noted Robillard (The Metropolis Newsletter 1997).

On one hand, immigrants are seen as assets by the government. On the other hand, immigrants are often seen as burdens on society by non-immigrant Canadians. Whether they are seen as competition (Breton 1974) for workers already in the workforce or as a blessing for an economic structure looking for low-level workers, many unfounded beliefs surround the world-wide phenomenon that is known as immigration.

Despite many misconceptions, the immigrant experience is frequently, although not always, devastatingly difficult and tragic. Many determinants contribute to this fact (Ben-Porath 1987 and Piché and Bélanger 1995). These determinants are directly related to the three interrelated but distinct phases of migration: 1) the situation, whether it be social, political or economic, that is at the source of the desire or need to leave one’s country of origin; 2) the migration period itself during which the individual or individuals are “in transit”; and 3) the transition into the foreign host society (Ben-Porath 1987, 9). As stated above, each of these three sequential phases can be overwhelmingly stressful for the individuals directly involved. They can also have a direct impact on the integration and the overall societal participation of a new citizen (Piché and Bélanger 1995).

Before continuing this discussion on immigration and immigrant realities, however, it is important to make the following important distinction. Although

they tend to be lumped together as a homogeneous group, many newcomers come as immigrants whereas others come as refugees. This distinction is important because the nature and rate of integration of each sub-group of newcomers will include dealing with the residuals of the specific contributing factors for emigration.

While refugees and immigrants may share many commonalities, they also differ in many ways (Stein 1980). Whereas people usually choose to become immigrants, they are forced to become refugees:

This increases the risk for emotional disorder. Many refugees have experienced the loss of home and possessions, the deaths of friends and family, internment in refugee camps, perhaps torture, which breaks minds as well as bodies. To add to the trauma of their past, when refugees arrive in a country of asylum, they are usually poor and are cut off from families and other sources of social support (Canadian Task Force on the Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees 1988, 5).

According to Dr. B. N. Stein, the following additional differences between refugee and immigrant must be recognised:

Superficially some refugees resemble immigrants, but there are great differences. The immigrant can prepare for his journey, learn some of the language, explore the job market, bring resources with him (sic), and go home if the adventure does not go well. Immigrants leave home in search of opportunity; they may have some skills but they were rarely prominent at home. The refugees, however, are pushed out of their homeland by political factors. They have not failed within their homeland (Stein 1980, 10).

Canada, internationally, is regarded as a humanitarian Western country that welcomes a certain quota of refugees annually (Vernez 1991). From 1978 to 1987, 17.2% of all immigrants were admitted as refugees (Canadian Task Force

on the Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees 1988, 4). It is important to note that 80% of these refugees were women and their dependants and that furthermore, the majority of refugees are from rural regions in developing countries (Vernez 1991 and Green 1994). Once again, these are important factors which impact on the integration of these newcomers.

When it comes then to developing an understanding of immigration and immigrant realities, an effort must be made to recognise that, despite the fact that newcomers share common characteristics, many important distinctions and differences exist. Situations vary from individual to individual. Immigrants and refugees can be sub-grouped by country of origin, region, and even vintage. They can be sub-grouped by religion, political affiliation and ethnic group. They can also be further sub-grouped by age, gender, socio-economic class and education. These sub-groups can then be re-divided into other small subdivisions (Stein 1980). Each newcomer is unique and any attempt to develop an immigrant integration programme must strive to develop an understanding of immigration and of the specific immigrant experience encountered by the particular target learner population.

Considering the enormous amount of literature available on world-wide migration, it is obvious that no two individual migration cases are identical, yet there seems to be a common series of push-pull forces that connects all cases: an initial unbearable situation, a difficult decision, a stressful departure followed by an anxiety-ridden voyage, ending with an arrival to and often stressful

integration into a new, foreign society. This series of overlapping sequences seems to be the migration constant throughout the world.

Unfortunately, the scope of this paper does not allow for an investigation of the antecedents of each type of migration case, nor does it allow for an examination of the realities endured by migrants “in transit” once they have left their countries of origin and embarked on the voyage towards their host societies. This paper concerns itself rather with the formidable and often never fully completed third phase of migration: the transition to and integration into the new society. Having said this, however, and in order to understand as accurately as possible the realities lived by immigrants, during the third phase of their migration experience, a general awareness of the nature and realities of the first and second phases are essential for they never cease to impact on an immigrant’s ability to function in his/her new society.

When discussing immigrant realities, studies on particular individuals, specific groups and unique cases abound on the theme of the *immigrant experience* (Piché and Bélanger 1995). Immigrants, by the thousands, flock to countries such as Canada, the United States, The United Kingdom, Sweden and Australia every year. Experts and professionals from all fields have spent considerable amounts of time studying and writing about every conceivable aspect of this phenomenon. Massive national campaigns to integrate immigrants have resulted.

Immigrant Integration

There are many ways to look at immigrant integration. As discussed above, the integration of newcomers depends on many factors; the socio-political ethos of the host country being one of the most important.

Milton Gordon, in his 1964 study of the structural assimilation of immigrants in The United States titled Assimilation in American Life, describes the impact of majority discrimination and prejudice on immigrants. He writes that non-immigrants feel threatened by the floods of immigrants on all levels and describes a process during which these feelings of mainstream anxiety are mitigated. This process, referred to in Gordon's study as the seven stages of the assimilation process, indicates the stages and sub-stages of an immigrant group's integration into the mainstream's society. This process, developed in the 1960's when the concept of assimilation was still generally uncontested, requires very little accommodation by the mainstream group. Instead it requires considerable adjustment and change for the newcomers. Gordon describes how immigrant groups change in such a way as to decrease hostility on the mainstream population's part. These seven stages of assimilation are: behavioral assimilation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation, identificational assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behavioural receptional assimilation and civic assimilation (Gordon 1964). Once these stages have been successfully completed, it was thought that the newcomers were fully integrated into the common

culture of their host society. It was believed that integration into society was achieved when the newcomers had changed their cultural patterns to match those of the dominant group, had taken on large-scale primary group relationships with the mainstream group, inter-married and inter-bred, had developed a mainstream sense of identity, had reached a point where they no longer encountered any mainstream discriminatory behaviour, prejudiced attitudes and did not raise any demands or issues that would relate to their original cultural patterns (Gordon 1964). Under this light, the assimilation process is seen as mainly a matter of degree in which the newcomers' adjustment is measured against the standards set by the mainstream group of the host society. Within this perspective, very little diversity is accommodated or even encouraged.

Much has changed since the 1960's, and in Canada since the introduction of the Multicultural Policy for Canada, the integration of newcomers has become a complex combination of cultural diversity and national unity. Many contexts contribute to the integration of newcomers into a host society. These factors include: the international context affecting both the country of origin and the host country; the situational context in the country of origin faced by the individual; the situational context in the host society faced by the individual and the duration of residence in host country. (See Appendix 1: Cadre conceptuel pour l'étude des facteurs d'intégration).

Within this perspective, according to current research by Piché and Bélanger (1995), immigrant integration can be subdivided into five “types” or areas: linguistic, cultural, economic, educational and residential (Piché and Bélanger 1995). When an immigrant is perceived as having attitudes and behaviours similar to those of the average non-immigrant population, in these five areas, it can be said that he/she is integrated into the new society. It must be noted that whereas such areas as linguistic, economic, educational and residential integration are readily compared to those of the average non-immigrant population, the cultural integration of immigrants is problematic to measure.

Opinions vary on the measurability of immigrant integration (Piché and Bélanger 1995). Research conducted at the Université de Montréal in 1995 to synthesise the multitude of empirical studies and findings on immigrant integration is based on the belief that immigrant integration is measured by comparing an individual immigrant’s participation in society to that of a non-immigrant:

D’une façon générale, on peut dire que la plupart des auteurs conçoivent l’intégration comme un processus pouvant être mesuré sur un continuum allant de la non-intégration (e.g. quitter le Québec) jusqu’à l’intégration réussie (e.g. performer au moins aussi bien que la population non-immigrante ou native) (Piché and Bélanger 1995, 11).

The question of whether or not an immigrant succeeds at integrating into a host society can be approached from different angles. Economic integration is determined by whether or not an immigrant is able to find, get and keep a job.

Linguistic integration is considered complete when the immigrant is capable of speaking the official first language of the society in question. Residential integration is successful when an immigrant leaves an immigrant enclave to install himself or herself in a traditionally non-immigrant neighbourhood (Piché and Bélanger 1995). The same can be said for culture, race and religion; the greater the cultural, racial and religious proximity, the more the immigrant can be perceived as integrated into the host society.

Under this light, if integration is measured by sectors of day-to-day life, then a francophone immigrant is naturally linguistically more integrated than non-francophone immigrants. Putting linguistic proximity aside for a moment however, the same francophone immigrant may not be integrated in other areas or sectors such as economically or residentially, racially or culturally.

The integration of immigrants into a new society depends on a complex combination of individual characteristics, pre-migratory circumstances and societal contextual factors (Piché and Bélanger 1995). The individual characteristics that impact on an immigrant's rate and efficiency of integration are associated with: age, linguistic background and ability, education, employment, cultural attributes, sex, category of admission and duration of residence. According to research undertaken by the Département de démographie et Groupe de recherche ethnicité et société (GRES) of the Université de Montréal in 1995, the integration of an immigrant into a society is shaped by these individual characteristics:

l'intégration dans une société est largement fonction des capacités et aptitudes des immigrants et des immigrantes à se tailler une place plus ou moins comparable à celle des populations natives. En lien avec la théorie du capital humain, certaines caractéristiques ressortent comme pouvant jouer un rôle important dans le processus d'intégration. Il s'agit des variables âge, connaissance linguistique, scolarité, emploi et attributs culturels. Le sexe comme catégorie sociale mérite une attention particulière étant donné la division sexuelle du travail qui marque de façon spécifique le processus migratoire des femmes. Enfin, deux autres variables mesurées comme caractéristiques individuelles renvoient en fait à des processus également liés à la société d'accueil: la catégorie d'admission, qui reflète la politique de sélection, et la durée de résidence, qui exprime autant les changements dans les caractéristiques des immigrants et des immigrantes que ceux qui surviennent dans la société d'accueil elle-même (Piché and Bélanger 1995, 13).

The integration stage can be seen as the third and final phase of immigration. It is a phase which may in fact never be fully or satisfactorily completed. Reitz, cited in Les Frontières culturelles et la cohésion du Canada writes that it may even take a generation or two before individuals from other cultures feel or are perceived as integrated into a host society (Breton, Reitz and Valentine 1981). Integration can be measured both subjectively and objectively. It is measured subjectively by the individual immigrant him/herself and objectively by measuring such behaviours as political involvement, media consumption and participation in workforce.

The particular characteristics of French-speaking immigrants to Quebec render this sub-group of immigrants unique. As discussed above, linguistic proximity allows for a certain amount of integration, it does not however ensure the full economic, residential, cultural, racial, or religious integration of francophone immigrants. Educational provisions that respond to the specific

needs of francophone immigrants are then required. Citizenship education or integration programmes for immigrants are good examples of such provisions.

Theoretical Propositions and Approaches to Immigrant Education

Gordon Selman and Paul Dampier (1991) discuss citizenship in an immigrant nation:

The essential point is that Canada having throughout its history received relatively large numbers of immigrants, one of its most essential tasks has been to provide educational opportunities needed by many of these newcomers. (...) The education of immigrants has been a constant pre-occupation of Canadian society, including adult education. This has taken the form of both language and citizenship education (Selman and Dampier 1991, 45).

Wary of the pitfalls of the sink-or-swim approach, countries such as Canada have developed various "transition programmes" for new immigrants (Selman and Dampier 1991). Whether these "transition programmes" are labelled *resettlement, adaptation, official language or citizenship programmes*, their ultimate objectives are clear: to facilitate the newcomer's changeover into the new society, as well as to ensure their full, productive participation in this society. Orientation classes (Bell 1983) and Quebec's Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration's Services d'accueil et d'aide are good examples of programmes designed to provide support during the settlement phase of integration.

Conceptual frameworks regarding the best way to receive immigrants have differed over the generations. Some approaches have even contradicted

themselves outright (Banks and McGee Banks 1993). Thankfully much research has been done in the area of immigrant education (Gordon 1964, Sleeter and Grant 1988, Bhatnagar 1970, Banks and Banks 1993, Banks and Lynch 1986 and Samuda and Woods 1983).

Different ideologies have been used as frameworks from which to design, develop, implement and evaluate programmes aimed at providing services to incoming immigrants and refugees in transition to their new countries. In the following section, two conceptual theories, the assimilation approach and the integration approach, have been examined in order to better assess the assumptions often used as underpinnings when adult education programmes are designed, developed and implemented for immigrants.

Although it can be said that these same theoretical propositions and approaches, as well as pre-conceptions, have also come into play regarding the education of immigrant children, the scope of this research project unfortunately does not allow for a full discussion of this equally important matter.

The Assimilation Approach

In Making Choices for Multicultural Education: Five Approaches to Race, Class and Gender (1988), Sleeter and Grant discuss theories of cultural pluralism as provided by William Newman (1973). The theory that gives rise to the assimilation approach can be expressed as follows: $A+B+C=A$, "where A, B,

and C represent different social groups and A represents the dominant group” (Sleeter and Grant 1994, 177). The underlying assumption of the assimilation approach is that over time “the values and the life styles of the minority groups are replaced by those of the majority group (Sleeter and Grant 1994, 177).

The assimilation approach in adult education can best be described as a mainstream-centric (Banks and Banks, 1993) approach to the education of immigrants. Traditionally in Canada and in Quebec, this has often taken the form of a “anglo-conformist or franco-conformist” approach. Within the framework of national unity, values and behaviours congruent with political objectives were prescribed and learners were expected to develop mainstream-centric attitudes, behaviours and expectations.

Recently and in an ongoing fashion, research has discovered that the impact of the assimilation approach has not been positive, not for the newcomers nor for the overall society (Price 1992). The assimilation approach, it has been determined, makes minority individuals feel inferior to the mainstream population. This disrupts their ability to function within their own communities as well as in the general society, whether these minorities be voluntary in the case of immigrants or involuntary in the case of non-immigrant Blacks, Asians, Aboriginals, among many others. This often results in feelings of alienation and full rejection of the repressive society in question (Banks and Banks 1995).

The Integration Approach

The assimilation approach, it has been determined, often only results in the denigration and eventual alienation of non-mainstream groups. Whereas the assimilation approach does not recognise or include references to aspects of or contributions made by any groups except the mainstream-centric group, the integration theory, on the other hand, does. Within the broader discourse of multiculturalism and universal human rights and responsibilities, this approach supports the accommodation of cultural pluralism through the respect of differences, the emphasis of similarities and the encouragement of harmony through diversity. This harmony through diversity is what lead to the adoption of the *mosaic* metaphor as representative of the overall socio-political climate.

Citing once again the work of William Newman (1973), Sleeter and Grant (1988) also use equations to describe the integration approach. Classic cultural multiculturalism, they explain, can be described as: $A+B+C= A+B+C$, "where A, B, and C represent different social groups that, over time, maintain their own unique identities" (Sleeter and Grant 1994, 178). They point out, however, that, in congruence with Newman's own evolving theories, the following equation is more apt in describing and supporting the integration approach to the welcoming and ensuing education of immigrants: $A+B+C=A_1+B_1+C_1$. Within this theory, different groups integrate into the new multicultural mainstream society while simultaneously retaining their cultures of origin. Naturally this theory

emphasises that once a group has in fact emigrated from its country of origin and immigrated into a new culture, the original cultural characteristics undergo some transformation during the transition. This theory, state Sleeter and Grant, concords with Multicultural Education, or the integration approach to the education of immigrants. Within this approach coexist the preservation of culture of origin, the fostering of knowledge and skills that will allow for full societal participation and the creation and maintenance of a pluralist society.

Whereas the assimilation framework aims at a reprogramming of immigrants, adult education programmes, from an integration framework attempt to recognise the characteristics and valuable contributions of groups other than the mainstream majority group. In our rapidly changing Canadian and Quebec societies, cultural diversity will continue to exist. Government policies related to multiculturalism and bilingualism will guarantee their survival. As forced assimilation only antagonises non-majority groups, multiculturalism's non-assimilation approach to the education of immigrants comes into the forefront in both the education and socio-political spheres. If new citizens do not feel comfortable about themselves or their communities, they will not participate effectively in society.

It is therefore in the best interest of society to provide insightful adult education programmes to newcomers which embrace diversity while encouraging unity and harmony through socio-economic and political participation. This then would include adult education programmes tailored to

the specific needs of francophone immigrants who may indeed have the ability to communicate in French but who may also lack the knowledge and skills necessary to understand, develop and function fully in Quebec's society.

Citizenship Education and Immigrant Integration: An Andragogical Framework

The importance of grounded andragogical practice in facilitating adult immigrant citizenship education cannot be overlooked. When adult education is seen as the art and science of helping adults learn (Knowles 1980), adult immigrant citizenship education may then be seen as the art and science of helping enhance recent immigrants' capability to participate fully in a democratic society (Lynch 1992).

Immigrant citizenship education, from an andragogical perspective, sees immigrants as adult learners who are at a transitional stage in their lives when they need to adjust to new life situations. They can be seen as adults who require an effective balance of guidance, challenge and support from educational programmes and facilitators (Daloz 1986). The immigrants can also be seen as adults who need to make sense of and come to terms with changes in their realities (Lindeman in Jarvis 1987). Within the context of immigration, the settlement and integration phases create the need to adjust to the new demands of the host society. Meeting the needs of the tasks inherent to this transitional

phase such as finding housing, using public transport creates a “readiness to learn” (Knowles 1980) which in turn creates “teachable moments” (Havinghurst 1972 cited in Merriam and Caffarella 1991).

Faced with certain tasks such as those related to installation and settlement, finding a job and parenting immigrant children, newcomers experience a readiness to learn the knowledge and skills that will respond to their immediate needs. Knox’s (1977) notion of change as trigger for significant adult learning is also relevant from this perspective in that changes engender a need to be able to adapt to new circumstances. Adults have responsibilities. This is no less true for adult immigrants. Consequently, they must adapt as effectively as possible to their new surroundings so as to re-assume full responsibility for themselves and their families.

Many francophone immigrants arrive in Quebec seeking to improve their own as well as their families’ lot in life. The settlement and integration phases can be seen, not as irrevocable interruptions of life events, but as occurrences which can disrupt a capable adult’s ability to be self-directing. In this sense, immigration is not a traditional developmental stage experienced by individuals as they develop from birth to death as perceived by phase and stage developmental theorists such as Levinson, Erikson, Schlossberg and Kohlberg (Merriam and Caffarella 1991). Rather, it is seen as a life event, “a process of disorientation and reorientation” (Bridges in Merriam and Caffarella 1991, 108) that precipitates a need for learning. It is precisely at this point that citizenship

phase such as finding housing, using public transport creates a “readiness to learn” (Knowles 1980) which in turn creates “teachable moments” (Havinghurst 1972 cited in Merriam and Caffarella 1991).

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education programmes for immigrants become vital to the lives not only of the immigrants themselves, but of the greater society as well.

The ultimate goal of citizenship education during the transition phase of integration into a new society is to develop in the learners “autonomous control over aspects of worklife, personal relationships, societal structures and educational pursuits” (Brookfield 1986, 94). New knowledge and skills are required. Immigrants participate in learning activities if these activities are context-specific and appear to be satisfying a real need. Areas of knowledge and skills deemed important for adults in transition are discussed by Merriam and Cafarella (1991). Citing work by Schlossberg (1984), they list the following sequential learning activities: exploration of transitional event and process; problem-solving techniques and skills for coping, as the core ingredients of learning initiatives.

Immigration can be seen as a “disorientating dilemma” to which one’s old patterns of response are ineffective (Merriam and Caffarella 1991). Mezirow argues that it is precisely at this point in people’s lives that adult education must provide the help needed by learners to become aware and to think critically while grappling with the implications of their “disorientating dilemma”. This disorientating dilemma provides both a need and opportunity for adult learning to take place. Seen from an andragogical perspective, integration into a new society provides an opportunity to develop self-directedness.

Citing work by Knowles in 1975 as well as, among others, by Linderman as early as 1926, Brookfield argues that the aim of adult education should be to help learners become self-directed (Brookfield 1986). Self-directedness, in the context of immigrant integration and citizenship education, is a concept which requires attention and understanding. It can be defined as “autonomous control over aspects of worklife, personal relationships and educational pursuits” (Brookfield 1986, 94) and “the attempts of adults to acquire skills, knowledge, and self-insight through educational experiences that they are responsible for arranging” (Brookfield 1986, 149). Not to be immediately or automatically associated with pro-action on the learners’ part, the concept of self-directedness is also understood as “not merely learning how to apply techniques of resource location or instructional design. It is, rather, a matter of learning how to change our perspectives, shift our paradigms, and replace our way of interpreting the world by another” (Brookfield 1986, 19).

Included in the concept of self-directedness are the notions of “the adults’ assumption of control over setting educational goals and generating personally meaningful evaluative criteria” (Brookfield 1986, 19). It is at this point that a Freirean generative approach becomes essential for adult learning. Adults possess “a reservoir of experiences that affect how they perceive the world and that represent an important source of material for curriculum development and learning activities (Knowles 1980, 98). By allowing the adult learners to identify their own learning needs and by then exploring these needs while providing

general information and access to pertinent resources, an adult educator, in the field of adult immigrant education, can facilitate the development of self-directedness.

Citizenship Education and Immigrant Integration: Forms of Adult Education Citizenship Programmes

Lynch (1992) feels that emancipatory citizenship education is needed that addresses issues of power, hegemony, human rights, and social responsibilities at the following three levels: local, national and international. At the end of the 1990's, we can no longer afford to maintain a short sighted curriculum. We need to expand to include a global framework (Lynch 1992). Citing work by R. Freeman Butts (1980), Lynch suggest that this global curriculum for citizenship education uses the core values of citizenship as the basic working plan for curriculum design and programme development. These values that are seen as the core of citizenship education are: justice, freedom, equality, diversity, authority, privacy, due process, participation, personal obligation for the public good, international human rights and environmental stewardship (Lynch 1992).

Within a framework that is congruent with the integration approach that encourages the fostering of culture of origin as well as the development of an adherence to diversity, adult education programmes for immigrants must aim at providing newcomers with the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills

necessary not only to successfully pass their citizenship hearings, but also to participate as active, autonomous and responsible citizens in a multicultural society.

Seen from this juncture of perspectives, the ultimate objectives of adult immigrant citizenship education are threefold: to help recent immigrants during their integration period to identify problem-areas related to their settlement and locate appropriate resources; to progressively decrease dependency on educators, agencies and organisations and encourage increasing autonomy and self-directedness; and to foster awareness of multiple options, and cultivate decision-posing and problem solving skills (Brookfield 1986). Objectives also include the fostering of self-directedness and, ultimately, the empowering in immigrants.

The following section of this paper will focus on forms of citizenship education. The argument that adult education citizen-making programmes are essential to the well-being of not only the individuals directly involved but also to the overall prosperity of the general society has been put forth, based on a belief that insightful citizen-making programmes, that include provisions for francophone immigrants, can mitigate, among other things, the potential failure to fully integrate all immigrants into Quebec's society.

Hearing-Specific Citizenship Programmes

Certain citizen education programmes' main objective is to prepare immigrants for their up-coming citizenship hearing. The aims of such adult education programmes are "to encourage moral and intellectual training as the basis of good citizenship, while instilling an understanding of the principles of civic government as essential to participatory democracy" (Grodzinski 1984, 35). These adult education programmes for immigrants normally include an emphasis on "a general outline of the system of government, an appreciation of the natural resources of the country, its institutions, and its educational and judicial systems" (Grodzinski 1984, 35). Immigrants who require more in-depth sessions on the official language(s), cultural and job market aspects of their new host country are obliged to look elsewhere for the sole *raison d'être* of this type of programme is to prepare newcomers for their quick citizenship hearings. This implies attending a hearing during which a Canadian Citizenship Court Judge asks the applicant questions regarding Canadian history, geography, government of Canada as well as the rights and responsibilities of citizens (Grodzinski 1984). It is assumed that this brief learning experience will serve as the basis for eventual full participatory citizenship. Although definitely a start, this type of programme's content refers only to citizenship in the narrowest sense of the term; citizen-making programmes delve much further into the

complexities of everyday adult life as well as the subtleties of coexistence with others from differing backgrounds.

Citizenship Programmes for Immigrants

If citizenship education is a prerequisite for full participatory citizenship then a more comprehensive approach to the subject matter is definitely in order. As well as the hearing-specific citizenship programmes, other adult education programmes for newcomers provide opportunities for their participants to develop the knowledge and skills that citizenship in their new country will require. These programmes include modules on such a variety of topics as: housing, employment, health care, transportation, money and banking, shopping, support services, and recreation (Bell 1983). Each of these modules is further broken down into topics. These might include, in the case of the employment module for example, such topics as: employment centres, want ads, interview procedures, pay slips, overtime, labour legislation, training courses, salary deductions, unions, and resumes (Bell 1983). Specifically tailored to fit the needs of newcomers, these programmes offer their participants with the knowledge and skills necessary to function in society.

Culture conflict is one often neglected aspect of citizenship in a host country. When immigrants arrive to settle, their integration and ensuing participation, as discussed above, depend greatly on their freedom to hold onto

their cultures of origin. This, at times, can become problematic. The differing and often discordant social customs, that multicultural nations such as Canada are faced to address, are a crucial area of citizenship instruction for newcomers. As social customs often differ, an exploration of this area is necessary because:

this is not just a matter of etiquette, such as when to arrive for dinner and whether or not to take a gift for the hostess. (...) More important are the unspoken rules, such as whether one looks the boss in the eye or lowers one's eyes in deference, where the line is drawn between boasting and positive presentation in a job interview, how seriously to take a suggestion that "we must get together for lunch one of these days," and what are the taboo questions (e.g., How much do you earn?) . This kind of cultural information is just as important to the newcomer as knowing where to mail a letter, and a lot harder to find out (Bell 1983, 132).

Without implying that a full re-programming of immigrants' private sphere is in order, citizen-making programmes therefore allow newcomers to become aware of the "cultural differences" that exist in a multicultural society. When these differences become deterrents to full participation in the system, adult education can fulfil its role of facilitator by providing opportunities for new immigrants to develop awareness, insight and the ability to resolve conflicts without lapsing into stasis.

Citizenship Programmes for Non-immigrants

Naturally at this point in the discussion of the integration of immigrants, the third phase of immigration, it becomes obvious that citizen-making programmes are not just for immigrants (Beck 1975). Adult education citizenship

programmes for the general mainstream non-immigrant populations are also crucial. As Canada is now becoming a multicultural country which aims to embrace diversity, its multicultural citizenry is going to have to adjust and adapt to the changing face of its reality. Without degenerating into an assimilation oriented discourse, non-immigrant mainstream majority members are going to have to come to terms with the implications of multiculturalism.

Clive Beck, in his article "Is Immigrant Education Only for Immigrants?" states the following regarding indispensable citizenship education for non-immigrants which would optimally lead to a more tolerant society:

The immigrant's basic human rights must be respected, both in the decision to permit him to enter the country and in the way he is treated after entry. The self-interest of non-immigrants is by no means the only consideration. Immigrants may differ very considerably in their tastes, types of abilities, aspirations, language habits, conception of the family, conception of work, concern for material security, and indeed their conception of the institution of immigration itself. And if this should prove inconvenient to non-immigrants, then to a considerable extent they must simply put up with it, out of respect for the immigrant as a human being (Beck 1975, 9-10).

Many are the non-immigrants who could use "help" in this pursuit of respect for others. Headlines such as *La Presse's* "Les Francophones sont les plus ethnocentriques des Canadiens" from Saturday, January 25th, 1997, make it obvious that the time has come to provide citizen-making programmes to all Canadians (Pratte 1997, A25).

In other words, as citizenship for neo-citizens has a great deal to do with how much they feel welcomed "as is" by the non-immigrant population, the

non-immigrant population will have to recognise, accept and address certain shortcomings in, as well as the negative impact caused by its own attitudes, beliefs and behaviours.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section of the document covers two areas of research findings: 1) the research project's findings relating to francophone immigrants to Quebec, and 2) the results of an informal survey of existing integration-type programmes for francophone immigrants. While important information was also received via interviews with experts from the field of immigration, immigrant integration and immigrant education, this information does not appear in a separate sub-section. Instead, it appears throughout the two above-mentioned sub-sections and is echoed in the "Recommendations" section of this research report.

In the first section, a general portrait of francophone immigrants to Quebec has been drawn up. This is followed by a summary and discussion of the general themes generated by Basic English/focus group sessions. It is interesting to note that, although efforts were made to locate francophone immigrants who could provide fresh and unique glimpses at immigrant realities and the integration process, no real discordance with the evidence provided by the body of literature related to these areas of research was encountered. In other words, there was almost a perfect congruence between the body of knowledge on

immigrant integration and the Basic English/focus group participants' stories themselves. The evidence provided by the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions, while not generating any new issues of concern, is perceived as supporting, illustrating and enhancing the body of related knowledge already in existence.

In the second section, a brief exploration of the current integration-type programmes for francophone immigrants in Montreal is provided.

Francophone Immigrants to Quebec: a General Portrait

Between 1991-1995, 198,828 immigrants settled in Quebec; 83.2% of these immigrants settled in Montreal (LeBlanc 1997, A6). Approximately 37% of these were either francophone or capable of speaking French (Statistics Canada 1996).

The case of French-speaking immigrants in transition into Quebec society presents itself as a particularly interesting subject for further examination. This is so for an abundance of reasons. Two main reasons that this is an interesting group to study are that: a) francophone immigrants are sought out throughout the world by the Quebec government (Humblet 1976, and Juteau and McAndrew 1992); and b) once they are indeed on Quebec soil, they, as a group, receive fewer integration services than other linguistic immigrant groups due, it can be assumed, to their pre-migratory ability to speak French.

Many immigrants to Quebec do indeed come from countries where French is one of the official languages. To comprehend the clout of the French language in the world today, a comprehensive course on such areas as world history, politics, geography, demographics and economics, to name a few, would be necessary. Suffice it to say that since imperial times, French expansionism and colonialism have produced millions of French-speakers around the globe.

Internationally, "la Francophonie" now comprises 49 nations. (For a fuller understanding of the immensity of "La Francophonie", please refer to Appendix 1: Les Pays Francophones). These are nations which, at one point in their past, have been ruled by either France or Belgium and who maintain, to this day, despite their independence, the French language as one of their official languages. Along with English, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, Russian and Chinese, French is considered an imperial language because of both its numerical and geographical importance in the world (Chaliand and Rageau 1992, 39).

Immigration policies have given form to Canadian demographics for decades. As discussed above, particular immigrants have been admitted into Canada during specific periods in response to the politics and policies of the time. This is not untrue of the current situation in Quebec. Quebec, which gained the power to select its own immigrants in 1978, actively recruits francophone immigrants world-wide (Toronto Star, Dec. 5th, 1990: A11). During the 1980's:

Haïti, le Vietnam, le Liban et la France sont devenus au cours de la décennie les plus importantes sources d'affluence d'immigrants pour le Québec. La tendance bien amorcée du début de la période a permis à

Haïti d'aller chercher jusqu'à 17% de l'immigration. Le Vietnam a connu un fléchissement, surtout de 1986 à 1988, le Liban a accusé une croissance sans précédent vers la fin de la période, pendant que la France est demeurée relativement stable (Gouvernement du Québec 1993, 25).

Whether the francophone immigrants are from France, Belgium or Switzerland, or from Haiti, Tunisia, Lebanon or Senegal, they are generally perceived by the provincial government as advantageous. "The government has decided to favor francophone immigration in its recruitment and selection operations" (Toronto Star 1990, A11) , states Monique Gagnon-Tremblay, former minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities, the Quebec ministry that has since become the Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et immigration. Based on such provincial initiatives, it is only predictable that the number of francophone immigrants to Quebec will continue to increase, some estimates even foresee 40% as the target for francophone immigrants to Quebec (Juteau and McAndrew 1992). Since the government has made arrangements to boost francophone immigration to Quebec, the assumption that francophone immigrants are quasi-natural citizens which seems to provide fuel to the immigration policy, requires further study.

A few very important aspects of the adjustments faced by francophone immigrants in transition into Quebec society seem to have been overlooked. In spite of their common usage of the French language, it must be recognised that very little cultural homogeneity exists among the many cultures and subcultures of these francophone countries. Races, religions and cultures vary enormously

and often many francophone cultures cannot, in any way, be likened easily to the mainstream Quebec culture (Helly 1992). "Even if the language of the country is the same as his own, he may be surprised at the extent to which people with the same language may differ in culture and way of life" emphasises Clive Beck (Beck cited in Wolfgang 1975, 14) in reference to an immigrant's integration into a new society.

Government of Quebec statistics estimate that approximately 10.4% of francophone immigrants to Quebec in 1995 came from France. For reasons related to the residuals of colonialism, Quebec culture, race and religion have resembled, in general, France's culture, race and religion. Proximity of historical and cultural heritage render francophone immigrants, from the European continent, good candidates for selection (Juteau and McAndrew 1992) as their integration into Quebec mainstream society is almost a given. Speaking the language and sharing a common heritage, francophone immigrants from Euro-centric, White, Christian backgrounds can integrate into Quebec society with fewer barriers:

An immigrant is ordinarily considered assimilated as soon as he has acquired the language and the social ritual of the native community and can participate, without encountering prejudice, in the common life, economic and political (Park cited in Gordon 1964, 63).

This is not always the case for immigrants and refugees from other countries of "la Francophonie". The cultural adjustment faced by francophone immigrants to Quebec who do not come from Euro-centric, White, Christian

cultures is often difficult. Many studies have been conducted on the immigration of people from Haiti to Quebec (Labelle, Larose and Piché 1983, and Clément, Sylvestre and Noels 1991). Over the years, Haiti has often represented the largest group of newcomers. "L'année 1974 marque un sommet: l'immigration haïtienne au Québec représente alors 14,5% de l'immigration totale. Ce pourcentage se maintiendra au dessus de 10% jusqu'en 1978. Haïti formant alors le premier de tous les pays fournisseurs d'immigrants au Québec" (Labelle, Larose and Piché 1983, 84).

Government of Canada statistics state that in 1995, 6.8% of francophone immigrants admitted to Quebec came from Haiti where, indisputably, the Black Creole culture differs greatly from the culture of Quebec. Despite their ability to communicate in French, many other factors impact on a Haitian immigrant's ability to integrate smoothly. Linguistic proximity, in the case of the Haitian immigrants, is useful, but it does not compensate for factors such as religion, race and culture.

These same types of observations can be forwarded for the 3.3% of francophone immigrants who came from Lebanon and the other 3.3% who came from Morocco. Studies have also been conducted on the plight of immigrants from Lebanon to Quebec (Sayegh 1993) as well as the success of Moroccans attempting to settle and participate in Belgian society (Manco 1994). These studies all conclude that despite linguistic proximity, many barriers to full social penetration and societal participation remain for francophone immigrants to

Quebec. These barriers are most often related to the stress of migration, culture clash and other factors such as age, gender, education and employment. In one particularly interesting study by Sossie Andezian in 1986 on Algerian female immigrants in France, the specific roles within the family are listed as impacting on an immigrant's ability to adjust to the demands of a new society. In the case of the women from Algeria, it appears that integration to French society is seen as a "violent" experience which generates social disorder and contributes to the disintegration of their symbolic system (Andezian 1986).

Statistics and research reports for francophone African immigrants to Quebec could not be located, but it can be posited that, because of civil wars and other conflicts in the Central and Lake District in Africa, many francophone African immigrants will be coming to Quebec. These francophone African immigrants will face the same types of integration and settlement dilemmas. Once again, despite linguistic proximity, they do not reflect the characteristics of the typical Euro-centric, White, Christian culture so inherent to Quebec society.

It can be assumed that the immigrants who integrate most quickly and effectively are those whose overall backgrounds and characteristics mimic most closely those of the culture of the host country. Many factors, as well as linguistic proximity, have an impact on an immigrant's rate of integration into Quebec society. These factors include religion, race, age, gender, education, and socio-economical class, as well as linguistic background (Piche and Bélanger 1995). Within the discussion surrounding francophone immigrant integration in

Quebec society, considerable attention should then be paid to such impacting factors.

As demonstrated, francophone immigrants, despite their common ability to speak French, rarely share many other commonalities. Consequently, there is little homogeneity among francophone immigrants. Many francophone immigrants come from White, Euro-centric cultures such as France and Belgium. Frequently, they come from economically privileged backgrounds, where the health and educational standards are high and rigorous. On the other hand, other francophone immigrants to Quebec come as refugees from war-torn developing countries where personal safety and survival have taken precedence over education and health. Compare then for a moment the settlement and integration period of a highly educated young professional single French man to that of a undereducated male refugee from Rwanda or the settlement and integration period of a young Belgian woman and a middle-aged widowed mother from Somalia. Without deforming these examples into stereotypes, incontestably, many factors, beyond linguistic ability, can determine an immigrant's rate of integration and chances for full societal participation.

This then brings into question the validity of the assumption that francophone immigrants are quasi-natural citizens in the overall political scheme of things. Despite their ability to communicate in French, many obstacles to full integration and societal participation remain. Although, as discussed above, they may in fact be farther along the integration and societal participation

continuum, which ranges from *zero integration* to *full participation* (Piché and Bélanger 1995) than their anglophone and allophone immigrant counterparts, many barriers prevail to francophone immigrants' full integration into Quebec society. Smooth integration and citizenship, with all its ensuing rights and responsibilities, require more than linguistic proximity. This was made more than obvious by the francophone immigrant participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions carried out for the purpose of collecting information for this research project, reported below.

Summary and Discussion of Basic English/Focus Group Sessions

During two separate ten-day sessions, a total of 13 francophone immigrants gathered to discuss issues surrounding their integration to Quebec society. As mentioned above, so as to provide *something* in exchange for their stories, a Basic English class was offered to the francophone participants using a Freirean approach. This approach allowed for the inciting of meaningful dialogue necessary for language acquisition or improvement. This dialogue, in turn, became the information required for this research project. The dual objective of these sessions was to collect valuable "insider" perspectives of the immigrant reality while developing or enhancing participants' English language skills.

Much valuable information was shared by the participants whose only request was that they remain anonymous. Participation in group discussions was left up to the discretion of the individual and no evaluation of the English language skills learned or enhanced through participation in the sessions was undertaken. In keeping with the experiential method, daily lesson plans were prepared only in order to suggest possible broad themes for discussion. When topics appeared to exhaust themselves, new topics related to immigrant settlement and integration were then advanced, either to be taken-up or discarded by the participants themselves. Homework assignments were introduced as optional and were read aloud by their authors and discussed by all. On most occasions, a majority of the participants chose to complete homework assignments. Despite differences in age, gender, education, religion and race, the francophone immigrant participants recognised a general parallelism of experiences and feelings related to the challenges and frustrations inherent to immigration and settlement. As discussed above, most of the personal stories recounted by the participants provided proof of the validity of the body of knowledge and current research being conducted on immigration, immigrant integration and adult immigrant education.

Let us consider for a moment some of the experiences shared by the francophone immigrant participants during the Basic English/focus group sessions. It is important to keep in mind that only 13 francophone immigrants, 10 men and 3 women, participated in the focus group/Basic English sessions. They

came from countries as diverse as Rwanda, Chad, the former Zaire, Burundi, Angola, Algeria, Morocco and Haiti. It must be recognised that this group of 13 participants does not reflect the characteristics of all francophone immigrants to Quebec. Francophone immigrants come from over 49 countries internationally; the participants came from less than ten. Whereas many francophone immigrants are Caucasian, and originate from European countries such as France and Belgium, the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions were all racial minorities from the above-mentioned developing countries. It must also be kept in mind that the participants' high level of education may not be representative of all francophone immigrants to Quebec in the late 1990's. Seven Ph.D.'s and 2 M.A.'s in a group of 13 participants may represent a deceptively high percentage of high educational achievement. Having established these limitations however, it cannot be said either that this group did not provide valid accounts of their personal immigrant experiences.

The two most apparent themes to manifest themselves were 1) that decoding the host culture was difficult in the beginning which led to culture shock and many subtle yet important conflicts; and 2) that the francophone immigrant participants, despite their ability to speak French, also face barriers to full societal participation in Quebec, especially when it comes to finding, getting and keeping a decent job. These barriers, the groups expressed, are related to a complex combination of the economic, political and cultural context. Interestingly, the participants voiced that getting a job in Montreal requires at

least a working knowledge of English. Unfortunately, not one of the participants felt sufficiently fluent in English to function in a workplace.

The process of immigrant integration, which aims ultimately at full societal participation, progresses through many stages. The francophone immigrant participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions expressed that the first stages of integration relate directly to navigating the government immigration procedures, overcoming the practical challenges of installation and settlement, dealing with culture shock and finding initial employment. Other equally important, yet less immediate stages of integration, they agreed, include issues surrounding recognising rights and assuming responsibilities and parenting immigrant children in a new country. In general, these were the topics taken up by the participants as being the most salient during their ongoing integration to Quebec society.

Government Immigration Procedures

The participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions demonstrated a general resignation to the fact that the governmental immigration processes were both intricate and lengthy. Foremost in the participants' memories were recollections of having navigated the seemingly un-intelligible initial immigration "red tape". The complexity of the administrative processes had exasperated many participants. Filling out forms, providing official documents,

meeting with government officials and agents, making court appearances and waiting for responses were all cited as problems. It was felt that the immigration procedures were convoluted and redundant. A lack of concrete information and human support was cited as most worrisome.

While government employees were seen as generally impersonal and curt, information and support were most often located among family, friends and community members who had successfully navigated the same procedures. Most participants recognised that the government had the obligation to develop and enforce rigorous immigration policies and processes. Unfortunately, they described a process that left them feeling inhuman, insecure and powerless.

Installation

Once the challenges of the immigration procedures had been discussed by the participants, the topic of conversation shifted to more immediate human needs. An important, as well as urgent, step in the integration process, it was agreed, is dealing with the challenges of installation and settlement. In keeping with Maslow's hierarchy of human needs (1954), the participants all mentioned that until they had found a place to live for themselves and their families they were not free to look for employment or seek out leisure activities. This concurs with Maslow's notion that until physiological or survival needs are fulfilled, individuals are not free to move onto satisfying more complex needs such as

those related to belongingness, esteem and self-actualization (Maslow in Knowles 1980).

The participants of the Basic English/ focus group sessions listed topics and problems related to settlement. When it came to discussing issues related to housing, a general consensus surfaced: it appears that most landlords are greedy and lazy, apartments are cramped, expensive and dirty, and there is a lack of inexpensive and satisfactory furniture and appliances. The participants discussed how the apartment buildings in affordable neighbourhoods are often run down and dangerous. The schools and parks are over-crowded and under-financed. In sum, as one participant, a Ph.D. in Chemical Engineering from the former Zaire, explained: "Canada is a rich country with wide streets, big appliances and many fast food restaurants, but immigrants arrive to the poorest neighbourhoods where life is very rough".

The participants described the problems they had faced trying to install themselves and their families in Montreal apartments. The first dilemma, they recounted, was trying to determine in which neighbourhood to "start looking" for an apartment. Whereas the Haitian participants quickly located areas of high Haitian concentration, the participants from the former Zaire and from Angola both ended up isolated in areas of Montreal where few neighbours of their country of origin resided. They had met people through their initial experiences in Montreal who had mentioned that such places as Ville Emard and St. Henry were nice and affordable. Based on such tips, they had signed leases in these

neighbourhoods only to end up alone and culturally isolated among many mainstream Quebecers. In hindsight, they confessed, they should have sought out areas where more people from their countries of origin lived. This, they felt, would have given them a good “boost” in Quebec.

The neighbourhood in which immigrants choose to settle has a large influence on their integration (Neice 1978). In a neighbourhood where residential segregation of a specific sub-group is observable, immigrants, from the same sub-group, can find family and friends; they can find assistance, support, leadership, as well as religious, political and economical mentorship.

The self-contained communal life of the immigrant colonies served, then, as a kind of decompression chamber in which the newcomers could, at their own pace, make a reasonable adjustment to the new forces of a society vastly different from that which they had known in the Old World (Gordon 1964, 106).

The participants described friends and neighbours helping them find and move inexpensive furniture, indicating where to buy food items from “home”, and locating medical and dental clinics where doctors and staff from their country of origin work. They recounted stories of gathering with previously unknown people from their countries of origin to celebrate religious holidays and specific cultural events and family occasions such as the naming of a Muslim child, or the death of a Burundian parent left behind in Africa.

The types of experiences described by the participants echoed the body of research on immigration, population size and composition conducted by, among others, Breton, Armstrong and Kennedy (1974). Pertaining to the size and impact

of populations and sub-populations, this branch of research studies migration flows, residential segregation and social reactions. This research suggests that "there is a causal link between the size of the minority and the rate of increase of that minority, because of the lure of an established community for potential immigrants" (Breton, Armstrong and Kennedy 1974, 7). Immigrants who find themselves nestled in areas of disproportionately high "culture-of-origin" density, also find support and "feelings of group loyalty, security and cohesion" (Breton, Armstrong and Kennedy 1974, 9).

Interestingly, it was forwarded by the related research cited by Breton, Armstrong and Kennedy, that the immigrant/minority groups with the highest population densities were also the most likely to be the victims of majority hostility. This is based on the perception by the host population that immigrant groups that settle in areas of high minority density often reach a "saturation point". This "saturation point" refers to the threshold beyond which the majority population feels their society and its institutions, faced with having to accommodate too much diversity, are liable to become overwhelmed or incapable of maintaining a functional balance.

Society's institutions are required to respond to the needs and expectations of its citizens (Breton, Armstrong and Kennedy 1974). When a society becomes multicultural, its institutions must follow suit and evolve to accommodate the many aspects of diversity. Mainstream society, traditionally homogeneous, in times such as these, resents that its institutions and structures

are forced to mutate dramatically in order to respond to the needs of the heterogeneous newcomers.

Milton Gordon's 2nd stage of assimilation, *structural assimilation*, refers to this type of mainstream reaction. Immigrant and minority groups, in order to mitigate feelings of mainstream hostility, are forced to take on large-scale relationships with the mainstream population in mainstream networks, institutions and other societal structures. Whereas in the past, efforts to assimilate newcomers meant fewer changes for society's institutions, the integration approach to receiving immigrants, now recognised as more appropriate, requires a modification of traditionally mono-cultural institutions. This causes feelings of mainstream anxiety and hostility.

While geographical areas of high immigrant concentration can be seen as "decompression chambers" in which newcomers can find warmth, familiar ways, support and a sense of acceptance (Gordon 1964), strong ties to these communities and neighbourhoods can actually promote resistance to full integration (Neice 1978) especially when individuals are faced with such barriers to integration as mainstream apathy, xenophobia and hostility.

Culture Shock

To further this notion, the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions affirmed that one of the first barriers to integration and full societal

participation for immigrants is transcending the initial emotional and psychological shock of “dealing with Quebec” reality. “In my country”, commented one Burundian participant, “when people talk about Canada, they imagine it like small paradise. But strange Canada is no paradise. (...) Nobody ever told me that it was so cold and that you had to protect yourself.” Topping the international list as the best country in which to live, Canada is seen as a heaven for immigrants and refugees. They come to Canada with the intention of bettering their lives. “I thought that this country which has adopted so many boat people and illiterates from different origins and traditions and has transformed them into productive people is able to adopt us too and make us respectable Canadians too”, added a participant from Algeria, “arriving here I was surprised by other realities and I realise now that I have only crossed the ocean but I am still on earth and that there is still a lot to be done to overcome difficulties and obtain a respectable position in this society”. Most participants agreed that, although it was not an insurmountable barrier, that Quebec was not what they were expecting was a serious shock that required time to accept. Until the false expectations had been dispelled and the disappointments dealt with, many participants had felt, they agreed, a general inability to “get on with life”.

This inability to “get on with life” is often explored in the body of knowledge related to the study of transitions. Adults, non-immigrants as well as immigrants, pass through a series of stages throughout their lives. Inherent to these stages are periods of transition:

Adults continually experience transitions, whether anticipated or un-anticipated, and react to them depending on the type of transition, the context in which it occurs, and its impact on their lives (Merriam and Caffarella 1991, 108).

As pointed out by Merriam and Caffarella (1991), in reference to work by Mezirow (1990), “getting on with life” often requires a process of perspective transformation. This process of perspective transformation begins with a ‘disorientation dilemma’ to which one’s old patterns of response are ineffective” (Merriam and Caffarella 1991, 260). Gaining, or regaining control over one’s life, after a “disorientating dilemma” and during the ensuing transition, requires a change of consciousness. This change of consciousness occurs during what Sugarman (1986) has identified as the seven stages of transition. These seven stages can be described as a transitional process of disorientation and reorientation:

- 1) immobilization - a sense of being overwhelmed or frozen;
- 2) reaction - a sharp swing of mood from elation to despair depending on the nature of the transition;
- 3) minimization - minimizing one’s feelings and the anticipated impact of the event;
- 4) letting go - breaking with the past;
- 5) testing - exploration of the new terrain;
- 6) searching for meaning - conscious striving to learn from the experience; and
- 7) integration - feeling at home with the change (Merriam and Caffarella 1991, 109).

The participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions each described incidents or occasions during their settlement and integration periods which were congruent with these seven stages. They described feeling overwhelmed

and full of despair. They also described feelings of depression and anxiety about leaving their home lands and about possibly never returning to see the family and friends they had left behind. Many felt like giving up and returning home. Those from war-torn countries such as Rwanda felt trapped between a country that they felt many frustrations settling into and a country that they couldn't return to.

Of the many challenges faced by the francophone immigrant participants since their arrival to Quebec, navigating the complex culture of the mainstream Quebecers seemed to be one of the most disheartening. As well as surviving the horrors of winter weather, the one constant that re-appeared in every classroom discussion was the "mostly decent but somewhat detached" behaviour of Quebecers as demonstrated by landlords, university classmates, school administrators and company representatives during job interviews.

Of these 13 francophone immigrants, not one individual had felt, upon arrival, a warm welcome from the mainstream Quebec population. Despite efforts to participate in the general society, all 13 continued to feel like outsiders; not one felt fully integrated into mainstream society. Most participants could not name any non-minority friends. The only place, they insisted, that they felt fully participatory and welcome was in their cultural communities of origin. These cultural communities, it was agreed by the participants, had evolved and developed themselves into support and resource networks for newcomers in response to a general apathy from the mainstream society. Ironically, strong,

cohesive well-developed cultural communities functioned as substitute families and were seen by the participants as both aiding and discouraging integration into Quebec society. Whereas some participants felt that their communities had helped them during their adjustment and integration phases into mainstream society, others felt that they were “trapped” in a sub-section of society from which it was difficult to break away. Undisputed consensus, established via classroom discussions, nonetheless, indicated that the 13 francophone immigrants from the Basic English/ focus group sessions felt isolated, alone and lonely in Quebec.

Sadly missing their extended families, friends and neighbours from their countries of origin, most participants felt uneasy about interacting with non-immigrant Quebecers. “In my country everybody knows all their neighbours. Here I live alone in an apartment building with many people. I don’t know my neighbours. But everybody asks me “where are you from?” This reminds me that I’m not from here” recounted a participant from Haiti. To emphasise the implications of this isolation and segregation, most could not list any non-immigrant friends, although many had developed since their arrivals, friendships with people from other cultural communities. This, in the participants’ opinion, was in direct response to the general indifference of mainstream Quebecers towards immigrants.

Many participants shared stories recounting experiences during which misunderstandings and disappointments had resulted. Others related incidents

that had shocked their sensibilities. "My husband brought home a Quebecer classmate from the university. I offered him tea and biscuits. He refused what I offered him but when my husband insisted, he wanted to pay us for our food! He actually tried to put a bill in my hand as he was leaving," explained a very insulted participant from Rwanda. "He made me feel uncomfortable about my customs in my own home" she confessed. Although this anecdote is viewed as generally un-representative of Quebec customs, it is used here to illustrate how misconceptions can develop.

The same participant from Rwanda had had to argue with her children's school principal who had insisted that all her three children list the same family name on their school documents. Common family names are not however a tradition practised by Rwandans who give each child at birth, two names, neither of which is shared by other family members. Although the participant and her husband had tried to explain this to the school principal, for administrative purposes, the school principal had tried to convince her to canadianize her children's names. He had wanted them to choose a single common family name for their children. When it was made obvious that the parents did not see this as an acceptable or even necessary response to the situation, it was finally decided by the school administration to simply add a note to each child's file informing of brothers and sisters in the school system. The participant, after having related this incident, added that she felt worried for other Rwandans, less firm and resolute, faced with this same dilemma. How

many, she wondered, would simply give in under the pressure, only to lose a Rwandan tradition that has lasted for centuries.

Parenting Immigrant Children

The incident discussed above brings into the forefront another serious preoccupation discussed by the francophone participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions: parenting immigrant children in a new society. The well-being and future of their children were definitely foremost in the participants' minds when it came to discussing topics related to settlement and integration. As mentioned above, in total, 6 of the 13 participants were married with children; of these 6 married participants, all had arrived to Quebec already married. Not one participant had married outside their race or culture of origin. 4 participants had arrived with children, whereas 2 had started their families only once in Quebec.

Raising immigrant children poses many problems (Bhatnagar 1970). Culture shock and conflicts, generation gaps, and cultural identity formation were all topics brought up by the participants. Unfortunately, it was felt that the integration of the parents and of their children into Quebec society meant the loss of certain household norms and traditional behaviours. The female participants often complained that cooking traditional meals for their children was difficult as these meals were time consuming to prepare and the necessary

ingredients were often impossible to locate. When the particular ingredients were located they were often very expensive or in terrible condition. For these reasons, among others, the participants had noticed a change in day-to-day behaviours and expectations based on rituals related to food preparation and eating. "My children want to eat cereal from a box with milk for breakfast in front of the T.V. !" announced one woman who was clearly amazed at this new family behaviour. Another woman deplored the fact that she had to get up extra early in the morning to prepare a lunch for her children which they would find in the refrigerator and warm up for themselves at mid-day. Although she desperately wanted to maintain the lunch-time tradition of eating a large family meal, she could not stay at home. The eldest child had to take care of the meal and of the youngest child. This for the mother represented a terrible sacrifice. She feared that this would contribute to the development of problems and conflicts between the parents and the children as no supervision at lunch allowed the children to behave in ways in which she did not approve. Echoing the study on Algerian female immigrants to France mentioned above, the women from the Basic English/focus group sessions voiced their concern about losing their "way of organizing life". Via their interactions with their children, their husbands and their extended families, the wives and mothers are traditionally responsible for "keeping the ways". Once they begin to sense these "ways" shift and mutate, immigrants fear that the disorder will bring on a disintegration of their "symbolic system", or, in other words, a disintegration of

their culture (Andezian 1986). This was made explicit by the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions.

Immigrant children tend to adjust more easily to the attitudes and expectations of their new societies than their parents, although even their integration into mainstream culture is not always complete (Bhatnagar 1970). When it came to their children, the francophone immigrant parent participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions did not downplay the important role that education plays in their lives. All the parents agreed that it was very important for their children to work diligently at school, even if this meant getting outside support from a tutor or an older sibling. Involvement in extra-curricular activities was seen as equally important. Skating lessons, baseball and hockey teams and piano lessons were seen as vital for their children's future. The well-being and futures of their children were definitely foremost in the parent participants' minds when it came to discussing topics related to settlement and integration.

Employment

The fact that the francophone immigrant participants felt disappointed, isolated and alienated from mainstream society only heightened another barrier to full societal participation: employment. Finding, getting and keeping a decent job was one objective that, once achieved, indicated to the francophone

immigrant participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions that they were on their way to full integration and societal participation. As mentioned above, not one participant had experienced any job satisfaction since their arrival to Quebec. This was due to many causes which included, but were not limited to such factors as under-education, over-education, the Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et immigration's reluctance to recognise the validity of studies and work done abroad, non-membership in Quebec corporations and federations, no "Canadian" work experience, and a general lack of Quebec contacts. "Apart from the fact that I am not a member of the Corporation of Pharmacists, because I have just arrived, I do not have any contacts yet. Contacts, it seems, are very important to get a job here", affirmed one participant who had a M.Sc. in Pharmacology. She added that "the job search process, the format for the curriculum vitae and the techniques for a good job interview are all so different in Quebec that it takes months to make the necessary adjustments".

The economic integration of immigrants depends on whether they can successfully enter the job market structure. Unfortunately, this situation is often wrought with dilemmas. While the economy requires workers at every level, a country such as Canada often perceives immigrants as a solution to the insufficiency of workers at the lower levels of the occupational ladder (Breton, Armstrong and Kennedy 1974). As well as adding to the frustrations of the newcomers themselves, this causes people already in the work force to perceive immigrants as a threat, especially when there is an over-supply of labour at

certain levels or in specific occupations. People in the workforce fear that immigrants are willing to work for less than the minimum wage. "This is frequently the case with low-skilled workers from unindustrialized countries" (Breton, Armstrong and Kennedy 1974, 18). Unfortunately, these mainstream fears of competition for scarce positions, over-saturation of available workers and undercutting appears to only compound the challenges of integration for immigrants.

A common voice among the participants expressed that the source of this struggle for integration was not the participants' lack of qualifications or motivation, instead it was a general apathy, or even by extension a subtle xenophobia, on the part of the economic structure, that blocked any real social, economic and political integration and participation. As they examined the array of challenges to integration, the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions identified finding, getting and keeping a decent job as the most crucial step in the integration process, once the basics of housing had been adequately seen to. Unfortunately, the participants felt that although they were more than capable of working effectively in Montreal, --after all most were qualified for the positions they were applying for and all could speak French fluently, the major stumbling block had been the attitudes and expectations of the people responsible for interviewing and hiring.

The negative attitudes and expectations of those already in the work force became a reoccurring theme during the Basic English/focus group sessions.

Time after time, participants described job interviews during which company representatives seemed polite but uninterested, distracted and frequently quite rushed to complete the interview sessions. When most interviewers finished the sessions with comments such as “we’ll be getting in touch with you”, the participants recognised the futility of waiting for a positive response. Most realised that this was a “Canadian” way of avoiding a potentially uncomfortable situation. Canadians, the participants agreed, although rarely overtly racist, are sometimes racist “in a polite way”. The job interviews provided evidence of this lapse in civility.

Varieties of French

Another, less obvious factor to impact on a francophone immigrants’ integration into Quebec society has to do with varieties of spoken French. As the language has evolved differently throughout the world, there are many variations of French spoken internationally. The French spoken in Quebec is not the same as the French spoken in France or Belgium, nor is the same as the French spoken in Haiti, the former Zaire or in Algeria. One participant remarked “The French language is very curious here. People say “bonjour” when you arrive and still “bonjour” when you leave”. Another participant described his inability to communicate effectively with a waitress who had brought him a 7-up when he had ordered a “liqueur”; a “liqueur” in his country of origin being an

alcoholic beverage. While these anecdotal incidents seem to trivialise very serious challenges to integration, they warn, however that when it comes to the differences and ensuing misunderstandings that have arisen constantly during their lives since their arrivals, efforts must be made by all parties. Constant misunderstandings, they emphasised, related to the French language occur in the shops and streets, in government offices and in their children's schools. Communicating effectively requires, they explained, continuous repeating, clarifying, and confirming. "I never take it for granted that I am being understood or that I understand", remarked one participant.

Mr. Lamine Janneh, interviewed for his formidable expertise and experience as translator and cultural interpreter for the Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et immigration as well as French-as-a-Second Language instructor, commented that the gap between the variety of French spoken in Quebec and the varieties of French spoken elsewhere in the francophone world cause many communication problems and even communication breakdowns for recent immigrants. He reasoned that recent francophone immigrants do not always recognise the gap between their variety of French and the French spoken in Quebec. He also added that it is often difficult for a recent immigrant to understand body language as it is commonly used in Quebec. Whereas a gesture, such as looking a person directly in the eyes, might mean one thing in a country of origin, it is possible that it means something very different in Quebec. These

language-related barriers often lead to problems with landlords, neighbours, potential employers and other people from different backgrounds and cultures.

Participants Concluding Remarks

At the end of one particularly intense brainstorming session, the participants agreed unanimously that to integrate successfully, an immigrant needs to be able to identify problems, locate the necessary resources to help solve the problems and then make educated choices about the course of action to be taken. This, they agreed was the only way an immigrant could become active in a society without running the risk of being taken advantage of or exploited. Based then on this conclusion, integrating successfully into a new society requires problem-solving at each stage of the process. It requires problem solving when it comes to finding an apartment and dealing with landlords. It requires problem-solving when it comes to registering children for school and getting a decent job. It also requires problem-solving when it comes to transcending cultural differences and accepting responsibility for such things as sending clear messages.

In the end, all participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions agreed that exploring and examining issues related to their immigrant experiences and analysing specific factors and outcomes of their ongoing integration process had been more than useful. All agreed that much more than

their language skills had been enhanced. The participants mentioned that they were grateful for the opportunity to speak freely about their personal barriers to full societal participation. Many were surprised to note the similarities and coincidences inherent to their experiences. Many appreciated that they were able to express some of their fears about feeling isolated and alienated from mainstream society. All agreed that the experience had been positive.

The participants of the Basic English/focus group provided much valuable information for the purpose of this research project. The topics and themes taken up as the most salient by the participants related directly to both their initial stages of settlement and their ongoing integration process. They discussed the complexities of navigating the government immigration procedures, overcoming the practical challenges of installation and settlement, dealing with culture shock and finding initial employment. They agreed that issues surrounding recognising rights and assuming responsibilities, dealing with differences and parenting immigrant children in a new country were also important to address.

As noted above, the personal accounts provided by the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions not only illustrated but also supported the body of knowledge related to immigration, immigrant integration and immigrant education. Having established a congruence between the participants realities and the research, it became important to determine whether or not such

findings are reflected in current immigrant education programmes in Montreal.

Adult Education Citizenship Programmes

The following section of this research report on the needs of francophone immigrants to Quebec provides an account of a brief exploration of the existing immigrant integration programmes in Montreal. The exploration was conducted in order to determine whether or not programmes aimed at providing immigrants with the services they require during their settlement and integration periods reflect the needs of the francophone immigrant clientele, as portrayed in the literature and as conveyed by the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions. Unfortunately, the following section is not an exhaustive description or analysis of the programmes that are currently in existence in Montreal. Instead, it is a brief overview of the types of integration services and activities presently available to recent immigrants.

As noted in the "Methodology" section of this research report, the fourth phase of this research project on meeting the needs of francophone immigrants during their integration period into Quebec's society consisted of exploring Montreal for existing programmes for francophone immigrants. For the purpose of this phase, an effort was made to locate transition, integration and citizenship programmes that target francophone immigrants to Quebec in and around the

city of Montreal. Many programmes were located at both the government and community levels of society.

The Quebec Government offers many important services and programmes to immigrants and refugees. These services and programmes include such services as: *service d'accueil et d'aide; cours de français gratuits; services d'insertion au marché du travail; évaluation des études; and administration des ententes.* When efforts were made to locate services for francophone immigrants, among the many services offered by the Quebec Government's Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et immigration, it was discovered that sessions entitled "Information aux nouveaux arrivants francophones" were offered to new francophone immigrants.

Further investigation of these sessions via the Ministère's detailed website (www.immq.gouv.qc.ca/francais/d-30-5.htm) confirmed that these sessions were 20-hour packages offered over 5 days to francophone immigrants almost immediately following their arrival to Quebec. These information sessions included the following 4 sections: *le premier établissement, les questions sociales et culturelles, le marché du travail, and la recherche d'un emploi.* These sections covered the following related areas:

- **Le premier établissement:** le choix de logement; le système bancaire; l'obtention du permis de conduire; l'accès aux biens de consommation.
- **Les questions sociales et culturelles:** le système de santé; le système d'éducation; l'organisation politique; la question linguistique.
- **Le marché du travail:** le portrait de l'économie au Québec; la situation générale de l'emploi; le salaire; les lois; les syndicats; la sécurité sociale.

- La recherche d'un emploi: les méthodes de recherche d'emploi, les sources d'emploi, les entreprises, le curriculum vitae, l'entrevue d'emploi.

Apart from the 20-hour information session and the above-mentioned general services for all newcomers, it would appear that no other programmes are provided exclusively for francophone immigrants by the Quebec Government's Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et immigration. Of the 13 participants from the Basic English/focus group sessions, most mentioned that they were aware of these information sessions. Some even mentioned that they had attended them. Not one participant expressed any real dissatisfaction regarding these government-sponsored information sessions. A quick glance at the contents of the sessions indicate that the information covered is useful. The one remark recorded was that they were good, but "not enough".

Many other programmes and services are however offered at the community level in the Greater Montreal Area. Programmes, activities and other opportunities to develop the knowledge and skills necessary to integrate into Quebec society were located advertised in the 1996-1997 Bottin des activités de rapprochement interculturel en milieu communautaire: île de Montreal. Other programmes and services can be located in the Répertoire des services offerts par les partenaires communautaires du MCCI and the Bottin des organismes communautaires au service du nouveau arrivant.

For the purpose of this research project, the 1996-1997 Bottin des activités de rapprochement interculturel en milieu communautaire: île de Montreal was

used to locate programmes and services. This *bottin* listed 103 separate community organisations in the Greater Montreal area. Of these 103 organisations, 60 organisations were listed as providers of activities “visant à développer la connaissance et la compréhension de la société québécoise” (Government of Quebec 1997, 63).

From the master list of the 60 community organisations listed as providers of the type of programme that interest this research project, every third community organisation was contacted for a total of 20 community organisations. Telephone interviews were conducted with the 20 organisation’s representatives, following the same general schedule. As the object of this research project was not to assess the services provided to new arrivals, only providers of organised adult education programmes were retained.

Essentially, the object of these telephone interviews was to determine if anything existed for francophone immigrants that resembled the *Centres d’orientation et de formation des immigrants du ministère des communautés culturelles et de l’immigration* (COFI) in Montreal. Established in 1968 to meet the needs of newcomers during their transition to Quebec society, each of these COFI programmes offer comprehensive courses to new non-francophone immigrants. These courses are free of cost and full time participants are granted either an increase in their Welfare cheques or an “allocation de formation.” The childcare fees of the participants who have young children are also covered. Although these courses are designed to provide new Canadians with the language skills

deemed necessary to enter the Quebec workforce, it is also obvious that they are more than just language courses. They often provide the guidance and support, and information and resources necessary for newcomers to become active citizens in their new society.

The telephone interviews conducted in order to collect important information for this research project demonstrated that there are indeed many integration-type activities, in the form of information sessions and *café-rencontres*, presently being provided to recent immigrants in the Greater Montreal area. These activities, tailored to the needs of specific sub-groups such as immigrant women, parents, and adolescents are offered on a broad range of topics ranging from legal aid, breast cancer and recycling.

The telephone interviews suggested however that a comprehensive COFI-type citizenship programme for new francophone immigrants does not exist. Numerous information sessions and "Initiation à la vie Québécoise" programmes are offered around city. Specialised *Bottins* and *Répertoires* indicate where they can be found. Although they do not prohibit the participation of francophone immigrants (most are actually given in French, and translated into English, Spanish and Russian) these programmes are not designed for, nor are they tailored to meet the specific needs of francophone immigrants.

Based then on the body of knowledge related to immigration, immigrant integration and immigrant education, and the information received from the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions, it becomes obvious that a

programme tailored specifically to the needs and aspirations of francophone immigrants to Quebec would be useful, especially during their transition to Quebec society.

Many integration programmes for immigrants are available at both the government and community levels of society. Within the provincial climate where *la francisation* of anglophone and allophone immigrants has taken precedence over other adult education programmes for immigrants, it can easily be seen that the needs of francophone immigrants in transition into Quebec society which have been neglected. The evidence indicates however that the needs of this group during their integration into Quebec society also require attention.

**RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DESIGN AND DELIVERY OF A
CITIZENSHIP PROGRAMME FOR FRANCOPHONE
IMMIGRANTS TO QUEBEC**

The telephone interviews and World Wide Web site explorations conducted in order to collect important information for this research project demonstrated that there are indeed many integration-type activities, at both the government and the community levels, presently being provided to recent immigrants in the Greater Montreal area. Based however on the body of knowledge related to immigration, immigrant integration and immigrant education, and the information received from the participants of the Basic

English/ focus group sessions, it can be advanced that a programme tailored specifically to the needs and aspirations of francophone immigrants during their transition into Quebec society would be useful. Rather than replacing current programmes and services, this programme would be helpful as a complement to existing programmes and services as well as a source of on-going support during transition for francophone immigrants.

In order to achieve these desired outcomes, careful planning is necessary. “Careful planning of (...) programmes does not guarantee that the programme will be successful, but it does increase the probability for success” (Caffarella 1988, 8).

Caffarella (1988) affirms that, when designing a programme, it is recommended that the theory, andragogical practices, target group and programme objectives be determined beforehand. The following section therefore delineates the programme objectives and the philosophical framework, or theory, chosen as most appropriate for the design and delivery of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants to Quebec. Also provided are recommendations for the andragogical practices inherent to the selected philosophical framework. Three separate but inter-related programme components for a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants have been suggested. They include discussions on the Life Skills, Civics and Critical Reflection.

As the target group of francophone immigrants to Quebec has been described and discussed in the previous section, only brief reference to this aspect of programme design has been made. While recommendations have been forwarded regarding programme design, delivery and content, consideration is also required in relation to such other essential areas as fund-raising, marketing and budgeting. Although these are important areas of programme design and delivery, the scope of this research project did not allow for their comprehensive study and integration into the final report.

Programme Objectives and Evaluation

Citizenship education aims at fulfilling two objectives. Not only does it aim at preparing individuals for active citizenship by facilitating the development of values, attitudes and behaviours deemed congruent to societal involvement and participation, it also aims at ensuring society that the resulting citizens will be able to identify, reflect upon and work toward the non-violent resolution of societal tensions, imbalances and injustices (Grant and Sleeter 1988, Lynch 1992 and McLeod 1989). James Lynch, in his Education for Citizenship in a Multicultural Society (1992) explores the three levels of citizenship: local community membership, national membership and international citizenship. In relation to these three overlapping and interdependent levels, he discusses the

role of education in the preparation of individuals, which he refers to as children, but can be used for adults as well, for societal participation. Lynch views this as a complex combination of consciousness and rights and responsibilities:

Education for global citizenship has to take into account the needs of individual children as well as the pluralist nature of most societies and of the world. It has to generate the knowledge, skills and insights necessary for creative and active participation, as well as for positive and creative dissent. It has to empower students, intellectually and socially, to make conflict creative and seminal of progress (Lynch 1992: 17).

In keeping with Lynch's claims for citizenship education, for the purpose of this research project, the objectives of the citizenship programme for francophone immigrants to Quebec can be seen as:

- To provide a citizenship programme for recent francophone immigrants on life skills, civics and critical reflection that will foster self-directedness and democratic citizenship in a multicultural society.
- To provide a learning environment where adult francophone immigrants feel respected, accepted and supported during their settlement and integration into a multicultural society.
- To provide an opportunity to learn or enhance the skills necessary for autonomous, responsible, positive and creative societal participation in a multicultural society.

Although these programme objectives are not expressed in easily measurable terms, it is anticipated that the participants, as a result of the programme, will be able to identify problems related to settlement and integration, locate sound resources, make educated choices in relation to the resolution of problems, and take action toward the successful completion of tasks and problems. It is also anticipated that, as a result of the programme,

participants will begin to exhibit non-violent conflict resolution attitudes and skills which are congruent with democratic citizenship in a multicultural society. Inherent in this is the anticipation that the programme's participants will begin to develop an understanding of their rights and responsibilities in relation to their status as Canadian citizens.

Although evaluation will not be covered in detail, a vital part of planning includes programme evaluation. It is important to note that evaluation should be done on a continual basis and must include feedback from the participants. In keeping with Freire's generative model for adult education, Caffarella (1988, 1994) emphasises that participant input and support for programme objectives, form and content are essential. Programme participants must be asked from the beginning, what they want to learn and how they prefer to learn it. They need to be asked, at specific intervals during the programme, if they feel the sessions are going as needed; if not the participants need to be asked what changes they feel are required. After the sessions have been completed, participants must be asked whether or not the objectives were achieved effectively and efficiently. It is for this reason that a module-based programme be employed is recommended. As many programme participants will have, for example, already installed themselves in their first dwelling, the possibility of skipping modules that the participants do not require will increase the programmes chances of success. By targeting and responding real needs, participants will remain engaged in the learning process.

It is assumed that it will be difficult to determine whether or not the programme itself is having the impact anticipated on the participants' settlement and integration. Caffarella, citing work by Knowles (1970) discusses the pitfalls of evaluation when desired outcomes are too complicated to measure. In the case of settlement and integration, some results will be tangible such as finding decent yet affordable housing. Other results will not be so tangible such as decoding host culture and transcending culture clash.

As other external factors will also contribute to the settlement and integration of the participants, measurement is further complicated. As discussed above, these external factors can include the support of family and friends, and services provided by community organisations and government ministries. It must also be kept in mind that while some changes in attitudes and behaviours may be detected immediately, other changes take time to manifest themselves.

Recommendations for the Selection of a Philosophical Framework for Programme Design and Delivery

The philosophical framework used to make the following recommendations for the design and delivery of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants to Quebec draws directly from Grant and Sleeter's concept of "Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist"

(pp.175-206) as described and discussed in chapter six of Making Choices for Multicultural Education: Five Approaches to Race, Class and Gender (1988). This philosophical approach to citizenship education, viewed as both utopian and visionary, aims to prepare “future citizens to reconstruct society so that it better serves the interests of all groups of people and especially those who are of color, poor, female, and/or disabled”(Grant and Sleeter 1988, 176). Essentially counter-hegemonic, this approach to citizenship education draws on notions from the conflict theory, the cognitive development theory and the theory of culture. It includes the practice of democracy in the classroom as well as in communities and society, the analysis of “the circumstances of one’s own life” and the development of social action skills.

Congruous with this “critical’ approach to citizenship education, as well as instrumental in the compilation of recommendations for the design and delivery of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants to Quebec, are the notions of emancipatory citizenship education as described by Lynch (1992), critical awareness as developed by Mezirow (1990), and educational praxis as advanced by Freire (1970). Also contributory to the compilation of the following recommendations is the notion of immigrant settlement and integration as “transition” as discussed by Daloz (1986) and therefore permeated by “developmental tasks” and “teachable moments” as seen by Havinghurst (1972). The recommendations for programme design and delivery revolve principally around the experiential method as defended by Knowles (1970) and Freire and

espouse the small-group discussion method as advocated by Freire (1970), and Knowles. Also instrumental in the delivery of this programme is a heavy dependence on the exploration of participants' "critical incidents" as defined by Mezirow.

Although this conceptual framework appears to draw from a multitude of philosophies, it does not force an unnatural relationship between any as there is, it is felt, a high philosophical congruence in the notions of Grant and Sleeter, Freire, Knowles, Mezirow, and Lynch. This congruence resides in a reverence for student-centred, context specific learning for self-directedness, critical awareness and social action. In essence, the congruence resides in the adult learning necessary for good citizenship.

Recommendations for the Selection of Andragogical Practices

Assumptions about the learners can guide the development of philosophical frameworks and their ensuing andragogical practices (Caffarella 1988). For the purpose of this research project, and in order to address some of the issues discussed above, the recommendations for the design and delivery of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants will employ the four assumptions of andragogical practice as advanced by Knowles (Brookfield 1986):

1. Adults both desire and enact a tendency toward self-directeness as they mature, though they may be dependent in certain situations.

2. Adults' experiences are a rich resource for learning. Adults learn more effectively through experiential techniques of education such as discussion or problem-solving.
3. Adults are aware of specific learning needs generated by real life tasks or problems. Adult education programs, therefore, should be organized around 'life application' categories and sequenced according to learners' readiness to learn.
4. Adults are competency based learners in that they wish to apply newly acquired skills or knowledge to their immediate circumstances. Adults are, therefore, "performance-centered" in their orientation to learning (p.92).

Based on the four assumptions advanced by Knowles, the specific form and content of an adult immigrant citizenship programme must recognise and incorporate the learners' tendency toward self-directness. They must employ "experiential techniques" by drawing on the experiences of the learners. This includes exploring "critical incidents" which describe particular happenings which then allow for the development of critical thinking. At the "teachable moment", the citizenship programme must centre on real life tasks and be readily applicable to immediate life circumstances, such as finding an apartment, preparing for a job interview or dealing with culture clashes.

Merriam and Caffarella (1991), citing work by Knowles, argue that adult learning should be organised and facilitated in a learner-centered versus instructor-centered manner. An immigrant integrating into a society may indeed be dependent on instructors, as well as cultural communities of origin, community organisations and government services, during a certain period of time. The ultimate objective remains however to develop and enhance the

learners' autonomy. Most adult immigrants are fully capable individuals who require only a period of adjustment during which information and resources are sought, located and selected in relation to their effectiveness. It is therefore recommended that the facilitator concentrate group discussions mainly on the tasks inherent to settlement and integration as well as the development of the skills required for critical reflection. As adults are motivated to address their immediate circumstances, it is only fundamental that real-life tasks serve as topics for problem-solving sessions. It must be kept in mind that, although learners need both direction and support, they are "moderately capable" and "reasonably self-directing" (Meriam and Caffarella 1991, 25). This is the case for many immigrants. Although immigration, settlement and integration may disrupt an adult's ability to be self-directing, they also provide not only a need, but also an opportunity to develop new skills necessary to become responsible autonomous citizens.

When developing an educational programme, Cafarella (1994) states that a population analysis of the target learners ought to be undertaken prior to the design and delivery of the programme in question. This population analysis should take into consideration the following: age, educational level, gender, ethnicity and social class of the target learners. It should also identify the primary language and present knowledge, skills and experiences of the target population in relation to the content of the programme being developed. Other considerations that must be addressed are career stages, life roles, motivation,

disabilities and learning style preferences of the target population. All of these factors will influence both the content and the process of the programme (Cafarrella 1994). Interestingly, the characteristics listed here almost mirror the factors that impact on an immigrant's ability to integrate into a new society. Once again this correspondence leads to opportunities for classroom dialogue and consciousness raising.

Not all francophone immigrants, as discussed above, can be lumped together as one group. As francophone immigrants can be further separated into sub-groups, a student-centred, context-specific module approach is best suited to meeting the needs and reflecting the aspirations of each sub-group of francophone immigrants.

Based on the body of knowledge related to immigration, immigrant integration and immigrant education as well as the information received during the Basic English/focus group sessions, recommendations for the design and delivery of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants to Quebec respond to the needs of both the newcomers and society. These recommendations include the following three components: Component 1: Life Skills: Day-to-Day Life; Component 2: Civics: Rights and Responsibilities; and Component 3: Critical Reflection.

These three components cover, it is felt, the essence of a citizenship programme for newcomers. It is recommended that these components be divided into modules that can be lengthened, shortened or skipped entirely if

need be, depending on the degree of integration, motivation, time or interests of the participants of the programme. The following table provides the relationship between the body of literature related to immigrant integration, the information received from the Basic English/focus group sessions and the recommended programme components. It is to be noted that the third programme component “Critical Reflection” does not appear on the table. It is assumed that this component responds to the needs inherent to each stage of the integration process rather than one or two of its aspects.

Table 2: Relationship between Integration Tasks and Citizenship Programme Components

Opportunities for learning as provided by the body of literature and participants	Component(s)
Government immigration procedures	Life Skills Civics: Rights and Responsibilities
Installation and settlement	Life Skills
Decoding the host culture	Civics: Rights and Responsibilities
Culture shock	Civics: Rights and Responsibilities
Parenting Immigrant Children	Life skills Civics: Rights and Responsibilities
Employment	Life skills
Varieties of French	Civics: Rights and Responsibilities

Recommendations for Programme components and Modules

Component 1: Life Skills: Day-to-Day Life.

The process of immigrant integration, which aims ultimately at full societal participation, progresses through many stages. The francophone immigrant participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions expressed that the first stages of integration relate directly to navigating the government immigration procedures, overcoming the practical challenges of installation and settlement, dealing with culture shock and finding initial employment. Other equally important, yet less immediate stages of integration, they agreed, include issues surrounding recognising rights and assuming responsibilities, dealing with differences and parenting immigrant children in a new country. In general, these were the topics taken up by the participants as being the most salient during their ongoing integration to Quebec society.

As generated by the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions and in keeping with Maslow's hierarchy of human needs (1954), which argues that until physiological or survival needs are fulfilled, individuals are not free to move onto satisfying more complex needs such as those related to belongingness, esteem and self-actualization (Knowles 1980), it is recommended that the first component of the citizenship programme for francophone immigrants include such life skills as: housing, employment, government,

education, health care, transportation, money and banking, leisure and recreation.

In order to portray as accurately as possible the integration phase of the immigrant experience, a phase that is at once multifaceted, complex and context-specific, it is important to focus attention not only on the tasks inherent to this transition, but also on the individual characteristics and societal contextual factors that impact on rate and efficiency of integration.

Settlement is the first task of integration (Bell 1983). Inherent in this phase of integration are many developmental tasks. The primary immediate tasks of initial settlement revolve around housing, health and social services, employment and education:

Ce sont les quatre grands volets de notre vie en société et si les immigrants n'ont pas la possibilité d'y participer, il sera impossible de parler d'une intégration réussie (Proteau in Ministère des Affaires internationales, de l'immigration et des communautés culturelles 1993, 9).

The participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions suggested that modules be prepared in relation to each of the life skills identified above. In keeping with Freire's generative approach and echoing Caffarella's (1988) recommendation to not set a fixed lesson plan, the participants listed a series of themes for group discussion with key points to emphasise. Their suggestions included the following 8 modules and un-ranked related possible topics to be discussed:

- Module 1: Housing: Finding a Place to Live.

Possible topics to be discussed: Montreal neighbourhoods, leases, landlords, rent increases, La Regie du Logement, tenant rights and responsibilities, subsidised housing, residences for the elderly, disabled and homeless, plumbing, balconies, locks, mailboxes, laundry, recycling, garbage, Hydro Quebec, Gaz Metropolitain, Bell Canada, heating, appliances, floods, leaks, janitors, snow removal, etc.

- Module 2: Employment: Finding, Getting and Keeping a Decent Job.

Possible topics to be discussed: la Commission des normes du travail, where to start looking, Curriculum Vitae and cover letters, the job interview, dress codes, vacations, vacation pay, overtime, deductions at source, sexual harassment, racism and expectations, etc.

- Module 3: Government: Navigating the System.

Possible topics to be discussed: parliament, elections, federal and provincial political parties, voting, Income tax, citizen rights and responsibilities, policies, legislation, laws, social insurance, welfare, family allowances, G.S.T. and Q.S.T., police, fire department, ambulances, post offices, government ministries and services, etc.

- Module 4: Education: Schools for Children and Adults.

Possible topics to be discussed: primary, secondary and post secondary education in Quebec, CEGEPs, technical colleges, private schools vs public schools, schoolboards, la loi 101, bussing, regions, subsidies, drop-outs, equivalences, parent involvement, committees, childcare, homework, school supplies, school clothes for children, book bags and lunch boxes,

- Module 5: Health Care: Staying Healthy.

Possible topics for discussion: locating a general practitioner, locating a specialist, Hospitals and CLSC's, getting a Quebec medicare card, dentists, pharmacies, the Quebec drug plan, vaccinations, sex education, nutrition, etc.

- Module 6: Transportation: Going Places.

Possible topics for discussion: STCUM, trains, metro and train stations, tickets and passes, transfers, drivers education programmes, drivers' licenses, permits, streets, maps, ambulances, buying a car, insurance and plates.

- Module 7: Money and Banking: Buyer Beware!

Possible topics for discussion: banks and bank accounts, deposits and withdrawals, bill payment, service fees, credit cards, automatic tellers, investing, trusts, foreign exchange, shopping, groceries, furniture, clothes, warranties, etc.

- Module 8: Leisure and Recreation: Having Fun with Family and Friends.

Possible topics to be discussed: professional and amateur sports teams, leagues, gyms, parks, museums, cinemas, municipal gardens, libraries, clubs, bingo, cultural events, festivals, free shows, neighbouring cities, swimming, arenas, clubs, etc.

The francophone immigrant participants agreed that the most effective design and delivery of a citizenship programme would stress the locating of relevant, practical services and resources. Struggling, they agreed, in isolation, with a dilemma was unnecessary and futile. Services can be located via government ministries and community organisations. Resources can be located in various forms. Examples of such resources include telephone directories, the "Yellow Pages", television, radio, magazines such as "Protégez-vous!", city maps, city handbooks such as the annual "Répertoire des activités et des services de la Ville de Montréal", posters, pamphlets from sporting and leisure clubs, bulletins from consumer groups, etc. The participants suggested that a review of these services and resources should be a major part of the content and represent

most of instructional materials for a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants. They added though that the review would have to include only concrete, up-to-date and relevant services and resources.

Caffarella (1988) claims that lesson plans for knowledge acquisition should include lectures; lesson plans for skill building should include case studies and simulation games; and lesson plans for attitude changes include role play and group discussions. In keeping with this, the participants agreed that experts and other resource-persons should be included in this life skills component of the citizenship programme. As well as facilitator-guided discussions on the topics listed above, "lecturers" could be brought in to give casual "talks" for the purpose of introducing or explaining services and resources. This could be complemented by a question and answer period, a video on a related topic, handouts, and telephone numbers.

It is important to note that the participants put special emphasis on employment as the key to successful integration. For the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions, finding, getting and keeping a decent job indicated a high degree of societal integration. Particular attention then needs to be paid to this module. When preparing this module, the following issues should be taken up as having serious implications:

Les obstacles à la première insertion au marché du travail auxquels font face les nouveaux arrivants sont les suivants: 1) rareté des emplois et la situation économique difficile de la région Montrealaise; 2) nombre restreint d'emplois, précarité d'emploi, des salaires modestes et des conditions de travail difficiles; 3) la non-reconnaissance de la formation et

de l'expertise acquise ailleurs; 4) l'âge; 5) scolarité peu élevée; 6) manque d'information sur le marché du travail; 6) appartenance à certains groupes ethniques; 7) difficultés d'accès aux corporations et aux métiers régis; et 8) discrimination (Actes du Colloques 1995, 41).

A module that would address these issues separately through group discussion and then provide opportunities to access information and learn job-related skills via simulation games and case studies would then be a primary part of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants.

Component 2: Civics: Rights and Responsibilities.

As well as the "Government: Navigating the System" module of the Life Skills component proposed above, a separate component on "Civics: Rights and Responsibilities" is also recommended for a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants to Quebec. In keeping with Grant and Sleeter's notion of "education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist" this component would revolve around casual group discussions on the topics of: democracy, human rights and responsibilities, majority/minority relations and multiculturalism.

It is to be noted that the modules include suggested topics for dialogue but do not strive to impose any "hard facts" on learners as these are areas that remain mainly philosophical and open to many interpretations. In other words, while the rights and responsibilities inherent to rejecting an unfair rent increase

are both tangible and pre-set by society, due to the largely philosophical nature of such topics as democracy, human rights and multiculturalism, apart from uncontested core-concepts, many “grey areas” remain up to the individual learners to explore and make meaningful for themselves.

- Module 1: Democracy.

Grant and Sleeter advocate a democratic approach to classroom organisation (1988). In relation to this component, the participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions agreed that a first module of this component should refer to the basic elements and activities of a democratic system. For the purpose of this, at the beginning of this first module, the basics of government should be reviewed. As many immigrants do not come from democratic countries, it was felt that a thorough understanding of the concept of democracy is fundamental. The participants also argued that while rights were frequently evident, responsibilities were often difficult to pin down. It is therefore recommended that a review of the responsibilities of democratic citizenship be covered in this module.

•Module 2: Majority/Minority Relations: Universal Human Rights.

Grant and Sleeter, citing work by Anyon (1981) refer to the coexistence of theoretical and practical consciousness:

Practical consciousness refers to one's commonsense understanding of one's own life, of how the "system" works, and of "everyday attempts to resolve the class, race, gender and other contradictions one faces".

Theoretical consciousness refers to dominant social ideologies, explanations that one learns for how the world works that purport the world to be fair and just as it is. These two sets of consciousness do not always mesh; most of us learn to believe a mixture of them (Grant and Sleeter 1988, 189).

In keeping with this co-existence of practical consciousness and theoretical consciousness, as discussed by Grant and Sleeter, a second module would then include a heavy emphasis on majority/minority relations and human rights. Based on such documents as the Canadian and Quebec Charters of Human Rights and the United Nations' Declaration of Rights, group discussions could focus on the concept of Universal Human Rights, as well as concrete dilemmas drawn from the lives of the participants. Once again, by drawing from the lives of the participants through the use of the experiential method of facilitating adult learning, the knowledge and skills necessary for citizenship in Quebec are explored. It is at this stage in the process that a transformation of consciousness may occur as described by Mezirow (1990).

- Module 3: Multiculturalism in a Pluralist Country.

A third module of this second component would then provide the participants with opportunities to discuss the concept of multiculturalism and its ensuing implications. Education for citizenship in such societies as the Quebec society of the late 1990's has to take into consideration the needs of the individuals as well as the pluralist nature of the society and of the world (Lynch 1992). In order to prepare citizens to function in society, behaviours, values, assumptions, ideals must be explored and understood. This module therefore seeks to provide participants with an opportunity to explore and understand the various implications and consequences of multiculturalism.

Mr. Janneh advanced that, based on his experiences, both personal as a francophone immigrant himself, and professional as an language instructor and interpreter, francophone immigrants should be provided with a comprehensive programme in which, among others, a language component would allow for a "mise-à-niveau" of language skills. He emphasised that a traditional approach to bridging the language gap would not do. Instead of studying grammar rules and filling in exercise books, he advocated instead an exploration, in French, of language-related issues such as "freedom of speech", "les normes de conduite dans les relations sociales" and "les normes de communication".

Although a separate language component has not been recommended, M. Janneh's observations fit into the exploring and understanding of life in a

multicultural society. M. Janneh recommended classroom discussions centred on such notions as “les médias au Québec”, “le droit à l’information”, “le respect de la vie privée”, and “les normes pour la publicité”. The implications of such issues on citizenship in a multicultural society cannot be ignored.

“Je suis dans une société différente de la mienne et je dois faire attention au sens des paroles prononcées, pas seulement au sens que ces paroles ont pour moi, mais au sens qu’elles ont ici, au Québec” is a useful theme that Mr. Janneh frequently uses in his French-as-a-second language classes. He feels that these discussions are needed as they allow not only for the adjusting of some individuals’ language skills, but also for the developing of awareness among participants. Once a person becomes aware that serious miscommunication can easily occur, efforts to avoid misunderstandings are usually made. Naturally, Mr Janneh added that a total reprogramming of language skills is not the objective of these sessions. The objective of these sessions is to facilitate effective communication by pointing out potential traps and other areas of possible confusion.

Other interesting subject areas for classroom discussions aimed at fine-tuning francophone immigrants’ French language skills broached by Mr. Janneh were “Egalité des droits” and “difficultés reliées au choc des cultures”. These areas, he stressed, were not to be taken for granted as many disparities between countries of origin and Quebec society exist. Again, Mr Janneh advocated a group discussion focused on such themes as “les droits de la personne” and “le

respect réciproque et la tolérance”, “reconnaître les différences” and “refuser la discrimination sous toutes ses formes”. He also suggested discussions on such topics as “ se comprendre pour vivre ensemble” and “discerner ce qui est différent du pays d’origine”.

Many racial, political and religious barriers block unity in Quebec. It is therefore recommended that a module be included that will provide participants with the opportunity to develop attitudes and skills that will allow them to transcend such barriers. Participants “must be taught to deal with situations that divide instead of unite people” (Lynch 1992, 17). They need to become sensitive to such issues and become familiar with differences and they need to develop and use good judgement in the resolution of conflicts that arise. A module on multiculturalism may provide the opportunity to develop these important skills.

Component 3: Critical Reflection

Participants of the Basic English/focus group sessions debated over the “best way to go about” designing a programme for immigrants intent on settling and integrating into Quebec society. They suggested that emphasis should be put on the following five stage process: 1) identifying the problem; 2) getting informed; 3) knowing your rights; and 4) making educated choices and 5) acting in congruence to these choices. In many ways, this process can be compared to the process of self-directedness. It can also be loosely related to the process of

critical reflection as described by Mezirow, as well as Freire's notion of educational praxis.

For an adult immigrant learner to become self-directed, a period of adjustment during which developmental tasks and transitional themes are explored is required. Brookfield (1986) argues that one of the most significant forms of adult learning is "the development of critical reflection on experiences, along with the collaborative interpretation and exchange of such experiences" (Brookfield 1986, 98). By placing primary emphasis on the experiences of the learners, this method grounds itself in the experiences, needs and aspirations of the learners (Knowles in Jarvis 1987).

Also deemed congruent with this conceptual approach is Freire's "educational praxis" (Jarvis 1987) which is the method whereby the experiences of the learners play a central role in determining not only the content of a learning activity but the outcome as well. This method engages the learner to become aware, evaluate the circumstances that surround his/her life, then take appropriate actions to redress the situation. It is a method whereby the experiences of the learner play a central role not only in the form and content of the learning activities, but also in the outcome.

The method deemed congruent with this learning is the "experiential method" (Linderman in Jarvis 1981). The use of "critical incidents" as advocated by Mezirow is one way of basing learning on identifying and challenging assumptions about behaviours and attitudes. Mezirow (1990) warns however

that this approach to learning can not only be difficult, but psychologically explosive for the learner. Not unlike detonating dynamite charges at the base of a building, this approach to learning can lead to the demolition of a person's way of thinking and learning. For this reason it should be undertaken with great care on the facilitator's part.

Mezirow reminds us that:

Engaging in critical thinking is not a continuously joyful exercise in creative self-actualization. It is psychologically and politically dangerous, involving risks to one's livelihood, social networks, and psychological stability. In some cultures, people who think critically -who question accepted assumptions -are the first to disappear, to be tortured, or to be murdered in the event of a political coup d'état (Mezirow 1992, 179).

As a first step in the process of developing critical reflection, Mezirow suggests that facilitators help learners learn to understand the assumptions underlying their experiences. This needs to be done in a non-threatening way and should not, in any manner, represent risks or harmful consequences for the learners. The self-esteem, noted Mezirow, of the learners should remain intact.

Critical reflection, seen under this light, should provide immigrants with knowledge and skills that will facilitate their citizenship in Quebec society. Critical reflection should encourage immigrants to scrutinise the events of their day-to-day lives and aspects of their democratic citizenship in a multicultural society. Critical reflection should encourage immigrants to recognise and analyse their own assumptions regarding their lives. It is hoped that the daily lives of

immigrants and their families will only be enhanced by the development of such skills.

Component 4: Immigrant Education for Non-Immigrants

While very little can be done to reduce the stress experienced prior to an immigrant's arrival to Montreal, Quebec, efforts can be made to increase immigrant integration and participation once they have arrived. One area that requires much attention is the racist attitudes of the host society. For this reason, a fourth component has been recommended, not for the francophone immigrants discussed above, but for the general non-immigrant population.

As few non-immigrants, it can be assumed, will actually feel motivated to attend small group discussions on immigrant integration and citizenship, other venues for adult learning will have to be explored. The format and content for this component will not be established, as non-traditional methods will have to be employed. Such venues might include public awareness campaigns, television, radio and other media programming, and other activities that fit into the lives of already otherwise "busy" non-immigrants who may or may not understand the need for such learning.

While Canada's Immigration Act recognizes an important role for migrants in developing this country, and our Canadian Multiculturalism Act affirms the value of cultural diversity, Canadians do not share a uniformly welcoming attitude towards newcomers, particularly those with visible minority origins. The report of the All-Party Parliamentary

Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, published under the title *Equality Now!* (1984), documents the alarming finding that 155 of Canadians exhibit blatantly racist attitudes and an additional 20 to 25% have racist tendencies (Canadian Task Force on the Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees 1988, 9).

In keeping with Beck (1975) and Lynch (1992) who both can not perceive of an educational programme that excludes the non-minority, or non-immigrant population, this programme would seek to provide opportunities for non-immigrants to develop positive attitudes towards newcomers.

Residential segregation seems to be a two-sided coin for immigrants. While residential segregation provides human support and resources during the settlement and integration phase of immigration, it can also create risks of ghettoization and majority hostility. Breton (1974) concludes his research by stating that policies, procedures and community resources need to be developed, expanded and put into place. Such efforts would mitigate negative social outcomes by:

reducing host fears of "invasion" and value displacement, allaying immigrant fears of host rejection, and enabling organizational and institutional facilities to cope with group differences and numerical increase (Breton, Armstrong and Kennedy 1974, 34).

In keeping with Breton's research results, the fourth component of this citizenship education programme for francophone immigrants would therefore seek to dispel traditional myths regarding immigrants. It would provide participants with opportunities to explore their fears and hostility and perhaps redirect their frustrations to where they truly belong. Non-immigrants require

help adjusting to change as much as immigrants do. Opportunities to explore change in a non-threatening environment are therefore recommended as important elements of this fourth component.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

If recent trends in immigration are any indication, it is estimated that Quebec will be receiving approximately 20,000 francophone immigrants a year (Thompson 1997). The transition, settlement and integration of these newcomers, despite their ability to communicate in French, represent an important responsibility for Quebec. Within Canada's multicultural framework, proper provisions in terms of adult francophone immigrant education programmes are essential.

The principal objectives of this research project were threefold. This research project's first objective was to examine the third phase of migration; the installation and integration of immigrants in their new society. This examination aimed at understanding the tasks of settlement faced by immigrants in a new society. A special focus on the realities faced by francophone immigrants in Quebec was undertaken as it was observed that more than mere linguistic proximity is required for smooth and effective integration into a host society.

The second objective of this research project was to make the connection between adult learning, immigrant integration and citizenship. This second

objective included examining the role and some of the important characteristics of adult immigrant citizenship education. In order to fulfil this second objective, research activities focused on, among others, the integration phase of immigration as a transition which produces teachable moments (Daloz 1996) and tasks that in turn, create “readinesses to learn” (Knowles 1980).

An important part of this research project’s work included an investigation of whether francophone immigrants’ needs are currently being met by organised adult education-type programmes in Montreal. The third objective of this research project then involved the compilation of recommendations for the design and delivery of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants to Quebec. In congruence with the body of knowledge related to immigrant education and integration, as well as the information recorded from the Basic English/focus group sessions, recommendations for programme design and development resulted. This required the selection of an appropriate conceptual framework and congruent andragogical methods for the design and development of a citizenship programme for francophone immigrants. A programme comprising four components resulted. These components covered: 1) Life Skills: Day-to-Day Life; 2) Civics: Rights and Responsibilities; and 3) Critical Reflection. A fourth component, Immigrant Education for Non-Immigrants was added in keeping with Beck’s (1975) and Lynch’s (1992) work that does not allow for immigrant or minority education

that does not include provisions for the non-immigrant or majority segment of the mainstream population.

Many complex factors impact on an immigrant's ability to fulfil the demands of citizenship in a multicultural democratic nation. Ultimately, citizenship for newcomers depends largely on the quality of their settlement and integration. In turn, settlement and integration for new immigrants is greatly influenced by such factors as age, sex, education, linguistic ability, employment, cultural attributes, category of admission and duration of residence (Piché and Bélanger 1985). The host society's approach to welcoming and integrating immigrants is also highly influential. Citizenship for new citizens is then greatly shaped by the immigrants' reaction, response and ensuing engagement to this approach.

As alienated, denigrated immigrants rarely make *good* citizens, the successful integration of immigrants is therefore critical. Insightful citizen-making programmes for immigrants, including provisions for all groups and sub-groups of immigrants, as well as non-immigrant groups, thus contribute greatly to the creation of fully autonomous and participatory new citizens.

Immigrants are forced to make many adjustments so to become active citizens in the host country's society. Despite the fact that their ability to speak French may be perceived as basis enough for full immediate integration and societal participation, francophone immigrants also face many barriers to full societal participation. Adult education programmes for new francophone

immigrants face the important task of providing learning opportunities to this specific, hardly homogeneous, group of new citizens in transition into complex industrialised societies such as Quebec's.

Citizenship, in its true form, is not a prescriptive activity. Adult education programmes for immigrants that are designed to facilitate the successful integration of its participants into society rarely succeed when all they prescribe is "now that you're in, conform to the mainstream majority, be grateful, don't complain and become good citizens *immediately!*". Full integration and citizenship are rather an immigrant's on-going unfolding reactions and consequent responses to his/her new host society.

Whether an immigrant feels fully integrated, or by extension, feels like *being* a good citizen depends greatly on his/her "state of being" in regard to the new country. If the host country fails to recognise the authentic needs of its newcomers then full integration cannot follow. Therefore, new Canadians, whether they be anglophone, allophone or francophone need to be provided, through adult education citizen-making courses, with the opportunity to develop, "feel" and fulfil full societal participation and citizenship. In order to achieve this they are going to need to feel wanted, accepted and welcomed by a general non-immigrant population that does not feel threatened by their presence.

The purpose, aims, form and content of a citizenship education programme for immigrants must be influenced by a philosophical framework.

They also must be influenced by the characteristics of grounded andragogical practice. Democratic citizenship education programmes must be conducted in a way that helps adult immigrants become autonomous, socially-minded and participatory men and women. To that end, immigrants must be helped to learn how to identify problems, become aware of rights and responsibilities, and they need to learn how to solve these problems in a way that will not jeopardise the rights and responsibilities of others, or perpetuate the imbalances of society.

Democratic citizenship in a culturally diverse society within a global framework requires special knowledge and skills (James Lynch 1992). Adult citizenship programmes that facilitate self-directedness and critical reflection can help immigrants learn these skills. Immigrants, regardless of race, religion, linguistic background, age and gender, can be helped to learn that they are members of a society and that there are rights and responsibilities inherent to this membership. They can be helped to learn how to be autonomous, pro-active and participatory. They also can be helped to understand that citizens are inter-dependant and that they need to co-operate with others (Yamaguchi 1986). Such democratic citizenship knowledge and its corresponding skills contribute, in turn, to the sustainment of a democratic society.

The aim of these few pages has been to discuss some of the important aspects of immigrant integration, and the consequently vital role that citizenship education can play in the overall success of citizenship and societal participation among immigrants. A special focus on the realities faced by francophone

immigrants in Quebec has been included as this student feels that the transitional needs of this group, because of other perhaps more urgent provincial priorities, have been largely neglected.

Although the scope of this research project did not allow for a full examination of all the implications of the complex juncture of multiculturalism, immigration and andragogy, an attempt was made to explore and discuss the theoretical underpinnings and motivations of adult education citizenship programmes for francophone immigrants. In conclusion, although distinct in nature from those aimed at other immigrant and non-immigrant groups, citizenship programmes for francophone immigrants in transition into Quebec's society are deemed an integral part of Quebec's response to the challenge of providing insightful integration and citizenship programmes to all.

Education, argues Freire, is never neutral (1970). It either oppresses or empowers. While specific outcomes and results may be difficult to measure, it is anticipated that the programme recommended here will allow francophone immigrants the opportunity to explore, learn and enhance the knowledge and skills necessary for democratic citizenship in a multicultural society. It is hoped that the programme here recommended will help empower immigrants to become full, active and autonomous citizens of Quebec.

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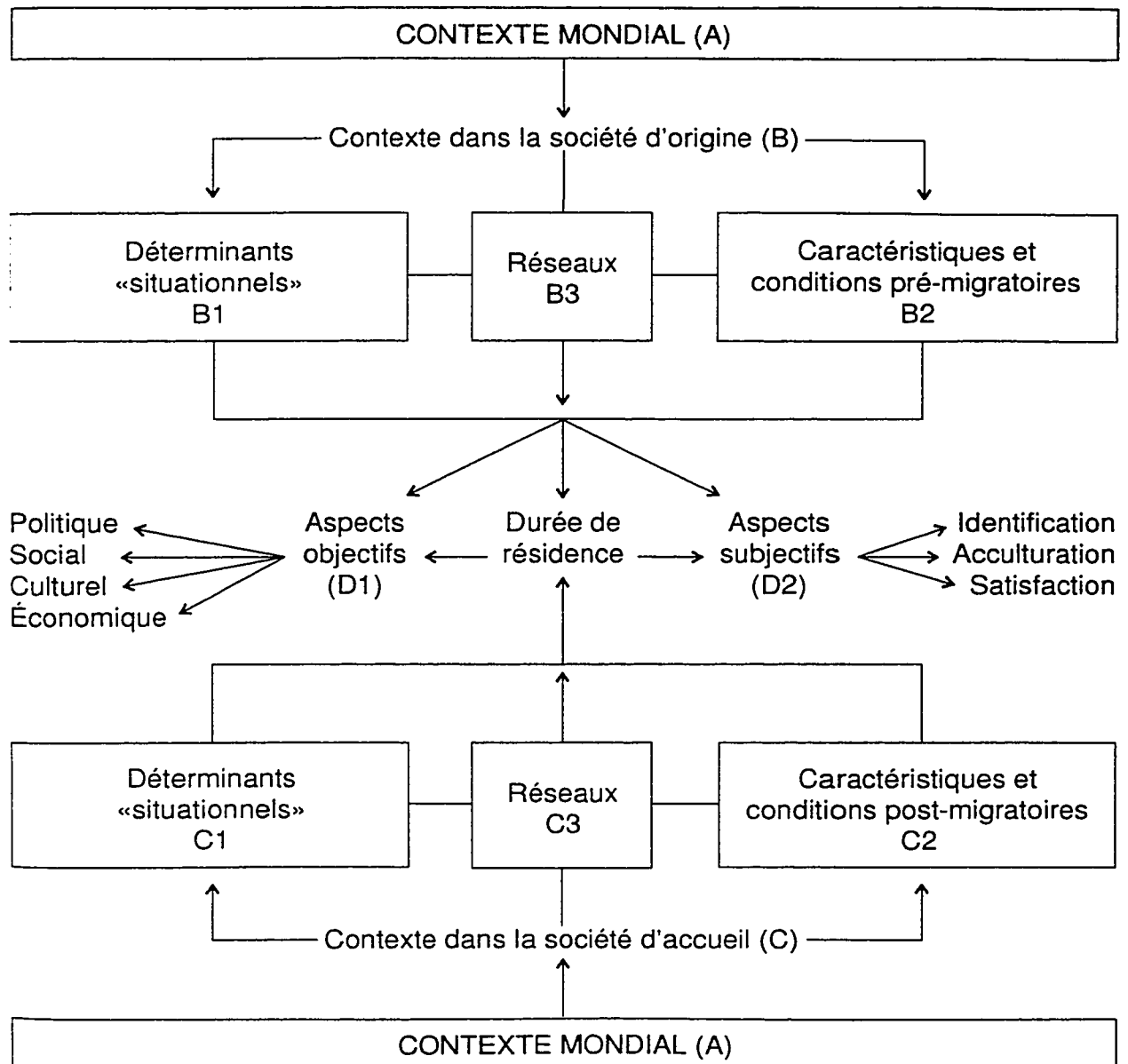
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APPENDIX 1:
CADRE CONCEPTUEL POUR L'ETUDE DES FACTEURS D'INTEGRATION¹

¹ Piché, Victor and Liane Bélanger. 1995. Une Revue des études québécoises sur les facteurs d'intégration des immigrants. Département de démographie et Groupe de recherche ethnicité et société (GRES) Université de Montréal.

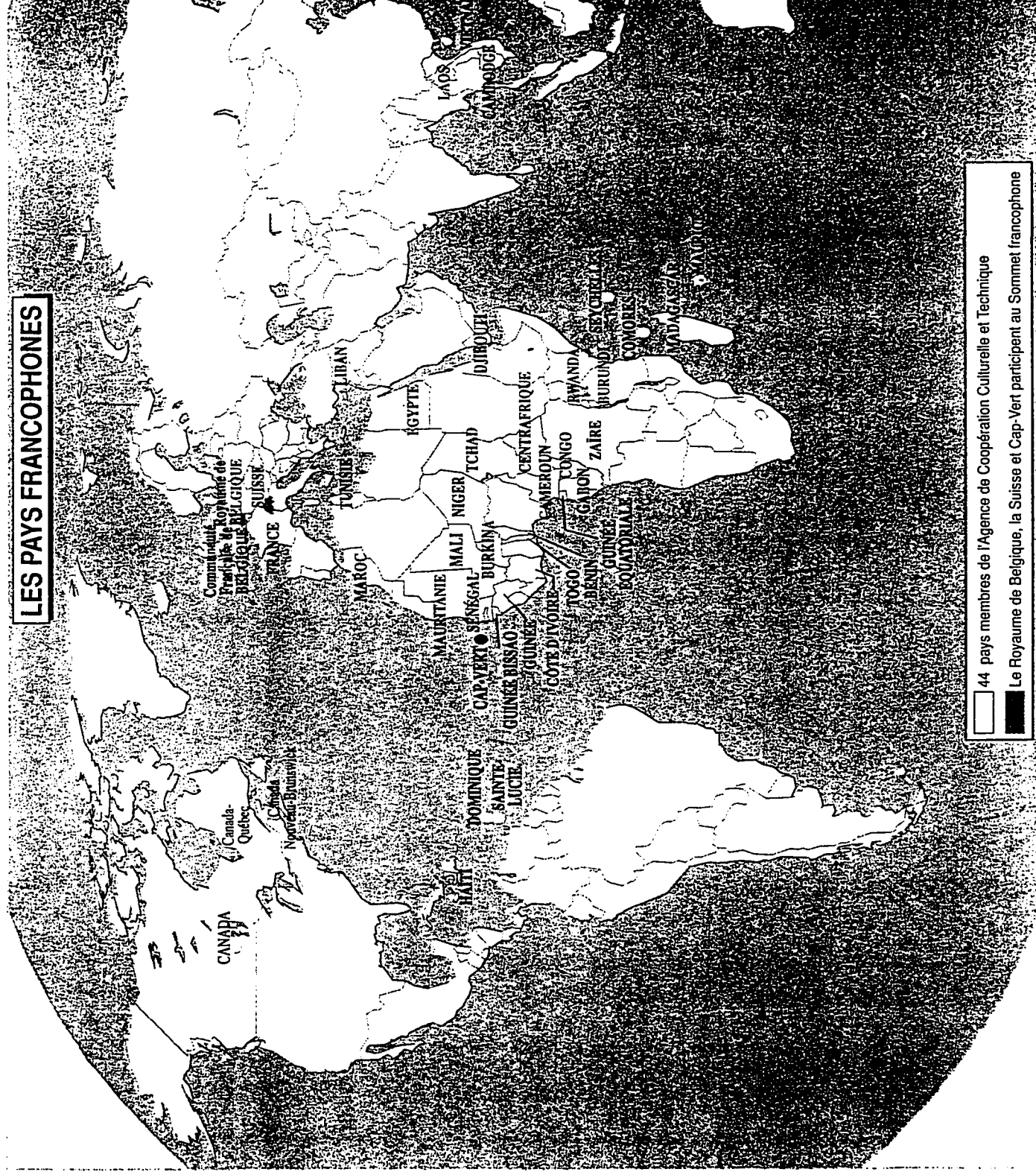
Cadre conceptuel pour l'étude des facteurs d'intégration



APPENDIX 2:
LES PAYS FRANCOPHONES²

² Rossillon, Philippe. 1985. Atlas de la langue française. Paris: Borduas.

LES PAYS FRANCOPHONES



☐ 44 pays membres de l'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique
☒ Le Royaume de Belgique, la Suisse et Cap-Vert participant au Sommet francophone