Pathways to Permanent Residency for French-Speaking Skilled Temporary Foreign Workers - Atlantic Provinces

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Acronyms

AIP	Atlantic Immigration Program
IMP	International Mobility Program
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
NOC	National Occupation Classification
TFW	Temporary Foreign Worker
TFWP	Temporary Foreign Worker Program

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to understand the transition to permanent residency for French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers in the Atlantic provinces. During the study period (2012 to 2021), transitions from temporary worker status to permanent resident status increased in Canada. Since temporary and permanent immigration are particularly important for the vitality of Francophone minority communities, it is important to look at the pathways taken by the skilled temporary foreign workers who make this transition in a minority language context. Therefore, the research team reviewed Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) administrative data and conducted interviews with 25 French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers and permanent residents who had been temporary residents during the study period, as well as 10 stakeholders who serve or are very familiar with this population. Although 3.2% of the temporary foreign workers who arrived between 2012 and 2021 are French-speaking, approximately 21% of them transitioned to permanent residency in 2021. That being said, obtaining permanent residence was an objective or a reality for most of the interviewees. For many, temporary residence was a fast and efficient way to come to Canada and confirm their intention to stay here. On the other hand, temporary status quickly becomes a stress factor and a barrier to professional, personal and family plans of varying timeframes.

A focus on the experience of transitioning to permanent residency highlights the factors that facilitate the transition. The literature and interviews clearly show that the complexity, slowness, inconsistency and impersonal nature of the process can have a negative impact on the transition experience, to the point of discouraging some from changing their status. In terms of employment, factors such as more precarious employment, a lower level of social and professional integration, or difficulty imagining optimal professional development seem to increase barriers to making the transition or reduce the motivation to do so. Those who received personalized support, mainly from their employer, generally had a more positive transition experience. Lastly, analysis of the factors related to the French language and the presence of Francophone communities shows that speaking French appears often —although not always—to be an advantage when obtaining temporary and then permanent residence. However, most of the respondents were not very familiar with the Francophone communities and their services and activities, especially upon arrival.

Summary

Presentation of the study and methodology

This report presents the highlights of a research project carried out by the firms Goss Gilroy Inc. (GGI) and Sociopol for Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). The purpose of this report is to understand the transition to permanent residency for French-speaking skilled[1] temporary foreign workers in the Atlantic provinces.

During the study period (2012 to 2021), transitions from temporary worker status to permanent resident status ("two-step" immigration) increased in Canada. Since temporary and permanent immigration are particularly important for the vitality of Francophone communities outside Quebec, it is important to look at the pathways taken by the skilled temporary foreign workers who make this transition in a minority language community. To do so, the research team reviewed IRCC administrative data and conducted interviews with 25 French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers and permanent residents who were temporary residents during the study period. The research team also spoke with 10 representatives of organizations and stakeholders who serve or are very familiar with this population.

Statistical profile of French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers in Atlantic Canada

In Atlantic Canada, 25,271 skilled temporary foreign workers obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021. Of that number, 3.2% (801 people) were French-speaking. Their main provinces of destination were New Brunswick (especially Moncton) and Nova Scotia (especially Halifax). These French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers were mainly born in France (75.3%), with Belgium (4.4%) in second place. After Europe, the second region of origin is Africa (13.6%). In Africa, the main countries of birth are Tunisia (3.1%) and Morocco (2.5%). Over 90.8% spoke French as their mother tongue, and half also spoke English. There were slightly more men (54.2%) than women (45.8%) in this relatively young population (75.8% were under 35 when they arrived). Half of them were employed in professional occupations, 39.5% in technical occupations and skilled trades and 8.2% in managerial occupations. The vast majority (94.3%) of these skilled temporary foreign workers went through the International Mobility Program (IMP), which includes the Francophone Mobility stream. Since it was launched in 2016, the annual proportion of French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers admitted to Atlantic Canada through Francophone Mobility increased significantly from approximately 10.6% in 2016 to 71.8% in 2021.

[1] "Skilled" refers here to those employed in occupations whose skill level is 0, A or B as per the 2011 and 2016 National Occupation Classification (NOC).

Analysis of the interviews and the data

Factors encouraging settlement in Atlantic Canada. Most French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers settle in Canada as the result of a job offer, but there are other reasons as well, such as a desire to live elsewhere or to find a better education for their children, personal ties with Canada, and an interest in the Canadian lifestyle and perceived attitudes and mentalities in Canada (e.g. work-life balance and a sociopolitical climate of tolerance). Our qualitative results suggest that a large number of the temporary foreign workers were already thinking about staying in Canada long-term when they arrived here. That being said, staying in Canada depends on the success of their socioeconomic integration during temporary residency. The respondents who become permanent residents said that they chose to do so because they were satisfied with their employment and felt well integrated into their communities.

Settlement. Most of our respondents were employed in professional occupations, had an advanced or intermediate level of English and were able to take steps on their own to settle here. Among the challenges with settlement most often cited were housing and cost of living, difficulty accessing healthcare in French and in general, and various administrative challenges. Those arriving in Canada who already had a solid job offer, a good level of English, good financial resources and some kind of social network or support from their employer experienced few settlement-related issues. However, some still faced challenges, especially those who had a low level of English when they arrived, as well as the temporary foreign workers arriving from Africa. In most cases, these problems did not discourage them from settling long-term, but occasionally caused major stress and had repercussions on long-term decisions. French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers are not immune to difficult financial situations (for example, due to a lack of access to credit or a salary that is insufficient in relation to the cost of living). Temporary residence sometimes led to additional costs and made access to certain services more complicated, especially when there were delays in the process for renewing temporary resident status.

It is also important to note that organizations working in the Francophone immigration sector do not receive funding to support temporary residents although they still do so when circumstances require or permit. However, IRCC supports access to settlement services for skilled temporary foreign workers who are accepted under the Atlantic Immigration Program (AIP) and awaiting permanent resident status. Some organizations in Atlantic Canada encourage employers to hire skilled temporary foreign workers, but point out that they do not have the authorization or resources to guide them through the entire process. Employer support for skilled workers during their settlement is always valuable, but highly variable.

Professional integration. More than half of our respondents worked in a bilingual environment or in French during their temporary residency. Some who did not have a very good command of English and needed it in their workplace faced difficulties upon arrival, but mentioned that their situation improved quickly. Most of the respondents were satisfied with their working conditions, although some reported that their position or chances of advancement did not match their qualifications. In addition, for several respondents, having temporary status and a closed work permit put them in a somewhat vulnerable position vis-à-vis their employer. Several people had negative experiences and felt trapped until they became permanent residents. Even though there is now some recourse for people in such situations, some temporary residents have been reluctant to use it for fear of jeopardizing their plans in Canada. Even for those who did not have serious problems, the closed permit caused anxiety and was constraining. For temporary foreign workers, such circumstances made them want to obtain permanent residence as soon as possible.

Transition to permanent residency. Among the 801 French speakers who obtained a temporary work permit from 2012 to 2021 in the Atlantic provinces, 166 subsequently transitioned to permanent residency, i.e. 20.7%, a percentage similar to that of all the skilled temporary foreign workers in Atlantic Canada. The vast majority of French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers who became permanent residents were accepted through one of the economic immigration programs, including the Provincial Nominee Program (57.8 %), the Canadian Experience Class (19.9%) and the AIP. Piloted in 2017, the AIP became permanent in 2022 and now accounts for 17.6% of the admissions in our study population. It gives designated employers the opportunity to hire skilled candidates for positions that they have not been able to fill locally. To be designated, employers are required to demonstrate their eligibility based on various criteria and take intercultural competence training, which the stakeholders who were interviewed and the authors consider a promising initiative.

Among those who became permanent residents, a higher proportion were employed in managerial occupations (16.9%) or technical occupations and skilled trades (45.2%) upon their arrival in Canada than among all of the French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers upon their arrival. The totals by province of destination show that the French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers in New Brunswick (24.9%), Newfoundland and Labrador (23.3%) and Prince Edward Island (22%) are almost just as likely to transition to permanent residency. The proportion is lower, however, in Nova Scotia (13%). Looking at the totals based on sex shows that on average, men who obtained a work permit as a skilled worker between 2012 and 2021 were slightly more likely to transition to permanent residency (21.9%) than women (19.3%).

The decision to apply for permanent residence is influenced by a range of considerations, whether personal (such as being in a relationship with a Canadian or preferring the way of life in Canada for oneself or one's family) or professional (such as being able to advance one's career or change jobs, go into business or pursue studies). Most respondents wanted to be permanent residents first and foremost to enjoy greater peace of mind, since it removes the constraints associated with temporary status and the need to renew it.

In terms of transition-related challenges experienced by respondents, processing time was at the top of the list. Some respondents found the programs and processes difficult to understand, given their complexity, and said they did not have clear, up-to-date information from official sources. Most complained that they had not been able to speak with an IRCC representative to learn how to navigate the rules in their particular situation or obtain information during the process. For example, our respondents were worried that an administrative error might jeopardize their transition, and this actually did occur in some cases. Furthermore, they found the cost of immigration consultant services to be high. Several respondents complained about the lack of affordable French-speaking resources capable of providing immigration advice. They also found it redundant and onerous that they had to take a test to prove their French-language skills, when they already had French as either their mother tongue or their language of education.

Potential solutions

1. Provide all French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers with access to pre-departure services, as is the case with the AIP.
2. Provide additional resources to organizations already responsible for French-language settlement services, and authorize them to serve temporary residents.
3. Provide French-speaking skilled foreign workers with information on the Francophone community and resources in their destination region as early as possible, to facilitate the creation of links between workers and organizations.
4. Work with employers to identify and welcome French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers.
5. Facilitate access to immigration consulting resources in French.
6. Increase outreach to French-speaking temporary foreign workers and employers to raise their awareness of the rights of those workers and improve support to temporary workers who have a closed permit and are facing difficult situations.
7. Speed up the transition from temporary to permanent residency for settled French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers who have been working in Canada for several years.
8. Ensure compassionate, personal treatment and systematic, clear and easy access to information in French for temporary residents.

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 residency taken by French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers (TFWs) in the Atlantic provinces.

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 being used increasingly 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 put measures in place and introduced programs for immigration in the economic class, such as the Canadian Experience Class, as well as 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 and those admitted 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 has various streams, such as International Experience Canada (IEC), which has options for working holidays, young professionals and international co-ops. The IMP also includes the Francophone Mobility stream, established in 2016. The objective of Francophone Mobility is to increase the recruitment of French-speaking TFWs outside Quebec. To achieve this, as with the other IMP streams, employers are exempt from conducting a labour market impact assessment (LMIA) and paying the associated costs. In addition, the eligibility criteria for Francophone Mobility are not restricted by the worker's nationality and age, unlike other IMP streams. Lastly, even though the language most often spoken by the 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 vitality (Ba, 2021). In that regard, the Government of Canada's support for Francophone immigration has increased over the years, as shown by the progress made on the 4.4% admission target for French-speaking permanent residents outside Quebec (IRCC, 2019).

Research objective

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

Main question: What factors influenced French-speaking skilled TFWs' transition to permanent residency in the Atlantic provinces?

Sub-questions: Regarding French-speaking skilled TFWs in the Atlantic provinces:

- What are their social and demographic characteristics?
- What are the characteristics of those who transitioned to permanent residency?
- What factors influenced their decision whether or not to start the process to become a permanent resident?
- How have government programs and policies influenced their transition pathway to permanent residency?
- What are the unique characteristics of their economic, cultural and social integration?
- What are the main obstacles and challenges they encountered on this 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 residency?
- 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 skilled TFW pathway, with a focus on French speakers.
- Take stock of the current situation regarding the specific policies and dynamics of Francophone immigration to Canada outside Quebec, with a focus on TFWs and the Atlantic provinces.
- Review the programs in Canada and the Atlantic provinces that give skilled professionals access to temporary resident status and then allow them to start the process of obtaining permanent residence.

Statistical analysis

The research team also analyzed the IRCC administrative data drawn from the records of the applicants for temporary and permanent resident status. Three criteria were used to identify the temporary workers who were included in the statistical profile: the date when they obtained their first work permit; their skill level based on the National Occupation Classification (NOC); and their

language. The French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between January 1, 2012, and December 31, 2021, and whose NOC level was 0, A or B[2] were included.

Regarding language, we used IRCC's 2006 definition of a French-speaking immigrant: an immigrant whose mother tongue is French, or whose first official language 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 excluded[3] (IRCC, 2012).

Note that to ensure those concerned remain anonymous, the values under 5 were not included in all of the figures and tables. When someone had more than one work permit (for example, in 2013, 2015 and 2017), the year when the first work permit was obtained is shown (for example, 2013).

Semi-structured interviews

The research team conducted 25 semi-structured interviews with people belonging to various groups in the study population. All of the interviewees are adults with the following characteristics:

- Have had (since 2012) or have temporary resident status as a skilled worker;
- Are French-speakers, as per IRCC's 2006 definition; and
- Lived and worked mainly in an Atlantic province during their temporary residency.

Table 1: Permanent residence situation of the interviewees

Situation of the interviewees	Former skilled TFWs	Current skilled TFWs
Permanent residents	11	0
Permanent residence applicants or those who intend to apply for permanent residence	0	9
Those who do not wish or no longer wish to obtain permanent residence (e.g. after having their application refused)	2	2
Those who are still thinking about permanent residence	0	1

[2] This refers to the skill level as set out in the 2011 and 2016 NOCs. Only those whose NOC information is entered in the IRCC database were included.

[3] The 2006 definition of a French-speaking immigrant tends to 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 are 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.

In sum, the sample's characteristics reflect those of the entire target population.[4]

- Most of the respondents were born in France or Belgium (18). The other countries of origin represented in the sample are Côte d'Ivoire, Benin, Burkina Faso, Guadeloupe, Madagascar and Morocco.
- 15 people were based in New Brunswick, and 10 were located in Nova Scotia.
- The duration of the temporary stays varied from less than 1 year to more than 36 months.
- The interviewees obtained their temporary permit(s) under various programs, but most (18) obtained a closed permit through the IMP without a labour market impact assessment (LMIA), including the Francophone Mobility stream (7).
- The sample had an equal number of men and women and one person who identified as trans, gender fluid, non-binary or two-spirited. Five people indicated that they are a member of a visible minority (three people indicated that they preferred not to answer).

The semi-structured interviews addressed the French-speaking skilled TFWs' professional and migration pathway in order to ensure a good understanding of the factors that influenced their transition to permanent residency. They 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 study groups. Those interested in participating were invited to contact the researchers directly to ensure that there would be no possible connection between their participation in the research and their personal record at IRCC. The volunteers were asked to fill out a short questionnaire in order to collect the demographic and pathway-related information required for participant sampling. The participants in the interviews received a consent form detailing the research goals and how the information gathered would be used.

In addition, the research team had a recruitment notice sent to Francophone immigration networks, and a few respondents volunteered in response to the notice.

All of the interviews were carried out by videoconference or telephone and lasted approximately 60 minutes.

The research team also held 10 semi-structured interviews with stakeholders who could provide relevant information on the path of French-speaking skilled TFWs in the Atlantic 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. Those interviews were also useful for addressing innovations, promising practices and possible solutions to the issues raised.

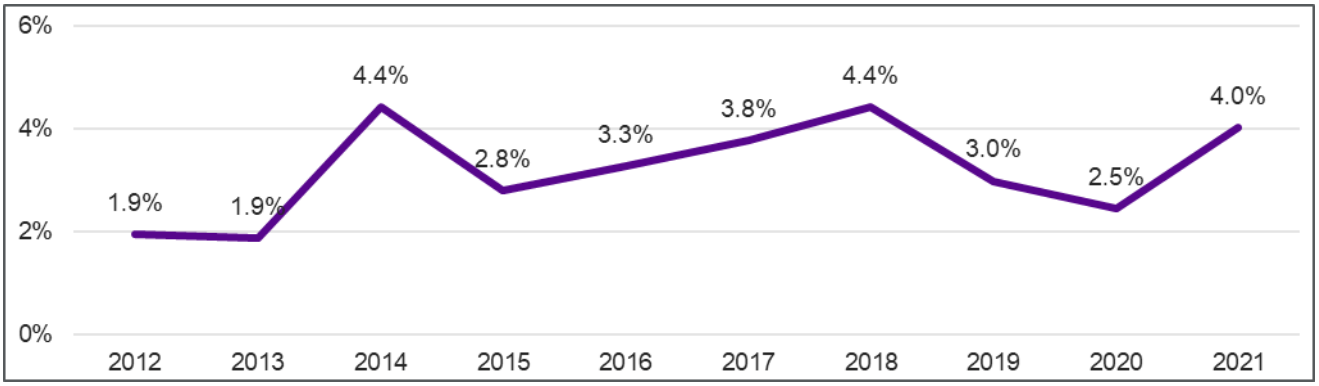
[4] See the snapshot in the next section of this report for statistics on the target population and the appendix for more information on the 25 study participants.

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

Characteristics of the French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers in Atlantic Canada

In Atlantic Canada, 25,271 skilled TFWs obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021. Of that number, 3.2% (801 people) were French-speaking. The proportion of French-speaking people among all of the skilled TFWs who were admitted fluctuated during the study period between a low of 1.9% (2012 and 2013) and a high of 4.4% (2014 and 2018).

Figure 1: Annual proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs of total skilled TFWs and year of first work permit obtained, 2012 to 2021, Atlantic Canada

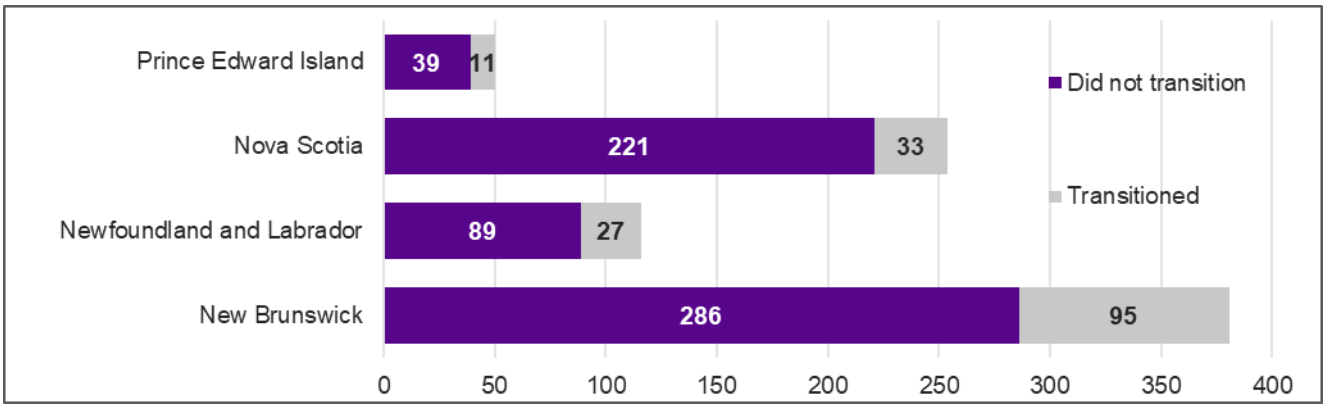


Source: IRCC, Temporary resident administrative dataset linked to the permanent resident administrative dataset, December 31, 2021[5]

Nearly half of these people intended to settle in New Brunswick (47.6%) when they obtained their first work permit, and nearly a third in Nova Scotia (31.7%). Few of them wanted to settle in Newfoundland and Labrador (14.5%) and Prince Edward Island (6.2%) (Figure 2). The five main cities of destination considered by these temporary workers were Moncton (3.1%) and the four provincial capitals, Halifax (21%), Saint John (8.7%), Fredericton (5.6%) and Charlottetown (3.4%). Edmundston (2.6%), New Brunswick, was in sixth place.

[5] All of the figures and tables in this section are based on figures from IRCC's linked temporary and permanent resident administrative datasets.

Figure 2: Number of French-speaking skilled TFWs, by transition status to permanent residency and intended province of destination, 2012 to 2021, Atlantic Canada



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

Impact of the pandemic

From 2012 to 2021, an average of 80 French-speaking skilled TFWs per year obtained a work permit in one of the Atlantic provinces, with a high of 121 in 2014 and a low of 34 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 temporary workers 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 those factors, the number of international students, temporary workers and permanent residents entering the country decreased considerably, and Atlantic Canada was particularly affected. For example, the rate of admission to the new Atlantic Immigration Program (AIP), which came out of a 2017 pilot project, "dropped by 66 per cent [in 2020] compared with equivalent months in 2019" (The Conference Board of Canada, 2021, p. 9). Therefore, a small number of French-speaking skilled TFWs were issued a permit in Atlantic Canada in 2020. In addition, admissions of permanent residents also decreased significantly in the Atlantic provinces compared to the other regions of Canada (The Conference Board of Canada, 2021).

Temporary residence programs

The main mechanism for admitting French-speaking skilled TFWs in Atlantic Canada is the IMP (94.3%). These figures reflect the relevance of this program that targets them specifically through its Canadian Interests category (89.1%), which includes the Francophone Mobility stream. Since Francophone Mobility was launched in June 2016, the annual proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs admitted to Atlantic Canada through this stream increased significantly from 10.6% in 2016 to 71.8% in 2021.

Table 2: Number and percentage of French-speaking skilled TFWs by transition status to permanent residency, main admission program and category, 2012 to 2021, Atlantic Canada

	Transitioned		Did not transition		Total	
Admission programs and categories	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
International Mobility Program	**145**	**87.3%**	**610**	**96.1%**	**755**	**94.3%**
Canadian Interests	125	75.3%	589	92.8%	714	89.1%
International agreements or arrangements and Other	20	12.0%	21	3.3%	41	5.1%
Temporary Foreign Worker Program	**21**	**12.7%**	**25**	**3.9%**	**46**	**5.7%**
Total	**166**	**100.0%**	**635**	**100.0%**	**801**	**100.0%**

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

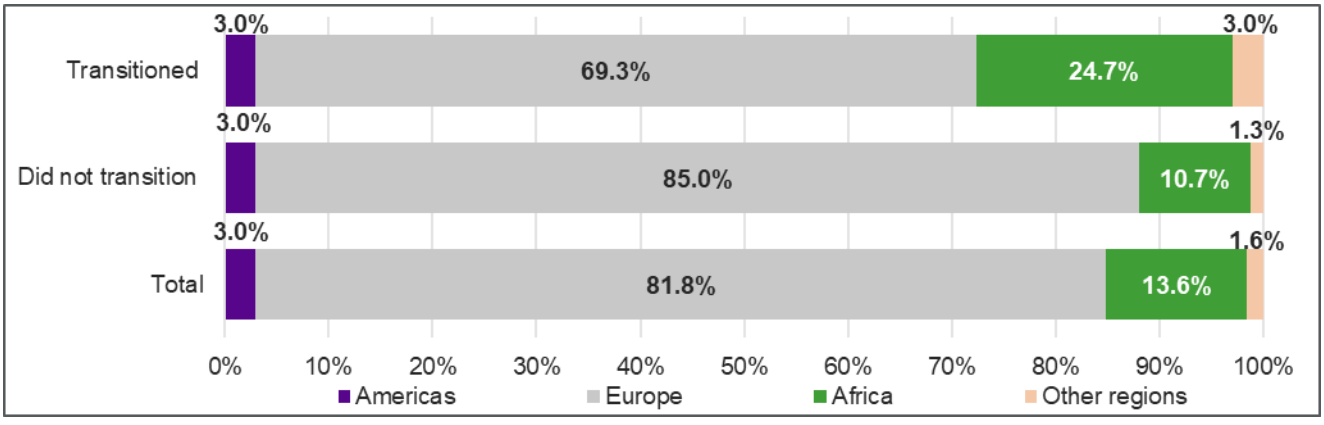
In the case of the TFWP, temporary foreign workers generally receive a closed work permit that authorizes them to work for only one specific employer. Under the IMP, temporary workers typically receive an open work permit, which gives them more flexibility to choose their employer (Coderre & Nakache, 2021; Hou et al., 2020). However, the large majority of respondents in our study obtained a closed permit under the IMP.

In the interviews, the respondents who went through the Francophone Mobility stream indicated that their employers liked it because it reduced their workload, their financial burden and the hiring time. However, the stakeholders noted that the complexity of the immigration programs and file processing times can limit the participation of small and medium-sized businesses in particular, as they have fewer resources at their disposal. Furthermore, employers need to be familiar with the program and its criteria in order to benefit from it.

Regions and countries of origin

The main country of origin for all of the French-speaking skilled TFWs in Atlantic Canada during the study period is France, by a wide margin (75.3%). Belgium (4.4%) is in second place. After Europe, the region of origin in second place is Africa (13.6%). In Africa, the main countries of birth are Tunisia (3.1%), Morocco (2.5 %), Algeria (1.7 %), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (1.4%), Cameroon (1.4%) and Côte d'Ivoire (0.9%). Lastly, the Americas (3%) are in third place, with Haiti (0.6%) as the most common country of birth.

Figure 3: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021, by transition status to permanent residency and region of birth, Atlantic Canada



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

Gender and age

Slightly more French-speaking men (54.2%) than women (45.8%) obtained a work permit as a skilled TFW during the period from 2012 to 2021 (Figure 9). As a whole, the French-speaking skilled TFWs are relatively young. For the period from 2012 to 2021, 75.8% of them were under 35 when they received their first work permit, of whom 45.3% were between 18 and 24.

Professional skill level and language profile

Most French-speaking skilled TFWs during the study period were employed in professional occupations (52.3%), while 39.5% were in technical occupations and skilled trades and 8.2% in managerial occupations.

The vast majority (90.8%) of those who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 speak French as their mother tongue (Figure 5). The second mother tongue most frequently identified is Arabic (5%). In terms of self-declared knowledge of both official languages, 50.8% of the French-speaking skilled TFWs reported that they knew both French and English and 40.1% knew only French. Caution is advised when interpreting these data, however, since knowledge of official languages is not reported for 18.1% of the people in this category.

Factors encouraging French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers to settle in Canada and in Atlantic Canada

Leaving for Canada

The motivations for skilled workers to settle temporarily in Canada vary greatly, particularly depending on their country of origin, socioeconomic situation and level of education. Coderre and Nakache (2021) note that among the working tourists they studied, the main reason for settling temporarily in Canada was to gain work experience rather than a desire to travel and explore. It was also the main reason mentioned by our study participants who entered Canada with a visa for young professionals or international co-op interns, two categories of the International Experience Canada stream, which is part of the IMP.

Career development and professional opportunities are key factors for migration among the skilled workers in our sample. Désilets (2019) also notes that for middle-class skilled TFWs who voluntarily travel on their own rather than for an employer or through a transfer within a multinational organization, the opportunity to gain work experience or pursue international studies is an important factor. 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 a good work-life balance. Migration is also not always motivated by the desire to earn more money. Some skilled TFWs could earn more elsewhere or in their country of origin; this was the case for some of our respondents.

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 very diverse and include an attraction to 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 the interviewees, their reasons for coming to Canada reflect those factors. The causes identified were a combination of looking for new job opportunities or ones that contribute to career advancement, wanting to live elsewhere, hoping for a better education for their children and being interested in the lifestyle or the (perceived) attitudes and mentalities in Canada.

Identifying job opportunities

Almost all of the French-speaking skilled TFWs consulted for our study arrived in Canada with a job offer that they received abroad. The others found an opportunity once here. They were already studying in Canada or found a job after their graduation.

Eight people recruited abroad found an opportunity more or less directly through a Destination Canada forum. Some were able to enter directly into contact with an employer by participating in the forum. Some visited Destination Canada several times before finding an opportunity or deciding to come. Others used information from the forum to do their own searches, and two found their job through the Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité [Canada's Francophone economic and employment development network]. Three respondents instead found their job through the Alliance Française, and one said they received an offer through a recruitment agency. The other participants found opportunities by doing their own online searches (6), while visiting Canada (2) or through their own network (5).

[Translation] “I wanted to work in an Alliance Française.... It turned out that Halifax was recruiting at the time. Halifax offered a better quality of life than the other cities because it was not too expensive.”

Choosing the region of destination

The choice of province and city to settle in depends mainly on the place of work. Many interviewees went where their only offer or their most interesting offer came from. For those who made a deliberate choice to go to Atlantic Canada over elsewhere, their decision was influenced by such factors as follows:

[Translation] “I was also interested in Saskatchewan.... So there were a few possibilities, but it was really New Brunswick that offered me a concrete opportunity. I was not specifically looking at Atlantic Canada to begin with.”

- lifestyle (for example, choosing Moncton over Montréal in order to be in a less urban environment or choosing Nova Scotia over Prince Edward Island to be in a more dynamic and cosmopolitan environment) or the cost of living;
- previous experience in the region (studies, an internship, exploratory visit);
- an easier process to become a permanent resident compared with Quebec;
- a partner, family members or acquaintances in the region.

[Translation] “Quebec was ruled out—becoming a permanent resident was very complicated, and the offer was in New Brunswick.”

More than half of our respondents were working or worked in a bilingual environment or in French during their temporary residency, such as in Francophone organizations or businesses that recruited abroad. For several of them, a work environment that made room for French was a plus.

Approximately half of the respondents arrived in Canada with their families. The opportunity to have their children educated in French was a factor that attracted many of them. However, for others, the opportunity to improve their English was a factor in their decision to settle in Canada in a province where French is a minority language. Other cases were more individual, e.g. a family who had been based in Asia up to that point, and Canada offered them an easier situation language-wise.

[Translation] “I found out there were French speakers in Newfoundland and Labrador, but zero interaction with the community. It’s also personal: in every country I’ve gone to for work, I’ve avoided being with Francophones/French people.”

[Translation] “I knew there were a few Francophones, with the Alliance Française, but I didn’t really know about the community. I had already worked before in countries where there was no French-speaking community. That never bothered me.”

Pathways to settlement

Steps and challenges settling in Atlantic Canada

Most of our respondents were employed in professional occupations and were able to take steps on their own to settle here. Also, most had an advanced (8) or intermediate (15) level of English at the time of the study. Those who arrived in Canada with a solid job offer already, a good level of English, good financial resources and some kind of social network and/or support from their employer experienced few settlement-related issues. However, the French speakers who had a lower level of English when they arrived and the temporary workers from Africa faced more challenges.

For several respondents, having temporary status and, beyond that, a closed work permit, put them in a somewhat vulnerable position vis-à-vis their employer. Being a temporary resident can also result in additional costs and make access to some services more complicated. Accessing services in French, particularly healthcare, was also raised as an issue several times. Despite those obstacles, the respondents still tried to become permanent residents and stay in Atlantic Canada. However, these settlement-related challenges raised doubts, changed professional or personal plans and caused them greater stress.

[Translation] "In Halifax, there are almost no services in French. They told me I could do everything in French. My English really wasn't good, and I actually had to take classes because if you go to the doctor or get other services, it's in English. In fact, all of the Nova Scotia government's services are in English."

- **Housing and the cost of living**. Several of our respondents received help finding housing from their employer or their network, whereas others had to go through long, difficult processes. In that regard, interviewees who were born in Europe encountered fewer obstacles than those born in Africa. Several respondents and stakeholders criticized the worsening shortage of affordable housing, especially for newly arrived temporary workers. On Prince Edward Island, the housing issue is preventing new residents from being hired and settling, regardless of their status. Furthermore, while a few interviewees said they were very financially well-off, four reported that they had experienced major financial difficulties, given the gap between the cost of living, particularly housing, and their salary. Outside the large urban centres, transportation is also a financial and logistical obstacle, especially in Newfoundland and Labrador, where the cost of automobile insurance, for example, is very high.

[Translation] "Islanders are not used to seeing such great distress. They wonder why they're brought here if no one can help them. Everyone knows each other, which adds to the stress." — stakeholder

- **Health**. Depending on their migration program and the province, skilled TFWs may not have access to public health insurance or other health services. Furthermore, studies show reduced access to health services due to a lack of understanding of the Canadian health system (Mullings et al., 2020), and some of our respondents felt that they were not given clear enough information to be able to navigate access to healthcare. Nearly half of the respondents complained that they had had limited access to health services because of their temporary status, administrative turnaround times or the lack of family doctors. One or two added that they had had difficulty accessing health services in French specifically, but it seems that it was access to healthcare in general that was a challenge in most of these cases.

[Translation] “For example, a family doctor, you have to get on a waiting list, and it takes two years, but we found that out a year after we arrived. I would have done it as soon as I arrived!”

[Translation] “Not having English was a barrier for some other things, like healthcare. But the benefit is Canada is bilingual (for example, banking, on the phone it was fine). However, going to the hospital was complicated.”

- **Administrative challenges**. Some respondents said that they had administrative issues or challenges with taxes, different kinds of insurance, driver’s licences and obtaining a social insurance number. These problems were often due to a lack of information on the process or the higher level of complexity or even higher costs associated with their temporary resident status. However, very few reported language-related problems around administrative procedures: either they were able to deal with people in French, or English was not a problem in their case. Administrative challenges are also not perceived as a major obstacle and do not necessarily affect migration-related decisions. However, these irritants and any related financial repercussions have an impact on the temporary residents’ experience and show above all that they encounter surprises while dealing with things and have to adapt.

These issues raised in the interviews are in keeping with the findings from the literature, where frequently mentioned barriers include looking for suitable affordable housing, knowledge of English, accessing services in French and navigating bureaucratic processes (Bélanger et al., 2019; Désilets, 2019; Mullings et al., 2020; Patzelt, 2021).

Building a social network

For many of our respondents, effective social integration of the main applicant and/or of the family, if applicable, played a role in their decision to apply for permanent residence. Several respondents who are now permanent residents explained that had various reasons for choosing to settle in Canada for long-term, including a feeling of well-being and rootedness, especially thanks to connections with their environment (e.g. romantic relationship, friendships, the neighbourhood, the community, a support network).

On the other hand, a few interviewees felt isolated, especially during the first few months after their arrival in Canada. In those cases, the circumstances in which they arrived and a lack of time worked against them. For example, becoming settled during the pandemic or dealing with a demanding work schedule meant that they had fewer opportunities to develop a social network. For some, language represented a challenge while socializing, but others mentioned that they had wanted to make connections with Anglophones to improve their proficiency in English. Regardless of the context, difficulty building a social network and close friendships in the host community can lead to a feeling of loneliness and exclusion in skilled TFWs (Désilets, 2019; Patzelt, 2021; Rashid et al., 2013; Désilets, 2019, Kachulis & Perez-Leclerc, 2020). The same sources also note that this issue may be aggravated by reduced mobility, long work hours, limited proficiency in English and the temporary nature of the experience, which was also reflected in some of the interviews.

[Translation] “[Building a social network] was not an issue for me, since I got here before the pandemic. It’s true that there are fewer Canadians in my network than people from other countries. My network is more made up of Anglophones. My Francophone network is mostly my colleagues at work.”

[Translation] “Culture and the arts, in French or in English. I don’t have a preference for one or the other. The fact that there was a French-speaking community here did not affect my decision, but I do like being able to speak in French.”

Most respondents indicated that at first they built their network through work, whether in an English- or French-speaking environment. Otherwise, temporary residents build their social network little by little through roommates, the neighbourhood, sports activities, social events with other immigrants or their core network (e.g. people they knew before arriving). The linguistic makeup of these networks varies greatly. While some are mostly in contact with Francophones, others have a more mixed network. Some instead chose to integrate into the English-speaking community, primarily to make it easier to learn the language.

[Translation] “My goal was to talk as much as possible in English during the year and as little as possible in French, since I wanted to improve my English.”

Half of the respondents mentioned that they were in more or less close contact with the local French-speaking community. While a few are directly involved in the community through their job or volunteer work, others participate occasionally in Francophone cultural activities or made a few contacts and discoveries in the community over time after their arrival. In sum, Francophone organizations did not play a very important role in terms of social integration for most of our respondents.

Settlement support

Most of our respondents had a positive settlement experience. For most of them, successful settlement in Canada contributed to or confirmed their decision to remain here in the long term. Even those who initially had a more negative experience did not let the settlement phase discourage them from staying and eventually becoming permanent residents. However, a number of respondents mentioned suggestions that helped ease this phase of their stay, including access to information or additional support.

Regarding assistance in getting settled, people most frequently received help from their employers, which ranged from minimal support (e.g., transitional housing, airline ticket) to full-scale mentoring (e.g. finding long-term housing, transportation, settlement guide, organized outings). They were very grateful for the support received. Because temporary workers are not eligible for the same welcome services as permanent residents, the role potentially played by the employer in receiving them and helping them settle is especially important. It can be problematic when employers offer less support. Other sources of settlement support are informal and include colleagues, friends, family, other members of immigrant communities, churches and cultural associations.

Although a number of our respondents did not feel they needed special help, some people sought the assistance of settlement services. Some are grateful for the help they received but others have noted that these organizations could not serve temporary residents, that the services were not adapted to their needs (e.g. programming was not compatible with their schedules or was more family oriented) or that the support they sought was not offered (e.g. immigration consulting or financial support).

[Translation] “I went to the Centre d’accueil et d’accompagnement francophone des immigrants du Sud-Est du Nouveau-Brunswick because my wife took us there. Objectively speaking, I would not have missed out if I had not gone there. It may be really important for families with children, but every time I went there to get information, I did not get a positive response.”

[Translation] “[Settlement services], either they don’t know or they can’t direct us to available services because they are not open to temporary workers. You have to wait until you have permanent resident status to be able to access them.”

The settlement service providers interviewed confirm that they generally do not receive funding from IRCC to serve temporary residents, although they do support them on occasion, namely as regards housing, employment and labour rights. The fact that IRCC supports access to settlement services for skilled TFWs who are accepted as part of AIP and who are waiting for their permanent resident status would seem to be a promising practice, according to the individuals interviewed. An IRCC evaluation report on AIP pointed out that the support offered helped [translation] “meet needs as regards settlement and integration for the vast majority of principal applicants.” (2020b:6). Moreover, employability assistance organizations educate employers about the possibility of hiring these workers but specify that they do not have the authorization and/or resources to walk them through every step of the process.

Some stakeholders indicate that they offer various types of advice in emergency situations even though they do not receive direct funding to support temporary residents. They point out that if they have established a relationship of trust with temporary residents, for example in the course of a community activity, the temporary residents are more likely to turn to them when they find themselves in a tough situation such as abuse at work or a health problem.

[Translation] “When I actually found myself in situations where I had nothing to eat, they came and gave me gift cards, took me to the store, helped me run errands. I really owe a lot to this association. As soon as I lost my job, I went to them and they told me: ‘… Because you have nothing, you are entitled to employment insurance right now.’”

What is more, although they connect with this clientele sometimes, such as during webinars, organizations serving French-speaking immigrants indicate that reaching temporary residents is challenging. Furthermore, even if some services are available in French, awareness that these services exist is sometimes limited and prevents Francophones from accessing them (Ba, 2021). Furthermore, a number of individuals interviewed explained that they found out too late that these services existed or were still not aware of their existence at the time of the interview. In other words, the interviews show that many skilled TFWs only find out about the existence of Francophone resources late in the game or find out about only some of the resources.

Since nearly all the skilled TFWs interviewed arrived with a solid job offer, with a closed permit, the respondents made limited use of job search services. Only one person reported turning to a multicultural association to obtain immediate support after losing their job. However, three people mentioned that their partner had trouble finding work owing to their level of language or restrictions related to their work permit.

[Translation] “When we arrived, they put restrictions on us work-wise. My wife came with an open work permit. When she got here she was asked where she wanted to work, and she said in schools or in retirement homes. But at customs they placed restrictions on her so that she could not work in those places. Even though we had all the paperwork.”

Integrating in the workplace

Linguistic integration in the workplace

Three studies combining more than 90 interviews with French-speaking immigrants demonstrate that limited mastery of English may create a barrier to newcomers' attempts at economic integration (Lemoine & Forest, 2020; Mesana & Forest, 2020; Forest, Duvivier, & Hieu Truong, 2020). However, most of our respondents did not report having language issues at work. As was mentioned earlier, more than half of them worked or had worked in a bilingual or French-speaking environment in the course of their temporary residency – for example, in Francophone organizations or businesses that recruited abroad. Some people, whose spoken English was weaker and who needed it in their workplace, did experience difficulties when they arrived, but they indicated that their situation had quickly improved. On the other hand, one individual who had accepted a position for which they were overqualified was given fewer responsibilities when they arrived, possibly owing to their level of English.

None of the individuals interviewed took language training before arriving in Canada. Two people mentioned having taken language training, offered by their employer, after arriving. One of these people specified that they could not access language training funded by the federal government owing to their status as a temporary worker. One person mentioned looking for English courses but not being able to find any.

Working conditions

Most respondents were completely (12) or fairly satisfied (11) with their working conditions. Some respondents nevertheless noted certain challenges. For example:

- Low wages;
- Excessive workload or demanding schedule (especially for people who had worked in France and were accustomed to a shorter work week);
- Significant adjustments regarding cultural norms and workplace rules;
- Lack of support from employer toward newcomers;
- Nebulous and poorly defined professional mandate;
- Professional isolation (few contacts with colleagues, namely relating to the pandemic).

[Translation] "When I arrived here, I saw the workload … I realized that it was not work worth $11.82 …. I think we deserved a little more."

[Translation] "It was fine at the beginning. The problem was that the company couldn't really afford to pay decent wages. I was working for $13/hour. At the beginning, the arrangement was fine, but when it came time to pay the rent, I could not live on that kind of wage."

[Translation] "It was plan B. If I had considered only the salary, I would not have chosen [this position]. The salary was four times lower than in France. But since I wanted to come to Canada, I accepted the work and the salary that went with it."

In many cases, these workplace issues motivated the respondents to obtain permanent resident status as quickly as possible.

Differential treatment

As part of this study, the research team asked respondents whether they felt they had been treated differently, either positively or negatively, owing to their temporary resident status, their language, their origins or other personal factors.

Half of the people interviewed replied that they had not experienced any differential treatment, either at work or in their personal lives. Eight respondents experienced positive treatment, indicating that they were warmly welcomed and even valued for their French "from France" which was perceived more positively by the Anglophone community.

On the other hand, six people shared negative experiences, chiefly in the workplace, including:

- Issues of systemic discrimination hindering advancement or standing in the way of employment opportunities (e.g. seeing other, less competent or experienced people advance further);
- Poor working conditions related to their temporary status or their closed permit (see below);
- Racism in their living or work environment;
- Negative prejudices related to their status, including the assumption that temporary or permanent resident status entails financial privileges;
- Comprehension problems related to a limited mastery of English.

[Translation] "These are opportunities that are worse for immigrants – Canadians tend to be perfectly bilingual and English may pose a challenge for Francophone newcomers. And generally speaking, Francophone foreigners do not occupy highly skilled positions and minorities are not strongly represented; this is a matter of systemic discrimination."

Several studies have emphasized that experiences of discrimination and racism were common among French-speaking immigrants belonging to visible minorities and living in linguistic minority communities outside Quebec. These experiences were more pronounced among people with intersecting identity characteristics, such as racialized women with limited command of English or who speak English with an accent (Ba, 2021; IRCC, 2020a).

Recognition of skills and experience

As part of our research, the majority of respondents had identified a job opportunity before arriving in Canada and had confirmed that the job held as a temporary worker was in line with their experience and skills. However, eight people mentioned having experienced issues with that, because:

- The job did not match their level of education (the person was overqualified);
- The fact that their credentials were not recognized curtailed their opportunities for advancement or professional development (e.g. when they changed jobs).

[Translation] "… I cannot work at a school, so it is not really equivalent. I would have to redo all my training in order to be a teacher at a school – the university told me that I wouldn't even get credit for the program I did [in my country] – so I would have to start from scratch."

These issues are not specific to Francophones, and the respondents did not raise any language issues associated with the recognition of credentials. However, a number of stakeholders raised the matter of the lack of recognition of credentials as an obstacle to recruitment and long-term retention of French-speaking temporary residents, especially as regards regulated professions in the health care field. This issue is covered extensively in the literature (Annen, 2021, p. 15; Feenan & Madhany, 2021; Harvey & Beaverstock 2017), including literature dealing with French-speaking health professionals living in minority communities (Lemoine and Forest, 2020).

Issues associated with closed permits

[Translation] "At one point, I really would have liked to work at the same place but in a different position, but I couldn't because of the closed permit."

[Translation] "I think that the employer took advantage of me as a temporary worker with a closed permit – he knew I couldn't go anywhere. Everyone worked unpaid hours but the other employees didn't work nearly as many hours as me. I even worked on holidays and the others didn't. I was working 12 hours. … But I think that some employers take advantage of the system and IRCC doesn't see anything."

[Translation] "They are essentially stuck [in a job where they experience discrimination] and because they want permanent resident status, they don't say anything." – Stakeholder

[Translation] "Not all employers are like this, just a minority. But I see it more and more often. Employers seem to have all the power. And the immigrants don't want to talk about it too much because they're afraid it might affect their permanent resident applications. There are situations that are really serious. This is why I really think we should do away with the closed permit, for everyone. It would simply avoid abuses. People wouldn't be afraid to draw attention to abuses." – Stakeholder

Someone working in an organization explained that employers who recruit unskilled workers have clear obligations as regards settlement (e.g. provide adequate housing), which is not the case with employers of skilled workers, and the support is therefore very variable. Moreover, a number of temporary workers interviewed as part of the study mentioned issues, sometimes major, they experienced as a result of having a closed permit, such as:

- One person was not paid by their employer for several months before being let go;
- One person felt great shame after being fired during their first work permit and having to claim employment insurance;
- Two people lost a permit owing to a lack of collaboration or an error on the part of the employer. These people report that the employer was not at all familiar with the process. These errors slowed down the renewal process and, in one case, created a status ambiguity that required the intervention of a lawyer, which the temporary resident had to pay for.
- One person had to quit their first job because they could not afford decent housing and a decent standard of living on their salary;
- One person was injured at work and their employer objected to them filing a compensation claim. This person also experienced bad working conditions and feels that they were treated unfairly in comparison with other employees owing to their temporary status and personal characteristics.

Most of the people who held a closed work permit and did not experience these kinds of issues still mentioned that this type of permit was restrictive and caused anxiety all the same.

[Translation] “We have not moved since we arrived because we don’t know if we’ll be able to come back into the country. My mother is seriously ill but I don’t know if I can go see her.”

Several studies indicate that abusive working conditions are among the chief hurdles encountered by TFWs in Canada (Hou, Crossman & Picot 2020, Bryan, 2019; Ci et al., 2018; Mullings et al., 2020, Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016). Although this problem more frequently affects unskilled workers, the literature emphasizes that it also affects skilled workers with a closed work permit, or a permit that ties them to a specific employer (Bélanger et al., 2019; Coderre & Nakache, 2021). The authors explain that, in cases of conflict or situations where human rights are not respected, [translation] “this dependency creates difficult situations” (Bélanger et al., 2019).

Transition to permanent residency

As is described in Hou et al. (2020, p. 2), the rise in the number of skilled TFWs transitioning to permanent residency is linked to the introduction of provincial programs and the Canadian Experience category which [translation] "prompted rapid expansion in two-step immigrant selection". 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 a visa or return to their country of origin for a few months (Coderre & Nakache, 2021; Patzelt, 2021) before undertaking the permanent residency process. This was the case with 16 of the 25 people interviewed as part of the study.

[Translation] "My temporary position turned into a permanent position, which made it possible for me to apply to the New Brunswick provincial program."

Benefits of French. For some years now, Canada has been facilitating the transition of skilled TFWs to permanent residency 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, five chose Express Entry (with Canadian experience), either because they had been told that it would be quicker or because this pathway seemed easier or more beneficial to them, namely as regards their score.

The Provincial Nominee Program also offers what might be a popular 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 of our respondents used the Provincial Nominee Program in their province because it was in line with their profile. However, one person, who was initially refused, managed to obtain permanent resident status through the Express Entry federal program without being sponsored by the province.

The AIP, which was piloted in 2017 and became permanent in 2022, is another pathway to permanent residency for skilled TFWs. The program enables designated employers to hire qualified candidates for positions they have not been able to staff locally. To obtain a designation, these employers must demonstrate their eligibility based on various criteria and take intercultural competency training. Three of the people interviewed had used this program. The fact that this program requires preparation by the employer is a good practice that may reduce issues such as red tape, discrimination and abusive treatment.

Admission categories for French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers who have transitioned to permanent residency

Among the 801 French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 in the Atlantic provinces, some 166, or 20.7%, went on to transition to permanent residency. When Francophones are compared with all skilled TFWs admitted to Atlantic Canada, it is clear that, on average, similar proportions have transitioned to permanent residency, namely 20.7% and 21.6%, respectively.

The vast majority of French-speaking skilled TFWs who transitioned to permanent residency were admitted in the economic immigration class (93.4%). The family class category accounts for 6.6% of other admissions. As regards admission sub-categories, the Provincial Nominee Program (57.8%) was the most popular; this is similar to the conclusions of Picot et al. (2022) that higher-skilled workers[6] in the 2010–2014 cohort obtained permanent resident status chiefly through the Provincial Nominee Program and the Canadian Experience Class. Federal economic programs falling under the Express Entry umbrella (Canadian Experience Class and the Federal Skilled Worker Program) accounted for a quarter of admissions (24.7%) for our population. This percentage was 7.8% for the AIP. When we consider only the period from 2017 to 2021, this program accounts for 17.6% of admissions.

Table 3: French-speaking skilled TFWs who transitioned to permanent residency based on certain permanent residence admission categories and sub-categories, 2012 to 2021, Atlantic Canada

Admission categories and sub-categories	Number	%
Economic immigration	**155**	**93.4%**
Canadian Experience Class	33	19.9%
Federal Skilled Trades Program	8	4.8%
Atlantic Immigration Program	13	7.8%
Provincial Nominee Program	96	57.8%
Other programs (economic category)	5	3.0%
Family class	**11**	**6.6%**
Refugee or other	**0**	**0.0%**
Total	**166**	**100.0%**

Source: IRCC, temporary resident administrative data set linked to the permanent resident administrative data set, December 31, 2021.

[6] Higher-skilled workers are defined as being [translation] “workers at skill levels O, A and B, and those without a skill designation who earned more than the national annual median wage” (Picot et al., 2022, p. 3)

Characteristics of French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers who transitioned

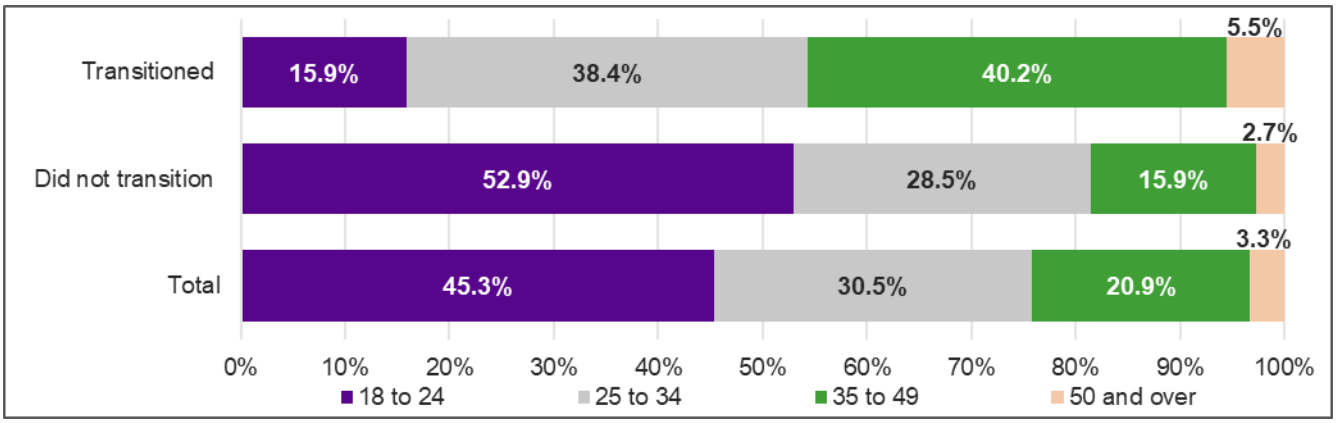
The totals by province of destination demonstrate that French-speaking skilled TFWs in New Brunswick (24.9%), Newfoundland and Labrador (23.3%) and Prince Edward Island (22%) are almost equally likely to transition to permanent residency (Figure 2). The proportion is lower in Nova Scotia (13%).

An examination of the totals based on gender demonstrates that, on average, French-speaking men who obtained work permits as skilled temporary foreign workers between 2012 and 2021 were slightly more likely to transition to permanent residency (21.9%) than women (19.3%). Accordingly, men are overrepresented (57.2%) in this group (Figure 9).

People born in Europe account for 69.3% of French-speaking skilled TFWs who transitioned to permanent residency and 85% of workers who did not transition (Figure 3). People born in Africa account for a quarter (24.7%) of those who transitioned to permanent residency and 10.7% of those who did not transition.

French-speaking skilled TFWs who transitioned to permanent residency are on average older than those who have not done so. In fact, 40.2% of them were aged 35 to 49 at the time they were first admitted as a temporary worker.

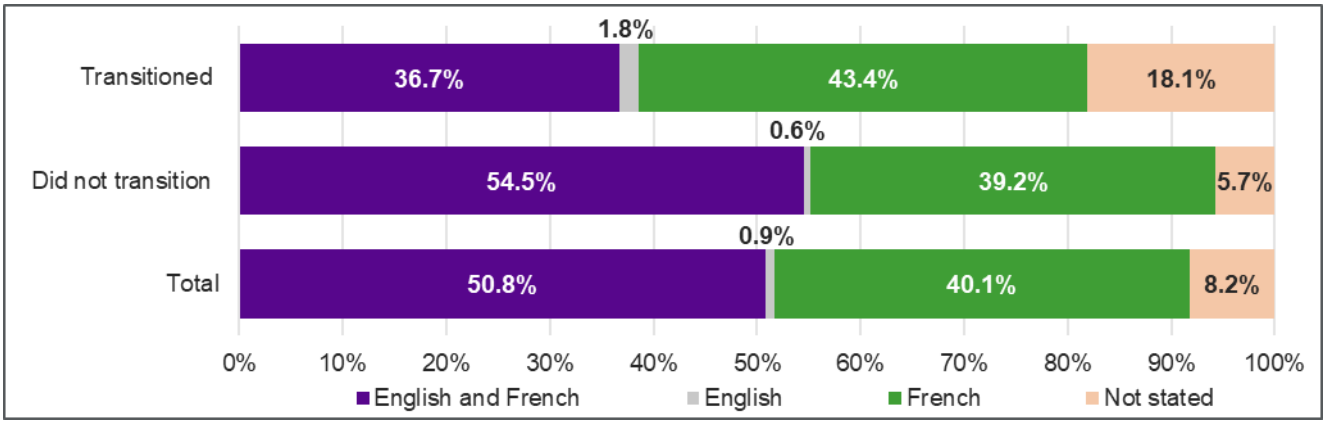
Figure 4: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TWFs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021, by transition status to permanent residency and age group, Atlantic Canada



Source: IRCC, temporary resident administrative data set linked to the permanent resident administrative data set, December 31, 2021.

Regarding self-reported knowledge of French, the data shows that individuals who transitioned to permanent residency are less likely to know both official languages because a lower percentage of people in this group speak French than English (36.7%).

Figure 5: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021, by transition status to permanent residency and self-reported official language knowledge, Atlantic Canada



Source: IRCC, temporary resident administrative data set linked to the permanent resident administrative data set, December 31, 2021.

Reasons to choose permanent residence

Among the people who held temporary resident status at the time of the semi-structured interviews (11), most had undertaken (7) or intended to undertake (2) steps to obtain permanent residence. Of the individuals who were no longer temporary residents at this time (14), most (11) held permanent resident status or Canadian citizenship. Most of these people indicated that they already had plans to obtain permanent resident status when they arrived because they intended to settle in Canada in the medium or long term.

Various personal and professional reasons combine to explain interest in permanent residency, reflecting the literature on this subject (Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016; Patzelt, 2021). Generally speaking, for the people interviewed, obtaining permanent resident status means greater peace of mind and less precarity. Statements by respondents and stakeholders reveal the stress associated with temporary resident status and with immigration procedures required to renew a permit or obtain permanent residency, which may affect people's physical and mental health.

[Translation] "My level of anxiety has also decreased since I obtained permanent resident status."

The decision to apply for permanent residence is therefore influenced by a variety of considerations, namely family-related, employment-related and mobility-related (Bryan, 2019; Ci et al., 2018; Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016; Patzelt, 2021). Results relating to skill level categories demonstrate that the most skilled TFWs are a little more likely than the least skilled to transition to permanent residency (Haan et al., 2021). The literature does not establish a hierarchy of these decision factors, which are highly dependent on each person's context. A recent study on TFWs shows that age, gender, duration of temporary status, number of permits, and personal skills are good predictors of transition to permanent residency (Haan et al., 2021). However, this study looks at all TFWs and not just skilled workers. More specifically, the study revealed that transition to permanent residency is more likely among young TFWs than among older TFWs, and that, women are slightly more likely than men to transition to permanent residency and that individuals who lived in Canada for approximately four to five years are the most likely to transition to permanent residency, in contrast with those who lived in

Canada for shorter or longer periods (Haan et al., 2021). As regards the number of work permits, individuals who held three or four work permits were the most likely to transition to permanent residency, in contrast with those who held fewer or more permits (Haan et al., 2021).

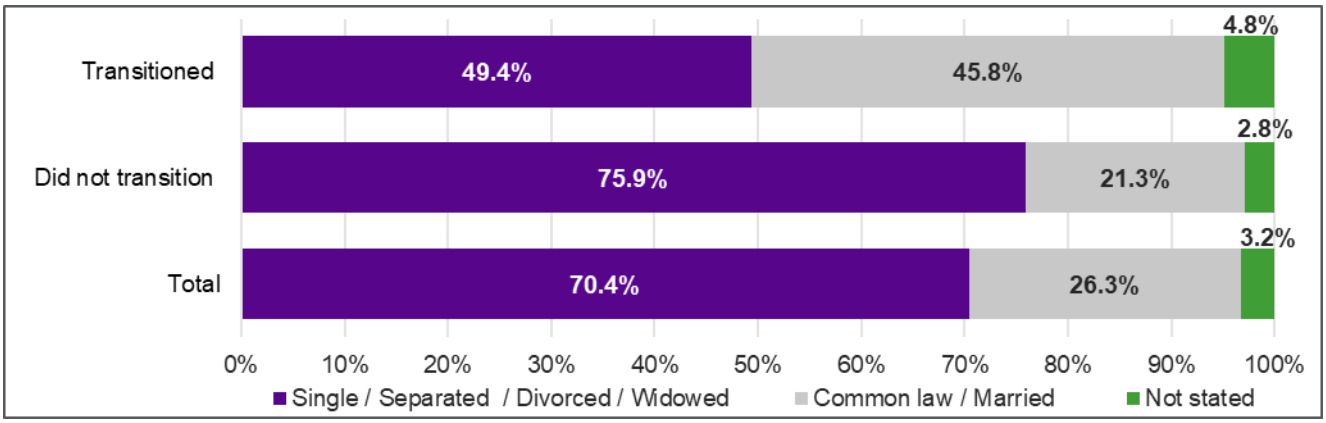
Personal reasons

The personal reasons cited by those interviewed to explain their wish to remain in Canada were varied, including a relationship with a local partner and a preference for the lifestyle in Canada for oneself or one's children. Such considerations reflect those in the literature (Bryan, 2019; Ci et al., 2018; Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016; Patzelt, 2021). The individuals interviewed also mentioned that they found Atlantic Canada to be a safer and less racist environment than elsewhere; these factors were also noted in the literature (Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016).

> [Translation] "If I had known how long this would take and the constraints the process involved, I would have applied for permanent residency as soon as I could. At the end of my first contract, I started to tell myself that I wanted to stay – I had a wife – and professionally speaking, there were opportunities I would not have had in Europe."

The IRCC administrative data sets show that the majority of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit between 2012 and 2021 in the Atlantic provinces were not in a relationship (70.4%) (Figure 6). However, the percentage was 49.4% for those who transitioned to permanent residency and 75.9% for those who did not. This discrepancy seems to indicate that marital status has some influence on transitioning to permanent residency, with individuals in a relationship being more likely to do so.

Figure 6: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs, by transition status to permanent residency and marital status[7], 2012 to 2021, Atlantic Canada



Source: IRCC, temporary resident administrative data set linked to the permanent resident administrative data set, December 31, 2021.

[7] Marital status at the time of obtaining the first work permit.

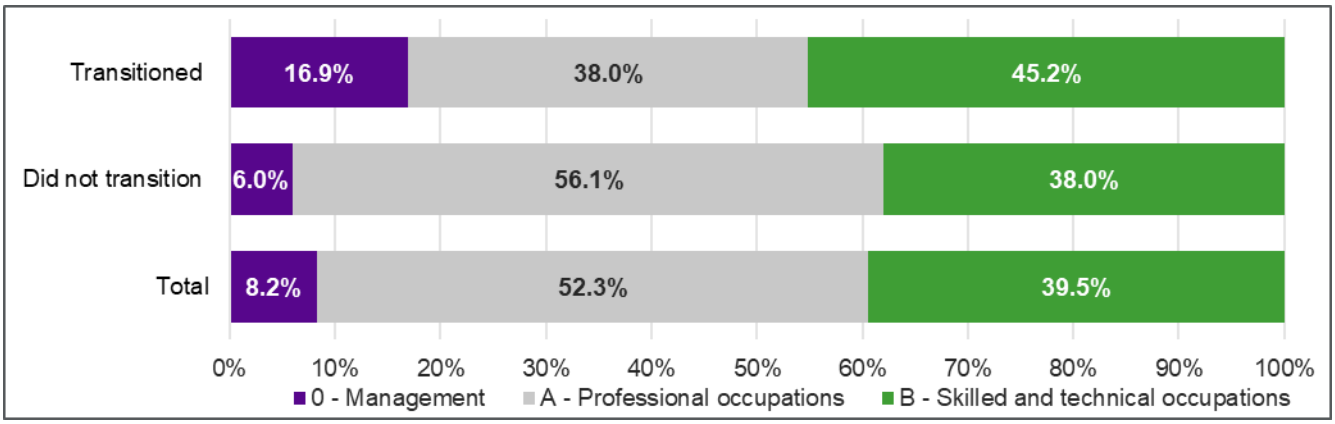
Professional reasons

The literature and our interviews are a reminder of how significant it is for people seeking permanent residence to leave an employment situation that is unsatisfactory or simply difficult (Ci et al., 2018). Some TFWs opt for permanent residence in order to have the freedom to choose where they will live and work (Bryan, 2019; Coderre & Nakache, 2021). For example, some apply for permanent residence to gain access to jobs that are reserved for permanent residents (Ci et al., 2018). The reasons given also relate to opportunities for advancing in their career, starting a business, returning to school or boosting their income (Ci et al., 2018).

> [Translation] "I thought it would be better to not make a move until I became a permanent resident. So I'm waiting."

IRCC administrative data show that French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained permanent residence were more often employed in management (16.9%) or technical or specialized positions (45.2%) at the time of their arrival in Canada than those who did not obtain it.

Figure 7: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs, by transition status to permanent residency and skill level[8], 2012 to 2021, Atlantic Canada



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

Reasons not to choose permanent residence

Five respondents provided reasons for not wanting or no longer wanting permanent residence.

- Two individuals had completed the process and been refused. One of them, who still has temporary resident status, was still considering whether they wanted to renew their permit, reapply or leave Canada. The other returned to France at the end of their three-year temporary contract. Neither of the two fully understands the reasons for the refusal. The first explains that it was a bureaucratic formality (a missing document they could have provided) and the other thinks they made a mistake in their confirmation of Canadian work experience. These two individuals were disappointed to be refused permanent residence after several years of successful integration in Canada.

[8] Skill level at the time of obtaining the first work permit.

[Translation] "After three great years of living in Canada, with real social, cultural and professional integration and involvement in the community, both Anglophone and Francophone, it appears that as far as immigration goes, we're just a piece of paper, a file."

- Three individuals, all of whom had positive experiences in Canada, indicated that they had abandoned the permanent residence process. The first, formerly a temporary foreign worker, made this choice for family reasons. One person, who was still a temporary foreign worker and enjoyed their job, had given up on applying for permanent residency because of the cost of the procedure and the separation from their family (the employer, however, was encouraging them to file an application and had offered support). The third decided not to apply for permanent residence because the administrative process for temporary status had been so challenging. Despite a positive experience in Canada, this individual preferred not to take any further action.

[Translation] "… I enjoyed my experience in Canada. What stopped me … was the process. If I could have pursued my career in Canada, I might have extended my stay by a few years. But it was tough enough getting a temporary visa when I already had a job. I was afraid I would end up with nothing because of the process. I stopped pretty quickly when I saw all the steps involved, it was discouraging."

Navigating the immigration system

Whether an individual is renewing a temporary permit or applying for permanent residence, immigration program criteria and processing times create stress and even mental health issues, make it hard to plan ahead and affect personal and family plans. While some French-speaking skilled TFWs make the transition quickly and easily, others retain their temporary status for years and must renew their permit at least once before becoming permanent residents. The respondents voiced a number of criticisms regarding immigration procedures, often related to anxiety-provoking situations.

- **Delays and slowness**. The challenge associated with applying for permanent residence most often cited in interviews was the time it takes to obtain it. Eight individuals who now have permanent residence acquired it in 12 months or less (from application to obtaining status – via different types of program), but some indicated that it took longer than expected in their case. For three people, the process took more than two years (two went through the AIP, while the third went through the Provincial Nominee Program). Several interviewees cited COVID-19 as a reason for longer delays in processing their application or satisfying pre-requisites such as a medical examination. On the other hand, longer processing times were observed prior to the pandemic and until recently. Furthermore, respondents indicated that they would have been more tolerant of the delays if they had been kept informed of the reasons and given more precise information regarding the status of their file. In addition to creating stress, at times considerable, these delays can have real consequences such as career stagnation, family plans having to be put on hold, or difficulty finding housing (Kachulis & Perez-Leclerc, 2020).

[Translation] "It's discouraging when you're in a country and they make it clear that they don't want you. You still can't get your card four years after arriving, even though the advertising on the Internet is so inviting: 'Come to Canada, we need you!' I carried on for the sake of my children."

- **Process and information unclear.** Respondents frequently commented that the information available on the IRCC site was not sufficiently organized, specific or easy to understand. The literature also describes how immigrants struggle to find up-to-date and accurate information about immigration programs and regulations, including procedures for renewing or extending their temporary residence permits (Coderre & Nakache, 2021) or obtaining permanent residence (Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016).

[Translation] "Honestly, it's complicated. I called Canadian Immigration for some information, but it's so hard to get information over the phone. And, there is a lot of information on the site, but that's not always enough when you need things to be clear.

- **Lack of support**. Difficulties obtaining clarification from the responsible authorities were mentioned during the interviews as well as in the literature (Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016). A majority of respondents complained that they had been unable to speak with someone from IRCC to understand how to navigate the rules based on their situation or get advice during the process. Some people mentioned that they had encountered difficulties related to their employer's lack of cooperation in the immigration process. On the other hand, almost all of those who had received support from an immigration consultant paid by their employer had a positive experience with these administrative steps. That said, several respondents stressed that an immigration consulting resource is not accessible to everyone given the significant costs involved.

[Translation] "I had to hire an immigration consultant, who charged me $1,500.…She just went through the same steps as me, except that my boss gave her the job offer, but he hadn't given it to me."

- **Consistency.** Some people who spoke with IRCC representatives did not mention issues with language, but did report receiving contradictory information. Several worry that the slightest administrative error could jeopardize their application. They would like to be able to speak to someone to confirm the validity of their actions. In addition, two individuals pointed out that they did not understand why their applications had been rejected, even though they did eventually obtain the desired permits. One individual claimed that IRCC discriminates against people from Francophone Africa. These arbitrary challenges are compounded by the duplication of information. People who need to renew a temporary permit have to collect factual data several times, whereas they would only have to provide the information once if the various forms were linked.
- **Language requirements.** Proficiency in either official language facilitates the transition from temporary to permanent residence (Haan et al., 2021). Proficiency in French is considered an asset by interviewees and their employers for obtaining temporary or permanent residence. However, language requirements were identified by respondents as a potential obstacle to obtaining permanent residence. Having to prove French language skills to obtain additional points when all their schooling was in French, French is their mother tongue and French is an official language of their country of origin seems, for many respondents, difficult to justify and onerous.

Impact of permanent residence

Most interviewees who obtained permanent residence indicate that this change in status has improved their situation. At the professional level, the benefits include aspects similar to the reasons mentioned above:

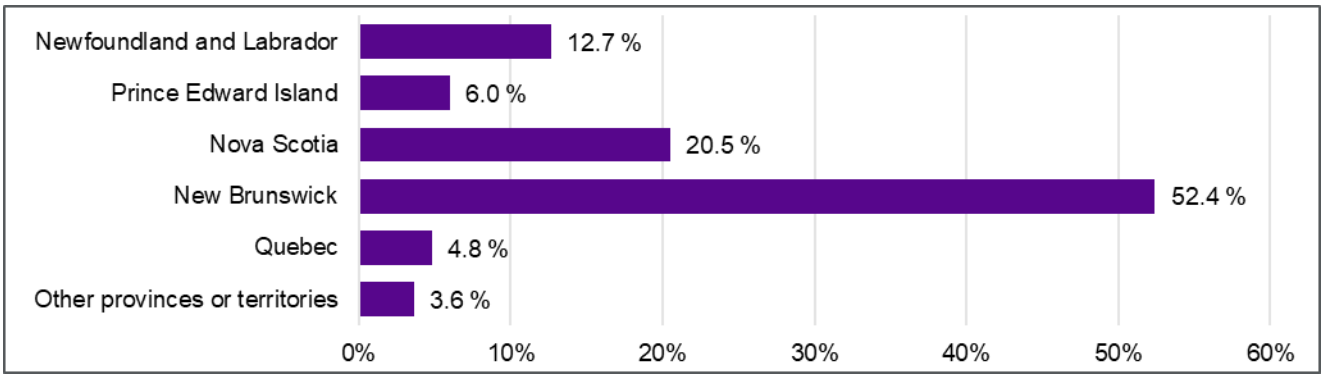
- Change of employment, obtaining a permanent position or better working conditions;
- Opportunity for career advancement or better alignment with career goals;
- Access to more jobs, possibility of starting a business.

On a personal level, interviewees mentioned greater opportunities in terms of access to property, returning to school or reuniting with family. While some saw it as an administrative change with no major impact, they nonetheless feel that they have a stronger foundation to plan for the future.

Decision to remain in the Atlantic provinces

Administrative data from temporary residents show that a large majority of those who transitioned to permanent residence intended to remain in Atlantic Canada (91.6%). Of those wishing to settle elsewhere in Canada, 4.8% were looking at Quebec.

Figure 8: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who transitioned to permanent residency, by intended province of destination, 2012–2021, Atlantic Canada



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

This profile reflects that of the interviewees, almost all of whom wanted to remain in the Atlantic provinces in the short to medium term. Job enjoyment and quality of life are important factors in these choices. Those considering relocation would do so for reasons of employability and job opportunities, or out of a desire to explore the rest of the country or the world. One respondent had moved to Montréal to be in a bigger city.

> [Translation] “I really like Halifax, it’s a beautiful city. I have a group of English-speaking friends, a group of French-speaking friends, I love my job. So, there’s really no need to ask myself [whether I’m staying]. My life here just flows. There’s the ocean, people are so nice.”

A number of studies have explored in greater depth this desire for mobility observed in some interview participants. This work reveals 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 envisage various forms of mobility in the medium and long term, in Canada or elsewhere (Bélanger et al., 2021; Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016; Patzelt, 2021; Traisnel et coll. 2020). These people often wish to maintain the potential for mobility in order to respond to changing opportunities, situations and well-being (Bélanger et al., 2021; Désilets, 2019; Nakache & Dixon-Perera, 2016; Patzelt, 2021).

Support with immigration processes

A majority of respondents would have appreciated clearer information and advice to facilitate their decision making and support them in their immigration efforts. Those who would have benefited most from support were generally unaware of the help available within the Francophone community. Several respondents complained about the lack of affordable Francophone resources offering specialized information or advice on immigration.

Nearly half of respondents (10) received significant assistance from their employer, some through an immigration consultant, when applying for or renewing their temporary permit and in some cases, to obtain permanent residence. For the most part, the remainder proceeded on their own and/or consulted online forums or acquaintances, mainly colleagues or friends who had already been through a similar process.

Five people reached out to settlement services to obtain factual information about immigration processes. Service providers point out that temporary residents regularly ask them for information on immigration procedures, such as permit renewals. Francophone suppliers point out that it would be helpful for them to be equipped and authorized to provide such assistance or even immigration advice, particularly since they know of few or no immigration advisors in Atlantic Canada who speak French. Indeed, French-speaking temporary residents do not appear to have much access to immigration advice, as resource people are most often English-speaking (Pelletier and Forest, 2021).

With respect to other sources of support, Opportunities New Brunswick provided relevant coaching to one of the candidates interviewed. One person was guided by Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité [Canada's Francophone economic and employment development network] in acquiring a new temporary work permit after a first contract expired.

A few people appealed to the provincial government and their MP to try to [translation] "unblock" their file. Although the use of immigration consultants or lawyers is considered too costly, three people hired such a resource at their own expense after encountering a major obstacle or being refused.

Conclusion

Through a literature review, quantitative data analysis, and semi-structured interviews, this study sought to answer the following question: What factors influenced the transition of French-speaking skilled TFWs to permanent residence in the Atlantic provinces? This issue is best approached from more than one angle.

First, we can focus solely on the change in status, from temporary to permanent. From the perspective of status, acquiring permanent residence is an obvious step in the context of Canadian work, personal and family experience in the medium to long term. Indeed, almost all those interviewed wanted to remain or were open to remaining in Canada and Atlantic Canada for an extended period. For many, temporary residence was a quick and effective way to come to Canada and confirm their intention to stay. On the other hand, temporary status can quickly become a stressor and an impediment to professional, personal and family plans in the longer term. As such, the benefits associated with permanent residence—peace of mind, greater opportunities for professional development and mobility, more protection, etc.—motivate people to apply for permanent residence.

Second, a focus on the transition experience now sheds light on the factors that facilitate progress through the various stages of the pathway to permanent residence. Here, the literature and the interviews show that for several individuals, the complexity, slowness, inconsistency and impersonal nature of the process negatively affect the transition experience, even discouraging some from making the change in status. At the professional level, factors such as more precarious employment, poor socio-professional integration or difficulty imagining optimal professional development seem to increase the barriers or reduce the motivation to transition. People who received personalized support, mainly through their employer, but also through well-developed personal and professional networks, generally had a more positive transition experience.

Third, an emphasis on factors related to the French language and the presence of Francophone communities shows that speaking French often, but not always, appears to be an advantage when it comes to acquiring temporary and later permanent residence. However, living in a Francophone community, participating in sociocultural activities in French and socializing in French do not always play a central role for respondents. In fact, most respondents knew little about Francophone communities or their services and activities, particularly when they first arrived. Developing a network within the English-speaking community and improving their English skills, on the other hand, seem to be important for many.

Possible courses of action

Provide all French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers with access to pre-departure services, as is the case with the AIP. Research has already demonstrated the importance of pre arrival services, which can improve the experience of immigrants settling in Canada (V. M. Esses et al., 2013; Lodermeier, 2012). In order to meet the needs of Francophone skilled immigrants, it is also important that these services be offered in French (IRCC, 2020a; the National Francophone Settlement Advisory Committee, 2022). Access to clear, transparent and realistic information is highly appreciated 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 health services, administrative procedures, expected costs, the Francophone community, transportation, etc. Sharing such information would help TFWs prepare better and reduce disappointment after arrival.

> [Translation] "All the presentations given in Europe about immigration to Canada are far too commercial. They shout 'come, come, we have work,' but that doesn't reflect reality. Everyone is saying it on social media. There needs to be a balance. People come and then feel like they've been had. You have to be more honest and realistic about what to expect."

Provide additional resources to organizations already responsible for French-language settlement services, and authorize them to serve temporary residents. A large proportion of French-speaking permanent residents in the economic immigration class acquired temporary residence first. For these people, settlement services are most useful at the time of arrival, 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 classes 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 (the 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 helpful to offer free and formal English courses to these individuals, like the free French courses offered to non-French-speaking immigrants in Quebec (the National Francophone Settlement Advisory Committee, 2022).

Provide French-speaking skilled foreign workers with information on the Francophone community and resources in their destination region as early as possible, to facilitate the creation of links between workers and organizations. Through systematic information sharing, access to pre-departure services or a referral system, IRCC could put French-speaking temporary residents in touch with Francophone organizations in their settlement region before their arrival in Canada or when they arrive.

Work with employers to identify and welcome French-speaking skilled temporary foreign workers. As our interviews showed, employers can be a direct and effective source of support for TFWs in identifying candidates, obtaining temporary permits, 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. Some Francophone organizations in Atlantic Canada are already working with employers (for example, by offering training or raising awareness), but this type of support could be extended and made 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 problems (e.g. issues 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 file for permanent residence before it is submitted). Given the high cost of specialized consultants and lawyers, and the limited availability of these resources in French, access to such resources should be facilitated. At a minimum, such French-language resources could be reserved for temporary residents with limited means. They could be used to support front-line organizations interested in developing this expertise, and to facilitate access to specialized resources through organizations or employers.

Increase awareness among French-speaking temporary foreign workers and employers about the rights of these workers. 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, temporary workers need to be better informed and supported so they feel safe inquiring about their rights or reporting abusive workplace situations. To this day, a lack of information in the official language of their choice 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 people who have settled. Long delays in obtaining permanent residence lead to a variety of stressful situations. Programs and requirements should be revisited in order to accelerate 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 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 guidance and sharing more 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 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, they did note that the density or complexity of the information on the IRCC website can slow down the process. Several individuals suggested that IRCC should have human resources available to provide specific answers to their questions and provide advice, if necessary, in the official language of their choice. Respondents who would have liked more help with the process are looking for reliable, direct and human support that is affordable. 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 that of 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.

[Translation] “In terms of impact: What IRCC should take into account is the human side—you’re treated like a number, but there are families and children behind that number, and this can lead to difficult situations. I had an employer who supported me, but if you find yourself without a job, where are you going to go, when you left everything behind to come here?”.

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Appendix

Stakeholders interviewed

As it was collecting qualitative data, the research team enlisted the help of representatives from the following organizations, in addition to an immigration consultant:

- Compas (FFTNL).
- Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité du Nouveau-Brunswick (RDÉE NB).
- Immigration francophone Nouvelle-Écosse (IFNÉ).
- Opportunities NB, of the Government of New Brunswick (ONB).
- Réseau en immigration francophone de la Nouvelle-Écosse (RIFNÉ),
- Réseau santé en français Île-du-Prince-Édouard (RSFÎPÉ).
- Coopérative d'intégration francophone de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard (CIFIPÉ).
- Comité Atlantique sur l'immigration francophone (CAIF) - Société nationale de l'Acadie
- New Brunswick Community College

Additional information on the qualitative sample

The following tables contain additional information regarding the 25 temporary residents interviewed in the context of the research project.

Table 4: Year of arrival on first temporary permit for the individuals interviewed

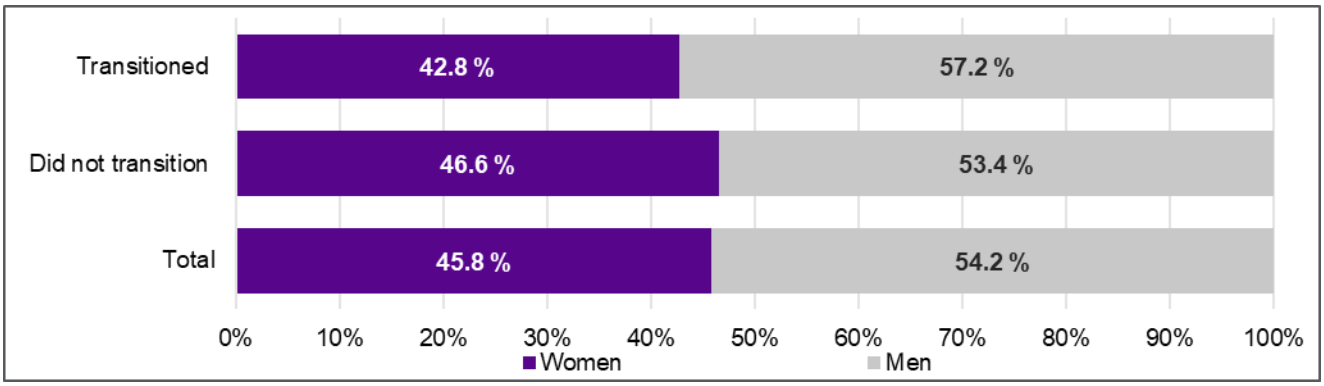
Year first work permit was acquired	Number of respondents
2012 to 2015	5
2016 to 2019	15
2019 to 2021	5
Total	**25**

Table 5: Age group of interviewees

Age group	Number of respondents
18 to 25 years of age	1
26 to 34 years of age	11
35 to 49 years of age	8
50 to 59 years of age	5
Total	**25**

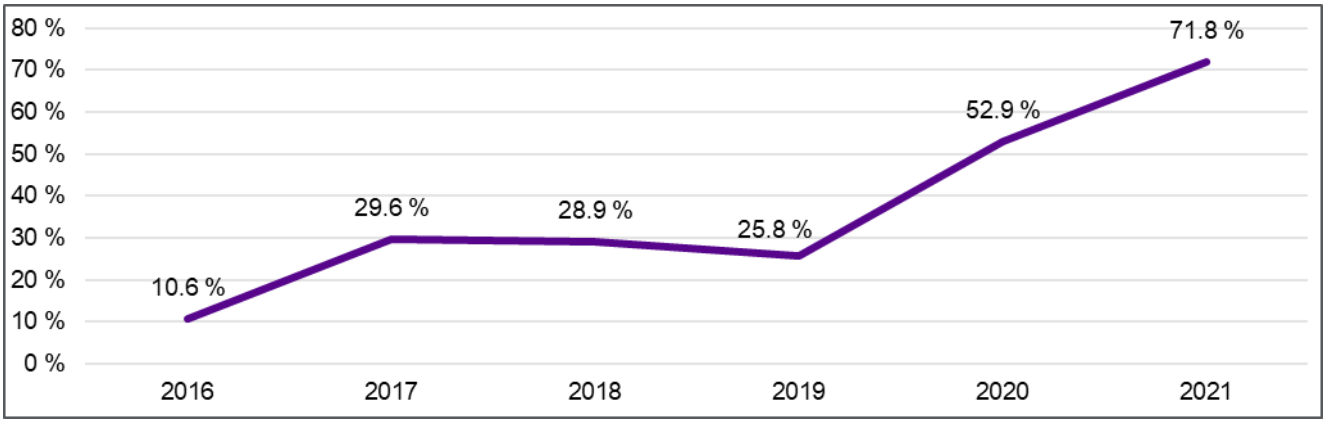
Supplementary figures

Figure 9: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs, by transition status to permanent residency and gender, 2012 to 2021, Atlantic Canada



Source: IRCC, temporary resident administrative database linked to that for permanent residents, December 31, 2021

Figure 10: Proportion of French-speaking skilled TFWs who obtained their first work permit under the Francophone Mobility program, 2016 to 2021, Atlantic Canada



Source: IRCC, temporary resident administrative database linked to that for permanent residents, December 31, 2021