

Analysis and reporting: Marie-Philippe Lemoine*, Mariève Forest**, Guillaume Deschênes-Thériault**, Pascale Latulippe*

* Goss Gilroy Inc. (GGI) is a Canadian management consulting firm offering a wide range of services to public, not-for-profit and private sector clients. Founded in 1981, it has a staff of over 20 professionals.

** Sociopol is a consulting firm specializing in applied social research, consulting and training. The firm guides organizations and communities toward decisions and actions that are supported by co-constructed knowledge applied in ways that benefit target groups.

The analyses in this publication are the responsibility of Goss Gilroy Inc. and Sociopol and do not represent the views of the Government of Canada.

This project was funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada.

For information about other Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) publications, visit: www.canada.ca/ircc-publications.

Également disponible en français sous le titre : Parcours des travailleurs étrangers temporaires qualifiés d'expression française vers la résidence permanente: Provinces de l'Ouest

Visit us online

[Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada](http://www.Canada.ca) website at www.Canada.ca

[Facebook](https://www.facebook.com/CitCanada) at www.facebook.com/CitCanada

[YouTube](https://www.youtube.com/CitImmCanada) at www.youtube.com/CitImmCanada

[Twitter](https://twitter.com/CitImmCanada) at [@CitImmCanada](https://twitter.com/CitImmCanada)

© His Majesty the King in Right of Canada, represented by the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, 2023.

Ci34-11/3-2024E-PDF
978-0-660-72933-6

Project reference number: R9d-2021

Table of contents

Acronyms	4
Introduction	5
Background.....	5
Research objective	6
Methodology	6
Statistical profile of the French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers in the Western provinces	10
Characteristics of the French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers in the Western provinces	10
Temporary residence programs	11
Factors encouraging settlement in the Western provinces	14
Leaving for Canada	14
Choosing the region of destination	15
Reception and settlement process	16
Settlement support.....	18
Integrating in the workplace	20
Job search	20
Language at work	20
Working conditions	21
Transition to permanent residence	23
Renewal and duration of temporary permits.....	23
Number and admission categories of French-speaking skilled temporary workers who transitioned to permanent residence in Western Canada	24
Characteristics of French-speaking TFWs who have transitioned to permanent residence	25
Reasons to choose permanent residence	27
Reasons not to choose permanent residence	28
Navigating the immigration system.....	28
Remaining in Western Canada.....	30
Conclusion	31
Courses of action	33
Bibliography of documents listed or consulted	36
Appendix	40
Additional information on the qualitative sample	40

Acronyms

IMP	International Mobility Program
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
TFW	Temporary Foreign Worker
TFWP	Temporary Foreign Worker Program

Introduction

This report presents the data and conclusions of a research project carried out by Goss Gilroy Inc. (GGI) and Sociopol for Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) regarding the pathway to permanent residence taken by French-speaking skilled¹ temporary foreign workers (TFWs) in the Western provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia).

Background

The selection of former TFWs to become economic permanent residents is called a “two-step migration” process and has increased in Canada since the early 2000s (Crossman, Hou & Picot, 2021). This approach to immigration is also increasingly being used in other countries, particularly in New Zealand and Australia. To make it easier for temporary residents to become permanent residents, the federal and provincial governments have introduced a number of measures and programs for immigration in the economic class, such as the Canadian Experience Class under Express Entry and the Temporary Resident to Permanent Resident Pathway (a temporary program that ended in November 2021).

Among those admitted to work temporarily are international students who have obtained a post-graduation work permit, individuals eligible under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) and the International Mobility Program (IMP). In Canada, most TFWs are admitted under the TFWP and the IMP (Ci et al., 2018; Coderre & Nakache, 2021; Hou et al., 2020).

The overall objective of the TFWP is “to fill short-term labour shortages” (Hou et al., 2020, p. 2), whereas the IMP “aims to advance Canada’s broad economic and cultural interests” (Hou et al., 2020, p. 2). The TFWP has streams for caregivers, agricultural workers and other TFWs broken down by skill level. The IMP also has various streams, such as International Experience Canada, which has options for working holidays, young professionals and international co-ops. The IMP also includes the Francophone Mobility stream, established in 2016, which aims to increase the recruitment of French-speaking skilled TFWs outside Quebec. To achieve this, as with the other IMP programs, employers are exempt from conducting a labour market impact assessment. In addition, the eligibility criteria for Francophone Mobility are not restricted by the worker’s nationality and age, unlike other IMP programs. Lastly, even though the primary language of recruits must be French, they do not have to work in French.

Temporary and permanent immigration are particularly important for Francophone communities outside Quebec, which must increasingly rely on immigration to ensure their demographic, sociocultural and economic vitality (Ba, 2021; Deschênes-Thériault & Forest, 2023). To that end, the Government of Canada’s support for Francophone immigration has increased over the years (IRCC, 2019), contributing to the achievement in 2022 of the 4.4% admission target for French-speaking immigrants outside Quebec (Deschênes-Thériault & Forest, 2023). Western Canada is the second top region of destination for Francophone permanent residents admitted to Canada outside Quebec. Between 2015 and 2021, 29.9% of all French-speaking permanent residents had Manitoba,

¹ “Skilled” refers here to those employed in occupations at skill type 0 (managerial occupations) or skill levels A or B of the National Occupation Classification (NOC).

Saskatchewan, Alberta or British Columbia as their province of destination (Deschênes-Thériault & Forest, 2023).

Research objective

The main objective of this study is to understand the transition of French-speaking skilled TFWs to permanent residence by highlighting the factors that influenced this transition in Canada's Western provinces. The research questions that guided this work are as follows:

Main question: What factors influenced the transition of French-speaking skilled TFWs to permanent residence in Canada's Western provinces?

Sub-questions: Regarding French-speaking skilled TFWs in Canada's Western provinces:

- What are their social and demographic characteristics?
- What are the characteristics of those who transitioned to permanent residence?
- What factors influenced their decision whether or not to begin the process to become a permanent resident?
- How have government programs and policies influenced their transition pathway to permanent residence?
- What are the unique characteristics of their economic, cultural and social integration?
- What are the main obstacles and challenges they encountered on their pathway, particularly during the process to become a permanent resident?
- What resources, services and practices (both formal and informal) helped them or could have helped them make the decision or transition to permanent residence?
- What impact did the pandemic have on their migration pathway?

Methodology

To carry out this project, the research team used a mixed methodology based on the collection of primary and secondary data. The methodology is outlined below.

Document and literature review

The team reviewed the literature on skilled TFWs, which allowed it to meet the following objectives:

- Understand the known issues, dynamics and realities of the pathway for skilled TFWs, including French speakers.
- Take stock of the current situation regarding the policies and dynamics particular to Francophone immigration to Canada outside Quebec, with a focus on TFWs and the Western provinces.
- Review the programs in Canada and the Western provinces that give skilled professionals access to TFW status and let them then take steps to become permanent residents.

Statistical analysis

The research team also analyzed IRCC administrative data from the records of applicants for temporary and permanent resident status. Three criteria were used to identify the French-speaking TFWs who were included in the statistical profile: the date when they obtained their first work permit; their National Occupation Classification (NOC) skill type/level; and their language. French-speaking TFWs at NOC skill type 0 or skill level A or B who obtained their first work permit between January 1, 2012, and December 31, 2021, were included.²

Regarding language, we used IRCC's 2006 definition of a French-speaking immigrant. The definition is as follows: an immigrant whose mother tongue is French, or whose first official language in Canada is French if the mother tongue is a language other than French or English. Those who were included reported knowledge of "French only." The dual responses of "English and French" were therefore excluded³ (IRCC, 2016).

Note that to ensure that the people involved remain anonymous, the values under five were not included in all of the figures and tables. When someone had more than one work permit (e.g., in 2013, 2015 and 2017), the year when the first work permit was obtained is shown (e.g., 2013).

Semi-structured interviews

The research team conducted 34 interviews with individuals representing the study population. All of the interviewees were adults with the following characteristics:

- Have or have had (since 2012) temporary resident status as a skilled foreign worker;
- French-speaking, as per IRCC's 2006 definition; and
- Lived and worked mainly in a province in Western Canada during their temporary residence.

In sum, the characteristics of the sample are as follows (also see the Appendix for more information on the participants):

- Concerning countries of birth, our sample is fairly reflective of the overall population of French-speaking skilled TFWs in Western Canada for the study period. For example, 85% of respondents (29) were from Europe, and the main country of origin was France (24). Two other Western European countries are represented: Switzerland (3) and Belgium (2). The remaining respondents were from Africa (5), representing four different countries. Two were from Tunisia. The three other African countries were Togo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Morocco. It should be noted that two of the individuals originally from Africa lived in Western Europe before migrating to Canada.

² This refers to the skill type/levels as set out in the 2011 and 2016 National Occupation Classification (NOC): managerial occupations (0), professional occupations (A), technical occupations and skilled trades (B). Only those whose NOC information is entered in the IRCC database were included.

³ The 2006 definition of a French-speaking immigrant tends to slightly underestimate the total Francophone population because bilingual people (French-English) whose mother tongue is not French are excluded (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2021). A more inclusive measure, based on a new question on the immigration form, was developed in 2016. However, the first data for this definition is only available starting in 2019, which means a longitudinal analysis is not possible. That is why we are using the 2006 definition, despite its limitations.

- The provincial distribution of respondents is different from that of the total population of French-speaking skilled TFWs in the West (2012-2021). The proportion of respondents in the four Western provinces who are in Manitoba (29.4%) is three times greater than the total population. The proportion of respondents in the Western provinces who are in Saskatchewan (14.7%) is two times greater than the total population of skilled TFWs. Conversely, the proportion of respondents living in British Columbia (20.6%) is 2.5 times lower than the total population. The proportion of respondents in Alberta (35.3%) is slightly larger than the total TFW population.

Table 1: Provincial distribution of the interviewees compared to the provincial distribution of the total population of French-speaking skilled TFW admissions

Province	Provincial distribution of admissions	
	Interview respondents	Total population of French-speaking skilled TFWs
Manitoba	29.4%	7.9%
Saskatchewan	14.7%	7.0%
Alberta	35.3%	30.7%
British Columbia	20.6%	54.4%

- The duration of the temporary stays varied from one year or less (21.2%) to more than 36 months (18.2%).
- Those interviewed obtained their temporary permits under various programs, but most (17) went through the IMP, specifically the Francophone Mobility stream (6). A few people (2) went through the TFWP. Other types of pathways included three individuals who had an open permit as the spouse of a TFW, two who obtained a post-graduation work permit, and one awaiting a response regarding an application for permanent residence based on humanitarian and compassionate considerations. A number of respondents, in particular those whose employer handled the process, did not know the name of the program they went through.
- The sample had an equal number of women (17) and men (17).
- Three people indicated that they are a member of a visible minority, and one person preferred not to answer this question.

Table 2: Permanent residence situation of interviewees

Situation of the interviewees	Former skilled TFWs	Current skilled TFWs	Total
Permanent residents or Canadian citizens	19	0	19
Permanent residence applicants or those who intend to apply for permanent residence	0	4	4
Those who do not wish or no longer wish to obtain permanent residence (e.g., after having their application refused)	7	1	8
Those who are still thinking about permanent residence	2	1	3
Total	28	6	34

The semi-structured interviews addressed the professional and migration pathway of French-speaking skilled TFWs living in Western Canada to gain a clear understanding of the factors that influenced their transition to permanent residence. The interviews also explored the factors that influenced the respondents' choices at various key moments.

To recruit volunteers to participate in the interviews, IRCC had an invitation emailed to the people in its internal databases whose profile matched the various groups in the study. Those interested in participating were asked to fill out a short questionnaire in order to collect the demographic and pathway-related information required for participant sampling. In addition, the research team had a recruitment notice sent to Francophone immigration networks, and a few respondents volunteered in response to this notice. All of the interviews were carried out by videoconference or telephone and lasted approximately 60 minutes.

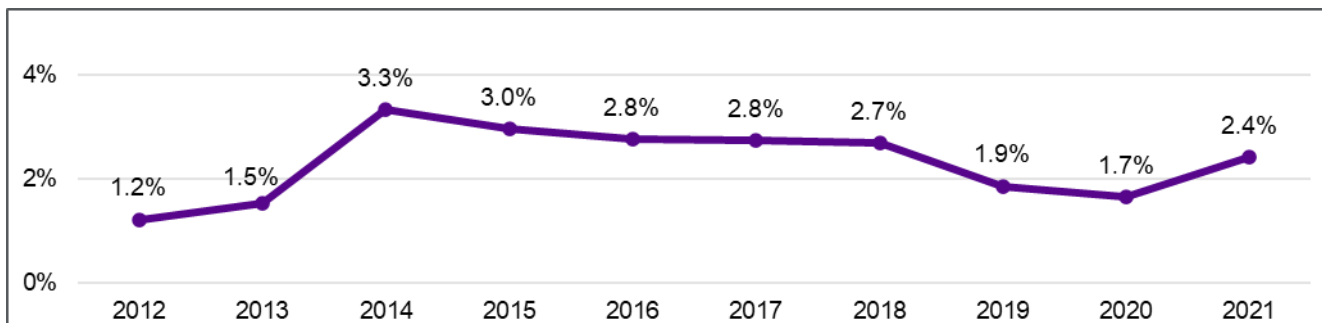
The research team also conducted 13 semi-structured interviews with stakeholders who could provide relevant information on the path of skilled TFWs in the Western provinces (see the list in Appendix I). The information provided by the stakeholders helped put the qualitative data into context and provided a broader perspective of the issues in the various regions. These interviews were also useful for addressing innovations, promising practices and possible solutions to the issues raised.

Statistical profile of the French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers in the Western provinces

Characteristics of the French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers in the Western provinces

In Western Canada, 180,458 skilled TFWs obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021. Of that number, 4,089 people, or 2.3%, were French-speaking. More specifically, the proportion of French-speaking people among all of the skilled TFWs who were admitted fluctuated during the study period between a low of 1.2% in 2012 and a high of 3.3% in 2014.

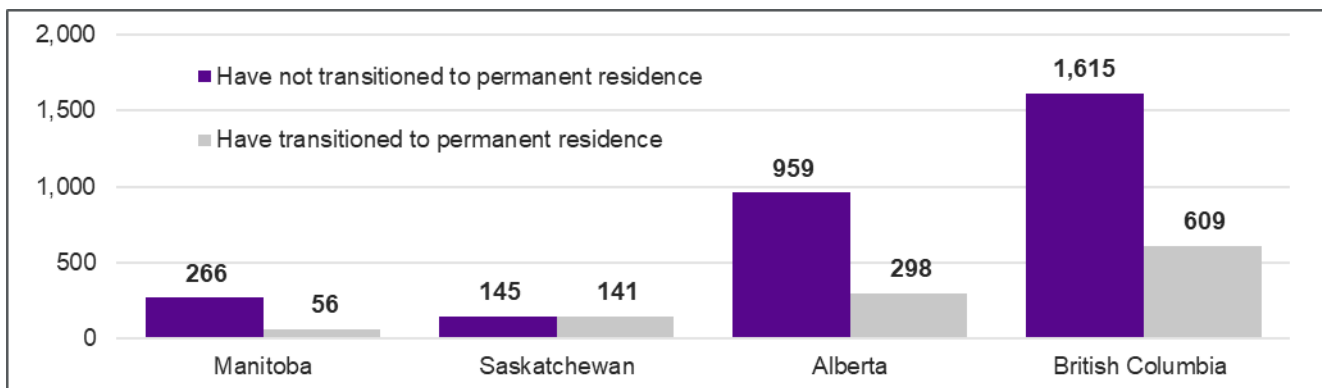
Figure 1: Annual proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs among all skilled TFWs by year when the first work permit was obtained, 2012 to 2021, Western Canada



Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

With regard to the provincial distribution of admissions, just over half of French-speaking skilled TFWs admitted between 2012 and 2021 in Western Canada had British Columbia (54.4%) as their intended province of destination at the time they obtained their first work permit, and nearly one third had Alberta (30.7%). These figures were 7.9% for Manitoba and 7.0% for Saskatchewan.

Figure 2: Number of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 by permanent residence status and intended province of destination, Western Canada



Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

The top city of destination in Western Canada considered by French-speaking skilled TFWs at the time they applied for their first permit between 2012 and 2021 was Vancouver (43.4%). This was followed by the two largest cities in Alberta, Calgary (13.2%) and Edmonton (10.1%), and then Manitoba’s capital city of Winnipeg (5.8%). Saskatchewan’s two largest cities, Regina (2.4%) and Saskatoon (2.2%), ranked 5th and 6th, respectively.

From 2012 to 2021, an average of about 410 French-speaking skilled TFWs per year obtained a work permit in the Western provinces, with a high of 672 in 2014 and a low of 159 in 2020 in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. During the first few months of the pandemic, visas and work permits were issued exclusively to TFWs and international students already in Canada (Feenan & Madhany, 2021, p. 9; The Conference Board of Canada, 2021). Many people who had already received their visa but were still residing outside Canada were not able to enter the country because of the border closures and travel restrictions. IRCC also “temporarily stopped processing applications [for temporary immigration permits] over a three-month period” (Feenan & Madhany, 2021, p. 9). Owing to these factors, the number of international students, TFWs and permanent residents entering the country decreased considerably, including in the Western provinces. For example, in the Western provinces, the total number of skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit in Canada went from 22,711 in 2019 to 9,534 in 2020, a drop of 58%.

Temporary residence programs

The main mechanism for admitting French-speaking skilled TFWs in Western Canada is the IMP (91.7%), compared to 8.3% for the TFWP (Table 3). These figures are 81.3% and 18.7% for people who transitioned to permanent residence.

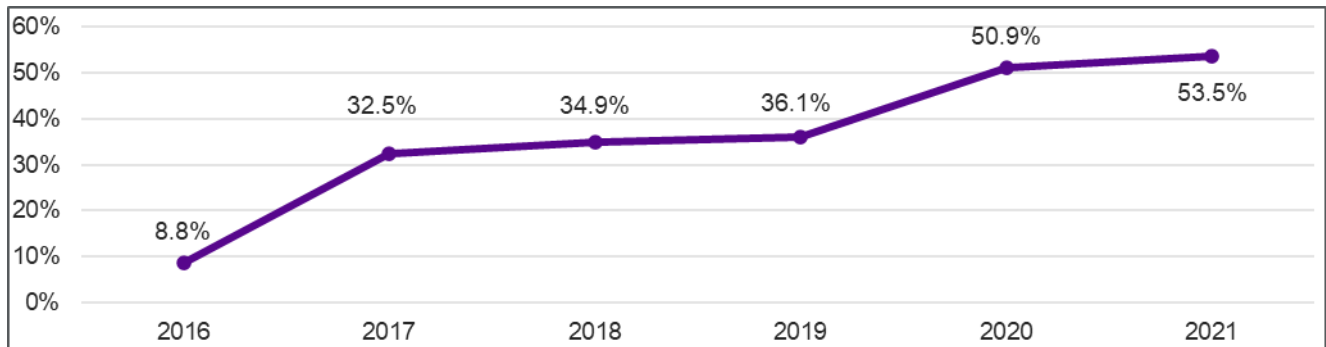
Table 3: French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 by permanent residence status, main admission class and certain admission sub-categories, Western Canada

Admission programs and sub-categories	Transitioned		Did not transition		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
International Mobility Program	898	81.3%	2,850	95.5%	3,748	91.7%
Canadian Interests	838	75.9%	2,776	93.0%	3,614	88.4%
International agreements or arrangements and Other (PMI)	60	5.4%	74	2.5%	134	3.3%
Temporary Foreign Worker Program	206	18.7%	135	4.5%	341	8.3%
Total	1,104	100%	2,985	100%	4,089	100%

Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

These figures reflect the fact that the IMP targets skilled TFWs specifically. The Canadian Interests sub-category (88.4%), which includes the Francophone Mobility stream, is used most often. Since it was launched in 2016, the annual proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs admitted to Western Canada through this program increased from 8.8% in 2016 to 53.5% in 2021. It is now the main pathway to temporary residence for French-speaking skilled TFWs in the study region.

Figure 3: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit under the Francophone Mobility stream, 2016 to 2021, Western Canada



Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

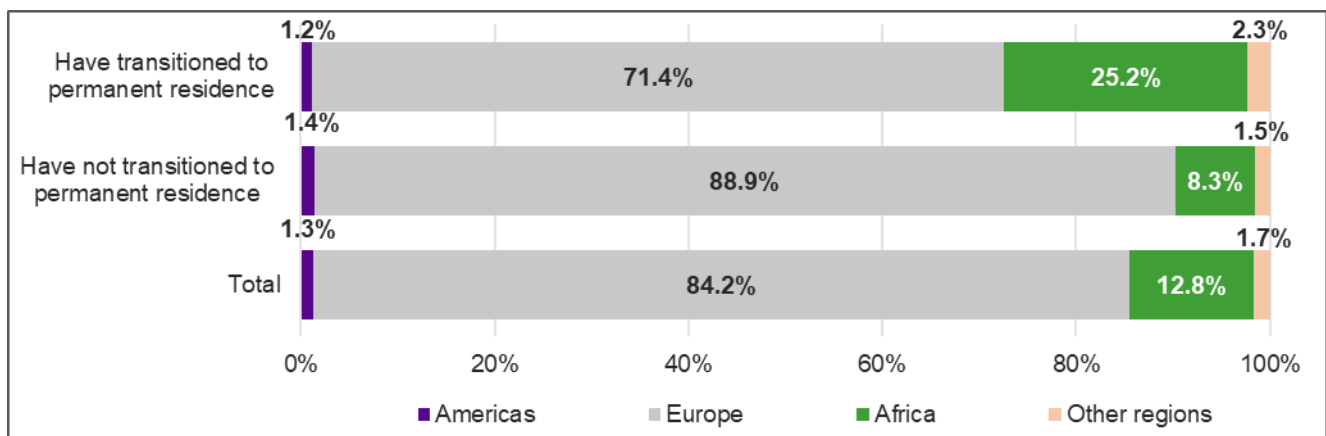
Regions and countries of origin

Europe is the region of origin for 84.2% of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 in Western Canada. The main country of origin for all French-speaking skilled workers during the study period, by a wide margin, is France (76.7%). Switzerland (3.0%) is the second most common country in Europe, and Belgium (2.6%) is the third.

The second most common region of origin is Africa (12.8%). Unlike Europe, the main countries of birth are more diverse and include Morocco (2.9%), Tunisia (2.2%), Mauritius (2.2%), Cameroon (1.1%), Algeria (0.9%), Senegal (0.6%) and Guinea (0.5%).

There are some notable differences between those who transitioned to permanent residence and those who did not. In total, 71.4% of those who transitioned to permanent residence were born in Europe and 25.2% were born in Africa. These figures are 88.9% and 8.3% for those who did not transition to permanent residence.

Figure 4: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 by permanent residence status and region of birth, Western Canada



Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

Gender, marital status and age

More French-speaking men (64.1%) than women (35.9%) obtained a work permit as a skilled TFW during the period from 2012 to 2021 in the Western provinces. As a whole, French-speaking skilled TFWs are relatively young. For the period from 2012 to 2021, 78.9% of them were under the age of 35 when they received their first work permit, and 39.1% of that group were between the ages of 18 and 24.

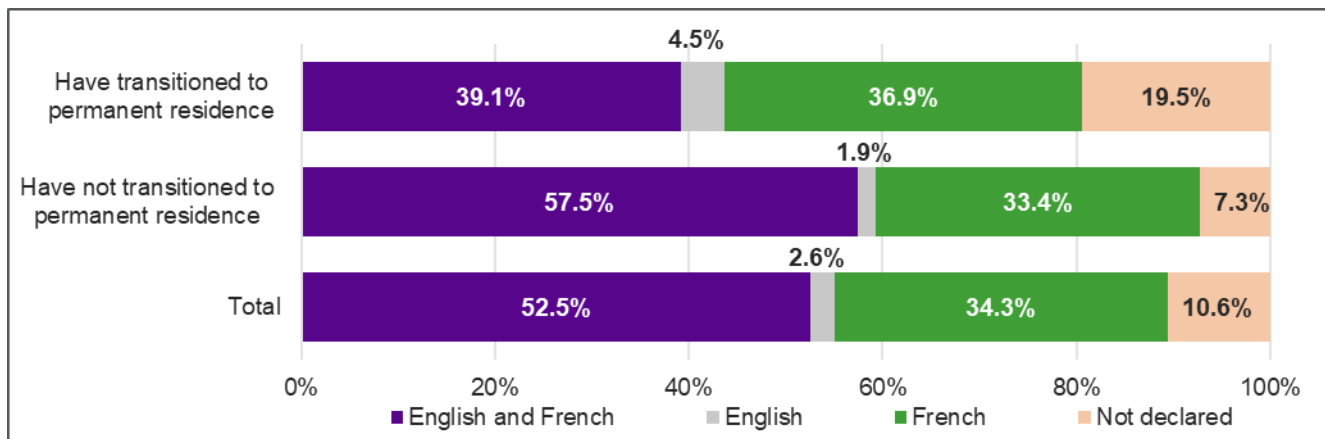
With regard to marital status, the majority of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 were not in a relationship (67.5%).

Language profile and occupational skill level

The vast majority (92.3%) of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 speak French as their mother tongue. This is not surprising considering that France is the top country of birth among this group. The second most frequently identified mother tongue is Arabic (3.6%).

In terms of self-declared knowledge of both official languages in Canada, 52.5% of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 reported that they knew both French and English and 34.3% knew only French.

Figure 5: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 by permanent residence status and self-declared knowledge of official languages, Western Canada



Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

With respect to occupational skill level, the main level among all French-speaking skilled TFWs is professional occupations (48.8%), followed closely by technical occupations and skilled trades (40.3%) and then managerial positions (10.9%).

Factors encouraging settlement in the Western provinces

Leaving for Canada

Nearly all of our respondents came to the West with a job or co-op opportunity already in place (29). Of the others, three followed a spouse who had gotten a job in Canada but had not found a job themselves before arriving. One individual initially came to Canada with a working holiday permit, one with a study permit, and another came for a trip and ended up claiming refugee protection. That said, the factors that lead skilled workers to settle temporarily in Canada vary greatly, depending on their country of origin, socio-economic situation and level of education, among others.

Professional opportunities. Professional opportunities were a key motivating factor observed in the literature and in our interviews. Coderre and Nakache (2021) note that even among the working tourists they studied, the main reason for settling temporarily in Canada was to gain work experience rather than simply to travel and explore. In our study, while some of the people interviewed simply wanted to boost their resumé, others said they had real opportunities for professional development or advancement. At the same time, limited and unappealing professional opportunities in France were identified more than once as factors explaining why they left. In addition, professional development or advancement were also the main reasons cited by the participants in our study who entered Canada with a young professionals visa or a co-op visa, two other streams in the IMP's International Experience Canada class.

International experience.⁴ More broadly, Désilets (2019) notes the importance of acquiring international work (or study) experience for skilled TFWs from the middle class who moved voluntarily and independently. Their mobility is motivated by their desire to [translation] “accumulate cultural capital and mobility capital” (Désilets, 2019, p. 19) and their desire to have a fulfilling professional life or to find a good work-life balance. Migration is also not always motivated by the desire to earn more money. Some TFWs could earn more elsewhere or in their country of origin, as was the case for some of our respondents.

[Translation] “My primary objective was to gain a new international experience.” (R29 – AB)

Personal interest. Other studies noted that factors unrelated to employment, professional experience or financial considerations also play an important role for those who decide to settle abroad temporarily. These factors are diverse and include the appeal of a certain way of life or standard of living, a desire to travel and have a different experience, or a romantic relationship with someone in Canada (Harvey & Beaverstock, 2017; Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016; Patzelt, 2021). Among those interviewed as part of the study on the West, their reasons for coming to Canada reflect these findings. Most interviewees said that they were motivated by a mix of professional opportunities, quality of life, and personal considerations such as the appeal of the way of life, culture and kindness of people in Canada. The opportunity to learn English, either for themselves or for their children, was also an

⁴ The quotes in the text boxes are taken from the interviews conducted with French-speaking TFWs (R) or stakeholders. At the end of the quote, there is a number associated with each respondent and the abbreviation for the province where this person settled (Manitoba=MB; Saskatchewan=SK; Alberta=AB; British Columbia=BC).

important factor for some. For those who accompanied their spouse, family motivations, such as providing an inclusive and/or bilingual environment for their children, appeared to be very important.

[Translation] “I wanted to go to Alberta to perfect my English. I was also drawn to the landscape. And from there, I looked for opportunities.” (R16 – AB)

Specific profiles. It is also important to note that one person with skilled TFW status is a refugee protection claimant. This person is hoping that they and their children will be able to escape a very difficult situation abroad.

Identifying job opportunities

As stated, most respondents had a job offer or co-op opportunity before they arrived in Canada (29). The majority used the Internet for their job search, but only seven people identified a job through this method. Living in France appears to have opened doors for some people (7), thanks to long-standing cooperation and agreements between Canada and France that make it easier to disseminate information and obtain a temporary work permit, for example, as part of an exchange between two primary teachers or a postdoctoral fellowship. Some used personal contacts in Canada (2) or a recruitment agency (1) to identify job opportunities. At least five people had the opportunity to meet potential Canadian employers through their professional or academic mobility, such as by participating at a conference abroad or working in the United States. Some interviewees (5) benefited from the fact that they worked for a large company with offices or preferred partners in Canada.

Those who sought employment after arriving in Canada, primarily spouses who had an open work permit, all used the Internet and quickly found jobs (5), except for one individual who had only arrived six months earlier and was still looking for work.

Choosing the region of destination

[Translation] “I found an opportunity in Alberta and I’ve lived there ever since.... My brother was already in Edmonton so he helped me through the process and gave me advice.” (R27 – AB)

For the vast majority of the people interviewed, the professional opportunity determined the province and region where they would live in Canada. The respondents rarely had the opportunity to choose a specific province or region. Those who found a job through their professional or personal contacts were sometimes influenced by their contact’s perception or wanted to live near that person. Two people who initially lived in Quebec and Ontario moved to Manitoba because they found a better professional opportunity.

[Translation] “I didn’t look for the language because I wanted to be immersed.” (R2 – BC)

[Translation] “I wanted to see what life was like in a Francophone community in an English-speaking area.” (R28 – SK)

Only three people said that the presence of a Francophone community had a positive impact on their choice. Around 10 knew there was a Francophone community in their region of temporary residence but said this did not impact their decision. Around a dozen respondents did not know they would find a Francophone community or had only a vague idea about bilingualism in Canada. Nearly half of these

individuals found out there was a Francophone community in their region of establishment after the fact. A few people interviewed said that they intentionally tried to live farther from the Francophone community so that they could be fully immersed in English, but others regretted not knowing about the community activities and services in French earlier.

The respondents living in Winnipeg seemed to have more contact with the local Francophone community, in particular by taking part in activities and receiving services from Accueil francophone. It is worth noting that Winnipeg is also the largest Francophone community in our sample and it has been providing services to temporary residents for over 20 years.

Francophone Mobility stream

Interview respondents explained that the Francophone Mobility stream is beneficial because it allows the principal applicant and their spouse, if applicable, to obtain a temporary permit quickly. However, people who used this stream and stakeholders both said that employers are not necessarily aware of it or do not necessarily understand the parameters and may find the process daunting. Francophone employers, such as a school board or community organization, and companies that regularly hire TFWs or are assisted by lawyers seemed to have more knowledge of and appreciation for this program. Stakeholders pointed out that the Francophone Mobility stream did not appear to be used very often to hire people from Francophone Africa. One possible reason for this that was cited by some people is the potentially discriminatory attitudes of both employers and IRCC employees, while others noted that this program is not well known in most of those countries.

Resources for employers

Some of the stakeholders interviewed are involved in the economic development and employability of Francophone communities. In recent years, with the increase in temporary immigration and its impact on permanent immigration, these organizations have developed various strategies to raise employer awareness about hiring French-speaking TFWs. One stakeholder noted that Anglophone employers know very little about the Francophone Mobility stream and said that the work done by their organization has helped to promote the benefits. In some cases, the support provided involves assisting employers through the process. For example, one of the organizations in the West created a position that provides support to employers in navigating the recruitment and settlement processes for French-speaking TFWs. This position helps develop general resources for all employers (e.g., job descriptions, grants available, labour laws) while providing individualized support for some of these employers.

Reception and settlement process

Current situation

Most of those interviewed did not experience significant issues associated with settlement. In fact, according to these respondents, those typically selected seemed to be at an advantage because they had a post-secondary degree, prior work experience, a job offer before arriving in Canada, and an advanced level of English. That said, those who arrived with a beginner or intermediate level of English appeared to have experienced the greatest challenges in terms of social or professional integration. It should be noted that at the time of the semi-structured interviews, only the person who had arrived less than six months earlier indicated having a beginner level of English.

Positive factors

Language. Language is an important factor in understanding how people integrate. Being very comfortable in English, but also working in a Francophone organization and developing networks of Francophone acquaintances, seemed to contribute to people's well-being during their settlement. In terms of social inclusion, it appears that people primarily socialize with their colleagues, which explains why social inclusion seems to be more positive for those working in a Francophone environment.

[Translation] "The Saskatoon theatre group is where we learned more about the Francophone community. The local Francophone community organizes quite a few events. And they help each other. As soon as someone arrives in the community, they say 'so, do you need furniture?'" (R17 – SK)

Network. Knowing someone prior to arriving makes the process much easier. For example, a friend of one respondent visited an apartment and began the rental process, while another stayed with a friend of their spouse until they found their own place. Likewise, given that the majority of those interviewed came from France, it seems that, for many, cultural proximity to French people already living in Canada led to building the closest ties with them. Furthermore, social integration may be faster and more positive for people who arrive with spouses and children, notably because the parents provide each other with mutual support and their children's activities bring them into contact with new people.

Negative factors

Housing. TFWs and stakeholders representing different provinces highlighted the limited access to affordable housing, particularly in British Columbia, and the growing difficulty of long-term planning for skilled TFWs as a result. One stakeholder explained that when a person arrives with no references or history in Canada, she and her team take a personalized approach to helping them given the problem of housing costs and shortages.

Language. Language is another factor that can reduce the feeling of inclusion and effectiveness of settlement efforts. While some wanted to experience English immersion, others observed that it was more challenging to establish relationships with Anglophones than with Francophones. Also, even when their level of English was good or very good, and even when they had been settled for some years, several found it difficult to develop personal networks in English.

Relationships with the Francophone community. While various testimonials about the Francophone communities in each province were highly positive, two people who arrived in Manitoba indicated that the Francophone community was less welcoming and accessible than they would have liked. People in British Columbia reported that, several years later, it was still difficult to forge relationships with people, whether Anglophone or Francophone, other than those of French origin.

[Translation] "Even now, my friends are French. And even after 8 years, it's hard to make local Canadian friends." (R12 – BC)

Isolation. Only one person mentioned experiencing isolation on arrival, but that person also said that they worked a lot. All those who indicated that they had difficulty developing a local network of personal relationships were at least able to socialize with colleagues they liked, their spouse or a few immigrants from the same region as them.

Settlement support

Current situation

[Translation] “CANAF contacted us. They must have found out we were here, I don’t know how, and they wanted to let us know that they could help us. And it’s true that we could have met other Francophones living in Calgary, but our goal was not to socialize with French people. In the end, we didn’t need them.” (R15 – AB)

Several interviewees were completely independent (10) in their settlement efforts, in that they basically relied on information found on the Internet or social networks. Two people even mentioned that they knew they could access Francophone community services, but did not feel the need to use them. That said, the majority of those interviewed received informal support from colleagues and employers, either occasionally (6) or extensively (10). Likewise, approximately one quarter (8) of those interviewed were quickly put in touch with community services that could help them with various aspects of their settlement, job search or language training.

The self-reliance of several of the respondents seems to have been shaped by their past experiences, as a number of them had already lived outside their country of birth before arriving in Canada.

Positive factors

[Translation] “My boss picked me up at the airport and showed me the city. Then he took me to the bank.” (R6 – MB)

Employers. Several people received significant support from their employers. Often, when employers took care of the administrative process for the temporary permit, they might also have supported TFWs by offering guidance on the first steps to settling in, such as finding housing or getting a health insurance card. In a few instances, the employer provided temporary housing or covered the cost of moving.

Colleagues. Colleagues are often the first local people with whom TFWs socialize. When there are immigrants among the colleagues, it appears that they quickly become a good resource for understanding various administrative procedures as well as cultural codes.

Local community services and reception. Only a few people were quickly introduced to settlement services, such as the Centre d’Accueil pour Nouveaux Arrivants Francophones (Alberta) or Accueil francophone (Manitoba). A few others benefited from organizations in the Francophone community. For example, one mother stressed the quality of the welcome and training her children received at the French-language school, and the breadth of the extracurricular activities. At least two of those interviewed obtained settlement services in English. It should be noted that three of the Western provinces have provincially funded settlement services available to temporary residents: Manitoba (since the early 2000s), Alberta and Saskatchewan.

[Translation] “Accueil francophone helped me find a house. I stayed in one of their temporary accommodation houses.” (R32 – MB)

Training. One person obtained temporary worker status through a “Mission de volontariat en service civique” [volunteer civics service mission] program established by France to enable young people to do internships in a number of countries, including Canada. In addition to providing assistance with

administrative procedures, the program has developed a training series that includes a civics course dealing with the realities of Francophone communities. The individual who took part in this program found the information that was shared and the administrative support very useful. Another person who was hired by a large company appreciated the opportunity to participate in training for newcomers to Canada that covered cultural differences and settlement and immigration processes.

Negative factors and suggestions for improvement

[Translation] “It’s actually embarrassing when someone comes to you for help because they’re already in your office, and you have to ask their status before you answer them.” (Stakeholder)

Temporary status. A few people said that they had sought services from the Francophone community but were not successful, mainly because of their temporary status. They pointed out that once they have obtained permanent resident status, these services are no longer needed. Furthermore, one stakeholder commented on the inconsistency between admitting the children of people with temporary resident status into French-language schools and the families’ inability to receive settlement worker services in the schools. In fact, although Francophone settlement organizations can offer services to temporary residents, with the exception in British Columbia, temporary residents are sometimes unaware of this or do not have access due to the limited resources of some of these services.

Visibility and resources of the Francophone community. Some mentioned learning about the existence of these organizations too late. One stakeholder pointed out that since numerous organizations are not authorized to offer direct services to TFWs, there are not as many opportunities for interactions between these individuals and the community. As a result, when community activities are organized, there are fewer TFWs in attendance than both Canadian-born people and permanent residents. Several respondents suggested that it would be a good idea to inform Francophone newcomers, by email or telephone, of the existence of a Francophone community and its activities or services. Others indicated that much of the information required for settlement is standardized and could be systematically shared with newcomers via guides or webinars. This could include information on the health care system, insurance, driver’s licences, banks and taxes. Pairing or information-sharing activities between newcomers were also suggested.

Integrating in the workplace

Job search

About half of those interviewed had looked for work, either upon arrival in Canada (4) or during their temporary stay (10). They are characterized by different contexts. The four people who arrived as spouses, with no job offer and an open permit, all appreciated having the chance to be in Canada to look for work. They all found jobs quickly, except for one person who had arrived less than six months earlier and has beginner-level English.

Among the others who looked for work after arriving in Canada, several waited until they had obtained permanent residence to seek out a more stimulating workplace with better working conditions. A few changed jobs while they still had a closed permit in order to benefit from better working conditions. Others changed jobs because of a change in their status, such as completing a postdoctoral contract, a co-op or internship program or their studies.

The vast majority of people did not identify any specific challenges associated with their job search. However, two obstacles were mentioned: the need for a high level of English at hiring, and employers that require a car, both of which are problematic for TFWs, particularly at the beginning of their stay. Only a few people sought employment services, mainly in English.

Language. It should be noted that for at least five people, speaking French proved to be an asset when they were hired, whether because the work was in French in a school, because the position was classified as bilingual, or because being Francophone made hiring faster and easier (Francophone Mobility).

[Translation] “The fact that I am Francophone was seen as an opportunity to speed up the hiring process, but it wasn’t necessary to have French for the job itself.” (R26 – MB)

Language at work

[Translation] “It wasn’t easy because important information was shared at the morning team meetings, and I had to ask others to translate for me or I used a translation app.” (R10 – AB)

In the workplace, language was generally not a fundamental barrier to integration for those interviewed. Still, three reported experiencing relatively high levels of stress after being hired because their proficiency in English did not meet their employer’s expectations. Some found that their level of English was not good enough to communicate well with colleagues and carry out some of the required tasks. Finally, some mentioned that their limited English had reduced their ability to socialize with colleagues in particular, and that this had slowed their overall integration into work teams.

Language training. Although most of those interviewed had a level of English good enough to at least meet their employers’ expectations, almost all had to continue working on their English proficiency to be truly comfortable in their jobs. That said, it seems that the majority improved their proficiency without the support of language training, notably because they had no access to it. Only one person, located in Alberta, reported having free access to such training, and was grateful for the opportunity. One interviewee pointed out that TFWs should be informed that they need to be bilingual when they

arrive, because depending on the province, they will not necessarily have easy and free access to language courses.

[Translation] “They hired me knowing that my English wasn’t very good. Their expectations were unreasonable!... Fortunately, Alberta has free English-language training programs. So I went to class three times a week from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.” (R19 – AB)

Working conditions

Positive factors

Generally speaking, interviewees did not identify any specific issues with regard to working conditions. On the contrary, around 10, particularly those from France, found working conditions to be better here than in their home country. In all, approximately two thirds of interviewees appreciated various aspects of their working conditions, such as employer flexibility, the ability to telework, an adequate or even better salary, a reasonable workload, a collegial management style or positive interactions with colleagues.

Issues

At least six individuals, however, indicated that they had experienced less-than-optimal or very poor working conditions, such as an inadequate salary or an excessive workload. It seems that they remained in their jobs despite the situation in order to obtain permanent residence. Two individuals specifically commented that their employer had not respected the “labour code,”⁵ particularly with regard to breaks or duration of work.

[Translation] “It turns out that the woman at the head of the firm ...didn’t like me speaking poor English. She was pretty racist. I was never included.” (R12 – BC)

Language. While a few people felt that being Francophone helped them build relationships, more mentioned that their limited command of English, their accent or the simple fact that they were Francophone reduced the quality of their professional relationships and occasionally led to isolation or exclusion.

Temporary status and closed work permit. Several interviewees also mentioned the negative impact of the closed work permit and their temporary resident status on their working conditions. These problems took several forms, such as greater demands from the employer in terms of performance, and for at least one person, indirect threats of dismissal. In addition, a few indicated that their ability to negotiate good working conditions was limited. They could not afford to be too demanding in terms of salary or professional position for risk of losing their jobs. Therefore, although obtaining a temporary work permit may initially appear to be a stimulating professional opportunity, maintaining temporary status and a closed permit for a long time seemed to hinder professional development. One individual, whose income was barely above minimum wage, pointed out that his closed work permit did not allow him to hold down two jobs, which might have lifted him out of poverty.

⁵ A “Canada Labour Code” (legislation) provides a framework for labour standards in Canada, but the provinces also have labour-related standards or regulations.

[Translation] “Employers know we’re stuck with them and they take advantage of it.” (R7 – MB)

Intersectionality. It should be noted that it is useful to consider people’s diverse identities from an intersectional perspective. Some felt that they were treated poorly because of their linguistic and migration profile. For example, they felt discriminated against both because they spoke French and because they were racialized. In addition, one respondent mentioned that the fact that she is young and a woman had probably also negatively impacted the quality of her working conditions.

[Translation] “If I look at my other colleagues who had the same level of education, they’re now in management positions. The problem is not necessarily that I’m an immigrant, but that closed permits restricted my ability to negotiate.” (R16 – AB)

Matching skills and qualifications

Almost all interviewees said that the job they had matched their training and experience. Two indicated that they were overqualified, but that they needed to improve their English and their understanding of cultural codes before they could get a job that corresponded with their expertise. The two people who were most critical with regard to their ability to find a job that matched their skills and qualifications were visible minorities. One of those individuals mentioned that they were not given a chance to demonstrate their abilities and were not offered a job that matched their expertise.

Transition to permanent residence

Renewal and duration of temporary permits

As described in Hou et al. (2020), the rise in the number of skilled TFWs transitioning to permanent residence is linked to the introduction of the Provincial Nominee Program and the Canadian Experience Class. Both “prompted rapid expansion of two-step immigrant selection” (Hou et al., 2020, p. 2). However, the literature and our interviews indicate that a number of TFWs still have to renew their temporary work permits, change their temporary work permit category, obtain another visa or return to their country of origin for a few months (Coderre & Nakache, 2021; Patzelt, 2021) before undertaking the permanent residence process. While some French-speaking skilled TFWs transition to permanent residence quickly and easily, others retain their temporary status for years and must renew their permit at least once before becoming permanent residents.

In our study, 20 respondents had to renew their temporary permit. Among the 19 who obtained permanent residence, 16 had renewed their temporary permit between one and four times. Four individuals who were still TFWs at the time of the semi-structured interview had to renew their status at least once, either because they did not wish to obtain permanent residence, had not managed to obtain it, were waiting for a response, or did not yet know whether they would undertake the process.

Those who had a three-year temporary permit were at an advantage with regard to the administrative burden, but they were not well represented in our sample. In general, especially after a renewal, a temporary permit was valid for one year, but respondents could not say why a given permit was valid for longer or shorter.

For our sample, the duration of temporary residence was longer when the individuals arrived after 2017. Six who obtained permanent residence in one year or less had arrived between 2012 and 2017.

Benefits of French. Over the past few years, Canada has been facilitating the transition of skilled TFWs to permanent residence for French speakers. Since 2017, the federal government has been giving additional points for strong French language skills as part of the Express Entry system. This system privileges human capital (e.g., education, knowledge of official languages, age) and the possibility of contributing to the Canadian economy after obtaining a job offer in Canada.

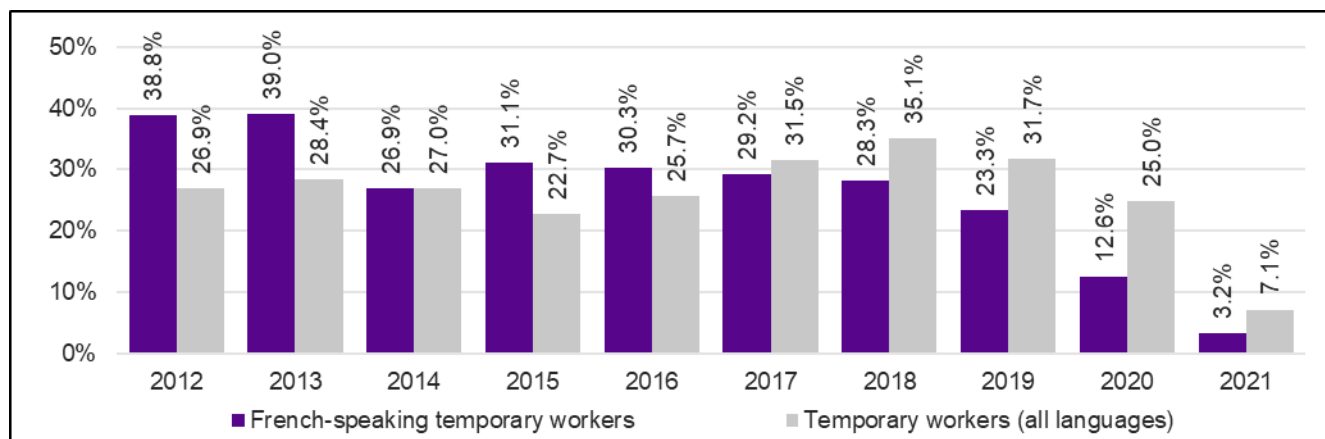
Among our respondents who have obtained or seek to obtain permanent residence, most chose immigration programs that fall under Express Entry, specifically through the Canadian Experience Class (16), either because they were told that it would be faster or because this pathway seemed easier or more beneficial to them, namely with regard to the fact that they spoke French.

The Provincial Nominee Program also offers a potentially preferred pathway for French speakers. An examination of the various federal-provincial/territorial immigration agreements demonstrates that they all contain provisions intended to increase immigration to Francophone and Acadian communities (Deschênes-Thériault & Forest, 2022). However, measures implemented to truly promote Francophone immigration remain limited. Three individuals in our sample leveraged this program, two in Manitoba and one in Saskatchewan. On this topic, one person mentioned that the Provincial Nominee Program in their host province had seemed beneficial to them because it was less demanding and because French-language government services were easily accessible. For all provinces, the scope of measures adopted for Francophones remains limited (Deschênes-Thériault & Forest, forthcoming).

Number and admission categories of French-speaking skilled temporary workers who transitioned to permanent residence in Western Canada

Some 27% of all the French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 in Western Canada transitioned to permanent residence. This percentage is similar among all skilled TFWs admitted in one of the provinces in Western Canada during this period (26.7%).

Figure 6: Proportion of French-speaking TFWs who have transitioned to permanent residence by language and year when the first work permit was obtained, 2012 to 2021, Western Canada



Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

Province of destination. With regards to the province of destination, French-speaking skilled TFWs in Saskatchewan (49.3%) were considerably more likely to transition to permanent residence than those in other provinces, all things being equal. In comparison, a little over a quarter (27.4%) of all skilled TFWs whose province of destination was British Columbia between 2012 and 2021 transitioned to permanent residence. The percentage was 23.7% for Alberta and 17.4% for Manitoba.

Admission category. The vast majority of those who transitioned to permanent residence were admitted through an economic immigration program (92.0%). Regarding admission sub-categories, we note that the programs most used by French-speaking skilled TFWs who have transitioned to permanent residence were the federal economic programs falling under the Express Entry umbrella. These include the Canadian Experience Class (48.4%), the Skilled Worker Class (12.2%) and the Skilled Trades Program (2.4%). These three federal programs account for 63% of permanent residence admissions for the study population, compared with 27.7% through the Provincial Nominee Program.

The fact that the Canadian Experience Class was the most frequent admission sub-category for individuals who transitioned to permanent residence is not surprising. This category is reserved for individuals who have acquired at least 12 months of skilled work experience in Canada.

Table 4: Number and percentage of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 and who transitioned to permanent residence by permanent residence admission categories and certain sub-categories, Western Canada

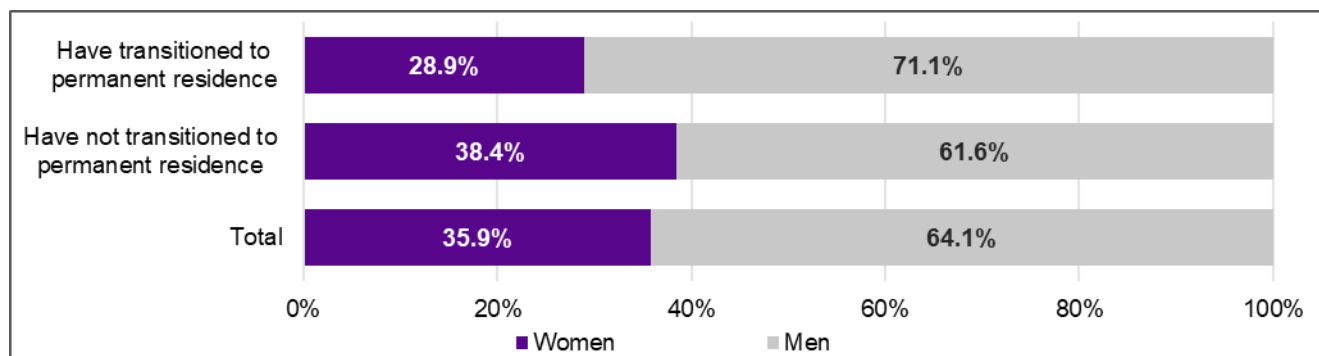
Admission class and sub-categories	Have transitioned to permanent residence	
	Number	Percentage
Economic immigration	1,016	92.0%
Canadian Experience Class	534	48.4%
Federal Skilled Worker Class	135	12.2%
Federal Skilled Trades Program	26	2.3%
Provincial Nominee Program	306	27.7%
Other programs (economic category)	15	1.4%
Family Class, refugees or other	88	8.0%
Total	1,104	100%

Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

Characteristics of French-speaking TFWs who have transitioned to permanent residence

When examining the totals separately by gender, we observe that men are slightly more likely to transition to permanent residence than women, all things considered. In fact, 29.9% of all French-speaking men who obtained work permits as skilled workers between 2012 and 2021 transitioned to permanent residence compared to 21.8% of all women.

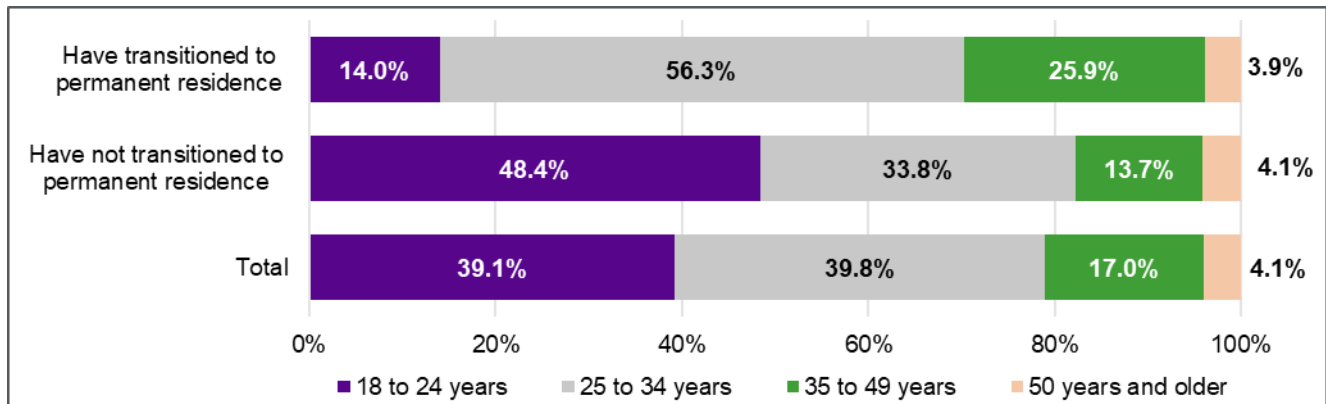
Figure 7: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 by permanent residence status and gender, Western Canada



Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

The marital status of those surveyed – a variable we have collated but which does not appear in the charts in this report – also influences the transition to permanent residence, considering that individuals in a relationship are more likely to transition to permanent residence. There are also significant distinctions that should be noted between those who transitioned to permanent residence and those who did not.

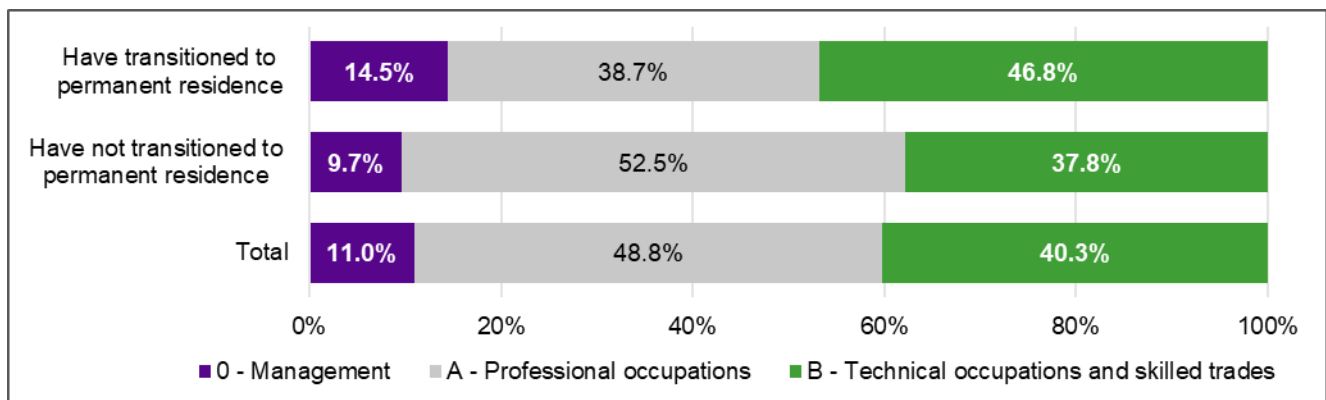
Figure 8: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 by permanent residence status and age group, Western Canada



Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

It should be noted that French-speaking skilled TFWs who transitioned to permanent residence are slightly more likely to be employed in managerial occupations (14.5%) than those who did not (9.7%) as well as in technical occupations and skilled trades (46.8% versus 37.8%). The reverse is true for professional occupations.

Figure 9: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 by permanent residence status and occupational skill level,⁶ Western Canada



Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021

⁶ This refers to the skill level when the first work permit was obtained.

Reasons to choose permanent residence

[Translation] “We never thought we’d become permanent residents. But we met people and felt at home in the community. We liked the quality of life.” (R9 – BC)

Various personal and professional reasons combine to explain interest in permanent residence, reflecting the literature on this subject (Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016; Patzelt, 2021).

[Translation] “When I think back on it, we could have taken steps immediately after arriving, and that would have saved us time.” (R26 – MB)

Imagining themselves living in a given environment. Several respondents who settled in one of the Western provinces emphasized that they had become attached to “life in Canada” or, more specifically, life in a given region, and that they wanted to settle there permanently. To this end, obtaining permanent residence opened the door for them to make future plans and get more involved, namely by voting in elections after obtaining citizenship. Several also said that obtaining permanent residence made it easier to develop a feeling of belonging to Canada and to their province of residence. Approximately half of respondents who expressed their views on this subject said that they had developed a feeling of belonging to Canada, and approximately half said they had a feeling of belonging to their province of residence.

Reduced uncertainty and stress. Some people said that obtaining their permanent resident status was strongly associated with a reduction in the stress caused by having to renew temporary permits as well as in the related administrative burden and uncertainty. Moreover, the various possibilities of having a permit application “blocked” – due to an oversight, an administrative error or misunderstanding certain instructions – caused recurring concerns for a number of people. Obtaining permanent residence therefore leads to greater “peace of mind.” Finally, a number of people noted in retrospect that they should have begun the process of transitioning to permanent residence sooner in order to obtain this peace of mind but also so as to save time and to advance their professional development.

[Translation] “Luckily, [my wife] had a colleague who knew what we had to do and who helped us a lot. We followed the instructions to the letter and hoped for the best. But, honestly, it was really quite stressful. We were never sure if we’d done things correctly.” (R13 – AB)

[Translation] “I was really frustrated by the IRCC process, because I was motivated and invested but I didn’t have access to entrepreneurship or other opportunities as a temporary worker. I wanted an open permit and permanent residence – but not because I wanted to collect employment insurance; I wanted to contribute! It’s important to find a balance between wanting to ‘test’ people who arrive here and ensuring that they remain here.” (R25 – BC)

Professional freedom. While acknowledging the benefits of two-step immigration, several people criticized the scope and duration of the constraints imposed by temporary resident status and having a closed work permit. This type of status and permit seem to justify more abuse on the part of employers. They also limit the professional freedom of permit holders. As a result, obtaining permanent residence is often synonymous with getting one’s freedom back – the freedom to change employers, become an entrepreneur, move to a different province, enrol in postsecondary studies, etc. Several people said that they set about looking for a new job as soon as they obtained their permanent residence. One individual who worked for the federal government pointed out that permanent residence gave them access to more job opportunities.

Reasons not to choose permanent residence

[Translation] “Returning to Canada didn’t pan out. In any case, we like moving, so I’m not sure we would have stayed.”(R5 – AB)

Those interviewed who did not choose to transition to permanent residence generally had a clear idea of the temporary nature of their stay in Canada. For example, when their postdoctoral program or their co-op internship ended, two respondents returned to their countries of origin; they had always understood these experiences as being temporary. Two people said that they had an attachment to their mobility, which led them to want to both return to their country of origin and to have other international experiences. Two others, whose permanent residence applications were unsuccessful, had to give up on getting permanent residence despite their wish to remain in Canada.

Navigating the immigration system

Current situation and issues

[Translation] “There really were a lot of steps involved in obtaining permanent residence. But in the end, I managed to get through it all on my own.”(R3 – SK)

Most of the interviewees went through the step of transitioning to permanent residence without experiencing any major obstacles. At the same time, guidance regarding administrative procedures leading to permanent residence vary greatly. Approximately half of respondents indicated that they had not encountered specific challenges and that they had found the instructions clear and simple or relatively clear and simple. Moreover, people in a position to compare various administrative systems found the IRCC procedures and website to be appropriate.

Nevertheless, several people criticized the IRCC system for transitioning to permanent residence:

- Several respondents found having to identify the program that best corresponded to their profile to be challenging, namely because this step involved familiarizing themselves with the operations of IRCC and of the province. Moreover, the information and procedures are not available in French in the Western provinces, except in Manitoba.
- Some IRCC forms which are no longer valid remain accessible on the IRCC website, which creates confusion and potential processing delays.
- The required proof of language proficiency seems unreasonable at times, either because the exam location is far away, because the exam times offered are very limited, or because French is their mother tongue and was their sole language of instruction.
- The fact that it is generally not possible to contact employees who would be best able to provide information about the validity of steps the respondents had taken, advice or updates on the progress of their file, slowed down the process and caused stress, sometimes significant, in some respondents.

[Translation] “The most frustrating thing is that you can never get a hold of anyone, so you never know where your file is at in the process.”(R13 – AB)

- All the requirements towards permanent residence, including degree equivalence, involve money and time, which makes the process more difficult and causes stress.
- The longer immigration file processing delays in recent years caused various personal or professional issues, such as changed or cancelled plans, but also inconsistencies, such as the requirement to file a new permanent residence application due to an expired medical examination.

Resources available

[Translation] “With the delays in permanent residence, I contacted the parents of students who had political contacts, and they managed to move the file along. I also hired an Anglophone lawyer.”(R15 – AB)

Most of those consulted did not or were not able to benefit from official resources to complete their permanent residence process. On occasion, colleagues or acquaintances who had already gone through the process were consulted. Some nevertheless benefited from the support of immigration consultants (8), community services (3) or an elected official (1).

Immigration consultant. At least four respondents benefited from the services of a Francophone regulated immigration consultant, paid by their employer, which made the process much easier for them. Four others sought out such services themselves after a problem arose, and this service made it possible for them to resolve or understand the issue. That said, the costs associated with these types of services mean that they are not widely accessible.

Access to formal resources in French. Several individuals bemoaned the fact that it is difficult to access, for free or at low cost, services where professionals could guide them through the process in French. French-language settlement organizations sometimes share information with temporary residents in order to support their transition to permanent residence, but this support is recent and piecemeal. They essentially receive funds from the federal government, which does not fund services for temporary residents. In doing so, those who benefited from resources in the process of trying to obtain permanent residence used resources in their respective provincial governments, made available to TFWs essentially in English, except in Manitoba, where French-language resources exist. The literature mentions the cross-Canada dynamic with respect to this lack of French-language services and resources, as well as the resulting frustrations both for skilled TFWs and Francophone service providers (National Francophone Settlement Advisory Committee, 2022; Pelletier & Forest, 2021).

Resources to be developed

Francophone settlement service providers regret not officially having the resources to support temporary residents’ transition to permanent residence given that employees of these services are approached by skilled TFWs whose files are sometimes quite complex. Having these organizations hire certified immigration consultants in order to offer personalized or group services could provide much needed support.

[Translation] “People turn to us, organizations that already offer integration services. We should have people who are certified and who are allowed to provide assistance services.” (Stakeholder)

At the same time, some stakeholders interviewed indicated that they were gradually adding activities for temporary residents, such as webinars where immigration consultants present information useful for the transition to permanent residence.

Other stakeholders said that IRCC could also develop more instinctive and user-friendly platforms, and hire staff to offer more personalized access to those applying for a temporary or permanent permit. Moreover, it would be important to ensure that people can, in one single location, understand all the immigration programs and identify those that suit them best.

Remaining in Western Canada

Looking at the population of French-speaking skilled TFWs who transitioned to permanent residence, we note that the vast majority of them intended to remain in Western Canada (92.8%) when they obtained their permanent resident status. Specifically, some 50.5% planned to remain in British Columbia, 23.8% in Alberta, 13.6% in Saskatchewan, 4.8% in Manitoba, and 7.2% elsewhere in Canada, including 3.6% in Quebec and 3% in Ontario.

[Translation] “We’re married now and we have two kids. We have no plans to leave Canada.”(R4 – CB)

The interviewees who had permanent residence or planned to obtain it wanted to live in Canada for at least a long period of time, and several did not want to live anywhere else again. At the same time, some in British Columbia indicated that it was more difficult for them to plan for the long term in that province due to housing prices, especially since, having obtained their permanent residence, several wanted to buy property rather than continue to rent. Moreover, two respondents of French origin mentioned their need to be closer to France, which might involve moving to Quebec, a province of choice because French is the common language.

A number of studies have explored in greater depth this desire for mobility observed in some interview participants. These studies show that for skilled and highly skilled individuals in particular, obtaining permanent residence is more a question of convenience, as it gives them more rights and opportunities in Canada, while allowing them to consider various forms of mobility in the medium and long term, in Canada or elsewhere (Traisnel et al. 2020; Bélanger et al., 2021; Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016; Patzelt, 2021). These individuals often want to have the option of remaining mobile so that they can respond to developing opportunities, contexts, and wellbeing (Bélanger et al., 2021; Désilets, 2019 ; Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016; Patzelt, 2021).

Conclusion

Through a literature review, quantitative data analysis, and semi-structured interviews, this study sought to answer the following question: What factors influenced skilled TFWs' transition to permanent residence in the Western provinces? Several dimensions of our study have made it possible to obtain responses that consider the steps involved as well as the participants' profiles and their personal, professional and migratory journeys.

Temporary status is perceived by respondents as a way of accessing a professional opportunity immediately, with – for a number of them – the eventual possibility of transitioning to permanent residence. This step involves a specific relationship to time, characterized first and foremost by the possibility of rapid change. Temporary residence initially seems to be a means of validating the intent of remaining in Canada for the long term. Even though temporary status is, at the outset, associated with more flexibility, the constraints that go along with the permit are considerable, and temporary residence often lasts for many years. The majority of those interviewed renewed their temporary residence permit between one and four times before initiating a permanent residence application or before choosing to focus on a different life plan. These long timeframes mean that, by the time the process comes to an end, temporary resident status is perceived as more of an obligatory step than a freely chosen one. Moreover, this status may be associated with professional situations that are constraining, and in some cases unpleasant or abusive. Transitioning to permanent residence makes it possible for people to free themselves from these constraints and acquire stability by being able to more confidently plan for a life in Canada. Even though international mobility sometimes remains an option in the medium or long term for those making the transition, obtaining permanent resident status is important to them primarily as a way of ensuring professional, and sometimes geographic, mobility within Canada. Furthermore, it gives people a long-term horizon so that they can make family and professional development plans in a given community.

That said, the administrative dynamics leading to permanent residence can feel complex, slow, nebulous, and stressful. Furthermore, a number of individuals find it inconsistent with Canada's migration strategy that they cannot receive personalized and professional support to navigate the transition process. Those who received personalized support, mainly through immigration consultants but also through personal and professional networks, generally had a more positive transition experience.

Considering the subject of this study, it is important to note the many situations where language – English or French – accelerated, facilitated, slowed down or penalized the French-speaking skilled TFWs' journey toward permanent residence. On the one hand, mastery of French may allow access to certain professional opportunities or accelerate the migration process, both when obtaining temporary status and applying for permanent residence. Those who benefited from activities, schools, services or friendships within the Francophone community generally appreciated the opportunity to continue to keep their linguistic and cultural identity alive.

On the other hand, this linguistic identity is also associated with obstacles that arise at various points throughout the migration process. Employment integration was more complex for respondents whose employers required higher than expected language proficiency. For others, inferior mastery of English or prejudice related to their accent or Francophone identity limited their integration with co-workers. Free language training remains hard to access for temporary residents. Moreover, resources and services related to the settlement of temporary residents, while available in Manitoba, Saskatchewan or

Alberta, remain insufficient; those facilitating the transition to permanent residence remain almost non-existent in French.

Finally, even though some respondents really enjoy living in a Francophone community, the possibility of participating in sociocultural activities in French and socializing in French does not always play a central role for respondents. In fact, many respondents knew little about the Francophone communities or their services and activities, particularly when they first arrived. The promotion of Francophone communities is an issue in a number of regions, but Francophone communities in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia happen to be small and scattered, which further complicates the task of promoting them.

Possible courses of action

Provide all French-speaking skilled TFWs with access to pre-departure services in French.

Research has already demonstrated the importance of pre-arrival services, which can improve the experience of immigrants settling in Canada (Esses et al., 2013; Lodermeier, 2012). In order to meet the needs of French-speaking skilled TFWs, it is also important that these services be offered in French (Forest, Duvivier & Hieu Truong, 2020; National Francophone Settlement Advisory Committee, 2022). Access to clear, transparent and realistic information in French is widely desired by people applying for permanent residence, as well as those wishing to settle in Canada as temporary residents. Pre-departure services could be systematically offered to skilled temporary residents to provide useful settlement information prior to their arrival in Canada. As with permanent residents, this would involve identifying their preferred official language and sharing specific information on a number of subjects, such as health services, administrative procedures, expected costs, the Francophone community, and transportation. Sharing such information would help TFWs prepare better and reduce setbacks after arrival. The Atlantic Immigration Program offers a relevant model because it provides the temporary residents it supports with access to pre-departure services.

Provide additional resources to organizations responsible for French-language settlement services, and give them federal authorization to provide services to temporary residents. A large proportion of permanent residents in the economic immigration class obtained temporary residence first. However, settlement services funded by IRCC cannot be offered to temporary residents. When settlement services receive provincial funding for these clients, such funding does not make it possible to support all temporary workers and to meet all of their needs, such as language training, assistance with housing, job search, and migration procedures. For temporary residents, settlement services are most useful at the time of arrival in Canada, while they still hold temporary resident status. It is also important to include proactive access to these services to support partners who receive an open work permit but arrive without a job offer in Canada. Furthermore, given the different needs for certain categories of temporary residents, particularly those arriving from Africa, it is essential that settlement services take these specific needs into account and adapt their services accordingly (National Francophone Settlement Advisory Committee, 2022). In particular, the NFSAC recommends that promotional activities similar to Destination Canada, which connects employers with potential candidates, be increased in Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa (National Francophone Settlement Advisory Committee, 2022). Finally, to help address the English-language challenges that may be encountered by some French-speaking skilled TFWs, it would be important to offer free and formal English courses to these individuals, like the free French courses offered to temporary residents admitted as non-Francophone temporary workers in Quebec (National Francophone Settlement Advisory Committee, 2022).

Ensure the promotion and visibility of Francophone communities and resources to temporary residents. Through systematic information sharing, access to pre-departure services in French, mandatory active offer measures, and a referral system, IRCC could help French-speaking skilled temporary residents become familiar with the Francophone communities in the regions where they settle, as well as their activities and services, before they arrive in Canada and when they arrive. For example, the Department could systematically forward an email to Francophone temporary residents who represent the Francophone communities and their resources.

Work with employers to identify and welcome French-speaking skilled TFWs. As our semi-structured interviews showed, employers can be a direct and effective source of support for skilled TFWs in identifying candidates, obtaining temporary permits, helping with settling in and integrating into the workplace or sociocultural environment. IRCC could provide more resources to organizations responsible for economic integration and settlement to enable them to initiate a recruitment and integration process in close partnership with employers. In various provinces, Francophone organizations that support economic development already work together with the employers of temporary residents, but current funding rules limit what they are able to do. Nevertheless, sometimes these organizations offer training in best practices and work closely with companies to assist them in their recruitment, reception, and integration efforts. Such support should be expanded and more systematic.

Facilitate access to immigration consulting resources in French. Immigration agencies are frequently approached by TFWs and other immigrant clients looking for immigration advice, either to make decisions (e.g., choosing one program over another), to solve issues (e.g., related to the closed permit or its renewal, extended delays on the IRCC side) or to get help with the application process (e.g., having someone review their permanent residence file before it is submitted). Given the high cost of specialized lawyers and consultants, access to such resources should be facilitated, especially for temporary residents with limited means, either by supporting front-line organizations interested in obtaining this expertise or by finding a way to facilitate access to these specialized resources through organizations or employers. In British Columbia, the involvement of a certified immigration consultant, sometimes on a voluntary basis, seems to help in providing clearer and more extensive information about the immigration processes. Hiring a consultant for the entire West could reduce costs and increase the accessibility of this information, given that several issues are not specifically provincial but rather regional (West) or pan-Canadian.

Increase French-language support for and awareness of the rights of French-speaking skilled TFWs. IRCC could encourage and showcase the success of employers who implement good practices involving working conditions. The Department could offer more resources to employers wishing to hire TFWs in order to prevent situations of abuse. More importantly, TFWs need to be better informed and supported so they know their rights and feel safe inquiring about their rights or reporting abusive workplace situations. Currently, a lack of information and fear of reprisals or of further delays in processing their files discourage temporary residents from filing complaints, even though channels exist for them to do so.

Accelerate the transition from temporary to permanent residence for settled French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers who have been working in Canada for several years. Long delays in obtaining permanent residence lead to a variety of stressful situations. Programs and requirements should be revisited in order to speed up the transition to permanent residence for French-speaking skilled TFWs who have been in Canada for some time. The fact that some people maintain temporary status for many years, despite their desire to settle in Canada in the medium or long term, has consequences for their mental health, family life and career. Possible solutions could include re-evaluating certain accessibility criteria for permanent residence, but also speeding up the processing of applications, as well as providing more effective guidance and sharing of information on pathways to permanent residence for French-speaking skilled TFWs as soon as they arrive in Canada.

Provide compassionate and personal treatment, as well as systematic, clear and easy access to information in French from the Department for temporary residents. Most of the people we spoke with did not need a great deal of assistance with the immigration process, except in the case of specific issues. However, these interviews reveal that the density or complexity of the information on the IRCC website can slow down the process and cause stress. Several individuals suggested that IRCC should have human resources available to provide specific answers to their questions and provide advice, if necessary. The respondents who would have liked more help with the process are looking for reliable, direct and human support that is accessible. It is hoped that IRCC will adopt a case-management approach that can help people navigate immigration issues in the longer term and respond quickly to their concerns. Some people suggested an approach similar to the one used at Employment and Social Development Canada for employment insurance. Some post-secondary institutions, such as the New Brunswick Community College, offer this type of personalized support to international students.

Bibliography of documents listed or consulted

- Annen, S. (2021). Relevance of qualifications and work experience in the recruiting of foreign-trained immigrants – comparative insights from the Health and ICT Sectors in Germany and Canada. *International Journal of Training and Development*, 25(1), 3-22. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijtd.12204>
- Araya Moreno, J. (2020). What does hospitality look like when immigrants are 'wanted'? The case of the immigration selection process in Quebec, Canada. *Hospitality & Society*, 10. https://doi.org/10.1386/hosp_00024_1
- Association des collèges et universités de la francophonie canadienne (ACUFC). (2020). *Projet de priorité à la recherche et à l'analyse portant sur l'établissement des étudiants internationaux sélectionnés dans les communautés francophones en situation minoritaire (CFSM)* (p. 160). https://acufc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/30_juin_2020_acufc_etude_etudiants_internationaux_v.pdf
- Ba, H. (2021). Étude des facteurs et des procédés favorables à l'intégration professionnelle des femmes immigrantes africaines de Winnipeg. *Reflets*, 26(1), 8-34. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1076138ar>
- Bélanger, D., Lefèvre, C. and Fleury, C. (2021). La diversité des projets migratoires de Français qui s'expatrient au Québec : Essai de typologie en quatre tableaux dynamiques. *Sociétés Plurielles, Expatriate* (4). <https://doi.org/10.46298/societes-plurielles.2021.8410>
- Bélanger, D., Ouellet, M. and Fleury, C. (2019). Les travailleurs temporaires étrangers au Québec. Quels avantages pour les travailleurs qualifiés ? *Diversité urbaine*, 19, 49-69. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1065120ar>
- Boucher, A. (2021). "What is exploitation and workplace abuse?" A classification schema to understand exploitative workplace behaviour towards migrant workers. *New Political Economy*, 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2021.1994541>
- Bryan, C. (2019). Labour, population, and precarity: Temporary foreign workers transition to permanent residency in rural Manitoba. *Studies in Political Economy*, 100(3), 252-269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07078552.2019.1682779>
- Chiou, B. (2017). Two-step migration: A comparison of Australia's and New Zealand's policy development between 1998 and 2010. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal: APMJ*, 26(1), 84-107. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0117196817695272>
- Ci, W., Hou, F. and Morissette, R. (2018). Acquisition of permanent residence by temporary foreign workers in Canada: A panel study of labour market outcomes before and after the status transition. *IZA Journal of Development and Migration*, 8(1), 24-8:Art. 2-24. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40176-017-0107-1>
- Coderre, M. and Nakache, D. (2021). From Working Tourists to Permanent Residents: Experiences of Migrant Workers with Youth Mobility Schemes in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-021-00873-7>
- Comité consultatif national en établissement francophone. (2022). *Renforcer le secteur francophone de l'établissement*.
- Deschênes-Thériault, G., Forest, M. and Benhamadi, B. (2022). *Faire le point sur la cible en immigration francophone—Bilan, enjeux et pistes d'action*. La Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne (FCFA) du Canada.
- Deschênes-Thériault, G. and Forest, M. (2023). *L'immigration francophone au Canada atlantique*. Report prepared for the Comité atlantique sur l'immigration francophone.
- Deschênes-Thériault, G., Forest, M. (forthcoming). *Le rôle des provinces et territoires en immigration francophone*. La Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne (FCFA) du Canada.
- Désilets, G. (2019). Mobilité et modes de vie des travailleurs temporaires qualifiés. Les migrants *middling* à Montréal. *Diversité urbaine*, 19, 11-30. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1065118ar>

- Diallo, D., Homsy, M. and Savard, S. (2022). Portrait de l'immigration au Québec—L'intégration économique à la hausse... Mais les besoins aussi. Institut du Québec. <https://institutduquebec.ca/portrait-de-immigration-au-quebec-lintegration-economique-a-la-hausse-mais-les-besoins-aussi/>
- Drolet, M., Bouchard, P. and Savard, J. (2017). Accessibility and Active Offer: Health Care and Social Services in Linguistic Minority Communities. University of Ottawa Press.
- Emery, H., McDonald, J. T. and Balcom, A. (2017). Temporary Residents in New Brunswick and Their Transition to Permanent Residency. https://www.unb.ca/nbirdt/research/publications/_resources/pdf/nbirdt-2017_trs-in-nb-and-transition-to-pr.pdf
- Esses, V., Huot, S., Ravanera, Z., Thakur, S. and Vanderloo, L. (2016). Synthesis and Analysis of Research on Immigrants to Official Language Minority Communities in Canada. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada.
- Esses, V. M., Burstein, M., Ravanera, Z., Hallman, S. and Medianu, S. (2013). Alberta Settlement Outcomes Survey (p. 52). Alberta Human Services. <https://open.alberta.ca/dataset/DCF0C5D1-9894-402C-B479-E31B491D6518/resource/3A1833E9-98D5-4DE2-BC41-1EEEE76CD9C4/download/alberta-outcomes-settlement-survey-results.pdf>
- Esses, V., McRae, J., Alboim, N., Brown, N., Friesen, C., Hamilton, L., Lacassagne, A., Macklin, A. and Walton-Roberts, M. (2021). Supporting Canada's COVID-19 Resilience and Recovery Through Robust Immigration Policy and Programs. (p. 90). Royal Society of Canada.
- Feenan, K. and Madhany, S. (2021). Immigration and the Success of Canada's Post-Pandemic Economy. Public Policy Forum. <https://www.deslibris.ca/ID/10107118>
- Fleury, C., Bélanger, D. and Haemmerli, G. (2019). Les travailleurs étrangers temporaires au Canada : Une sous-classe d'employés ? Cahiers québécois de démographie, 47(1), 81-108. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1062107ar>
- Forest, M., Duvivier, J. and Hieu Truong. (2020). French-Speaking Immigrant Teachers Living in Francophone Minority Communities: Understanding and Facilitating Their Professional Integration Pathways (pp. 16-17). Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada.
- Gherbi, A. and Belkhodja, C. (2019). Montréal, a "welcoming community" for international students? : Journal of international Mobility, 6(1), 17-43. <https://doi.org/10.3917/jim.006.0017>
- Government of Quebec (n.d.). Staying in Québec permanently. Accessed on July 27, 2022, at <https://www.quebec.ca/en/immigration/work-quebec/temporary-workers/temporary-foreign-worker-program/staying-permanently>
- Government of Quebec. (n.d.). Integration Service for Immigrants. Accessed on August 22, 2022, at <https://www.quebec.ca/en/immigration/integration-service-for-immigrants>
- Haan, M., Yoshida, Y., Amoyaw, J. and Iciaszczyk, N. (2021). Becoming Permanent: The Transition Characteristics of Temporary Foreign Workers to Permanent Residents in Canada. International Migration, 59(2), 8-24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12741>
- Hari, A. and Nardon, L. (2020, November 2). Immigrant women are falling behind during the COVID-19 pandemic. Sprott School of Business. <https://sprott.carleton.ca/2020/11/immigrant-women-are-falling-behind-during-the-covid-19-pandemic/>
- Harris, S., Trudel, S., Reynolds, S. and Pollard, D. (2022, October 20). The Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot—The Manitoba Experience. Diversity, Equity and Inclusion: Practices, Policies and Programs, The 5th Metropolis Identities Summit, Delta Hotels by Marriott, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- Harvey, W. S. and Beaverstock, J. V. (2017). Diverging Experiences of Work and Social Networks Abroad: Highly Skilled British Migrants in Singapore, Vancouver, and Boston. In Q. Wang & M. van Riemsdijk (Eds.), Rethinking International Skilled Migration (pp. 290-314). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315688312-25>

- Hawthorne, L. (2010). How valuable is “two-step migration”? Labor market outcomes for international student migrants to Australia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal: APMJ*, 19(1), 5-36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/011719681001900102>
- Hou, F., Crossman, E. and Picot, G. (2020). Two-step immigration selection: An analysis of its expansion in Canada. *Economic Insights*, 112, 1-11.
- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2016). Mesure et définition d’un “immigrant d’expression française”. <http://p2pcanada.ca/wp-content/blogs.dir/1/files/2016/12/Francois-Henault-francophone-p2p2016.pdf>
- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2019). Meeting Our Objectives: Francophone Immigration Strategy. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/francophone-immigration-strategy.html>
- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2020). CIMM – Francophone Immigration Outside Quebec – February 15 and 17, 2022. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/transparency/committees/march-12-2020/francophone-immigration-outside-quebec.html>
- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2021) 2021 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2021.html>
- Jacquet, M. and André, G. (2021). Les services d’accueil aux immigrants francophones en Colombie-Britannique : Expériences ethniques différenciées et mobilités plurielles. *Recherches sociographiques*, 61(2 3), 413-432. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1077918ar>
- Kachulis, E. and Perez-Leclerc, M. (2020). Temporary Foreign Workers in Canada. Parliamentary Information and Research Service. Publication 2019-36-E.
- Lamarre, P., Heller, M., Frenette, Y. and Deshayes, T. (2021). Mobilités, circulation et ancrages : La francophonie dans la vallée de l’Okanagan-Similkameen en Colombie-Britannique¹. *Francophonies d’Amérique*, 52, 105-130. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1082864ar>
- Lemoine, M.-P. and Forest, M. (2020). Occupational Integration in Healthcare by French-Speaking Immigrants Living in Minority Communities. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/documents/pdf/english/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/R28-2019_Health_Eng.pdf
- Lodermeier, V. J. (2012). A chance for a better life: Development of the Immigrant Workforce in Smaller Communities and Rural Alberta (p. 64). Bow Valley College. http://en.copian.ca/library/research/bow_valley/chance_better_life/chance_better_life.pdf
- Lu, Y. and Hou, F. (2017). Transition from Temporary Foreign Workers to Permanent Residents, 1990 to 2014. Statistics Canada.
- Madibbo, A. (2015). L’état de la reconnaissance et de la non-reconnaissance des acquis des immigrants africains francophones en Alberta. *Francophonies d’Amérique*, 37, 155-171. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1033979ar>
- Mulatis, P., Jacquet, M. and André, G. (2018). L’immigration francophone dans les territoires et l’Ouest canadien : Réalités et perspectives après 10 ans d’accueil et de services. *Alternative Francophone*, 2(2), 9-28. <https://doi.org/10.29173/af29351>
- Mullings, D. V., Giwa, S., Karki, K. K., Shaikh, S., Gooden, A., Spencer, E. B. and Anderson, W. (2020). The Settlement and Integration Experience of Temporary Foreign Workers Living in an Isolated Area of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 22(3), 1085-1104. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-020-00788-9>
- Nakache, D. and Dixon-Perera, L. (2016). Temporary or transitional? : Migrant workers’ experiences with permanent residence in Canada. Institute for Research on Public Policy. <http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/248565>

- Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. (2021). Statistical Analysis of the 4.4% Immigration Target for French-Speaking Immigrants in Francophone Minority Communities: Almost 20 Years After Setting the Target, It Is Time to Do More and Do Better. https://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/201/301/weekly_acquisitions_list-ef/2021/21-52/publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2021/clo-ocol/SF31-151-2021-eng.pdf
- Patzelt, A. (2021). Leave - stay - return: Understanding mobility trajectories of German migrants by choice moving to and from Canada. University of Ottawa.
- Pellerin, H. (2011). De la migration à la mobilité : Changement de paradigme dans la gestion migratoire. Le cas du Canada. *Revue Européenne Des Migrations Internationales*, 27(2), 57-75. <https://doi.org/10.4000/remi.5435>
- Picot, G., Hou, F., Crossman, E. and Lu, Y. (2022). Transition to Permanent Residency by Lower- and Higher-Skilled Temporary Foreign Workers. *Economic and Social Reports*, 2. <https://doi.org/10.25318/36280001202200100002-ENG>
- Prokopenko, E. and Hou, F. (2018). How Temporary Were Canada's Temporary Foreign Workers?: *Population and Development Review*, 44(2), 257-280. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padr.12138>
- Rashid, R., Gregory, D., Kazemipur, A. and Scruby, L. (2013). Immigration journey: A holistic exploration of pre- and post-migration life stories in a sample of Canadian immigrant women. *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*, 9(4), 189-202. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJMHS-07-2013-0018>
- Shields, J. and Alrob, Z. A. (2020). COVID-19, Migration and the Canadian Immigration System: Dimensions, Impact and Resilience (p. 80). <https://bmrc-irmu.info.yorku.ca/files/2020/07/COVID-19-and-Migration-Paper-Final-Edit-JS-July-24-1.pdf?x8264>
- Traisnel, C., Deschênes-Thériault, G., Pépin-Fillion, D. and Guignard Noël, J., (2020), Attirer, accueillir et retenir. La promotion, le recrutement et la rétention des nouveaux arrivants francophones en Atlantique. Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities.
- The Conference Board of Canada. (2021). Counting on Immigration: Assessing COVID-19's Impact and Planning (p. 23).

Appendix

Stakeholders interviewed

While collecting qualitative data, the research team enlisted the help of representatives from the following organizations:

Manitoba	Accueil Francophone Economic Development Council for Manitoba Bilingual Municipalities Réseau en immigration francophone du Manitoba
Saskatchewan	Conseil économique et coopératif de la Saskatchewan Réseau en immigration francophone de la Saskatchewan Service d'accueil et d'inclusion francophone - Saskatchewan
Alberta	Accès Emploi Alberta Francophonie Albertaine Plurielle Réseau en immigration francophone de l'Alberta
British Columbia	Coopérative d'immigration Relais Francophone de la Colombie-Britannique Francophone Immigration Network Société de développement économique de la Colombie-Britannique
West	Immigration consultant

Additional information on the qualitative sample

The following tables contain additional information regarding the 35 temporary residents interviewed in the context of the research project.

Table 5: Age group of interviewees

Age group	Number of respondents
18 to 25 years	3
26 to 34 years	8
35 to 49 years	21
50 to 59 years	1
60 years and older	1
Total	34

Table 6: Year of arrival on first temporary permit for the interviewees

Year of arrival on first temporary permit	Number of respondents
2012 – 2015	16
2016 – 2019	12
2019 – 2023	6
Total	34