IMMIGRATION, SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION IN QUEBEC'S ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITIES: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Karen Urtnowski, *Consultant, Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network*

Lorraine O'Donnell, *Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities and Concordia University)*

Éric Shragge, *School of Community and Public Affairs, Concordia University*

Anne Robineau, *Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities*

Éric Forgues, *Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities*

ABSTRACT

This study reviews and analyzes the small body of literature specifically addressing immigrant settlement and integration activities in the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ), and adds to the picture with preliminary enquiries into activities in the field. The literature highlights the role of ESCQ as a "bridge" for immigrants toward the majority Francophone society, and questions the legitimacy of Anglophone participation in immigrant settlement in the context of Quebec's francisation project. Our preliminary enquiries reveal a wide range of English-speaking community organizations and informal networks currently helping new immigrants settle, including ones that identify by their ethnicity, the English language, neighbourhood and religious faith. It describes the contributions of these groups and some of the challenges they face in the current political climate in Quebec.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude recense et analyse la petite quantité de documents traitant spécifiquement de l'établissement des immigrants et des activités d'intégration dans les communautés d'expression anglaise du Québec (CEAQ/ESCQ). Elle y ajoute le résultat de recherches préliminaires sur les activités dans ce secteur. Ces documents démontrent que les CEAQ établissent un « pont » entre les immigrants et la société majoritairement francophone et elle s'interroge sur la légitimité de la participation des Anglophones dans l'établissement des immigrants dans le contexte de la francisation au Québec. Nos recherches préliminaires révèlent un large éventail d'organismes communautaires et de réseaux informels d'expression anglaise qui aident les nouveaux arrivants à s'établir incluant des organismes et des réseaux qui se définissent par leur ethnicité, la langue anglaise, le voisinage et l'appartenance religieuse. L'étude décrit la contribution de ces groupes et certains des défis qu'ils doivent surmonter dans le climat politique qui prévaut actuellement au Québec.

1. Introduction

The Quebec government's growing involvement in managing immigration over recent decades signals the importance of immigration to Quebec society -- and, by extension, of immigrant settlement and integration activities. The English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ), collectively the province's most important linguistic minority group, have always included many new immigrants. Established community members have long helped settle and integrate newcomers, a process the federal government suggests can ensure the community's demographic growth and vitality (Metropolis 2009). Thus, understanding the ESCQ immigrant settlement sector could illuminate processes important to both the Anglophone minority and Quebec society as a whole.

Only a few publications address the subject of contemporary ESCQ immigrant settlement and integration activities. We aim in the current article, derived from a longer report (Robineau et. al. 2011) commissioned by the federally-funded Metropolis Canada, to address this research gap in two ways. First, we analyze the small corpus of publications. Second, we give an account of our preliminary enquiries into ESCQ groups currently providing immigrant settlement and integration services, providing a working categorization of them and describing their activities.

We identify a great diversity of ESCQ networks assisting immigrants, and some of their contributions and challenges. We conclude with recommendations for research, policy and community development.

For the purposes of this study, we are using the terms "English-speaking" and "Anglophone" interchangeably. In both cases, we are referring to those Quebecers who fall into the First Official Language Spoken - English category. Statistics Canada uses the concept "FOLS-English" to take account of responses to census questions on knowledge of official languages, mother tongue and language spoken most often at home. While excluding people whose mother tongue was English but who can no longer converse in the language, the FOLS-English group

> includes persons with an 'other' mother tongue (other than English or French) who speak English most often at home as well as those who, while having a non-official language as the main home language, can also conduct a conversation in English but not in French. It also includes half the persons who can conduct a conversation in English and French who speak an "other" language or both official languages most often at home (Corbeil et al. 2010, 9).

Corbeil et al. state that FOLS is increasingly used, because

> shifts over the years in the composition of the Canadian population tend to call for a redefinition or broadening of the concept of Anglophone group or community, since a significant number of persons whose mother tongue is neither English nor French nevertheless use English either predominantly or commonly in their daily lives (2010, 8).

2. Literature review

There is a paucity of literature specifically addressing the current activities of the ESCQ, considered collectively as a language minority, in welcoming or settling immigrants to Quebec. The literature that does exist on the subject includes a variety of types of sources that reflect, we feel, the newness of this field of investigation. It includes a series of short scholarly essays from Canadian Diversity, a non-peer-reviewed periodical that published a special issue entitled The Deep Diversity of English-Speaking Quebecers (2010); unpublished presentations from a conference workshop and a seminar, both organized by Metropolis Canada on the subject of Quebec Anglophone welcoming communities; research reports; and an annual report. Authors include academic researchers, community workers and government employees. Below is a brief analysis of this body of literature.

Michelle Vatz-Laaroussi is a key academic researcher[1] working in this field. She has produced a Metropolis seminar presentation (2010a) and a Canadian Diversity article (2010b), and, in collaboration with colleague Malanga-Georges Liboy,[2] a Metropolis conference presentation (2010). An argument running through Vatz-Laaroussi's work (as well as the presentation with Liboy) is that English-speaking communities can and do serve as a "porte d'entrée," or gateway to Quebec for English-speaking immigrants. She notes that in the Estrie region, some 30% of the immigrant population could benefit from using Anglophone institutions and community organizations--at least during their initial settlement period, until they are able to study French. She argues that Anglophones have "capital" to offer, including community organizations, educational institutions, theatres and media, as well as an interest in serving as a "bridge" for immigrants to reach the broader Francophone community in Quebec.

Vatz-Laaroussi also points to barriers hindering English-speakers from carrying out this role: their lack of recognition and legitimacy to act in the settlement sector, the invisibility of their structures to newcomers, and their absence in Quebec regional consultation bodies concerned with immigration. She laments the dearth of partnerships and resources aimed at attracting migrants and immigrants as a further limiting factor. She also stresses the need to advance the participation

of English-speaking communities in consultation bodies where they could be considered part of local attraction and retention 'capital' and could become involved in strategies for immigration reception and retention in the regions.

Rachel Garber, a community worker,[3] addresses the topic in a Metropolis conference workshop presentation and a Canadian Diversity essay (2010a, 2010b). Garber states that the ESCQ's assistance to English-speaking immigrants can decrease the strain of settlement while they master French. In her view, not only immigrants, but also established Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec can benefit from such an arrangement. In a similar vein, Patricia Rimok, head of a government group promoting interculturalism,[4] proposed in a presentation at the same Metropolis conference workshop that "Québec should consider its linguistic diversity as an asset and not a threat to the French reality – any more than the francisation of immigrants is a threat to English (2010)."[5] Rimok stresses the importance of understanding not only what the role of Quebec English-speakers is or could be, but also how they can work together with Quebec Francophone communities to carry it out.

Academic researcher Jack Jedwab,[6] in a report to the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (2002), and Canadian Official Languages Commissioner Graham Fraser, in an annual report (2009), note the unexploited potential of the ESCQ as a welcoming community and the need for assistance to fulfil that role. They contend that Anglophone institutions and community organizations could continue to increase their efforts to integrate and retain English-speaking immigrants in Quebec, if they obtain the resources to do so.

A concrete example of the work that the ESCQ can do is described in an article by academic researcher Nicole Ives[7] on English-speaking faith-based groups. Ives argues that the social support offered by the churches functions as valuable settlement work:

> Congregations appear to be an excellent source of bonding and bridging social capital for newcomers and may best provide a network of relationships and friendships that most closely approximate the network of family and friends that a refugee or immigrant has lost. (2010, 15)

In Canadian Diversity, Rita Legault, a community worker,[8] says that a role for Quebec Anglophones in settling immigrants is taboo yet essential to the ESCQ. She writes that "[u]sing the terms renewal and retention in reference to the English speaking community is considered political anathema," yet "renewal is of critical importance to the development and vitality of the English-speaking community of Quebec" (2010, 68). Like Vatz-Laaroussi, Legault suggests that the ESCQ can

serve as a "bridge" to learning the French language and integrating into the wider French-speaking society, and adds that although the idea of integrating newcomers into the Anglophone community appears to challenge Quebec government policy, this is preferable to seeing them leave Quebec for other locations.

Academic researcher Michael Rosenberg,[9] in another Canadian Diversity article (2010), expands on Legault's question of the political legitimacy of a role for English-speakers, within the context of the government's agenda to promote the French language and culture. He considers the concept of integration in the Quebec context (and the high expectations it implies for immigrants): "From the point of view of the State... integration means more than that people speak French; they are also expected to make a commitment to Quebec as a society: to share in its culture, to participate in its institutions, and to identify with its aspirations" (20). In his view, Francophone Québécois civil society has, since the 1960s, regarded the State as giving expression to the majority desire to build a Francophone society, and community organizations are their partners in nation-building (20). Rosenberg's position is that by "promoting integration as the goal of state policy, the Quebec government has set an agenda within which ethnic communities can legitimately act" (22). He also points out that ethno-cultural minority non-governmental organizations (NGOs) "are viewed with suspicion for 'refusing' to integrate into the Francophone majority" (18).

Most of the authors cited above believe that ESCQ benefit from helping immigrants to settle, because it can increase their numbers and, by extension, their vitality. Strikingly, the writers also emphasize the value that the ESCQ add to the majority Francophone society in Quebec through their settlement activities, including:

- Attracting immigrants to Quebec, by offering various forms of "capital" (e.g. economic, social, institutions) within the linguistic and cultural diversity of the ESCQ;

- Providing newcomers with social entry points into Quebec;

- Decreasing the strain immigrants experience on arrival, by welcoming them and providing services and information in the English language;

- Serving as a "bridge" linking newcomers to the majority Francophone society, serving first as a welcoming group, and then encouraging immigrants to learn French and otherwise integrate into the majority.

These authors argue that the ESCQ settlement activities thereby improve the chances that immigrants benefiting from them will stay

in Quebec and continue to contribute to the society and economy. However, the literature also indicates that this is within the context of a complex and unclear environment in which the legitimacy of the activities is in question. Overall, the immigrant settlement and retention role of ESCQ groups is ambiguous. Our understanding of these contributions and challenges is deepened by our preliminary enquiries into ESCQ settlement activities, discussed below.

3. Beyond the scholarly literature

We decided to supplement the literature review findings with some preliminary, exploratory research on immigrant reception and settlement in English. Starting with our existing knowledge of community groups, we identified and reviewed related "grey literature" such as organizational websites and annual reports, as well as historical studies to understand the background. We then had informal in-person and telephone discussions with ten people we had located who work in the field of ESCQ immigrant reception and settlement. Taking place over the spring and summer of 2010, these discussions focussed on affiliations, funding and activities of community groups involved in this work, particularly in relation to language issues. On the basis of this exploratory research, we present below our interpretation of the historical context in which these activities developed, a preliminary categorization of current ESCQ immigrant settlement networks and organizations, and some of their challenges. This exploratory research could help provide direction for future in-depth research projects.

3.1. Context: English-language settlement services within an increasingly French-speaking, State-directed environment

Quebec has a long history of hosting newcomers. Soon after the Conquest of 1759, English-speaking ethnic groups that established themselves began serving as welcoming communities to newcomers in their midst and providing a bridge into the broader community. English language institutions like schools and community centres have also integrated newcomers of all ethnic origins (Rosenberg and Jedwab 1992).

By 1851, the English-speaking community formed 55% of the Montreal population (Boberg 2010; citing Mark V. Levine). These residents, who were mostly from the United Kingdom, were soon joined by newcomers from other regions, especially European Jews, Italians and Greeks, who tended to adopt the English language.

Upon arrival, newcomers generally turned to their own informal and formal ethnic community institutions for assistance. The range of support offered by ethnic minorities in their own languages was made

available through workplaces, churches, newspapers, and cultural, political and recreational organizations. According to Breton (1964), the more "institutional completeness" enjoyed by an ethno-cultural community, the more likely it is that immigrants will integrate into it first, where language and culture are familiar. It generally takes more than one generation to fully integrate into a new country and the pre-existing ethno-cultural institutions are central to easing the process of adjustment.

The evolution of Montreal's Jewish community is an example of this process. By the late 1800s and the early 1900s, several waves of Jewish immigrants arrived in Montreal. At the time, there was no comprehensive system of State-provided health and social services in the city. Thus, the Jewish community steadily developed its own services that included clinics and cultural, religious and mutual aid societies. By 1931, when Yiddish had become the third most prevalent language in Montreal, the following organizations were active in the community: the Herzl Dispensary, the YMHA and YWHA, the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Jewish Public Library, a seniors' residence, and a neighbourhood house for children (Robinson n.d.). The aim of these organizations was to serve the Jewish community and to settle new Jewish immigrants into the Jewish religious and cultural milieu, as well as into the mainstream (Weinfeld 1996).

In his history of settlement assistance in the Jewish community, Weinfeld (1996) suggests that the Jewish experience offered a model that, to some extent, was adopted by groups of immigrants from other European countries that established, for example, the Canadian Polish Congress and the Canadian German Congress. The model encouraged immediate assistance to newcomers through existing ethno-cultural institutions, however small. These groups greatly contributed to mitigating the displacement-trauma of many immigrants thereby making their gradual adaptation smoother.

Since the economically dominant population at that time was Anglophone, immigrants sought to assimilate into it. This population spoke the language in which their children would be educated, as many went into the English-language Protestant school system.

Italian immigrants, currently the third largest ethnic and language group in Montreal, also largely integrated into the English-speaking population. Those who arrived before 1977 sent their children to English-language Catholic schools, which served as an important force in promoting attachment to the English-speaking population. "The children of Jewish and Italian immigrants thereby became, to a large extent new native-speakers of English, joining the population

of British ethnic origin. By 1976 the Montreal community had grown to over 600,000 people -- 22% of the population" (Boberg 2010, 14).

Within Montreal's English-speaking community, at least two organizations offered (and still do offer) assistance to newcomers of multiple ethnicities. The YMCA, which opened in Montreal in 1851, was initially tied to the Protestant churches, but quickly evolved into an institution welcoming people of all faiths (YMCA.ca). Tyndale House (Tyndale St-Georges Community Centre), created first by the Presbyterian Church and later joined by the Anglican Diocese of Montreal, came into being in 1927 as a "settlement house" in the Little Burgundy area of Montreal (QCGN.ca).

Since 1968, when Quebec established its own department of immigration, however, a significant change has taken place. Several laws modified the balance between Quebec and Canada regarding immigration, gradually transferring more power to the province. This culminated in the 1991 Canada-Québec Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens, which gave Quebec the sole right to select 'independent' immigrants from abroad, and made Quebec solely responsible for the reception and the linguistic and cultural integration of permanent residents into Quebec society (CIC 1994).

The Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) now leads the other government departments playing significant roles in immigrant reception, settlement and integration. The Quebec government has also partnered with local community organizations through MICC, the Ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux, the Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale and the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, to provide financial assistance to its partners in a vibrant, predominantly French-speaking community sector. These partnerships play a central role in Quebec's integration programs for immigrants, and through them Quebec government laws and policies find expression.

The MICC administers key funding programs for the sector providing direct services to new immigrants. It funds over 150 partner organizations for services including reception, integration assistance, personalized counselling, job-market orientation and French courses. With few exceptions, eligible clients must be Permanent Residents and have been in the country for less than five years.

Among their obligations, agencies that receive MICC funding must "promote the use of French among their clientele and employees, and use French in all communications with the Ministry."[10] (MICC n.d.(b)). Many of the front-line service organizations in this partnership with the Quebec government are staffed by workers of diverse origins who speak French as well as other languages, including English.

They provide personalized support services such as information and referral, translation and help finding housing.

In Montreal, these community organizations are brought together under the umbrella of the Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes (TCRI), where they work alongside agencies in other sectors for whom new immigrants make up a significant portion of the clientele.

An informant estimates that four or five of the 140 TCRI member organizations could be described as "English-speaking" groups. Two of these, Service à la famille chinoise du Grand Montréal (SFCGM) and Projet Genèse (which receive MICC funding), are described below.

In this context, English-speaking newcomers to Quebec are now swiftly directed to French-language services in the public and non-profit sectors. The ESCQ play a limited formal role in immigrant reception and settlement, and English-speaking community organizations do not generally offer "settlement" services as an explicit part of their mandates. Nonetheless, there are a number of informal networks and established community organizations to which English-speaking immigrants gravitate. These are discussed below.

New immigrants, refugees and refugee claimants are a vulnerable group. They typically arrive with a need for such basics as employment, social assistance, housing, and schools for their children, and many face the additional challenge of successfully navigating the asylum or humanitarian legal processes for the right to stay. Currently, they encounter a dizzying array of services and providers, private and public, and three levels of government – all in a new culture. Those who can speak French will have a great number of services readily available to them, while 'Allophones' who have not yet learned to speak either official language will have greater difficulty making their way. Newcomers who cannot speak French but do speak English may or may not receive the services and help they need from the mainstream non-profit and public agencies.[11] Jedwab has pointed out that a relatively high number of immigrants to Quebec who speak English, but not French, are in the refugee and family class. He suggests that they may need relatively more settlement support, which may not be fully available (Jedwab 2008, 14). We have not come across literature addressing this question in depth.[12] It is clear, however, that many newcomers do find their way to the English-speaking community networks, and some of those develop long-term ties with the ESCQ.

3.2. Challenges to identifying the sector and its activities

English-speaking groups and informal networks working with new immigrants have yet to be identified and studied as such.

The challenges inherent in such research are made plain by the Centre for Community Organizations (COCo), which is carrying out a research project to survey Quebec's English-speaking, bilingual and ethno-cultural community organizations and their relationships to broader systems such as provincial funding bodies and regional networks.

In their preliminary report, Blumel and Ravensbergen (2011) describe the Quebec English-speaking community sector as large, diverse, inconsistently defined, and poorly documented (122). The authors claim that there is also little acknowledgement or knowledge of what these organizations have in common with the predominantly French-speaking Quebec groups, or of what sets them apart. The authors state that their data suggest "that the small size and multiple areas of work of these groups, coupled with their ability to work in multiple languages are perhaps features more unique to the English-speaking, ethno-cultural and bilingual groups" (128). The data also suggest "that groups with less capacity to work in French might tend to lose out on potential funding" (129), and that those with less funding are less likely to be involved in what they call broader (regional) "formal Quebec community sector networks" (131).

Rosenberg confirms the complexity of the situation, describing the Anglophone community as "sets of overlapping networks loosely connected by a preference for the use of English in public life" (2011, 21). For instance, some of these networks are made up primarily of mother-tongue Anglophones, and others mainly consist of people who adopt English as their first official language.

Our findings about many of the Anglophone community sector organizations working in immigrant settlement are consistent with these points made by both Blumel/Ravensbergen and Rosenberg. In particular, the mandates and ethnic origins of ESCQ organizations that assist newcomers are diverse and overlapping, which makes putting them into discrete categories difficult. Thus, just identifying Anglophone organizations, a step essential to our analysis of Anglophone settlement work, is in itself a challenge.

3.3. Preliminary categorization of ESCQ immigrant settlement networks and organizations

With the above points in mind, we offer the following as a working, preliminary categorization of ESCQ networks or organizations that can be seen to contribute to immigrant-settlement. They are categorized according to the clientele they serve:

1. Networks and organizations of minority ethno-cultural communities who identify by ethnicity or nationality and who have English

as their First Official Language;

2. Organizations that identify by the English language and are explicitly concerned with the development and vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec;

3. Neighbourhood-based organizations whose staff and boards of directors communicate primarily in English (but who might identify as "bilingual");

4. Faith-based organizations who operate primarily in English; and

5. Others, including large English-language institutions (e.g. universities) that by necessity, not mandate, help newcomers (e.g. students) to "navigate" the system in Quebec.

There is a great deal of diversity within each of the above categories.

3.4. Activities of ESCQ immigrant settlement networks and organizations

3.4.1. Ethno-cultural community networks and organizations

Rosenberg defines English-speaking "ethnocultural NGOs" as "those which act on behalf of ethnocultural minority communities made up largely of English-speaking members…" (2010, 18). These networks and organizations are formed by waves of English mother-tongue immigrants as well as those from countries where English is learned as a second language. Given that these networks assist newcomers upon their arrival, we are including them here in our list of groups providing settlement assistance.

These groups range from informal social networks to formally established, funded groups. On the most informal side of the spectrum are "natural" ethno-cultural networks of family, friends, neighbours and contacts from the country of origin, who having preceded the newcomers to Quebec, help the newcomers settle. They often help their compatriots to make the journey to Canada and, once they arrive, offer an alternative to formal public and community services: accommodation, accompaniment as interpreters to government offices, legal advice and help in finding jobs.

Examples of networks of First Official Language English-speakers sharing a given country of origin are groups of asylum-seekers having the common purpose of receiving protection in Canada. For instance, in recent years Montreal Ghanaians and Zimbabweans, refused as refugees by the Canadian government in large numbers, have formed committees to advocate for their right to protection.[13] Their first concern is to gain refugee status. In the interim, they are excluded from the majority of government-funded settlement services and their

members often assist one another through the myriad challenges of meeting basic needs in their would-be new home. These networks are often supported in their advocacy efforts by English-speaking organizations such as the Committee to Aid Refugees, various churches, and the Canadian Council for Refugees.

Another example of an informal ethno-cultural organization is Pinay, a group of Montreal Filipina women who organize and empower Filipina domestic workers and their families who have come to Quebec under the federal government's Live-in Caregivers Program (LCP). The LCP brings some 800 Filipina women to Quebec every year. These women encounter barriers to exercising their rights under Canadian social programs, and to obtaining Permanent Residency status in Canada. Created in 1991 as a small support group, Pinay now has over 500 members and participates in a number of activities, campaigns and alliances with other women's organizations at the provincial, federal and international levels. They also hold educational workshops and an information clinic. Pinay has no paid staff, no funding, no office and no dedicated telephone line (Choudry et al. 2009).

Few English-speaking ethno-cultural groups are organized with a specific mandate to provide settlement services, and few have government funding to perform that role. Yet there are formal, longer-established English-speaking ethno-cultural organizations serving Quebec newcomers that are incorporated, funded (by their own ethnic communities, foundations and/or governments) and staffed by professionals who do carry out settlement work. Ometz (a Jewish social service organization), the South Asian Women's Community Centre and the Service à la famille chinoise du Grand Montréal (SFCGM) are all examples of more formal ethno-cultural structures. We will discuss the latter group as an example of how Quebec language laws have affected interactions with client populations.

Still known by some as Chinese Family Services, SFCGM was founded in Montreal's Chinatown in 1976 to serve the Chinese community, especially the elderly. The SFCGM is now a pivotal reception point; it is one of the few English-speaking ethno-cultural organizations that have developed formal reception and settlement services for new immigrants. Available in Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Vietnamese, French and English, services specifically designed for newly arrived immigrants range from information and referral, translation, interpretation, accompaniment and social support, to twinning activities (where a French-speaking person tutors two Chinese participants on a regular basis) and French language courses. In 2009-2010, SFCGM served over 14,678 people (SFCGM 2010).

SFCGM used to operate primarily in Chinese languages and

English – the second language learned in China. Now, with the Quebec Government (MICC, Emploi Québec and Agence de la santé et des services sociaux) providing most of their funding, English is becoming less and less present in their operations. The MICC requires that organizations receiving its funding promote the French language: the President and Director must speak French and, while they may use English in board meetings, official documents (publicity, brochures, reports) must be in French (as well as other languages).[14] The SFCGM website has no English content at all.

This situation has an effect on some from the host community who were born in Quebec, schooled in English, and speak neither Chinese nor French. Concern has been expressed that these older members of the Chinese community, who contribute to the organization as volunteers, now feel less welcome.[15] This raises a point worth considering in the discussion of the settlement of immigrants in Quebec. The activity affects not only newcomers, but also host communities. If more established community members (whether immigrant or native-born) cannot participate because of a lack of French-language skills, it may affect community cohesion and vitality.

SFCGM is one of the four or five ESCQ organizations that belong to the TCRI, which has been described above.

3.4.2. English-speaking community vitality organizations
We have identified two organizations outside of Montreal whose mission is to contribute to ESCQ vitality and to speak on behalf of the English-speaking population, and who have programs to welcome and assist in the settlement of new immigrants: Voice of English-speaking Quebec (VEQ) and Townshippers' Association.

Located in Quebec City, VEQ is "dedicated to the preservation of a dynamic English-speaking community... and to the promotion of its interests" (www.veq.ca). It offers information, referral and employment services, conducts research, and advocates for the interests of the English-speaking community. VEQ belongs to a number of networks bringing together English-speaking community organizations and public institutions.

Quebec City was hit hard by the exodus from Quebec of both Canadian and foreign-born English-speakers, and retention of Anglophones has become a major challenge. According to Statistics Canada, between 1991 and 2006, there was an 11.56% drop in the population of mother-tongue-Anglophones, which now stands at just below 2% of the population (VEQ and CRÉ 2009, 14). While Quebec City immigrant settlement organizations offer a range of services, they lack staff who can communicate in English, and VEQ is the only

organization providing immigrant settlement services in English in the region. The main concerns of VEQ clients are the language barrier, social isolation, employability, and a significant lack of knowledge of existing services (Gignac 2010).

An informant familiar with the employment situation in the Quebec City area stated that English has become an essential tool for economic development, and the workforce needs English-speakers. However, according to the informant, newcomers who lack French will be less likely to be offered those jobs. Additionally, there is a risk that they will be uninformed about available services, have little social contact and even that they may leave the region or the province. The informant indicated that, in their opinion, the survival of the local English-speaking community therefore depends on bilingualism and English-speakers being integrated into the majority French-speaking society.

The VEQ Newcomers Integration Program offers services to welcome recently arrived English-speakers, facilitate their integration into the Anglophone and Francophone communities in Quebec City, and foster connections with employers recruiting newcomers. Funded in partnership with Quebec City, the Development of Official Language Communities Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage and several Anglophone institutions, the program equips newcomers with survival kits, newsletters and a job bank, and organizes networking events and information sessions. A twinning program brings English and French-speakers together to promote bilingualism among Anglophones and Francophones in the city (www.veq.ca).

Another "Anglophone vitality" organization is the Townshippers' Association, in Sherbrooke in the Eastern Townships. Through community development, the organization works to "further the long-term survival of the English-speaking community, retain existing community members and attract new English-speaking individuals and families to the region... [and] help reduce the rate of out-migration of English-speaking young people"(Townshippers n.d.(a)).

As in the Quebec City region, the Eastern Townships has experienced an ongoing loss of its historically strong Anglophone community. A high rate of out-migration by English-speaking youth has lowered the English-speaking population to 6%, or 42,000 people (Garber 2010a 60); between 1971 and 2001, the Townships experienced a decline of almost 30% in the English-speaking population (Townshippers' n.d.(b)).

Rachel Garber, former Executive Director of Townshippers, pointed out that integrating is particularly difficult for English-speaking immigrants with limited French language skills, since there are few English-

speaking businesses or government services available in English and jobs for people who do not speak French are scarce. Many are unaware that they may, but must explicitly, request government services in English, and that the Townshippers' Association exists to assist them. She indicated that for the Townshippers', helping English-speaking immigrants and migrants stay in the region is thus a question of encouraging them to learn French (by referring them to language courses), helping them to access the services that are available in English, and helping them find work.[16]

The Townshippers' Association has a job bank with weekly postings of openings requiring English, and career and job training opportunities. Townshippers' has also set up social work and nursing internships for bilingual students in public health and social services organisations (Garber 2010b). But the emphasis is on youth and businesses. A project called Make Way for YOUth – Estrie aims to prevent the exodus of youth to urban centres by helping the participants–mostly new graduates–master French while in the workforce.[17] The project also welcomes new youth to the region and demonstrates the potential for employment and the benefits of living there. It provides individual support, help with networking, and takes graduates on tours where they meet prospective employers.

Townshippers' belongs to five networks of English language organizations and is well integrated in the Quebec Francophone sector, especially in health and social services. The association also participates in a number of Tables de concertation on youth, seniors and economic development.

As a group representing a community with long experience as a minority, the Townshippers' Association believes it has a role to play in easing the adjustment of newcomers to Quebec, according to Rachel Garber. She commented[18]:

> Our position is that English-speaking minorities can help French-speaking society by helping immigrants settle because we have experience in helping minorities and we understand the French-speaking majority better than immigrants do. We can help them integrate into French-speaking society…. Having friends who speak English doesn't mean you can't integrate into French.

3.4.3. Neighbourhood organizations

In Montreal, a number of community organizations can be described as English-speaking (because they operate primarily in English) or bilingual (because they also provide services, hold public meetings and maintain communications with funders and the wider community in French). These organizations are located in neighbourhoods with

large populations of recent immigrants and therefore, many of their activities are associated with immigrant settlement. Project Genesis (Projet Genèse) and the NDG Community Council (Le Conseil communautaire Notre-Dame-de-Grâce), located in the multi-cultural borough of Côte-des-Neiges–Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (CDN-NDG) are two such organizations.

Through direct individual services and community organizing, Project Genesis promotes the rights of low-income people, new immigrants, seniors and young families in the large CDN neighbourhood, where 40% of households live below the poverty line (Project Genesis 2010a). It campaigns primarily on issues of housing, basic income security, and access to health care. Through its storefront drop-in centre, it assists clients in accessing benefits and public services.

Project Genesis is one of the better-funded English-speaking organizations. In one year, 70 volunteers, student interns and staff made over 10,500 in-person interventions with people of 137 countries of origin, providing information, referrals and individual advocacy. Additionally, Genesis completed approximately 9,500 interventions by phone (Project Genesis 2010a). This part of their work is largely funded by the Programme d'accompagnement des nouveaux arrivants (PANA) (MICC n.d.(a)) which in 2010 provided over ten percent of the organization's annual revenue (Project Genesis 2010b). Genesis is active and well connected with broader sector networks in the Quebec Francophone milieu, including the TCRI.

In the same Montreal borough, NDG is experiencing a sudden increase in the immigrant population (now 27%). The NDG Community Council is a clearinghouse for information promoting community development and social welfare. It organizes, operates and supports a range of community projects (e.g., youth, families, seniors, the environment, economic development) in partnership with community organizations and institutions. The Council has long been directed and operated primarily by English-speakers, and has worked mainly in English. The researchers have observed, on the basis of contacts with this council, that over the years the NDG Community Council has considerably increased its use of French, yet despite several Francophone staff and board members, the organization still operates mainly in English.

The Community Council coordinates the nine-member Table interculturelle NDG, formed in 2008, which brings together NDG organizations serving large numbers of new immigrants, and the MICC. Like the other community groups we have discussed, the Table identify the language barrier, social isolation and lack of access to local services as salient problems for the immigrant community. The working group is

developing a long-term plan to consolidate and improve settlement services in the neighbourhood.[19]

Bienvenue à NDG - Accueil des nouveaux arrivants, is a Community Council project undertaken in partnership with other NDG community organizations and the schools of the French-language Commission scolaire de Montréal (Montreal school board). Its mandate is to facilitate immigrant integration in NDG. The Council recently became more seriously involved in providing immigrant settlement services when it was approached by the MICC to take on the PANA mandate for the NDG neighbourhood, which had previously been held by entirely Francophone local organizations.

Bienvenue à NDG workers provide services in French, English, Spanish, Russian and Mandarin to new immigrants. They help new immigrant families access community services, offer support in administrative proceedings, information and referral, and organize events to encourage community participation. They hold information kiosks at summer camps and in French-language schools, and give workshops on topics ranging from credit management to housing. The workers assist individuals to develop action plans for integration, emphasizing French language skills. Bienvenue workers are coached by their MICC funding liaison officer about promoting "francisation." According to an informant, they often counsel people to "back up in their integration process and prioritize studying French." Nonetheless, the project coordinator of Bienvenue à NDG, Miguel Christancho, stated in a newspaper article that "we encourage French communication; however, offering services in their [the immigrant's] language helps build trust and it makes it easier for them" (Olson 2010).

3.4.4. Faith-based groups
English-speaking faith-based groups have a long tradition of addressing the social, economic and cultural welfare of their own congregations and of the community in general. This assistance extends to new immigrants and refugees, particularly for congregations located in urban areas with many newcomers. Faith-based groups often operate without government funding. The congregations are diverse: the most visible are the larger (though shrinking), established Christian mainstream churches (Catholic, Anglican, United, Presbyterian, Mennonite etc.), of both black and white populations.[20] These churches sponsor government-selected refugees, assisting families in all aspects of settlement and integration. They create and fund community organizations that provide information, advocacy and social services to immigrants. Many, such as the predominantly Black churches, have programs with general integration activities, food banks and outreach for elderly

members. They provide legal assistance and have even given sanctu-
ary to refugees in danger of deportation (Ives 2010). A Korean church
in NDG houses the government sponsored French classes. Two ex-
amples of faith-based immigrant and refugee assistance organizations,
Tyndale St-Georges and the Montreal City Mission, are discussed in
more detail below.

Tyndale St-Georges Community Centre of the Anglican and
Presbyterian churches has roots going back to 1927 (www.tyndalest-
georges.com). It is located in the low-income community of Little
Burgundy in South-West Montreal where about 40% of the popula-
tion is composed of recent immigrants with settlement needs. Most
people using Tyndale's services are members of visible minorities from
the Caribbean, Asia, South America and Africa; thus, its programming,
which is broad, could be categorized as serving a settlement function
even though it is not specifically billed as such. Tyndale focuses on
youth attending both French and English schools, running programs
in both languages for early childhood development, an after-school
program, a summer day camp for younger children, and recreation and
leadership programs for teenagers. Support for adults focuses on em-
ployment for English-speakers returning to the labour market. Funded
in part by Emploi Québec, the program offers job search resources and
internships, French and English classes, and computer courses.

The Montreal City Mission, run by the English-speaking United
Church, has a program for asylum seekers. A shelter offers tempo-
rary housing for vulnerable men who have just arrived in Canada.
The legal clinic, staffed by student interns from McGill's School of
Social Work and Faculty of Law, offers information in English, French
and Spanish. Services include rights advocacy and accompaniment
through the refugee claim process, and help with social benefit en-
titlements and housing. It is a member of the TCRI and the Canadian
Council for Refugees.

3.4.5. Other informal networks
Lorraine O'Donnell (2010) has observed that, at one university in
Quebec, unofficial newcomer reception activities are sometimes car-
ried out in continuing education English as a Second Language pro-
grams populated by international students. Staff, in addition to their
formal roles (admitting students, processing applications, etc.), some-
times also provide information on the immigration process, and local
social services available. O'Donnell speculates that other such infor-
mal settlement activities occur in other educational settings and else-
where in Quebec.

4. Discussion

Based upon our fieldwork and literature review, we have made the following observations about ESCQ groups and networks carrying out settlement activities.

4.1. A heterogenous sector

The ESCQ groups and networks carrying out settlement activities are greatly varied. They diverge in terms of ethnic composition and level of identification as English-speaking organizations, and they range from groups and networks formally devoted to settlement, to others doing such work informally in the course of other functions. They have different levels of funding for settlement work and other activities, and varying levels of involvement with mainstream Quebec settlement structures such as the TCRI. Another difference is that while some also provide formal settlement services for Francophones and speakers of other languages in Quebec, others focus on English-speakers.

4.2. Many barriers to their work

There are several important barriers limiting the work of ESCQ groups and networks carrying out settlement and retention activities. One is insufficient visibility in local communities. Another is the lack of perceived legitimacy of and support for offering services in English, possibly due to a belief that such services are a threat to Quebec's interests. Under-involvement with French-language settlement, community and government networks, and a feeling of being marginalized by these, is another barrier mentioned. Under-funding by both provincial and federal governments was also often raised.

4.3. The benefits of the "bridge" function

The literature, as well as the groups and networks themselves, see ESCQ group and network settlement and retention activities as beneficial to three populations. The first is immigrants: the activities help ease their integration into Quebec society. The second is the ESCQ, insofar as immigrants join–however briefly–the Anglophone population, thus boosting its numbers and increasing its overall diversity and vitality. Third is the majority Quebec Francophone society. The activities serve as a bridge to it, making social links, helping with "francisation" and job placements and otherwise fostering integration and retention.

This "bridge" function would seem to make the ESCQ valuable partners to the Quebec State. At least some of the groups and networks are ready and willing to serve and even expand this function. Respecting as it does the objective of "francising" immigrants, the "bridge" function might be seen as a workable compromise within Quebec's current

political context. Indeed it would seem (as we have seen in the literature) that any other function for the ESCQ in immigrant settlement would lack legitimacy.

The authors note a sharp contrast between this premise and that underlying the immigrant settlement activities of Francophone minority groups outside of Quebec. With the assistance of the federal government provided under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act[21], and the Official Languages Act,[22] these latter groups aim to enhance their own vitality, not that of the dominant language group.

5. Conclusion: recommendations

Despite the smallness of the body of literature and the preliminary nature of our fieldwork, we feel warranted in making some general recommendations for development in the field, at the levels of research, community development and policy.

Research is needed on the experiences of English-speaking immigrants as they use Quebec's mainstream settlement services. To what degree is the settlement system satisfying their needs? Are they accessing services in the English language? Do Anglophone immigrants have special needs in the Quebec context that can be best met by the ESCQ?

We have noted possible ambiguities in the value or perceived value of the ESCQ function in immigrant settlement and retention. For the ESCQ themselves, we suggest that they develop, in partnership with government, a strategy for their function that would clarify the roles taken on by the groups and networks offering settlement and retention services. The roles chosen should be made public through a communications plan to the English-speaking host population, new arrivals, and the Francophone communities in Quebec.

We have noted resource-related barriers that limit the ESCQ capacities to carry out settlement and retention activities. We recommend the development of a government strategy, in partnership with the ESCQ, for supporting the chosen roles in immigrant settlement. This could involve exploring, possibly through a needs assessment study, ways to improve support for ESCQ immigrant settlement and retention activities, for example through increased funding, or support for networking to share resources and best practices, possibly by considering models that exist in the ESCQ health sector.[23]

Another set of barriers relate to disconnectedness between the ESCQ and Quebec Francophone settlement service sectors, including the government. We recommend improving communications and links between the two. We would encourage more participation by ESCQ organizations in consultation bodies on immigration and settle-

ment concerns. As for the Quebec government, we suggest developing a dialogue and information sharing with ESCQ groups carrying out settlement activities, to increase government awareness of the existence, diversity and functioning of ESCQ groups, on the one hand, and ESCQ groups' knowledge of government resources and structures on the other hand.

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NOTES

1. Michèle Vatz-Laaroussi is a Université de Sherbrooke professor.

2. Malanga-Georges Liboy is a Université Sainte-Anne professor.

3. Rachel Garber was formerly Executive Director of the Townshippers' Association, a regional English-speaking community development organisation.

4. Patricia Rimok was former president of the (now defunct) Quebec Government's Conseil des relations interculturelles.

5. Translation:"Le Québec doit considérer sa diversité linguistique comme un atout et non pas comme une menace au fait français, pas plus que la francisation des immigrants ne constitue une menace à l'anglais."

6. Jack Jedwab is Executive Director of the Association of Canadian Studies.

7. Nicole Ives is a McGill University professor.

8. Rita Legault is Director of Communications and Public Relations at the Quebec Community Groups Network.

9. Michael Rosenberg is a (now retired) Dawson College professor.

10. Translation: "promouvoir l'usage du français auprès de sa clientèle et de ses employés et utiliser le français dans toute communication avec le Ministère."

11. For example, in the case of frontline services offered by the MICC, the English side of the MICC's website offers "PRACTICAL ADVICE: If you cannot yet communicate easily in French, have someone accompany you as an interpreter."

12. Anglophones have advocated for improved access to services in English in the public sector. In the non-profit sector, the principal organizations offering front-line reception and settlement services claim to provide services in English alongside other languages such as Spanish, Urdu, Arabic, and Creole. The Quebec government also provides some services in English. A study in Ontario looked at the degree to which French-speaking immigrants seek and have satisfactory access to services in French, and concludes that insufficient access to French services slows down the resettlement and integration process (Jedwab 2002). No similar studies in Quebec on newcomers' access to reception and settlement services in English, or the quality of those services, were found in the literature; however, interviews with key informants indicate that services in English – especially in the regions outside Montreal –are lacking.

13. Interview with informant.

14. Interview with informant.

15. Interview with informant.

16. Interview with Rachel Garber.

17.   Interview with Rachel Garber.

18.   Interview with Rachel Garber.

19.   Interview with informant.

20.   In this paper, we have categorized Jewish community work as "ethnocultural" rather than "faith-based" to highlight the cultural element of the community.

21.   Immigration and Refugee Act (SC 2001, c 27), 3.(1)(b.1) and 3.(3)(e).

22.   Official Languages Act - R.S.C., 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp.) (Section 43).

23.   The model we have in mind is called the Networking and Partnership Initiative. Information online: *www.chssn.org/En/ Networking_Partnership.html* (accessed December 17, 2010).