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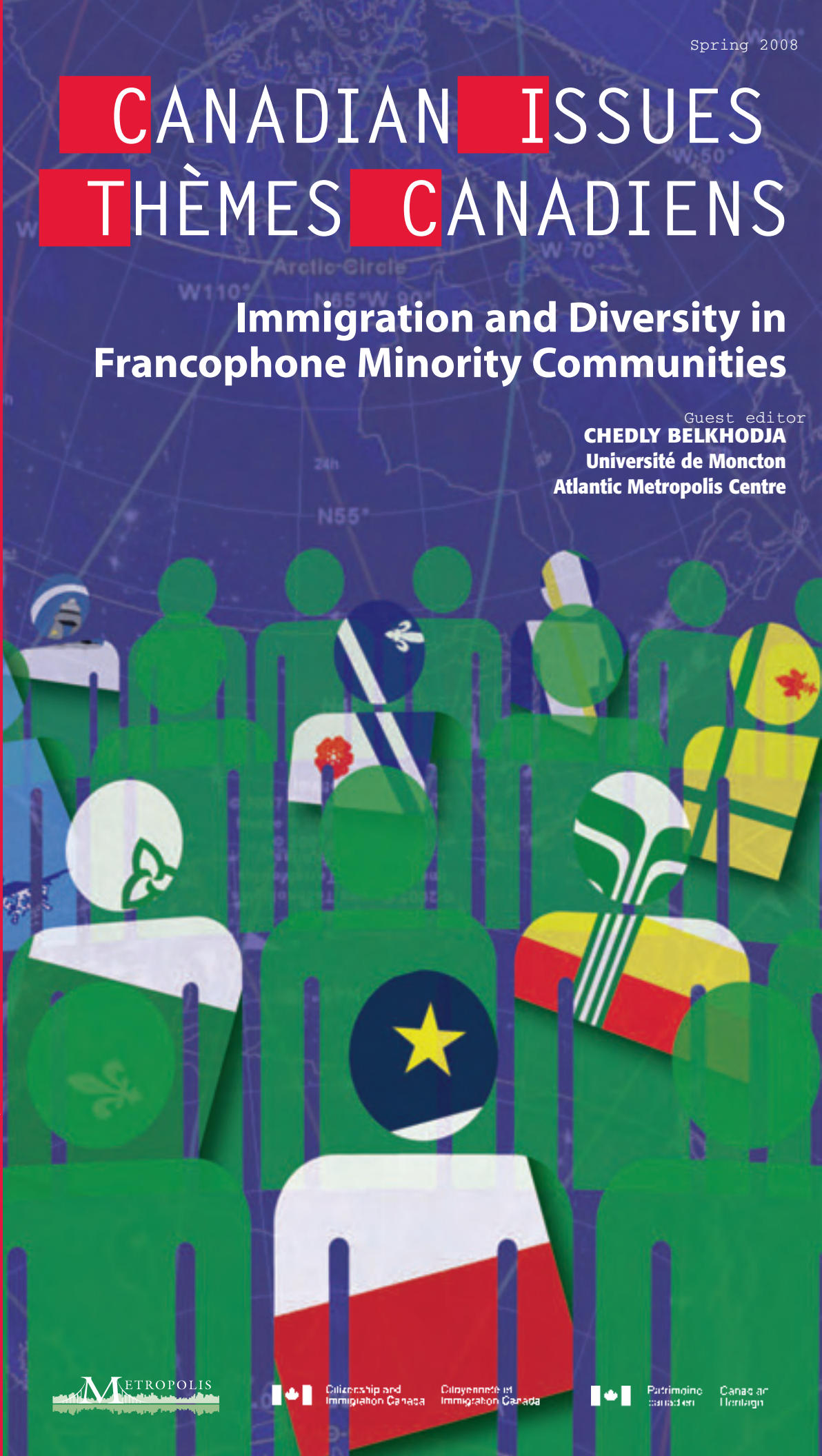galement disponible en fran ais

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Immigration and Diversity in Francophone Minority Communities

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Canadian Issues
Thèmes Canadiens

Immigration and Diversity in Francophone Minority Communities, Spring 2008

IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY IN FRANCOPHONE MINORITY COMMUNITIES: INTRODUCTION

CHEDLY BELKHODJA
Chedly Belkhodja is Associate Professor of political science at the Université de Moncton. His research focuses on immigration and on the discourse and representations of cultural, religious and ethnic diversity. From 2003 to 2006, he served as a Domain Leader at the Atlantic Metropolis Centre and has been one of the Centre's directors since 2006.

This issue of *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens* presents a range of perspectives on Francophone immigration and diversity in Canada. For the last ten years or so, Francophone minority communities have considered these issues to be critical to their economic, social and cultural development. As shown by the new data from the 2006 Census, the relative demographic weight of the Canadian Francophonie declined between 2001 and 2006, requiring governments and communities to develop immigration strategies and actions. The forecast growth in the number of immigrants to Canada must reflect the country's language situation and generate benefits for the Francophone minority communities. Consequently, the issues of recruitment, integration and retention now feature much more prominently in the statements and actions of government and civil society stakeholders. It must also be acknowledged that the Canadian Francophonie landscape is being transformed by the new demographic reality of immigration, and we see this in a number of facets of everyday life – neighbourhoods, schools, the workplace and so on. While Francophone immigration does not involve large numbers of people, it is bringing about profound, lasting changes in the host communities.

In March 2002, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) announced the creation of the CIC – Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee, made up of community representatives, officials from the Department, and representatives of other federal and provincial departments. The Committee started off by developing a strategic framework with a clear message: "The Francophone and Acadian communities should take on the Francophone immigration issue and acknowledge its importance to their growth" (CIC 2003). A number of objectives were proposed: improve the capacity of Francophone minority communities to receive Francophone newcomers, ensure the economic integration of French-speaking immigrants, ensure the social and cultural integration of French-speaking immigrants and foster regionalization of Francophone immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver. In September 2006, the *Action Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* (2006-2011) was launched – another major step in the development of Francophone immigration.

The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages has also contributed to progress on the issue of immigration within the Francophone minority communities. In 2001 and 2002, it published two in-depth studies : *Immigration and the Vitality of Canada's Official Language Communities: Policy, Demography and Identity* and *Official Languages and Immigration: Obstacles and Opportunities for Immigrants and Communities*. Both studies helped to flesh out and define the federal government's commitment to defending the principle of vitality of official language minority communities.

Meanwhile, the provincial governments have not stood still. They followed suit, highlighting the specific characteristics and requirements of Francophone immigration in their respective contexts. The federal-provincial agreements enable the provinces to recruit qualified immigrants under the provincial nominee programs and through overseas recruitment campaigns. Manitoba, for example, has even set a target for the recruitment of qualified French-speaking immigrants. It is worthy of note that most provinces have developed a strategy on Francophone immigration as a vital means of maintaining a linguistic balance.

Naturally, the issue of immigration has also had an impact on the Francophone associative community, which has made immigration one of its priorities. In the early 1990s, the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA), an umbrella organization for provincial Francophone associations, embarked on a major process of reflection on the future of Francophone minority communities in the context of diversity and immigration. Initiatives such as *Dialogue* and *Vive la différence* highlighted the issues of immigration and cultural diversity. In its final report, the *Dialogue* task force suggested that an action plan be developed on immigration (FCFA 2001). *Vive la différence* was presented as the logical extension of the Francophone and

Acadian communities' process of adaptation to ethnic and cultural diversity. In June 2007, the Sommet des communautés francophones et acadiennes du Canada made immigration and diversity one of its guiding themes. First, it recognized the importance of taking a more proactive approach to Francophone immigration and working on recruitment, integration and retention; second, it gave clearer expression to cultural and immigrant diversity as a feature of the Francophone landscape. In addition, provincial Francophone associations developed structures that could more accurately reflect the importance of the immigration issue, including provincial consultation tables. Facing new demands from Francophone newcomers, community stakeholders worked hard to bring the main players together to ensure that consideration would be given to a different voice seeking to be recognized by and integrated in the Francophone community.

The articles in this issue echo all these processes and transformations, which in turn reflect the role of immigration and diversity in the Francophone minority communities of today. They serve to highlight the research that has been conducted on specific problems over the last few years, including the Metropolis project, which has developed expertise on immigration through the efforts of a network of researchers as well as government and community partners. In Phase III of the Metropolis project (2007-2012), a new research priority has been identified, one that revolves around the capacity of host communities to take more effective action on the immigration and diversity issue.

The contributions to this journal cover two main themes. The first part contains research articles reporting on significant transformations in Francophone communities. In our view, it was important to profile a Canadian Francophonie that has been in the throes of demographic, spatial, identity and political change since the 1990s. Several articles focus on the daunting challenge that diversity will present to Canada's Francophone communities in the future. Historically, French-Canadian society defined itself on the basis of an ideal of withdrawal and isolation as a means of preserving its vital space. In the 1960s, recognition of linguistic duality enabled Canada's Francophone minorities to gain considerable recognition and make significant economic, social, political and cultural strides. Today, we feel it is essential to gain an understanding of what the implications are and, therefore, of what the openness of Francophone minority communities to the dynamics of immigration and diversity means. First, the contributions by federal departments intimately connected with Francophone immigration outline the benefits of immigration for the development of communities and of diversity. Several articles refer to the partnership between CIC and the FCFA as embodied in the Steering Committee. Carsten Quell contends that we must reconsider our representations of the Francophone community space and, in particular, the contribution of Francophiles to the Francophonie. Lorna Jantzen analyzes data from the 2006 Census against two variables – mother tongue and official language spoken – and prompts reflection on the process of integrating allophones into Canadian society. Danielle Ferron claims that, in addition to increasing the demographic weight of Francophone minority communities, French-speaking newcomers contribute to the vitality of those communities in a variety of ways

A second group of articles takes a more analytical tack. Marc Johnson questions the very fashionable and dynamic concept of vitality of Francophone minority communities, focusing on the communities' actual capacity to consider openness to diversity. The overall impression is that vitality is presented as a process enabling Francophone communities to flourish from within, not through an inclusive relationship with the "other." In Jack Jedwab's opinion, the idea of a strategy on immigration to Francophone communities has not always been clearly understood. He feels that statements focusing on the failure of Francophone immigration outside Quebec because of population decline in Francophone communities are inadequate. Using data from the 2006 Census, Jedwab describes the contribution of Francophone diversity in an urban setting (Toronto and Ottawa). Michèle Vatz-Laaroussi reminds us how important it is to pay attention to the issue of regionalization of immigration in Quebec as a comparable case, not as an exception based on the specificity of the Quebec situation. Lastly, Christophe Traisnel examines nationalist identity-centred discourse in three French-speaking societies: Quebec, the Walloon region of Belgium and Acadia. In the author's opinion, all three cases highlight the role of inclusion of diversity in the construction of identity. Another section of this journal contains studies focusing on the issues of integration and diversity in Francophone communities. The authors call into question the capacity of minority community stakeholders and structures to exhibit openness and inclusiveness. In their articles, Nicole Gallant, Wilfrid Denis, Amal Maddibo, Phillis Dalley, Fred Dufresne and Josée Makropoulos explore these themes in a variety of contexts: the Francophone associative community (Saskatchewan), young people's representation of their identity (Saskatchewan, Acadia), difficulties in recognizing young Francophones who are the product of immigration (Ontario), immigrant integration and diversity in the workplace (Alberta) and access to justice for Francophone visible minorities (Ontario).

Articles in the second part of the issue provide a number of examples of the broad range of Francophone

While Francophone immigration does not involve large numbers of people, it is bringing about profound, lasting changes in the host communities.

immigration research fields. First, several contributions focus on the many different notions of land development: cities, residential neighbourhoods and rural areas. Caroline Andrew outlines some initiatives regarding Francophone immigration taken by the City of Ottawa, showing how the activities of a number of municipal structures overlap one another. André Langlois and Anne Gilbert propose a "geography of newcomers" within Toronto's French-speaking population. Their analytical focus is the place of residence, and they find that integration in an urban minority setting presents a daunting challenge for those working to strengthen the Francophone community. Somewhat along the same lines, Josée Gignard Noël broaches a question of great concern to New Brunswick's Acadian community – the rural exodus. Intra-provincial migration from the rural north of the province to the urban southeast (Dieppe-Moncton) has impacts on the construction of a Francophone identity and geography, and particularly on the capacity of the new urbanized Francophone community to give consideration to immigration and diversity. Isabelle Violette's article illustrates a language-based development approach to urban diversity, based on the implementation of a new Francophone reception structure. Because of its high profile and its activities, the Centre d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants du Moncton métropolitain (CAIIMM) has taken over a new area of Francophone identity and has to some extent disturbed bilingual Moncton's conventional ways of doing things. Louise Fontaine presents several hypotheses explaining immigrant mobility toward rural areas, especially the Acadian communities of Nova Scotia.

The issue of integrating new Francophone immigrants in host societies is the subject of several articles stressing the importance of reception and integration structures and association networks. Chedly Belkhodja and Myriam Beaudry present findings from a comparative study of Francophone reception structures in an urban Francophone setting. Their research yields a profile of the experiences of reception structures and the challenges facing them, including funding needs and the importance of forging ties with stakeholders in Francophone communities. The FCFA outlines the efforts of provincial Francophone organizations in the area of Francophone immigration. Progress has been made by creating provincial coordinator positions in some associations. With specific reference to Manitoba, Boniface Bahi's article gives a clear illustration of the need to integrate cultural diversity more effectively into the delivery of health care services to newcomers. This section also contains contributions by the stakeholders involved in the Francophone immigration issue: Martin Paquet (Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse), Yvette Bourque (Carrefour d'immigration Crossroad, Yukon),

Sylvia Kasparian (CAIIMM, New Brunswick), Moussa Magassa (Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia), François Bertrand (Government of British Columbia) and the Consortium national de formation en santé. While specific initiatives are covered in each article, they are all comparable in some ways. In addition, there are two articles on Francophone schools. Yamina Bouchamma examines the integration of immigrant children in New Brunswick schools. Diane Farmer presents research findings from two studies of French schools in Ontario. The school is a key ingredient in any successful integration project, and it requires awareness-raising efforts targeting members of the education community and immigrant families along with a clear commitment from political representatives. Lastly, two articles focus on the question of research. Dominique Thomassin outlines the present state of research on Francophone immigration, isolating two dominant themes and the need for further research on certain issues. For example, we need to gain a clearer understanding of the challenges of recruitment in French-speaking source countries, and we need to promote the vitality of an inclusive Francophone community. Isabelle Violette and Annette Boudreau present the results of several research projects on linguistic and cultural diversity in New Brunswick's Acadian and Francophone community.

Overall, this issue of *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens* brings out the scope and importance of research on immigration and diversity in Francophone minority communities. The articles clearly illustrate the situation in a variety of Francophone communities that have been impacted by the arrival of immigrants. Furthermore, several authors ask essential questions on how to integrate immigrants successfully and how to incorporate diversity in the blueprint for a Francophone society. We hope that the articles will spark interest in an identity-building process that is critical to the future of the Canadian Francophonie and to the development of effective public policy in this context.

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RESEARCHING THE NEW DIVERSITY OF FRANCOPHONE MINORITY COMMUNITIES*

ABSTRACT

The Canadian government has adopted an explicit policy to encourage French-speaking immigrants to settle in Francophone communities outside Quebec. Research on the issue of immigration in linguistic minority Francophone communities started in the late 1990s. It focused initially on the fact that these minority communities are disadvantaged because the immigration-driven demographic growth of the Canadian population is largely bypassing them. Now that immigration Francophone communities is receiving more attention, the focus has expanded to cover the entire breadth of the immigration experience: from selection and integration to the identification of the second generation with the Francophone community. The present article discusses recent demographic findings on Francophone communities, and highlights some of the current issues that research is tackling. It concludes with some thoughts on the areas of research that should receive greater attention.

CARSTEN QUELL

Carsten Quell is Research Manager in the Policy Research Group at the Department of Canadian Heritage. Previously, he was responsible for managing research at the Canadian Culture Online Branch of Canadian Heritage. In the past, he has worked for the Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC) and the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Carsten holds a Ph.D. from the University of Toronto and an M.A. from the Free University of Berlin. His main research interests are official languages, diversity and new technologies.

I n December 2007, the language results from the 2006 Canadian Census were released. One of the key findings was the rising multilingualism in Canada: for more than one in five Canadians (21%), the so-called Allophones, the mother tongue is neither English nor French. At the same time, though, 99% of the total Canadian population can speak English or French. This makes Canada not a country less proficient in English or French but one where fewer people speak the official languages as a mother tongue. Between 2001 and 2006, the proportion of native English speakers in the Canadian population dropped by two percentage points. Native Francophones dropped one percentage point, while native Allophones increased three percentage points.

For Canada as a whole, greater linguistic diversity does not mean that English or French is used less for interaction in the public sphere. It simply means that more people have a third language as their mother tongue. For Canada's Francophone communities, the shift towards more Allophones is both a risk and an opportunity. The risk is that Allophones will only bolster the majority community by adopting their language. The opportunity is that Francophile Allophones and French-speaking newcomers will actually strengthen Francophone minority communities. The 2006 Census results are quite revealing in this respect. While mother tongue Francophones make up 4.3% of the population outside Quebec, first-official-language Francophones constitute 4.4%. First-official-language Francophones includes both mother tongue Francophones and Francophile Allophones, referring to people whose mother tongue may not be French but who are French-speaking because they know French or speak it in the home. Many of these "new" Francophones are new Canadians who have been educated in French (in countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the Maghreb or the Caribbean) and consider themselves to be fully Francophone, even if their first language in childhood was not French but Arabic or Creole.

Since Statistics Canada reports on "First Official Language Spoken" (FOLS), it is possible to gauge the effect that non-mother tongue Francophones are having on the minority linguistic reality. This is particularly evident in Toronto and Vancouver: 59,000 Torontonians report French as their mother tongue but an additional 50,000 are first-official-language Francophones. Similarly, only 24,000 Vancouverites report French as their mother tongue but 15,000 are French speakers, even if their mother tongue is a third language. In many ways, what is happening in Toronto and Vancouver foreshadows a trend that will accelerate and spread to other regions in the future: Francophone minority communities will owe their demographic strength increasingly to Allophone Francophones and to their ability to become a Francophone roof for all those who identify with French.

It is these new realities of immigration and demographic change that lie behind much of the research interest in immigration as a source of renewal for Francophone minority communities. Starting in the mid- to late 1990s, these communities began to look at immigration as a growth potential. Around 2002, policies were being developed to encourage Francophone immigrants to

settle in Francophone minority communities. In 2007, the Policy Research Group at the Department of Canadian Heritage commissioned an annotated bibliography to better understand the current state of research on immigration in a Francophone minority context. It was carried out by Dominique Thomassin at the Université de Moncton (Thomassin 2007). Some 50 studies that have appeared since 1995 were analyzed, studies ranging from the selection, integration and retention of immigrants to issues around language, identity, health and culture.

The theme most often dealt with in these studies is integration, especially the question of what characterizes a successful or ideal path of integration. "Integration" is, broadly speaking, conceived of as a three-step process: first, immigrants need to create a space that is their own. Second, they have to develop markers of identity in their new environment that explicitly recognize their distinctiveness. Third, from a secure and respectful place, immigrants are free to contribute to the vitality of the minority community. Those familiar with the characteristics of Francophone minority communities understand why this ideal process, even if it could be achieved, poses particular challenges in a minority context.

The first major challenge is that, for their survival, minority communities depend on the recognition of their distinctiveness from the majority community. That distinctiveness is, or at least is believed to be, easier to achieve if the minority group is internally as homogeneous and cohesive as possible. The second major challenge to the successful integration of Francophone immigrants is that, unlike other immigrants, they have a choice. They can adopt the Francophone community as "their" community, or they can integrate into Canadian society through the English-speaking majority.

The moment when Francophone immigrants decide in which schools to enrol their children becomes something of a litmus test. Opting for an education in French will tie an immigrant family fairly closely to the minority community for a number of years; opting for an education in English will almost inevitably lead to much more tenuous links, if any. While schools are one of the foremost vehicles for building a new and inclusive Francophone community, they have also been a key factor for the survival of traditional French-Canadian culture. Gallant and Belkhodja (2005: 35) explore the difficulties of finding an appropriate new "we" in an article that reviews minority Francophone discourses. A telling example is their analysis of a text found on the website of the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA):

> [*Author's translation*]
> While the FCFA asks "Are the communities willing to consider greater inclusion within their

schools by integrating these children based on the respect for cultural difference?", it immediately concludes as follows: "Since the Francophone minorities have won the right to govern their own schools, it is up to them to decide who will be enrolled in their schools." It is as if these Francophone minorities were a separate entity that does not naturally include immigrants and as if these minorities had to decide whether or not they would accept to share "their" schools with Francophone immigrants.

For many Francophone immigrants, exercising the choice over which school their children should attend is often one of very few choices that they actually can make. Like other immigrants, they face obstacles in credential recognition and in finding work that corresponds to their qualifications. But in other ways, their situation is even more delicate than that of "majority immigrants." While the points awarded to potential immigrants suggest that knowledge of either official language is a benefit wherever in the country they settle, a newcomer whose first official language is French but who lives outside of Quebec will likely experience far greater obstacles in finding a job than someone whose first official language is English.

While Francophone minority communities had initially assumed that the more unilingual French an immigrant was, the more likely he or she would be to gravitate towards the Francophone community, some of the newer research shows that quite the opposite may, in fact, be the case. The "language shock" will often be so great that newcomers will do all they can to learn English in order to maximize their economic opportunities. As a result, they will not view French as a helpful tool towards integration, and end up sending their children to English schools so that they will not be confronted with the same difficulties their parents faced.

These dynamics reveal something of an "inconvenient truth" about the minority experience. Like many French-Canadians who have lost touch with their *francité*, immigrants, too, may decide that their Francophone identity is too difficult to maintain under the difficult life circumstances of a new environment. Thomassin's research overview suggests that a *marginalization double* – as immigrants *and* as members of a minority community – leads some immigrants to align themselves with the majority community in an effort to at least ease one of those marginalization effects.

Immigrants who shift their identity and activities towards the majority are a lost opportunity for Francophone communities. Currently, language retention among Francophone immigrants is lower than among non-immigrants. The possibility for broadening and strengthening the Francophone space clearly exists,

It is [the] new realities of immigration and demographic change that lie behind much of the research interest in immigration as a source of renewal for Francophone minority communities.

but without a concerted effort on integration, the mere "recruitment" of Francophone immigrants cannot be expected to change the language dynamics in Francophone communities. That realization has prompted much of the current research to focus on retention strategies. In her analysis, Thomassin finds that only a few studies are focused on the actual processes of social inclusion of Francophone immigrants. Studying the process of becoming part of a new community is, however, key to understanding what will get and keep immigrants involved in the minority community. The few studies that do exist are concerned with a crucial issue: how Francophone second-generation immigrant youth identify with and become rooted in the minority community. It is the dynamics in this key group that will ultimately determine the success of Francophone minority immigration policies. If these young people adopt "Francophone" as part of their identity, the minority community is strengthened. If, however, they experience their own marginalization double, many of them will likely drift towards the majority community.

Considering current demographic trends and the research that has been undertaken in recent years, there is little doubt that the next phase of research on immigration and official language minority communities should focus on the lived experience of Francophone immigrants, both parents and their children. Some of the decisive moments in their path to integrating in Canadian society, such as the choice of schools for their children, need to be better understood.

As a country, Canada is performing well in an area that eludes many other places: how to combine high levels of immigration with a positive public perception of the cultural and linguistic diversity that results from that immigration. Many Canadians consider multiple origins, identities and languages as desirable characteristics, both at the individual and societal level. But when Francophone newcomers report that they feel *doublement marginalisés*, it is obvious that there are still challenges with regard to how diversity within Francophone communities is valued. No doubt these challenges can and will be overcome. What might accelerate the process is insight and analysis coming from studies that do not shy away from looking at uncomfortable realities. Ultimately, such research will help to bring about a Francophone space in Canada that is both enriched and redefined through the new voices and accents that immigration brings.

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Note

* The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DIVERSITY AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES*

ABSTRACT

This article examines the relationship between diversity and official language minorities, based on data provided by the 2006 Census. The conceptual differences between mother tongue and first official language spoken (FOLS) variables are analyzed as well as the way in which these two variables can contribute to our understanding of official language minorities. The author examines data relating to FOLS with a focus on mother tongue, place of birth and generational status to provide a better understanding of the impact of diversity on official language minority populations.

LORNA JANTZEN

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In December 2007, Statistics Canada released the 2006 Census of Canada data on languages. Analyses of the statistics have, among other things, been focused on the major trends for the three broad language categories: Anglophones, Francophones and Allophones.[1] Data shows that, proportionally, Anglophones and Francophones are losing ground to Allophones. The Allophone population continues to grow as immigrant intake increases and as these new Canadians transmit their non-official mother tongue to their children. An Allophone population is the way of the future and official language minorities are on the decline. However, missing from this interpretation is the fact that Allophones in Canada participate in Canadian society in one or, in some cases, both official languages. This article examines whether the Allophone population is contributing to official language minority populations in Canada and focuses on the relationship between official language minorities and diversity.

In Canada, 21% (6,440,000 people) of the population reported as Allophone. This is up from 16% in 1991, 17% in 1996 and 19% in 2001. Among Allophones, 77% reported that they could conduct a conversation in English only, 4% reported French only, 12% reported English and French and 8% reported that they could not conduct a conversation in neither English nor French.[2] This suggests that being an Allophone does not always entail being able to participate in Canadian society in one of Canada's two official languages.

The concept of Allophone is not synonymous with speaking a non-official language at home "most often" or on a "regular basis." Indeed, 48% of those who reported an Allophone mother tongue reported English and/or French as the language spoken most often at home, while 23% of Allophones reported that they speak French or English on a regular basis in the home. These results indicate that well over half of Allophones speak an official language at home.

The generational status variable for the population aged 15 years and older also illustrates that being an Allophone does not mean that you are a recent immigrant.[3] While 11% of the Allophone population aged 15 years and older are recent immigrants, 80% are first generation Canadians, 16% are second generation and 4% are third generation or more.[4]

Thus, looking at whether Allophones can carry a conversation in English or French, whether they speak English or French at home and the fact that the Allophone category is not limited to recent immigrants, it can be concluded that being an Allophone does not mean one cannot speak either official language. This conclusion, therefore, raises questions about the official languages they speak and whether they could be considered as possible contributors to official language minority populations.

The first official language spoken (FOLS) concept is more inclusive and current than mother tongue; 98% of the population are categorized according to their responses to Census language questions.[5] The FOLS variable divides people into one of four different categories: English only, French only, English and French, and neither English nor French.[6] Breaking down the population based on these different categories gives us a better understanding of the official language(s) people are speaking as they participate in Canadian society. This article will focus on the Francophone and Anglophone minority populations in Canada as defined by the concept "first official language spoken" (FOLS). Minority populations within the same FOLS group will be broken down by mother tongue, place of birth and generational status to gain better insight into the diversity of official language minority populations.

Table 1
Situation of French in the rest of Canada

	Total		French FOLS		French only		English and French	
Total	23,805,100	100%	1,054,000	100%	940,500	100%	113,400	100%
French mother tongue	1,012,545	4%	933,300	89%	921,925	98%	26,215	10%
Allophone mother tongue	50,502,630	23%	129,720	12%	26,215	3%	103,500	91%

The situation of Francophones in the rest of Canada

In the rest of Canada (ROC), approximately 1,013,000 people reported French as their mother tongue and 1,054,000[7] people were categorized as people with French FOLS.[8] For Francophones according to FOLS, 940,500 were in the French only category and 113,400 were in the English and French category.

According to FOLS, 89% reported French as their mother tongue[9] and 13% reported a mother tongue other than one of the official languages.[10] As the counts demonstrate, the French only and English and French categories are demographically different. Therefore, it is important to not only consider the total number of people in the French category, but also the differences between these two categories.

Several Census variables will be used to look at diversity within the minority Francophone population: mother tongue, place of birth and generational status.[11]

Mother tongue

A detailed analysis of the mother tongue variable allows us to determine the mother tongue of those who fall within the French FOLS categories. The mother tongue of approximately 12% of the respondents, or 129,700 people, in an FOLS category that includes French is an Allophone language. Of the top ten Allophone mother tongues reported by these Francophone minorities, Arabic and Spanish came in first and second place with 15,500 and 11,300 people, respectively. The other eight reported mother tongues were Romanian (8,000), Italian (5,500), Creole (5,300), Polish (5,100), German (4,900), Cantonese (4,700), Portuguese (4,600) and Punjabi (4,400). It should also be noted that in the case of Creole, 60% were in the category of French only FOLS. This is the only case where more than half the population was part of this category. For the other

mother tongues, the proportions attributed to French only were much smaller: Arabic 32%, Spanish 18%, Romanian 5%, Italian 28%, Polish 9%, German 25%, Cantonese 6%, Portuguese 23% and Punjabi 4%.

Place of birth

The Census question on place of birth allows us to understand another dimension of the diversity of the Francophone population (FOLS). In total, 14% (146,000) of the Francophone FOLS population in the ROC were not born in Canada; 46% of these people were in the French only category and 54% were in the English and French category. Europe is the place of birth for the highest number of respondents (57,400, or 5%), followed by Africa (31,400, or 3%), Asia (27,300, or 3%), Central and South America (14,300, or 1%), Middle East (10,600 or 1%), other North American (5,200, or 0%) and Oceania and other (200, or 0%).

The place of birth data also highlights some important differences between people in the French only category and those in the English and French category. For instance, for FOLS Francophones born in Africa, 71% are in the French only category. On the other hand, only 13% of FOLS Francophones that were born in Asia are in the French only category. In the case of the people born elsewhere, those in the French only category were distributed as follows: Europe (47%), Central and South America (47%),[12] the Middle East (30%), other North American (87%), Oceania and other (55%).

Generational status

The Census enquires not only about an individual's place of birth, but for those people that are 15 years and older, it also asks for their parents' place of birth. From this information, it is possible to derive generational status, which

Figure 1
Top ten Allophone mother tongues for people classified as French (FOLS) in the ROC (2006 Census, 20% sample)

Figure 2
Place of birth by people assigned to French (FOLS) in the ROC (2006 Census, 20% sample)
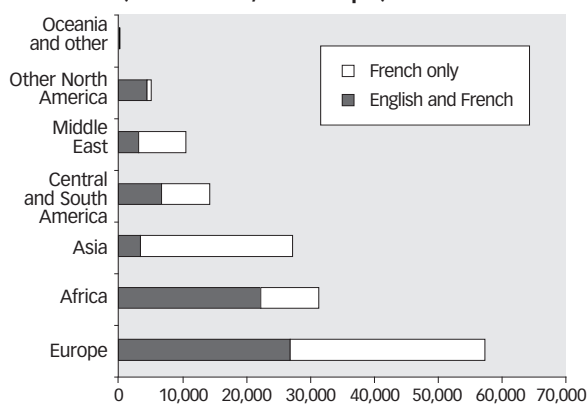
allows us to determine whether someone is first generation, second generation, or third generation or more.[13]

When generational status is cross tabulated by French FOLS, 11% of Canadians are in the first generation category, 4% are in the second generation category and 85% are in the third generation or more category. Clearly, the French FOLS category continues to be dominated by people whose families have resided in Canada for multiple generations. However, once you look individually at the categories of French only and English and French, you begin to see differences. The French Only category is dominated by Canadians of third generation or more: 89% of Canadians in the French Only category are in the third generation or more category, whereas the English and French category is mainly made up of first generation (79%) Canadians.

Figure 3
FOLS Francophones by generational status, for the population 15 years and older, (2006 Census, 20% sample)
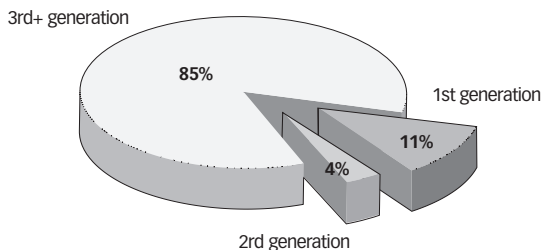
A comparison of the first official language spoken variable with mother tongue variable, the place of birth variable and generational status variable show that Francophone minority population is diverse; the FOLS variable allows us to unpack some of this diversity. Of the two categories that comprise French FOLS, the English and French category is more diverse than the French only category. The French only category shows some new faces emerging, especially with people from Africa and Europe and other people with Arabic and Creole as a mother tongue. Since people in the English and French FOLS category can participate in society in one of Canada's official languages, linguistic minorities will need to remain open and flexible to people from other places around the world.

The situation of Anglophones in Quebec

In Quebec, approximately 640,600 people reported English as their mother tongue and 1,104,000 people were in the English FOLS category. For English FOLS, 885,400 were in the English only category and 218,600 were in the English and French category.

Of the people in the English FOLS category, 56% reported English as their mother tongue and 46% reported

an Allophone language as their mother tongue.[14] For the Allophone mother tongue group, 60% were in the English only FOLS category and 40% were in the English and French FOLS category. Keeping in mind the results related to the Francophone minority, it again appears that the English only category and the English and French category are made up of very different people. As a result, the analysis below will take into account these two categories.

The analysis made for Francophone minorities will now be carried out for Anglophone minorities in Quebec. This analysis will take into account a detailed mother tongue variable as well as variables related to place of birth and generational status; the FOLS English only and FOLS English and French categories will be considered together and separately.

Mother tongue

A detailed mother tongue variable allows us to determine which non-official languages are most common among the English FOLS population. Approximately 505,700 people, or 46%, of minorities whose first official language spoken is English reported their mother tongue to be a language other than an official language. Sixty percent were part of the English only FOLS category and 40% were in the English or French FOLS category. Of the top 10 languages, the greatest number of respondents reported Italian (85,600, or 8%), followed by Arabic (43,100, or 4%), Spanish (39,900, or 4%), Greek (37,010, or 3%), Romanian (16,200, or 1%), Portuguese (14,800, or 1%), Tagalog (13,500, or 1%), Russian (13,200, or 1%) and German (13,080, or 1%).

Figure 4
Top allophone mother tongues for people assigned as English (FOLS) in Quebec (2006 Census, 20% Sample)
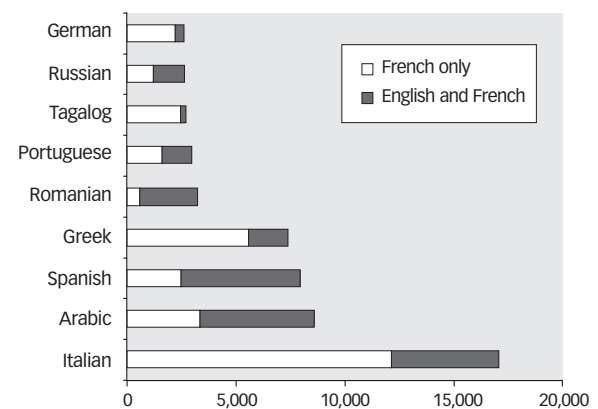
It should also be noted that there was a great variation between the English only category and the English and French category. In some cases, well over half the members of a category were classified as English only: Tagalog at 91%, German at 84%, Greek at 75%, Italian at

Table 2
Situation of English in Quebec

	Total		English FOLS		English only		English and French	
Total	7,435,900	100%	1,104,000	100%	885,400	100%	218,600	100%
Anglophone mother tongue	640,600	9%	617,300	56%	600,200	68%	17,000	8%
Allophone mother tongue	939,300	13%	505,700	46%	301,300	34%	204,400	94%

71% and Portuguese at 55%. Other mother tongue categories had much lower proportions in the English only FOLS category: Romanian at 18%, Spanish at 31%, Arabic at 39% and Russian at 46%.

Place of birth

The English (FOLS) population in Quebec comes from countries all around the world. Sixty-three percent (425,900) of people in the English FOLS category were not born in Canada. The greatest number of respondents for place of birth were reported for Europe at 23%, followed by Asia (19%), Central and South America (8%), Middle East (5%), Africa (4%), other North America (3%) and Oceania (0%).

The place of birth data also highlights the differences between the English only FOLS category and the English and French FOLS category. For people born outside Canada, the greatest number of people in the English and French category were from Africa (55%), followed by the Middle East (51%), Central and South America (44%), Europe (34%), Asia (30%), other North America (4%) and Oceania (4%).

Figure 5
Place of birth of people assigned to English (FOLS) in the ROC (2006 Census, 20% sample)
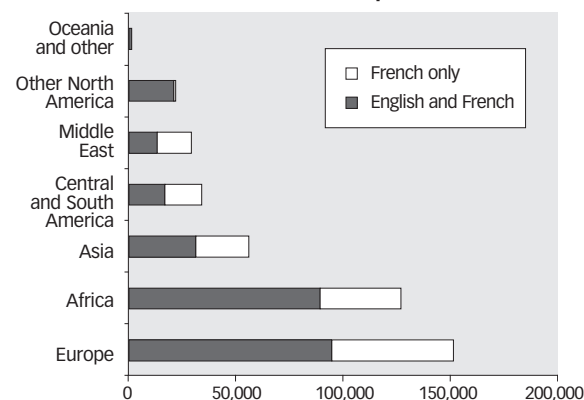
Generational status

The generational status variable is important in this analysis since it provides information on the distribution of official language minorities over generations. In the case of respondents reporting English FOLS in Quebec, no particular generation dominates. First generation Canadians represent 44%, second generation represent 24% and third generation or more represent 32%.

When we examine each category of respondents with English FOLS (English only category and English and French category) we see more clearly the diversity of the FOLS English population. For the English only category, there is a fairly equal split across generations: first generation (35%), second generation (27%) and third generation or more (38%). This is in sharp contrast to the English and French category, which is made up of mainly first generation Canadians. In this FOLS category, 79% are first generation Canadians, 14% are second generation and only 7% are third generation or more.

In summary, the FOLS Anglophone population is very diverse, and linguistic minorities and immigrants are

found in both the English only category and the English and French category. The English only category contains immigrants from previous generations (Italians, Greeks). However, the place of birth information demonstrates that the many people not born in Canada are usually split equally between the English only category and the English and French category. With regards to generational status, the English and French category is made up mainly of first-generation Canadians, while the English only category is, again, fairly evenly split among the generations. The English FOLS population is very diverse, and this diversity can be found across generations.

Figure 6
FOLS Anglophones by generational status, for the population 15 years and older (2006 Census, 20% sample)
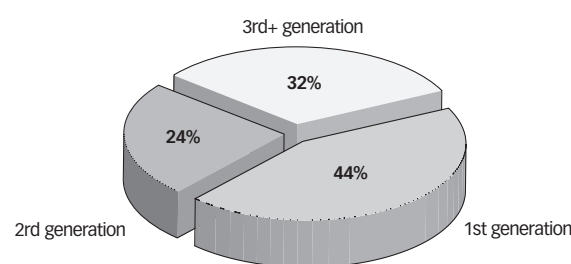
Conclusion

By taking into account the fact that Allophones participate in Canadian society in an official language, we see that there is a potential for change in official language minority communities. A study of both mother tongue and first official language spoken variables provides us with insightful information on which language Allophones use to participate in Canadian society. Another possible conclusion is that the FOLS English and French category is more diverse than the French only and English only categories. In the rest of Canada, a small number of first generation Canadians are in the French only category; it is mainly in the English and French category where the factor of diversity begins to have an impact. In Quebec, since some traditionally Allophone and Anglophone communities are in the English only category, the breakdown varies by generation. However, Allophones that were recently part of the English and French category are now classed in the English category. At the time of writing this article, the Census data on ethnic origin and visible minority status was not available. This data, once available, will add another dimension to this analysis. Thus, further research and greater reflection is required in this area.

2 Only 8% of Allophones reported that they could not conduct a conversation in English or French; this is 2% of the total Canadian population.

3 Recent immigrant means immigrated to Canada between 2001 and 2006.

4 First generation means not born in Canada, second generation means born in Canada to an immigrant parent or parents, third generation or more means born in Canada and parents are born in Canada.

5 This derived Census variable first takes into consideration the knowledge individuals have of official languages, their mother tongue and, finally, Part A (Most Often) of the home language question.

6 In 2006, according to the FOLS variable, 23,198,000 people were assigned to the English only category, 7,204,400 to French only, 332,000 to English and French and 507,600 people to neither English nor French. The question is how do you count the multiple response category of English and French, especially in a minority situation where people are required to learn the majority language to find a job or participate in other activities? If someone reports an official language minority, are they part of the official language community? For these reasons, this paper will add up single and multiple responses, but it will also consider the French only and English and French respondents separately to see if there are differences in their demographic composition.

7 There are many different ways to get a total count for French FOLS (and later in the paper, English FOLS). In this paper, for simplicity, we have added single and multiple responses. However, at the Official Languages Support Branch and at Statistics Canada, they do not take this approach. They divide the English and French category count in half, so that individuals are not double counted

8 It should be noted that of the 1,013,000 people in the rest of Canada who reported French as their mother tongue, only 933,000 of them were in the French FOLS categories. There is no overlap for some of the Francophone MT population because the FOLS concept first considers knowledge of an official language then the mother tongue criteria, and that these individuals reported English only to the language knowledge question, indicating that they could not conduct a conversation in French.

9 In this case, the proportion of people who responded that French was their mother tongue includes not only people who gave a a single response, but also people who said French was their mother tongue in combination with another language, either English or a non-official language.

10 Of the 13% that reported an Allophone mother tongue, 3% were in combination with English and/or French and 10% reported only one or more non-official languages.

11 Unfortunately, the 2006 Census data on ethnic origins and visible minorities had not yet been released when this paper was written. Once available, this information will further increase our understanding of the ethno-cultural makeup of this population.

12 Central and South America includes the Caribbean and Bermuda. For those born in the Caribbean and Bermuda, 85% of the population were in the French only category.

13 See footnote 4 for definition of first generation, second generation and third generation or more.

14 These percentages do not add up to 100% since 4% of respondents reported a non-official language mother tongue in combination with an English mother tongue.

IMMIGRANTS: A SOURCE OF VITALITY FOR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITY COMMUNITIES

ABSTRACT

The article begins with a brief survey of the federal government's main activities over the last ten years with respect to Francophone immigration. The author goes on to present data that provide a picture of the typical immigrant of the 2000s, and demonstrate the potential contribution of immigrants to their host communities.

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For some 25 years, census data show a steady reduction in the numbers of Canadians of English and French mother tongue as a proportion of the Canadian population as a whole. With respect to Francophones, the 2006 Census shows that Canadians whose mother tongue is French now constitute 22.1% of the population, whereas in 1996, they represented 23.5% (Statistics Canada 2007: 5).

This dilution is largely due to the influx of numerous allophone immigrants, but also to the fact that outside Quebec, only a tiny proportion of immigrants speak French or choose French as their first official language. Thus, for Francophone communities outside Quebec, immigration is not only a means of offsetting the Canadian demographic deficit, but also an opportunity to swell the ranks of the French-speaking community.

The interest of Official language minority communities (OLMCs) in immigration has emerged only in recent years. It was in the early 1990s that the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA) [federation of Francophone and Acadian communities of Canada] began to take an interest in immigration. A study published by the FCFA (Churchill and Kaprielan 1991) looked at the role of immigration as a means of development for OLMCs. A cross-country tour in 2000 provided an opportunity to consult various cultural communities on the issue. In 2002, a study by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages highlighted the fact that the French-speaking community outside Quebec was not benefiting from immigration to the same extent as the rest of Canada (Commissioner of Official Languages 2002a). According to the 2001 Census, excluding Quebec, only 1.5% of the immigrant population gave French as their first official language spoken. These studies attracted the attention of parliamentarians, and in 2003, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Official Languages tabled its own report on the subject, containing a number of recommendations to the federal government (House of Commons Standing Committee on Official Languages 2003).

In 2002, the government amended the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* so that immigration might promote the growth of both linguistic communities. That same year, the Minister of Immigration of the time, Denis Coderre, established the Citizenship and Immigration Canada Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee to implement projects to recruit, retain and integrate French-speaking immigrants.

Government and community bodies are thus firmly committed to this effort. However, beyond a mere propping up of the population figures or the urgent need to offset labour shortages, the benefits of immigration are not always obvious, particularly for communities that take in few immigrants, and who might therefore lack information on the subject. Moreover, the media often accentuate the difficulties posed by immigration, and help to create the impression that immigrants are a burden on the host society. The purpose of this article is to show that on the contrary, immigrants – including French-speaking immigrants – bring with them resources that can contribute to the vitality of their adoptive communities, as long as those communities are prepared to turn them to account.

A population input that can be significant

Since French-speaking immigrants outside Quebec represent only a very small proportion of total immigration to Canada, people may be unaware that in some French-speaking communities, the immigrant contribution to population is significant. In Ottawa, for example, in 2001,

immigrants represented 12.3% of the French-speaking population (Assemblée francophone et comité interagences du conseil de Planification sociale d'Ottawa 2004: 10). Also in 2001, immigrants represented about 7% of the Francophones of Ontario, about 10% in Yukon and nearly 16% in British Columbia (Statistics Canada 2004).

The influx is sufficient to create a sizeable increase in the demand for services in French, and particularly for schooling in French. There is anecdotal evidence that Francophones from overseas are often more assertive than Canadian-born Francophones, where their language rights are concerned. Having come to settle in a bilingual country, they expect to receive services in French.

Moreover, immigrants often contribute to the formation of a French-speaking nucleus in neighbourhoods where traditionally, there have been few French-speaking residents. This is the case in Ottawa, where newcomers have settled in outlying neighbourhoods like Kanata, thus providing the basis for new French-speaking communities. Lastly, the arrival of immigrants rejuvenates the host community. In Ontario for example, Francophones are older than the Ontario population as a whole. Yet Francophone immigrants, like immigrants in general, have a larger proportion of adults between 25 and 44 – and thus fewer seniors – than the rest of the Canadian population (Assemblée francophone et comité interagences du conseil de Plani-fication sociale d'Ottawa 2004: 11). This is the age group that is most likely to make an economic contribution to the community.

A highly qualified workforce

A large proportion of im-migrants come to Canada with one or more university degrees to their name, and this is true of all classes of immigrant: refugees and skilled workers, women as well as men (Hawthorne 2007: 3). Thus, immigrants who came to Canada between 1996 and 2001 were twice as likely to have postsecondary qualifications as people born in Canada (37% compared to 15%) (*Ibid.*: 3).

In 2001, in Canada, people born abroad constituted about half of our IT workers, engineers and architects, about a third of our doctors, accountants and natural science graduates, and about a quarter of our artists, nurses and those employed in management or business (*Ibid.*: 4). Immigrants constitute a workforce without which the labour shortages we are now experiencing would be much more serious.

A large number of healthcare professionals come to Canada every year. From 1991 to 2003, nearly 17,000 people who had studied medicine and more than 7,000 nurses came to Canada (*Ibid.*: 5). Unfortunately, some of these professionals fail to obtain recognition of their

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qualifications within a reasonable time, and thus never practice their profession in Canada. Initiatives by the federal government and some professional bodies designed to encourage recognition of foreign qualifications are now getting underway.[1] Immigrants represent a pool of knowledge and experience that has yet to be fully exploited.

Ability to adapt

A number of studies describe the numerous obstacles immigrants face in their adoptive country: problems in finding accommodation, employment and so on (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages 2002b, Schellenberg and Maheux 2007). Immigrants cite difficulty in finding employment as the most significant obstacle to settlement in Canada (*Ibid.* 2007). Age and immigrant class affect the time it takes an immigrant to find a job. Thus, the employment rate for immigrants aged 25 to 44 (all classes) was 51% after six months, 65% after two years and 75% after four years. The latter proportion is close to the employment rate for Canadian-born adults in the same age group: 81.2% (Statistics Canada 2005a).[2] In the skilled worker class, more than half had found a job after some 12 weeks.

Moreover, it seems that immigrants adapt fairly quickly to their work environment, despite cultural, organizational and linguistic differences. In a 2004 survey of some 2,000 Canadian firms (Environics Research Group 2004), most employers (about 67%) felt that their immigrant employees had adapted easily or very easily to their organizational culture.

Difficulty in finding a place to live is also cited as a major obstacle (Schellenberg and Maheux 2007). Access to housing is affected by factors such as economic growth, the availability of affordable housing, vacancy rates and the like, which can vary considerably from region to region, and with cyclical factors in the economy. Thus, immigrants face the same challenges as other Canadians in their particular area, except that immigrant households often include a larger number of low-income members, which complicates the search for suitable housing (Statistics Canada 2005b: 25). Nevertheless, the 2001 Census shows that six months after arrival, only 5% of immigrants were living with relatives or friends, and 92% of immigrants who arrived between 1996 and 2001 had rented or bought a home of their own (Environics Research Group 2004: 24).

The great majority of immigrants do not arrive empty-handed: most have the necessary resources to be economically independent for a time. For the skilled worker class, the average amount brought into Canada

was about $31,000 (*Ibid*.: 82).[3] After six months, they still had about half that amount. Thus, in the great majority of cases, immigrants do not constitute a burden when they arrive: on the contrary, they are ready to contribute from day one.

Immigration being a stressful experience, to say the least, one might expect the health of immigrants to be affected by it. The fact is that a larger proportion of immigrants assess their state of health positively, compared with the rest of the Canadian population. More than three-quarters of immigrants stated they were in excellent or very good health, while only 3% reported fair or poor health. The differences noted between immigrants and non-immigrants were almost all statistically significant (Statistics Canada 2005b).

Cultural diversification in employment

Many employers acknowledge the positive impact of hiring immigrants. A survey has shown that employers clearly perceive the benefits of hiring immigrants; they mention in particular benefits related to the ability of immigrants to generate new ideas, new products and services for multicultural markets and prospects for international business (Environics Research Group 2004). Unfortunately, employers and businesses do not necessarily make use of the benefits immigrants bring. As Vatz Laaroussi (2007) has pointed out: [*Translation*] "The potential for trade and business with countries of origin that these transnational networks represent is rarely identified as a plus in communities that are becoming receptive to immigration….Some small communities and medium-sized cities that have thus far experienced little exposure to diversity seem to fall back on their own networks, and do not see their assets as including the potential for economic and social transfer made possible by immigrant networks."

Use of French in the home

Some data from the 2001 Census (Statistics Canada 2004) suggest that some Francophone immigrants use French more in the home than Canadian-born Francophones do. It is in the provinces where the proportion of French-speaking households where French is "most often" used in the home is lowest that interesting differences are found between Canadian-born Francophones and immigrants. Thus, in 2001, in Alberta, only 38% of Canadian-born Francophones most often speak French in the home, compared with 42% of immigrants; in British Columbia, the proportions are 28% and 40%, respectively, a significant difference. In other provinces – New Brunswick and Ontario – where the use of French in the home is more common, there are no noticeable differences between the groups, although in both cases, immigrants use French somewhat less often than Canadian-born Francophones.[4]

These data could be subject to fluctuation in the future. Some French-speaking immigrants might make the switch to English, to the extent that they or their children learn English, but others might step up their use of French in the home as they abandon their own mother tongue. Nevertheless, during their early years in Canada, immigrants could help to increase the proportion of Francophones speaking French in the home or in their day-to-day lives. Their use of French as the main language in the home could be bolstered if active Francophone communities made an effort to integrate them.

Cultural diversification within the French-speaking community

It is not always easy to support the cultural and artistic life of small French-speaking communities. With little exposure to the contemporary trends in the arts accessible in larger cities, the cultural life of small communities is in danger of becoming a somewhat static expression of French culture, rather than a lively and dynamic one. The cultural and artistic heritage of immigrants, when added to that of the host society, can breathe new life into the community's cultural existence. The artistic hybridization visible in large cosmopolitan cities like Montreal and Toronto provides a good demonstration of this phenomenon of mutual cultural enrichment. Far from overshadowing the host culture, that of the newcomers can bring a new leaven that can nurture splendid new growth.

Participation by immigrants in minority French-speaking communities

We have presented data designed to show what immigrants can contribute to the vitality of a community. However, we cannot raise the issue of vitality contributed by immigrants without at the same time considering the responsibilities of the community towards newcomers. It is the responsibility of governments to provide for essential needs: housing, employment, health care, education. It is the community, however, that is responsible for integrating immigrants. In an article entitled "Ethnoracial diversity and planning practices in the Greater Toronto Area: Final report," Milroy and Wallace (2004) have described the lack of consistent and systematic municipal policies, or specific activities designed to integrate immigrants, in the municipalities of Greater Toronto, which take in large numbers of immigrants. Most French-speaking communities also lack specific programs and policies designed to facilitate integration. One notable exception is Manitoba, where *Accueil francophone* has been established, with bilingual service centres to assist French-speaking immigrants in the settlement process. Under the

In nearly all cases, immigrants are in good health, ready to work and to adapt to their adoptive country. Apart from increasing the population, they bring knowledge, experience and culture that can only enrich our own communities.

program, numerous services such as English language training, interpretation, a radio column to increase public awareness and a program for immigrant youth have been set up to meet the specific needs of immigrants, and involve the general public in the venture. Every effort has been made to help immigrants integrate as quickly as possible.

Belonging to a network in one's adoptive community is a key factor in finding a job. Studies have shown that immigrants who make use of networks that combine members from immigrant ethnic groups with native-born Canadians have a better chance of finding a job than those who make use of an essentially ethnic network (Tolley 2003). Similarly, M. T Chicha[5] has found that particularly in small communities, employers rely extensively on word of mouth among their existing employees in order to find new ones, a recruiting technique that places newcomers at a distinct disadvantage if they do not belong to a community network.

French-speaking networks should see to it that immigrants integrate not just as immigrants, but as full members of the community. In nearly all cases, immigrants are in good health, ready to work and to adapt to their adoptive country. Apart from increasing the population, they bring knowledge, experience and culture that can only enrich our own communities.

However, the lack of integration policies at the community level, the slowness of the process of integrating immigrants into existing community networks and the lack of proactive recruitment by employers are factors that reduce their capacity to make a positive contribution to society. French-speaking communities and their leaders must see the integration of immigrants as an essential condition for their community's success. Successful immigration has to be a partnership between the newcomers and the adoptive community.

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Notes

1 Citizenship and Immigration Canada has established the Foreign Credentials Referral Office to gather information on the recognition of credentials and to provide path-finding and referral services to assist applicants through the verification and recognition process.

2 The employment rate takes into consideration people who are not active (not seeking employment) and the genuinely unemployed. The rate is thus likely an underestimate of the actual employment rate for this class of immigrant.

3 These amounts vary widely, depending on the class of immigrant, from $5,000 for refugees to $20,000 for family reunification immigrants and over $165,000 for immigrants in the investor program.

4 The situation can change quickly, particularly in Alberta, where numerous Francophones from Quebec have recently settled.

5 Quoted in Forget (2004: 44).

IMMIGRATION: A CONCRETE CONTRIBUTION TO THE VITALITY OF FRENCH-SPEAKING MINORITY COMMUNITIES

ABSTRACT

Immigration is an important contributing factor in the growth of Canada's population, and should benefit the Francophone and Anglophone communities in this country on an equitable basis. This article provides the background to the establishment of the Citizenship and Immigration Canada – Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee and the work undertaken since to ensure that Francophone and Acadian communities benefit more from immigration in order to maintain their numbers, meet their labour requirements and enjoy the wealth of cultural diversity that newcomers bring with them.[1]

C anada has a long-standing tradition of immigration. Immigration has contributed and continues to contribute to the social and economic development of Canada and to its cultural enrichment. Recent studies have shown, however, that Francophone minority communities (FMCs) – those outside Quebec – have not benefited as much from immigration as the Anglophone population has (Jedwab 2002, Quell 2002). In 2006, Canada received 251,649 immigrants (permanent residents). Of those, 12,562 said they spoke French, 133,117 said they spoke English, 22,660 said they spoke both, and 83,298 said they spoke neither (CIC 2006).

FMCs benefit little from French-speaking immigration. In 2001, for example, 75% of French-speaking immigrants chose to settle in Quebec.[2] The 2006 Census showed not only a drop in the proportion of the Canadian population claiming French as their mother tongue, but also a decrease in the proportion of the population in FMCs.

Because immigration is an important contributing factor to the growth of Canada's population, it should benefit our two linguistic communities equitably. Action should be taken to ensure that Francophone and Acadian communities benefit more from immigration in order to counteract their declining numbers, enjoy the economic, social and cultural spin-offs from the arrival of immigrants in their midst, and make up for lost time.

The development of a partnership between Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Francophone minority communities

In the beginning, the *Dialogue* tour, organized by the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA) between 1999 and 2001, offered a vehicle for thought on the future of FMCs. This process led to the establishment of the Citizenship and Immigration Canada – Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee.

In March 2002, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) announced the creation of the Steering Committee, made up of community representatives, senior CIC officials and representatives of other federal and provincial departments. The members of the Committee were given the mandate of developing strategies to increase the number of French-speaking immigrants in FMCs and to facilitate their reception and integration.

The membership of the Committee has expanded since then. In September 2007, it had 44 members, including representatives of federal, provincial and territorial departments, and community representatives. Other members could be added as circumstances dictate.

The current structure of the Committee is effective in several ways. It enables a sustained dialogue between all participating groups, and fosters the synergy necessary to the implementation of specific initiatives.

Moreover, CIC has restated its commitment to FMCs by including in the new *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* objectives respecting the growth and vitality of official language minority communities.

The federal government has taken careful note of the 7th Report of the Standing Committee on Official Languages, tabled in the House of Commons in May 2003 and entitled *Immigration as a tool for the development of official language minority communities*. The government recognizes at the outset the importance of immigration to the development of official language minority communities. The *Action Plan for Official Languages*, released in March 2003, makes this clear. It allocated $9 million over five years to CIC to promote Francophone immigration to minority Francophone communities.

The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages has also contributed to progress in immigration within those communities. In 2002, it published two background studies on the issue: *Immigration and the Vitality of Canada's Official Language Communities: Policy, Demography and Identity* (Jedwab 2002) and *Official languages and Immigration: Obstacles and Opportunities for Immigrants and Communitie*s (Quell 2002).

Approach of the Citizenship and Immigration Canada – Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee

The Steering Committee has met more than ten times since it was created in March 2002. At the first meeting, it was agreed that its work would be guided by two premises. The strategies proposed must contribute to the vitality of Francophone communities and to the successful integration of French-speaking immigrants, and be the subject of a consensus among the members of the government and community components.

In addition, in light of the scope and complexity of the issue, the Steering Committee has adopted a multi-phase action research approach to properly address the whole issue of immigration to FMCs.

In November 2003, the Steering Committee released the *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities*, which outlines the issues related to Francophone immigration, the long-term objectives, the mid-term results, the short-term measures and the means to be considered in developing national, provincial and territorial action.

The Framework has five objectives:

- Increase the number of French-speaking immigrants to give more demographic weight to FMCs;

- Improve the capacity of FMCs to receive Francophone newcomers and to strengthen their reception and settlement infrastructures;

- Ensure the economic integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into FMCs in particular;

- Ensure the social and cultural integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into FMCs;

- Foster the regionalization of Francophone immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver.

In March 2005, the Steering Committee published *Towards Building a Canadian Francophonie of Tomorrow: Summary of Initiatives 2002-2006 to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities*, which outlines the initiatives undertaken and planned for these communities in the area of immigration.

Experience since 2002 shows that the projects implemented have provided valuable lessons and a better understanding of the Francophone immigrants' situation. Projects were undertaken in Ottawa, Toronto, Calgary and Edmonton, to name only a few cities. The *Summary of Initiatives* outlines some of the projects put forward to facilitate the recruitment, selection, reception and integration of immigrants to FMCs. Nevertheless, it is clear that an approach centred on sporadic, short-term projects alone will not enable any significant inroads to be made in fostering Francophone immigration to FMCs.

On September 11, 2006, armed with this experience, the Steering Committee launched the *Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* to step up and better coordinate the efforts being made to achieve the five objectives set out in the Strategic Framework. The Steering Committee estimates that it will take 15 years to reach the annual target of 4.4% of French-speaking immigrants to FMCs, as proposed in the Strategic Plan. According to forecasts, approximately 15,000 French-speaking immigrants will settle outside Quebec in the next five years.

The Strategic Plan calls for the proactive management of a series of long-term initiatives. The section on the implementation of the Plan proposes, for 2006 to 2011, strategies for better integrating French-speaking immigrants who already live outside Quebec, as well as the recruitment, integration and retention of new French-speaking immigrants.

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The Plan calls for:

- Implementation of, and support for, local networks to coordinate Francophone immigration and implementation of services accessible to French-speaking immigrants;

- Implementation of English and French language training tailored to the needs of French-speaking immigrants;

- Training to upgrade the professional and employability skills of French-speaking immigrants;

- Support for the creation of micro-businesses by French-speaking immigrants;

- Increase of local communities' awareness of immigration and ethnocultural diversity;

- Implementation of initiatives to foster the promotion and recruitment of potential immigrants;

- Support for French-language postsecondary institutions in the recruitment and integration of international students;

- Support for refugees, who have special needs and priorities;

- Research to develop a better understanding of the challenges, and identify possible solutions.

In January 2007, an Implementation Committee was established to support the Steering Committee's efforts to implement the Plan. Its mandate is to coordinate and promote the implementation of the Plan on the basis of the priorities for 2006 to 2011. In addition to the committees, ad hoc working groups will be established as needed. CIC will also solicit the participation of the provincial and territorial governments in implementing the Plan.

At a meeting of the Steering Committee on September 17, 2007, the Implementation Committee submitted its first report, detailing the accomplishments of the previous year and setting out its implementation plan to 2011. The Implementation Committee also took the opportunity to submit three new priorities for action to the Steering Committee:

- Integration of French-speaking immigrants into the job market;

- Engagement of employers;

- Engagement of the provinces and territories.

Immigration to Francophone communities is an important factor of Canada's economic, social and cultural development. CIC firmly intends to continue promoting Canada's linguistic duality and supporting the efforts to implement initiatives that foster the development of FMCs and leadership by communities, provinces and territories in that area.[3]

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Notes

1 The article is based on excerpts from documents published by the Steering Committee (2003 and 2006).

2 In 2001, the breakdown of immigrants reporting a knowledge of French at ports of entry was as follows: 21 in Newfoundland and Labrador, 5 in Prince Edward Island, 77 in Nova Scotia, 150 in New Brunswick, 5,128 in Ontario, 33 in Manitoba, 6 in Saskatchewan, 477 in Alberta, 677 in British Columbia, 1 in the Northwest Territories and 3 in Yukon. (Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001).

3 For more information, please contact Denise Legault at CIC at 613-957-0219 or denise.legault@cic.gc.ca, or Roukya Abdi Aden of the FCFA at 613-241-7600 or roukya@fcfa.ca. The Strategic Framework and the Strategic Plan are available respectively at: www.cic.gc.ca/ english/ resources/publications/settlement/framework-minorities.asp and www. cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/settlement/plan minorities.asp.

THE EVASIVE VITALITY OF FRANCOPHONE MINORITY COMMUNITIES

ABSTRACT

The vitality of Francophone minority communities is difficult to establish, as these communities comprise diverse groups that are subject to differing factors. Although the Francophone population has been in constant decline, the assessment of its collective dynamism nonetheless augurs continuity, which is certainly not unchallenged.

MARC L. JOHNSON

Marc L. Johnson, researcher at the Canadian Institution for Research on Linguistic Minorities and President of Socius Research and Consulting, has been interested in issues relating to linguistic minorities, including socio-economic development, governance and education. He recently produced a few studies on community vitality for the Commissioner of Official Languages and participated in the assessment of provincial and federal programs pertaining to the official languages. He carried out mandates for several community organizations, including the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada and the Fédération nationale des conseils scolaires Francophones.

The vitality of Francophone communities outside of Quebec is both stronger than generally believed by Anglophone majorities in Canada and Francophone majorities in Quebec, and more fragile than these communities' leaders would like to believe. Their minority status is obviously at the root of the problem, but it is also what revitalizes them. As I will attempt to demonstrate, this vitality is complex and multiform, never clearly established and no doubt paradoxical. After identifying the factors that are harming the vitality of these communities, I will quickly review a few key aspects that promote community vitality.

Community identity

The recent post-census survey on the vitality of minorities speaking the official languages taught us that only a third of French-language adults living outside of Quebec identify mainly with the Francophone group (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière 2007: 103, Table 2.2). This simple indicator leads us to believe that the *identity assumed* by Francophones does not generally[1] make their communities shine and therefore, it is difficult to clearly define the communities that group these Francophones and assess their vitality. Even if we know that Francophones can be numbered better statistically,[2] assessing their communities is a sizeable challenge, especially since the actual notion of community, which is ideologically convenient but scientifically difficult to grasp (Schrecker 2006), was given to the Francophone minority only recently (Langlois 2005).

However, these Francophones are given a *prescribed identity*, that of official language minority, and benefit as such from rights and resources for the purpose of its development. The collective life of Francophone minorities is stimulated by these resources and by their champions, who try to the best of their ability to rally Francophones to identity projects on a local, regional, provincial/territorial or national scale. The entire structure of community governance and its close relationship with the State, which will be discussed later, abide by this mission. But curiously, these leaders of the Canadian Francophonie, motivated by a promising future, refuse to accept the "minority" epithet, that would have the connotation of *loser*.[3]

Another stumbling block of the Francophone identity project is the fragmented character of the communities it addresses and the diversity of their population. This publication attests to the emergent ethnocultural diversity in the Canadian Francophonie. As to the fragmentation (Thériault 2007), it reads as a stronger historic tendency, tied to the disintegration of the French Canada of long ago (Martel 1997). The Francophone identity project is therefore doubly hindered. On the one hand, Francophones do not share very much in the way of identity, whether it is in their locality or at the national level; this is echoed in the weak sense of belonging that was noted in the post-census survey. This is why it is recommended, in certain areas, to promote close-knit community networks (neighbourhoods, villages, cities and regions) (Heller 1999). Moreover, Francophones who are more committed to their communities and are used to a recognition deriving from the theory of two founding nations today have trouble seeing ethnocultural diversity as a condition of their development.

Numbers

The recent Francophone and Acadian Community Summit hoped to see the number of Francophone communities surpass one million in 2017, but the reality uncovered by the last census was, on the contrary, a rude awakening in this regard. Even if the French population outside Quebec had been in relative decline until 2001, its numbers had been painstakingly increasing. In 2006, the population

outside Quebec with French as their mother tongue had clearly decreased, mainly due to migration to Quebec.[4]

In 2006, therefore, 975,000 persons were counted as having French as their mother tongue; [5] 605,000 of these speak French most often at home, which represents a linguistic transfer of 39%. The hint of light in this dreary picture is that, among Francophones who speak English most often at home, the proportion of those who speak French regularly at home in spite of this rose from 39% to 42% between 2001 and 2006. The fact remains that these linguistic transfers are a sign that French is not being passed on to children very strongly, and this contributes to the ageing of the Francophone population.

The post-census survey examined the demo-linguistic reality from the perspective of the principal language or, in other words, the language in which people are most comfortable speaking. At the national level, barely half of Francophones in minority situations use French as their main language (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière 2007: 10-12). It is useful to note that the use of French is directly proportional to the degree of concentration of Francophones in their municipality. For example, where Francophones make up less than 10% of the population, only 25% use French as their main language. This rate is 50% in towns where they represent between 30 and 50% of the population, and 90% where they represent more than 70% of the population. This demonstrates the significance of territorial concentration for linguistic vitality.

Another indication of the post-census survey is the general index of official language use outside the home (with friends, contact networks, at work, in institutions and media consumption). It was noted that except for New Brunswick, where two-thirds of Francophones use mainly French outside the home, all other Francophones live, so to speak, in English: 96% in British Columbia, 93% in Alberta, 71% in Nova Scotia and 62% in Ontario (*Ibid*.: 116). We know, however, from the 2001 Census data, that two-thirds of Francophone workers use French at work (Marmen and Corbeil 2004: 123).

Recognition

Strong demo-linguistic tendencies often give a lacklustre image of Francophone minority vitality. But as researchers were only recently debating, density is perhaps not synonymous with destiny (Landry, Gilbert and Forgues 2005). Therefore, when looking to assess the Francophone minority's vitality, it is necessary to further delve into other resources to which it may have access for its development (Johnson and Doucet 2006). Among these, the laws and policies that recognize and guarantee minority status are considered essential.[6] From an international perspective, the Francophone minority

outside Quebec enjoys enviable recognition (Kymlicka 1998, Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada 2005). The *Constitution Act of 1982* and the *Official Languages Act*, which is qualified as quasi-constitutional, form a legal base that have proven very effective in courts in recognizing the Francophone minority's particular needs and corresponding government responsibilities. The future will tell if amendments made to the latter through Project S-3 will further enhance government commitment to the Francophone minority.

However, it is clear that since 1969, the Canadian policy of support for the official languages has allowed the Francophone minority to make great progress (Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada 2005). It is in education that recognition of the minority has undoubtedly had its greatest impact. The Francophone minority school system now has 31 school boards, 600 schools, 29 school-community centres, 16,000 school staff members, 265,000 children of eligible persons – of whom 140,000 are registered – and an overall budget estimated at more than 1.5 billion dollars (Canadian Council on Learning 2008). While this expansion has enjoyed federal support, it is even more indebted to the courts that required the provinces and territories to become involved in it. After a long period of conflict, collective efforts appear to be attending to the school system's development, uniting Francophone school boards, departments of education and the federal government within a tripartite committee. Needs remain significant, however, and recovery will be immense, but these are clearly identified in the *Plan d'action – article 23* (Fédération nationale des conseils scolaires francophones 2006).

More recently, provincial and territorial governments have taken on a share of the responsibility toward their Francophone minority. An assessment of their achievements has shown that small steps have been taken in several directions (health, early childhood, government services, etc.) (Bourgeois et al. 2006).

Organization

Another impact of the federal policy of recognition is the support given to the organizational and institutional base of Francophone minorities. As recently stressed by the Standing Committee on Official Languages of the House of Commons (Lauzon 2007: 4) "strong community networks are the foundation for everything else. Without solid community networks to provide support, education or health services do not flourish and the community will break apart. Strengthening community networks must therefore come before developing and expanding services; otherwise they will break down for lack of a solid foundation."

The extent of institutional completeness is actually evaluated quite positively, if we consider the recent

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Francophone and Acadian Community Summit (FCFA 2007: 24): "To summarize, our communities have tightened their institutional network over the last fifteen years, improved bases of cooperation within their networks, come closer to the places of influence and achieved breakthroughs with regard to global Francophonie. They must however concern themselves with their renewal."

Although community life is the essence of the fight for the Francophone minority, questions are still left unanswered. The first is mentioned above – succession; more generally, sufficient and competent human resources to pilot their development do not seem to be present. The matter of the legitimacy of organizations was also raised during the Summit, although with reserve, echoing criticisms by Cardinal (2006 and 2008) and Forgues (2007a and 2007b), who observed the bureaucratization of community work, a transfer of administrative duties from the State to community groups, and the recommendation of organizations as spokespersons for the community, without their legitimacy being established.

By increasing the number of their organizations, communities have increased their organizational density, as well as the required coordination and dialogue efforts, and the cost of efficiency and legitimacy. The leadership of these organizations is variable in itself, curiously. Community leadership strength is at times negatively related to the community's degree of vitality. This is the case in Saskatchewan, where the *Fransaskois* community has been shrinking away while community governance is the most innovative. The Franco-Manitoban community, despite a century of confinement and its small size, is looked upon as a national leader. In contrast, the Acadian community of New Brunswick, which has shown by far the best community vitality, struggles to maintain cohesiveness, to innovate and to shine within the Canadian Francophonie. Similarly, the Franco-Ontarian community, in spite of its significance and intimidating resources, remains divided on its makeup and identity.

The economy

A word about the economic vitality of Francophones before concluding. We are aware of the emigration problem that historic and strongly concentrated Francophone communities have experienced, such as in northeastern New Brunswick and Ontario (Forgues 2007c). In these regions, the economy and employment have been generally sluggish. However, a study ordered by the Réseaux de développement économique et d'employabilité has shed new light on the economic status of Francophones (Armonstrong et al. 2007). In minority situations, Francophones seem to have profited from their bilingualism – they have actually shown higher income and employment levels than Anglophones in their region. However, these individuals are generally older, migrate more, do not use French very much at work and pass it on less, as confirmed by the post-census survey. Researchers have recommended focusing more on Francophone entrepreneurship to capitalize on this situation.

Conclusion

As shown, community vitality is not easily attained. Vitality factors seem to lack in convergence: flagging demographics, increasing institutional completeness, deficient human resources, strong status recognition, frail legitimacy of community spokespeople, enviable socio-economic situation, rural migration, etc. Francophones, however, do not believe any less that their vitality is strong enough. Only one third finds it weak (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière 2007: 112). and one fourth believes that the presence of French will decrease (*Ibid*: 109). They also believe that the situation of official languages has been improving. It should be mentioned that in many communities, French-language schools are a relative novelty that will contribute to renewing Francophonie, particularly in regions of weak concentration. But will this be enough to compensate for the enormous loss of vitality associated with the emigration of original Francophone communities? These communities are the great losers, and immigration, which is the focus of this issue, will not tend to increase there. As emphasized by Thériault 2007: 147): "To welcome and integrate an immigrant, a welcoming committee must first exist. It is this very existence that is being challenged today by the demographic findings."

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Notes

1 With the well-known exception of New Brunswick, where 61% of Francophones identify with the Francophone group.

2 The post-census survey maintains the very inclusive following definition: French speakers outside Quebec a) those who have French as their mother tongue, alone or with another language; b) those whose mother tongue is a non-official language (referred to in this report as Allophones) and who, of the two official languages, know only French; c) those whose mother tongue is a non-official language, who know both French and English, and who speak either a non-official language or French, alone or with another language, most often at home. (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière 2007: 6). See also the typology of definitions suggested by Forgues and Landry (2006).

3 A concern greatly shared, particularly at the recent Francophone and Acadian Community Summit (see FCFA 2007).

4 The data in the next two paragraphs is taken from Statistics Canada (2007).

5 Unfortunately, we do not yet know the data according to the "first official language spoken" at the time of writing this text.

6 Status, number and institutional support are the three classic pillars of ethnolinguistic vitality (see Harwood, Giles and Bourhis 1994).

WELCOMING THE HOST: IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION OF FRANCOPHONES IN TORONTO AND OTTAWA

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Commencing in 2000, I had the opportunity to conduct a study on behalf of then Commissioner of Official Languages Dyane Adam aimed at determining how immigration might contribute to enhancing the vitality of minority language communities (Jedwab 2002). To the Commissioner's credit, the very laudable goal was to shift a historic paradigm where, outside of Quebec, immigration contributed in linguistic terms to the expansion of the English language. In the Commissioner's view, minority language Francophones could benefit from the settlement of French-language immigrants in their communities. The idea also seemed in line with the Federal Government's legislative commitment to support the vitality of official language minorities. Section 41 of the *Official Languages Act* affirms the responsibility of federal departments, agencies and Crown corporations to give effect to the Government of Canada's statutory commitment to:

- Enhancing the vitality of the French and English linguistic minority communities and supporting and assisting their development;

- Fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society.

The settlement of Francophone immigrants may be seen as making the presence of new arrivals work, however modestly, to the demographic advantage of official language minority communities in certain parts of the country outside of Quebec.

While it seemed sensible to recruit French-language immigrants to bolster the position of those Francophone communities frequently struggling to stop the erosion of the French language, pursuing this objective could not be done without overcoming some significant obstacles. Perhaps most importantly, the Quebec government had established agreements with the Federal Government on immigrant selection and immigrant integration, and the province's focus was for the majority Francophone province to receive as many French-language immigrants as possible. Hence, efforts to recruit Francophone immigration outside of Quebec risked being viewed in zero-sum terms in the province, which has a bearing on relations between the two levels of government. As I embarked on the study, I was made quite aware of this concern. A second obstacle was the fact that official language knowledge for immigrant admission to Canada was an important source of criteria for admission into the country but other factors were also relevant not the least of which was the economic experience of potential candidates. Third was the level of readiness on the part of the Francophone communities to receive immigrants and, on the part of official language minorities, the absence of experience in assisting new arrivals in the adaptation process and the lack of community resources to do so. Fourth, the places that immigrants chose to settle did not necessarily coincide with the areas where the Francophone population was demographically vulnerable. Finally, the issue of language loss and how immigrant Francophones would confront the challenges faced by most French-speakers in predominantly English-speaking areas. Underlying this issue is the notion that the rooted elements of Francophone communities are best positioned to help new arrivals adjust to the conditions where they have settled. We will argue that in ethnically diverse places such as Toronto and Ottawa, when it comes to the retention and transmission of the French language, "rooted" Francophones are not better off than immigrant Francophones. Therefore, the host group in such communities should not be based on "rootedness" if the objective is to preserve the French language.

In its *2001-2002 Report on Progress on Section 41 of the Official Languages Act*, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) identified the following initiatives:
- Language was added to the objectives of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* to reflect CIC's

commitment to the principles of the *Official Languages Act* and CIC's commitment to the development of official language minority communities;

- A new selection grid for qualified skilled worker immigrants in the Act to reflect the importance of official language skills;

- A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Canadian Heritage on the Interdepartmental Partnership with Official Language Communities (PICLO);

- A project to evaluate the capacity of Francophone communities in Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Sudbury, Ottawa and Moncton to integrate new arrivals;

- An action plan to support the capacity of Francophone official language minority communities to integrate these newcomers;

- A CIC – Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee to facilitate the consultation process between the Department and Francophone communities, and to ensure that opportunities to support community development are optimized.

In these cities, CIC needs to rethink how and by whom the integration process is being conducted.

Not just numbers, but…

The approach adopted by CIC was understandable since it was unlikely that, in the short term, there would be a sizeable increase in the numbers of Francophone immigrants settling outside of Quebec given the established criteria for immigration admission, commitments to family reunification and agreements with Quebec related to selection. The actions taken acknowledged that by adding language points to admission criteria, the economic criteria were not substantially modified. Economic considerations were widely regarded by Canadians as a priority when it comes to immigrant admission. Moreover, before any substantial increase in the settlement of Francophone immigrants could take place outside of Quebec, it was important to ensure that the institutions were in place to assist the newcomers. Without these institutions in place, immigrants were likely to look to English-language bodies as they adjusted to their new community, and, thus, efforts

to recruit such newcomers would be in vein. In any event, the real numbers of Francophones settling outside of Quebec would need to increase substantially to offset the demographic impact of language losses. For reasons mentioned above, such substantial increases have yet to be realized.

Knowledge of official languages among immigrants

While CIC measures the immigrant's language knowledge upon arrival in the country, Statistics Canada looks at the state of such knowledge at the time of the Census. Therefore, Statistics Canada provides information on the degree to which an immigrant acquired knowledge of an official language between the time of arrival and the time of the Census. As shown in Table 1, between 2003 and 2004 there was an increase in the number of immigrants that knew French upon arrival and settled outside of Quebec. The increase is largely attributable to the growth in the number of immigrants reporting knowledge of English and French upon arrival. Immigrants with knowledge of French settling outside of Quebec represented 4.5% of all immigrants that arrived in the rest of the Canada in 2006. Of the immigrants that knew French only upon arrival they have consistently represented less than one percent of all immigrants that settled outside of Quebec.

Undoubtedly while some immigrants with knowledge of both official languages are Francophones an important number may not be classified as such. Census data provides us with a better sense of the language identification of the immigrant population. The results of the 2006 Census suggest that there was a rise in the number of French mother-tongue Francophones that settled in the rest of Canada between 2001 and 2006 compared to the two previous quinquennial periods (1991-1996 and 1996-2001). That said the real numbers of mother-tongue Francophones that arrived outside of Quebec between 2001 and 2006 closely resemble the numbers of persons cumulatively reporting knowledge of French only over those same years.

As noted in Table 2, the 2006 Census reveals that outside of Quebec there are some 43,000 immigrants whose mother tongue is French, representing some 22% of all such immigration resident in Canada at the time of the Census. The 43,000 French mother-tongue immigrants represent 4.4% of the total Francophone population residing outside of Quebec (estimated at

Table 1
Annual number of immigrants by knowledge of French only and French and English upon arrival in Canada outside of Quebec (percentages they represent in Canada in parentheses), 2001-2006

	Knowledge of French only	Knowledge of English and French	Total French language knowledge
2006	1,865 (0.90)	7,562 (3.6)	9,427 (4.5)
2005	1,821 (0.83)	8,399 (3.8)	10,220 (4.6)
2004	1,569 (0.82)	7,865 (4.1)	9,434 (4.9)
2003	1,352 (0.75)	4,750 (2.6)	6,102 (3.4)
2002	1,450 (0.75)	4,424 (2.3)	5,874 (3.1)
2001	1,792 (0.84)	4,946 (2.3)	6,738 (3.1)

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2007. *Facts and Figures Immigration Overview: 2006.*

Table 2
French mother-tongue population by immigrant status and time of arrival in Canada, Quebec and selected Census metropolitan areas

	Immigrants	Before 1991	1991 to 2000	1991 to 1995	1996 to 2000	2001 to 2006
Canada	192,385	101,965	47,265	21,070	26,200	43,155
Province of Quebec	149,300	76,550	37,590	16,975	20,620	35,165
Montréal	108,830	55,895	27,035	12,355	14,680	25,905
Québec City	10,520	4,585	31,05	1,425	1,680	2,830
Sherbrooke	3,185	1,505	735	345	390	945
Gatineau	4,390	1,990	1,295	460	835	1,110
Rest of Canada	43,085	25,415	9,675	4,095	5,580	7,990
Toronto	13,450	7,265	2,995	1,290	1,710	3,185
Ottawa	7,505	3,665	2,100	800	1,300	1,740
Vancouver	4,545	2,635	1,185	510	675	725
Calgary	1,635	920	400	170	230	315
Edmonton	1,260	650	295	100	190	315
Winnipeg	995	600	155	85	70	240
Halifax	415	250	70	20	50	95
Victoria	685	470	135	95	40	80
Moncton	570	435	60	15	45	75
Regina	125	65	25	15	10	35

Source: Statistics Canada. 2006. *Census of Canada*.

approximately 975,000 in 2006). However, in Toronto and Vancouver, the number is about one out of every five mother-tongue immigrants, and, as we shall observe, this is a minimum estimate of their numbers.

Defining the minority language community in a multi-ethnic setting

Behind the demographic vitality of a language community one finds the group's self-definition and its desired degree of inclusiveness. Some language communities prefer less inclusive criteria in determining who can be and who should be considered a member of their language group. This occurs where groups believe that broadly based membership risks modifying or diluting the core identity of their ethnolinguistic community. This degree of inclusion/exclusion may be defined by a combination of minority group leaders, by its rank and file and, institutionally, by provincial and federal governments. Category markers and criteria chosen by these actors can have quite an impact, not only on the legitimacy of the community, but also on the resources and institutional support accorded to such language minorities. An inadequate allocation of institutional support for the linguistic minority can emerge when there are opposing definitions of membership between the community and the state. Because many Francophone communities outside of Quebec have constant concerns over the transfer from French as the language first learned to English as the language used in the home, the mother tongue definition is preferred in estimating community size. Such a definition is less popular among Anglophone Quebecers (particularly in Montréal), a group where a high number of persons whose mother tongue is neither English nor French use English in their homes.

Census data provide little insight into the salience of identity – that is to say its importance and the circumstances under which it has particular meaning. While such things are more difficult to measure, they remain the object of constant discussion within communities and can have a bearing on how, by whom and what type of resources are prioritized when it comes to supporting the community's continuity. Very often, such debates centre around persons with multiple language identities and how they fit into the community's self-definition.

Francophone immigrants in Toronto and Ottawa

It is important not to overlook the patterns of settlement of Francophone immigrants outside of Quebec. In 2006, almost 50% of the rest of Canada's mother-tongue Francophone immigrants resided in Toronto and Ottawa. And of the nearly 8,000 mother-tongue Francophone immigrants that arrived in the country between 2001 and 2006, just over 60% ended up in one of those two cities. Indeed, after Montréal with its nearly 110,000 immigrants of French mother tongue, Toronto has the second highest number of such persons (13,450) followed by Québec City (10,520), Ottawa (7,505), Vancouver (4,545), Gatineau (4,390) and Sherbrooke (3,185).

Outside of Quebec, there are about 8,600 Allophones for whom French is the language used most often in the home, some 1,800 use both English and French and 2,200 use French and a non-official language. Combined, all three represent nearly 1.5% of the total mother-tongue Francophone population. Though some 70% of these Allophones are in Toronto and Ottawa, in real numbers, they are fewer than in Québec City and Gatineau.

In 2006, more than 8,700 immigrants outside of Quebec reported French and a non-official language as

Table 3
Language spoken most often at home by persons of neither English nor French mother tongue, 2006

	Total	English	French	English and French	French and non-official language
Canada	4,281,350	1,352,300	123,105	5,610	29,655
Province of Quebec	591,075	80,535	114,470	3,785	27,435
Montréal	535,950	74,085	95,090	3,370	24,410
Québec City	13,130	540	5,620	60	960
Gatineau	14,685	2,400	3,315	105	605
Rest of Canada	3,690,275	1,251,765	8,635	1,825	2,220
Toronto	1,662,970	469,935	2,095	680	855
Ottawa	121,015	42,730	3,305	260	480
Vancouver	653,490	178,035	490	245	205

Source: Statistics Canada. 2006. *Census of Canada*.

Table 4
French and non-official language mother tongue for non-immigrants and immigrants by time of arrival in Canada, Quebec and selected Census metropolitan

	Total	Non-immigrant	Immigrants	Before 1991	1991 to 2000	1991 to 1995	1996 to 2000	2001 to 2006
Canada	43,335	14,160	28,130	12,420	8,555	4,190	4,360	7,150
Province of Quebec	31,350	11,240	19,370	7,745	6,115	2,910	3,205	5,510
Montréal	27,005	9,205	17,205	6,880	5,525	2,680	2,850	4,805
Rest of Canada	11,985	2,920	8,760					1,640
Toronto	3,865	565	3,225	1,720	995	575	420	510
Ottawa	1,955	470	1,440	555	430	225	205	450
Vancouver	1,290	290	960	555	205	105	100	195

Source: Statistics Canada. 2006. *Census of Canada*.

their mother tongue. Some 53% of such immigrants were residents of Toronto and Ottawa.

Persons who declare both official languages as their mother tongue are usually divided into two groups and are equally distributed between French and English communities. Outside of Quebec, there were over 55,000 such persons in 2006 and a combined total of 15,000 in Ottawa and Toronto (in the case of Toronto, 15% of these dual-language identifiers were immigrants).

Though dual identifiers do not make up a substantial share of the overall mother-tongue Francophone population, they constitute an important share of the Francophone population in Toronto and Ottawa. French home-language Allophones, those with French and non-official mother tongue and French and English represent nearly 15,000 persons, and French mother-tongue immigrants another 13,500. Hence, a most inclusive definition of who is Francophone in Toronto would likely result in a larger but more culturally diverse group. As shown in Table 6, the first- and second-generation mother-tongue French population above the age of 15 represents one in three persons within the overall population.

Much of the growing intercommunal debate among Francophones in a multiethnic environment revolves around the changing definition of the host or receiving society. Often the host society is deemed to be best positioned to preserve and enhance communal identity. Frequently, it is the rooted group that is designated to take the lead in this regard as this group is perceived to be most committed to the preservation of the French language. Yet, in Toronto and Ottawa, it is not clear that, in terms of the retention of the French language, the rooted group is faring considerably better than more recent arrivals (though it is doing better than their offspring in the second generation category). An analysis of language transfers in Toronto on the basis of generational status taken from the 2006 Census reveals that nearly as many of the first-generation mother-tongue Francophones use French as often as they use English in their homes, while about one in five of the second-generation Francophones use French in their homes and only three in ten in the third or more generations.

In Ottawa the results are better, with about two-thirds of the first and third generation or more of mother-tongue Francophones continuing to speak French in their homes and half of the second generation doing so.

Conclusion

In Toronto schools, one analyst has identified three types of Francophones: 1) the "rooted" (*de souche*), born in Canada, who constitute a minority within the larger English-speaking majority, 2) the immigrant ethnocultural groups that have joined the rooted Francophone minority, making it the dominant group

Table 5
Mother-tongue French and English for non-immigrants and immigrants
by time of arrival in Canada, Quebec and selected Census metropolitan areas

	Total	Non-immigrant	Immigrants	Before 1991	1991 to 2000	1991 to 1995	1996 to 2000	2001 to 2006
Canada	98,625	92,430	5,760	3,070	1,490	785	700	1,205
Province of Quebec	43,335	40,315	2,775	1,530	680	370	310	565
Montréal	26,855	24,495	2,155	1,140	575	320	255	445
Rest of Canada	55,290	52,115	2,985	1,930				760
Ottawa	7,155	6,795	345	155	125	55	65	65
Toronto	7,955	6,630	1265	560	395	195	200	305
Vancouver	2,855	2,540	265	195	35	20	15	35

Source: Statistics Canada. 2006. *Census of Canada*.

Table 6
Mother-tongue French and language spoken most often at home
by generational status for Toronto Census metropolitan area, 2006

Mother tongue French:Toronto	Total Generational status	1st generation	2nd generation	3rd generation or more
Total	51,720	13,460	5,135	33,130
English	32,635	5,915	3,900	22,820
French	15,815	5,535	1,020	9,260
Non-official language	1,055	980	30	40
English and French	1925	765	165	985

Source: Statistics Canada. 2006. *Census of Canada*.

Table 7
Mother-tongue French and language spoken most often at home by generational status for Ottawa, Ontario, 2006

Mother tongue French:Toronto	Total Generational status	1st generation	2nd generation	3rd generation or more
Total	118,890	7,590	5,925	105,375
English	38,190	1,965	2,665	33,555
French	76,955	4,770	2,985	69,200
English and French	365	310	215	2,535

Source: Statistics Canada. 2006. *Census of Canada*.

from an interethnic standpoint, 3) the ethnocultural groups and rooted Francophones who, together, see themselves as a minority community in their interaction with the English-speaking community (Gérin-Lajoie 1995). This tripartite breakdown of the demographic of minority French-language schools may be a microcosm for dividing up the broader community. Immigration is an important part of the Francophone reality in Canada's largest metropolitan areas. It transforms the language-based group into culturally diverse entities where the degree of rootedness is less a defining feature of collective identity. Inclusive definitions of community will require that the host or receiving group look beyond "roots" if it hopes to meet the continued challenge of attaining community vitality outside of Quebec.

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IMMIGRATION IN QUEBEC REGIONS AND FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITIES OUTSIDE QUEBEC

Shared Will, Different Contexts, Common Challenges and Transferable Solutions

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Repositioning research and action

When it comes to immigration issues in Canada, researchers and decision-makers clearly distinguish between immigration to Quebec and immigration to Francophone communities outside Quebec. Given the juridico-legal and political context in Quebec, it is therefore taken for granted that the migration patterns there have nothing to do with those in other Canadian Francophone communities. Researchers from the Réseau de recherche sur l'immigration en dehors des grands centres and other stakeholders have repositioned their unit of analysis to include not only the province or language community, but the entire geographic and linguistic territory of Canada, excluding the three main metropolitan areas – Montréal, Vancouver and Toronto – which research and policies have already largely covered.

The Metropolis Centres also use this new approach, particularly for host communities. It allows us to explore correlations and comparisons, in research and in practice, between integration programs or policies in average cities and the reception and retention process in rural areas and Francophone communities within and outside of Quebec. This analysis is based on this approach, as well as on case studies and research conducted within the network and in Metropolis Centres across Canada. Without being comparative, we will look at immigration processes and policies both in Quebec and in Francophone communities outside Quebec. We will highlight some differences in the political and sociological context of those diverse communities, and then identify similarities, shared problems and common avenues of solution.

Immigration in Canadian Francophone communities: Common political will, competing communities

First, we will look at some major differences. Without going through the entire history of Quebec and its position as the sole Francophone province in Canada, it is important to mention that Quebec was also the only province to conclude an agreement with the federal government on immigration management. The stated objective of this agreement signed in February 1991 was, notably, "the preservation of Québec's demographic importance within Canada and the integration of immigrants to that province in a manner that respects the distinct identity of Québec,…Québec has the rights and responsibilities set out in this Accord with respect to the number of immigrants destined to Québec and the selection, reception and integration of those immigrants." (website of Quebec's ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles [MICC]: www.micc.gouv.qc.ca). Quebec can determine its own immigration selection criteria, as well as the number of immigrants it will receive, which has a major impact on the countries of origin where promotion efforts are targeted.

The political will to help French survive both in Quebec and in Canada and the will to increase Quebec's demographic importance remain the driving forces behind Quebec's immigration policies. In addition, since 1993, when immigration became regionalized, there has been a renewed desire to distribute the economic, demographic and social resources of immigrants more evenly throughout Quebec and to no longer concentrate on Montréal. The objective is to make regions more vibrant economically and socially, especially those struggling with demographic or economic losses.

Now for a look at Francophone communities outside Quebec. We can see that while the sociopolitical context differs because immigration is managed directly by the federal government, the political will is much the same. For some years now, the emphasis has been on fostering immigration and internal migration towards Francophone communities, both to ensure that French survives in those communities and to improve their economic and social vitality, and to maintain and increase the demographic importance of the Canadian Francophonie. Moreover, in its 2006 *Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities*, the Canadian government demonstrated the will to decentralize Francophone immigration, to steer it away from major cities where it is concentrated and to distribute it more evenly throughout Canadian Francophone communities. That will is strongly supported by the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (seminar of the Réseau de recherche sur l'immigration en dehors des grands centres, November 2007), which, among other things, appointed immigration officers to all of its provincial associations.

We are therefore seeing a certain degree of regionalization of immigration in Francophone communities, or in any case, the expression of the political will to promote regional immigration. A more equitable distribution of resources among regions and communities has become a common point of interest for Quebec and for Francophone communities outside Quebec. For over six years, Citizenship and Immigration Canada has also focused on the distribution of immigration outside major urban centres. When analyzing this issue, it will be important to take into account national federal policies, those that specifically affect Francophone communities, and those that apply only to Quebec. This shared political will also conceals some competition among the different levels of government and the communities, who are all trying to attract and to keep newcomers.

Whether in Quebec regions or in Francophone communities outside of Quebec, the obstacles and challenges encountered in achieving this goal are similar. We will discuss some of these obstacles, along with avenues for solutions identified in Quebec and Francophone communities.

Common challenges, avenues to explore

The concept of territory, which was examined in studies on the major urban centres, comes to the fore again when we talk about immigration outside the major metropolitan areas (Vatz Laaroussi, forthcoming 2008). As we demonstrated in our research, this approach leads researchers and decision-makers to question the local area, its boundaries, its unity and its openness. Quebec has a vast regional landscape divided into administrative units linked to local histories and cultures. To better account for the needs and particularities of the local environment, the MICC now enters into agreements with cities, regional county municipalities (RCMs) and regional conferences of elected representatives to provide smaller cities or regions with the financial means to attract, receive and integrate newcomers.

For example, the cities of Sherbrooke and Gatineau developed their reception, integration and diversity policies, and many RCMs and local development councils opened immigration officer positions. Organizations from Montréal and some regional local employment centres received funding to create new positions and facilitate a flow of immigrants between Montréal and other regions. In Quebec, addressing regional issues requires some work to build consensus and partnerships with local stakeholders, including municipal governments and local institutions.

The regional context is equally important for Francophone communities outside Quebec, with the added necessity to account for a national, deterritorialized Francophonie. Here again, both municipal governments and local community associations must be at the heart of processes to attract and integrate immigrants in their communities (Gallant 2007). Partnerships between local institutions, Francophone associations and the federal government are essential.

However, joint efforts between the communities and the different levels of government remain insufficient, both in Quebec and in Francophone communities outside Quebec. There are many obstacles to integration and retention. The first is structural and linked to the fact that decision-makers, especially at the local level, prefer to promote immigration in communities where the demographic decline is the most significant, where schools, hospitals and companies are closing for lack of people. While those may be the communities that need immigrants the most, they are also the communities where attraction and retention are the most challenging. Immigrants follow the same social and geographic mobility patterns as native Canadians and tend to gravitate towards urban areas with better infrastructures and socio-economic conditions. Those communities must develop more than one strategy and target many populations at once, without limiting themselves to immigration. They should try to attract immigrants, of course, but also retirees from the area, tourists, or even younger people with special interests.

There are also other common obstacles to integration and retention. The lack of recognition for credentials and experience is an issue nationwide, but in this case immigrants who settle in Francophone communities outside Quebec are in a better position than those in Quebec. Just recently, Ontario school boards announced that they needed more Francophone teachers.

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Teachers are in high demand, and positions are often filled by highly educated immigrants from the Maghreb and Africa, many of whom were professors in their country of origins. Some told us how difficult, even impossible, it is to find a position in Quebec. The need to be bilingual is also an issue in every Francophone community, but it is more acute outside Quebec, where living in French is a constant struggle. Even so, immigrants from the Maghreb who tried to enter the job market in Quebec said that they experienced difficulties because of their lack of fluency in English (Renaud 2005).

Small regions and rural areas experience similar difficulties in retaining immigrants (Vatz Laaroussi 2007, Gallant, Belkhodja and Roy 2007, Quimper 2006, Roy and Belkhodja 2007). The limited job market; the lack of ethnic and religious networks; the lack of housing and infrastructures for families; the lack of reception, francization, educational, social and health services tailored to immigrants all have a tremendous impact on those communities. It is unlikely that any of those elements can be improved when communities are too small and immigration too weak to achieve the critical mass necessary to implement specific programs and policies. Our studies showed that, as communities become more exposed to diversity, they develop new structures to take full advantage of immigration.

Immigrants also had difficulties developing a sense of belonging in small communities and experienced a certain lack of openness and awareness on the part of local populations. Both in Quebec and in Francophone communities outside Quebec, political institutions and local organizations promote openness, but they are met by a population with a closed or restrictive definition of local identity. This was demonstrated by Gallant (2007) in a study of whether Francophone communities in Saskatchewan and Acadia had developed an inclusive identity open to immigrants or an exclusive one based on genealogy. While genealogy is a less significant factor, this same polarization exists in the ongoing debate on reasonable accommodations in Quebec (McAndrew 2007), which brought to light – and perhaps even widened – the gap between proponents of a pluralistic identity and the defenders of a traditional, territorial and historical identity. While the Francophonie can be seen as a window on the Acadian identity, it does not appear to play the same role in small Quebec communities, where identity is perceived as historical dues rather than as a collective project to be defended. Because of their international ties, immigrants can be perceived as a threat to this identity. Protecting French can bring together immigrants and members of Francophone communities outside Quebec, but it does not appears to be enough to make Quebec communities more inclusive. Other interests, local or regional projects must be conceived in order to rally everyone.

Transferable practices and obstacles to avoid

Case studies conducted in small and medium-sized communities (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2007) show that economic factors are paramount, whether in the area of needs for local development, the integration of newcomers, or intersectorality. Joint efforts aim to coordinate local and regional economic partners (businesses, chambers of commerce, etc.).

In Quebec, building consensus among regional and municipal actors can be problematic, while in other Canadian cities like Saskatoon or Moncton-Dieppe, partnerships must involve all three levels of government, as well as local, intersectoral and provincial stakeholders. Regardless of the level of partnership adopted based on the provincial and local context, municipalities must become involved and must implement immigration and diversity programs and policies in smaller cities and communities, including Francophone communities outside Quebec.

Another model observed in the semi-rural and rural areas we studied is the champion model, in which a local leader with ties to the community launches a project and gets local institutions involved by convincing them of the need to attract newcomers. This model is the one adopted by CIC, and it also receives a great deal of support from institutions in Francophone communities outside Quebec. However, data show that these initiatives lose steam and rarely achieve their objectives unless there is strong support from decision-makers and from regional, provincial, and federal governments. These projects are also expensive to implement, as each family must receive personal attention, reception and support throughout the integration process.

Other communities prefer a network approach: the first newcomers form a network that attracts and integrates more immigrants (ethnic networks, immigrant networks, transnational networks, extended families). In these cases, success rests on the involvement of local and government institutions in and support for the projects run by the networks. For example, they could appoint personnel dedicated to the issue in the region or the community, provide services for immigrant families, keep a list of interpreters in the region, or work with the school system. Local businesses certainly play an important role in this process, but that role must be considered within a broader framework that promotes both social and economic integration. Dependence on a single business in a remote area can lead to serious problems for immigrants.

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Our research (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2007) shows significant inter-regional mobility after immigrants settle in Quebec regions. Regional mobility should be supported, in terms of housing, employment, and education for example, and communities should avoid competing over immigration. Then, the potential for such mobility between Francophone communities outside Quebec, could be supported by associations and institutions from the broader Canadian Francophonie.

Some of the knowledge and emerging development practices could be transferable between Quebec and Francophone communities outside Quebec. What follows are our recommendations for decision-makers and managers from all levels of government and local and federal institutions in Canadian Francophone communities, based on nationwide research (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2007).

We recommend that regional, or even inter-regional, action plans for Francophone communities, inter-municipal and governmental partnerships and collaboration structures be advocated. These strategies should include certain key elements: development of reception and support structures for newcomers; and francization, transportation and housing assistance. These services should have roots in the community, and immigrants should be encouraged to become involved. Finally, support and involvement at the municipal level is essential, and human resources needs should be identified and addressed, especially in smaller communities. Finally, when it comes to recruitment strategies, communities should avoid competing with one another. Collaboration is preferable, as the goal is not to seduce new populations but to promote long-term integration. Sustainability is the key to success, both for integration and community development, and it can only be achieved once we understand and recognize our mutual interests.

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COMBINING LOCAL DISTINCTIVENESS AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Immigration and Cultural Diversity in the Identity Discourse of Nationalisms of Protest in Quebec, Acadia and Wallonia

ABSTRACT

Nationalism expressed by local movements that are seeking the recognition of a particular distinction is often viewed as basically being at odds with the idea of recognizing cultural diversity within the society where the identity discussion occurs. The Quebec, Walloon and Acadian nationalist movements, however, run counter to this view because they often find themselves at the forefront of diversity recognition. In short, it is a matter of combining distinct society and cultural diversity, primarily through the definition of an original (and local) approach to citizenship that mobilizes the entire imagined community around specific political and social objectives.

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I n recent months, the issue of immigration and that of diversity recognition have been of particular concern in Quebec current affairs, to the extent that the Bouchard-Taylor Commission on "reasonable accommodations," created by the Quebec government to gather public opinion on the subject in the province, has at times been characterized by the Quebec press as group therapy. It is true that the work of this Commission, numerous debates of which have been broadcast on live television by Radio-Canada, largely echoed issues that had been widely discussed in the past in politics and in media news features on the issue of cultural diversity and the immigrant's place in Quebec society.

In such a context, it is often believed that the nationalism expressed by identity movements is essentially opposed to the idea of recognizing cultural diversity within the small society whose movement is claiming recognition. These identity movements, however, are much less opposed to diversity recognition than might at first be believed. Because the question that emerges when faced with these nationalist movements – that have made State protest their trademark – is as follows: in a context of political pluralism, can they do without the consideration of diversity within the very society that they consider distinct? Is the recognition of diversity exclusive to the State, which is the sole entity that is in a position to practice any form of institutional management from the principle of unity, but allowing for diversity; or does it also concern the nationalist movements that locally seek to "make society" (Thériault 2007)? The Walloon, Quebec and Acadian cases, on which we will focus here, run counter to this belief in the existence of a frontal opposition between claiming local identity distinction and recognition of cultural diversity.

The comparison of three local nationalist discourses (Quebec sovereignty, Walloon regionalism, Acadian nationalism), to which we devoted part of our recent research, has shown us how, within nationalist identity movements, a combination rather than an opposition can be achieved between, on the one hand, the political process of building a local identity in which language and the past still play a central role and, on the other, the phenomenon – at times old, at times new – of highly multicultural immigration, but also often Francophone immigration, which needs to be integrated within meditations on identity.

Nationalism, protest and cultural diversity

Minority nationalist movements, as political actors, are often in competition when it comes to identity offers. And as good collective identity entrepreneurs, they ask for mobilization in favour of their own identity product, which needs to be properly adapted to local demand, based on local needs. This economic rhetoric, borrowed from "resource mobilization" literature devoted to social movements and to the explanation of collective action, might seem unusual. In fact, it serves here to emphasize the central role of collective, state or social actors in the slow process of identity building. Nationalist-type collective identity can be approached in two ways. The first involves attempting to

focus on its essence, or at least considering that as such, identity can be defined or objectively evaluated: the past, the history, the territory and the language thus participate in defining a somewhat "authentic" identity, marking each individual "member" of the community. The second involves not considering collective identity as a given, but as a political and social issue that aims at making collective actions possible in order to achieve common goals. To summarize, identity would provide social actors with reference frameworks that are essential to identifying the causes that bring them together.

In situations of competitive identity, such as in Canada or in Belgium, the State, as identity entrepreneur, finds itself in conflict with the nationalist movements in mobilizing the resources and support necessary to maintain identity vitality.

Two nationalisms and two very different approaches to the concept of nation are therefore at odds: State *preservation* nationalism, which aims to preserve the established order; and *protest* nationalism of social movements question this "identity order." These state or social actors each create a concept of identity, an identity doctrine developed according to their own range of actions and political objectives. What the state wants is to confirm its role and attest its structure. This corresponds to a coherent national community that is united and voluntary. It is the concept of order that is used. The nationalist protest movements seek, however, to demonstrate the artificial nature of this structure and to impose another structure that better reflects social, cultural, linguistic or historic "realities." For these movements, it is no longer a matter of confirming an existing identity, but challenging it.

This being the case, within these identity struggles, what place is reserved for the newcomer? In spite of all their differences, nationalist movements and states agree on at least one objective: mobilize *all-out* support and prove to be the larger mobilizing identity. As the new citizen, the immigrant represents an essential client for these identity entrepreneurs, especially in the societies of immigration that Canada and Belgium have become. It is a matter of convincing newcomers to embrace the identity project and integrating them in this renewed and adapted societal entity.

Building bridges: Rhetoric for accepting the "other"

Whether it is embedded within in the identity discourse of Quebec sovereignty or Walloon or Acadian movements, this concern for providing for diversity is evident in the construction of a local reference identity discourse.

The Quebec nation is, indirectly, the product of the referendum strategy adopted by a sovereignist movement that gradually grew from community and linguistic nationalism *first* to civic and territorialized nationalism *foremost*. The question then became how to mobilize a large sovereignty movement, and thus how to integrate all Quebeckers into the imagined national community, to which it would eventually become necessary to address the matter of sovereignty. The Francophone majority is then no longer the only one concerned. It then became necessary to convince Quebec's cultural and linguistic minorities, whose members are also called upon to vote in referendums and elections. The sovereignty movement must offer this majority and these minorities a unifying project and an open approach to the nation. For the Parti Québécois (2005: 19), identity is a modern issue that the party will determinedly take on through citizenship, for the sake of integrating Quebeckers of all backgrounds.

The Quebec identity discourse therefore developed an entire arsenal of rhetoric around this objective, particularly around the issue of language and the importance given to French in Quebec. Consider again: the issue is no longer to present language as a prerequisite for belonging to the community, but as the common heritage of a Quebec society recognized as intercultural. For Quebec immigrants, mastering French becomes less a duty than a right that engages Quebec society (*Ibid*.: 19).

> [*Translation*]
> The Parti Québécois… reiterates its commitment to protect and promote the French language, *while guaranteeing that individuals belonging to minority linguistic groups feel respected and cared for. This commitment requires concerted action, particularly with regard to welcoming and integrating Quebec immigrants*. [Our emphasis]

> The arrival of immigrants to the Atlantic provinces is not a large-scale phenomenon. Yet the fact remains that the Acadian movement views this presence largely as an opportunity to revitalize a Francophone minority community.

In Wallonia and in Acadia, despite very different situations (no local government or representative institution for Acadia; very recent institutions for Wallonia, in spite of a Walloon movement that appeared at the end of the 19th century), the process of incorporating the theme of diversity into nationalist identity positions is similar.

The creation of new Walloon institutions in the 1980s and 1990s has in fact restored vigour to a regionalist discourse developed by the Walloon movement over a century ago and reworked particularly by the Walloon "identity laboratories" represented by the Jules Destrée Institute and the Fondation wallonne, organizations founded by Walloon activists for the purposes of research and planning on Wallonia, its future and identity. In the projects developed by these organizations, which now support the new regional institutions by elaborating for them a reflection on Walloon identity and regionalism, the Walloon society's distinctiveness may paradoxically be

contributing to making the refusal of nationalism and the respect for diversity a near characteristic trait of Walloon society. This approach brings to mind that of the manifesto for Walloon culture published by various Walloon activists, including writers, artists and intellectuals, which solemnly stated in 1983 that all those who live and work in Wallonia are unreservedly part of Wallonia and that all humanitarian thoughts and beliefs are part of Wallonia (Collective 1998: 312).

Like the sovereignty movement, the Walloon movement seeks, at a territorial level, to combine its old struggles, marked on the one hand by its conflict and resistance to Flemish nationalism known for its exclusiveness, and on the other by its autonomist and federalist claims against the state. This approach to identity is particularly expressed through a specific claim: that of granting the right to vote in Walloon elections to non-Belgians established in Wallonia. Identity-related reflections generated by Walloon organizations therefore suggest a somewhat counter-nationalist regionalism and an increasing open-mindedness to diversity (Courtois and Pirotte 1994).

In Canadian Francophone minority communities, claims are primarily concerned with community and linguistic vitality. Simply (or more seriously), how is it possible to guarantee the linguistic survival of these small disseminated communities? How can linguistic transfers be curbed?

The arrival of immigrants to the Atlantic provinces is not a large-scale phenomenon.[1] Yet the fact remains that the Acadian movement views this presence largely as an opportunity to revitalize a Francophone minority community. This "instrumental" approach to immigration demands a transformation of its identity references to transform this Francophone immigration into an opportunity for Acadian Francophonie. It is a matter of combining Acadian identity with Francophone diversity (see Traisnel and Violette, forthcoming). Thus, for the Société des Acadiens et des Acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick (SAANB 2007):

> [*Translation*]
> New Brunswick's Acadia is a Francophone socie-ty that is making constant progress and subject to profound transformations. Consequently, for our community, which asks only to be open to other cultures, immigration appears as a real opportu-nity to meet the numerous challenges awaiting it.

This opportunity resides in expectations that immigrant integration will be guided towards the local Francophone community, which is marked by its Acadianism. This hope has particularly materialized in Moncton through the recent creation in 2006 of the Centre d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants du Moncton Métropolitain (CAIIMM), whose aim is to put Francophone immigrants in contact with Acadians through the implementation of common projects. A question arises, however. How can the old identity references to the French roots of Acadia (French origin, Acadian families, the Acadian, historic Acadian, New Acadia), present in tales and debates, be reconciled with

the need for a vibrant Francophone linguistic community that makes it essential to welcome these new Francophones? This is the question that has been raised at the Table de concertation provinciale sur l'immigration francophone, set up by the SAANB.

Like the sovereignty and Walloon movements, the Acadian movement has pursued the double objective of being open to the world and of adopting a "differentialist" (Belkhodja 2005) position with regards to identity – apparently, this objective isn't contradictory (to these movements, anyhow) – while attempting to combine identity particularism with opening and diversity. The Acadian movement therefore seems to be shifting its discourse on Acadian identity, making it more urban and less rural, more civic and less filial, more based on memory and less traumatic. New themes have appeared (urbanism, regional development, local democracy). Furthermore, there has been a renewal of the people who have become committed for one reason or another, in a more diffuse manner, to the defence and promotion of a contemporary, and even sometimes very post-modern, Acadia.[2]

Local citizenship seeking authenticity and diversity recognition

The status quo has therefore not resisted the need for a distinct approach to diversity. Contemporary nationalists therefore seek to transform the identity monoliths of the past into a melting pot wherein what "us" distinguishes, or more clearly, what differentiates "us" from "them," is perpetually being negotiated and renegotiated.

In this work of rebuilding local identity references, the theme of citizenship represents an area of choice for protest nationalisms, because of its simultaneously universal and distinct dimensions (for although rights to citizenship are universal, how they are applied is left to local state institutions). Free from the restricting and exclusive shackles of a quest for authenticity and in order to establish a distinct community, nationalists are now attempting to present an adaptable and flexible identity position through citizenship. This is not about forsaking authenticity, but about rethinking the past within the framework of the social and political characteristics of the community of citizens of the here and now.

In Quebec, the theme of citizenship has marked the sovereignty debate on national assertion for several years now, particularly further to the projects spearheaded by Jean-Pierre Charbonneau, who was then speaker of the National Assembly, then within the framework of the Larose Commission, and finally within the Parti Québécois itself through the "Saison des idées," which led to an overhaul of the Parti Québécois' program. The more current thinking on Quebec identity, though it attempts to respond to criticism of a shifting conception of identity, has not been any less affected by these ten years of reflection on a so-called Quebec citizenship without which it becomes quite difficult to think about the "Quebec nation." Cultural diversity in Quebec is increasingly considered within the framework of a very distinct "Quebec *intercultural* project." According to Gagnon and Iacovino (2003: 421):

[*Translation*]
Quebec has adopted the official position of discussing interculturalism to respond to its multi-ethnic elements. This statement implies that the incorporation of immigrants or cultural minorities within a larger political community represents a mutual commitment, a sort of moral contract between the welcoming society and the cultural group in question, for the purpose of establishing a forum that provides citizens with new powers, in short a "common public culture."

In Wallonia also, the theme of citizenship now encompasses thoughts on Walloon identity and shapes its definition. "Citizen governance" needs to be defined. This theme is found again in the Walloon government's *Contrat d'avenir pour la Wallonie* and the conferences organized within the framework of *Wallonie au futur* by the Jules Destrée Institute.[3] These documents seek to present Wallonia through the definition of common belonging to the Walloon region. What the Walloon movement would like is to start a "civic approach" (Walloon Governement 2002: 2):

[*Translation*]
The General Assembly of the [Jules Destrée] Institute reasserted its aspiration to see all Walloons, Belgian or non-Belgian, settled in Wallonia for a long time, see their Walloon citizenship fully recognized in order to be given the right to vote and to be eligible for regional elections (Institut Jules Destrée 1998).

In 2003, on the occasion of the Wallonia celebrations, Jean-Claude Van Cauwenberghe (2003) repeated the terms of the 1983 *Manifesto for Walloon Culture* to specify the government's position. This is now a matter of asserting true Walloon citizenship:

[*Translation*]
It is in the name of this notion of *citizen identity* that since 1997, our Parliament has increased the number of motions in favour of granting the right to vote in local elections to non-European foreigners settled among us….Our intention is to work toward defining a common, active and responsible citizenship….Our goal is to allow each individual to live his or her identity within a Walloon society with shared rights and responsibilities.

The Acadian movement obviously does not have the same political opportunities as the Quebec sovereignty or Walloon regionalist movements. With no community government, it is quite difficult to consider any form of public recognition of "Acadian citizenship." However, protest movements such as projects to create Acadian leadership, i.e. a formal representation of New Brunswick Francophones, are leaning toward what Jenson (1998) calls a "distinct citizenship regime": New Brunswick

Francophones should indeed be given the ability to live their Canadian citizenship differently, particularly through the definition of rights, a form of political participation, and an ongoing reflection on membership in a distinctive Acadian and Francophone community. The issue of power in Acadia has been discussed for many years (Thériault 1982). And the Acadian movement is always searching for a satisfactory political representation for the Francophone community, through the creation of a form of political representation that would guarantee control over the tools that are essential to maintaining their community's vitality. This issue resurfaced at the seminar organized by the Société d'Acadie du Nouveau Brunswick (2005), attended by 600 people in 2004 at the Université de Moncton. A popular consultation process was launched on the opportunity of creating an elected community assembly (Commission consultative 2006). A report was produced by the advisory board set up for the occasion, but this has not yet produced any repercussion.

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Notes

[1] Each year, 700 to 800 new immigrants settle in New Brunswick, including approximately 100 who call themselves Francophones (Rioux 2005: 247).

[2] In Acadia, the increasingly significant movement supporting young Acadian artists is centred at the Aberdeen Cultural Centre in Moncton and in *Acadie urbaine* (www.acadieurbaine.net/).

[3] The *Wallonie au futur* conferences organized by the Jules Destrée Institute sought to bring together various experts, intellectual and ordinary citizens for a collective reflection on Wallonia, its institutions, public policies and future (www.wallonie-en-ligne.net/Wallonie-Futur-5_2003/index.htm). The *Contrat d'avenir pour la Wallonie* is a Walloon government initiative that seeks to define the Walloon region's public policies by stimulating collective and concerted thinking with principal Walloon society members (social and university partners and decision-makers, etc.) (contratdavenir.wallonie.be/apps/spip/article.php 3?id_article =1).

FROM OPENNESS TO INCLUSION: IMMIGRATION AND IDENTITY IN FRANCOPHONE MINORITY COMMUNITIES*

ABSTRACT

This article looks at attitudes regarding openness to immigration and inclusion of immigrants in identity in Francophone minority settings. From the standpoint of both the official discourse of associations (the elite) and the mainstream population, there is a great willingness to be open to immigration, but it is not always accompanied by a genuinely inclusive attitude.

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This article deals with attitudes towards immigration in Francophone minority communities in Canada. Two types of attitudes are examined: openness to immigration on the one hand, and inclusion of immigrants in identity, on the other. These are important themes in the current context, a context in which, as other articles in this thematic issue have shown, there is a desire to bring immigrants to Francophone minority communities in the hopes that they will contribute to the vitality of the communities and, in particular, increase their demographic weight.

The practical work and research into the issue of immigration to Francophone minority communities have generally focused on the material and practical aspects of integration of immigrants. Typically, topics of interest are the reception and then the social and economic integration of the immigrants. Relatively little attention is paid to more symbolic issues, such as attitudes of openness to immigration in the local population or the issue of including immigrants in identity. These two symbolic aspects of the immigrant experience in Francophone minority settings are the focus of my article. First I will look at the official discourse of associations (the elite) and then the prevailing attitudes in the "mainstream" population.[1]

Openness and inclusion in the discourse of associations

First of all, I will look at the attitudes towards immigration as they are manifested in the official discourse of associations (or the elite) because they figure prominently as players that construct the identity of a population. My colleague Chedly Belkhodja and I analyzed the official positions of these associations as presented on the websites of the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA) and its 19 member associations, as well as on the sites of the 30 member associations of the Forum de concertation des organismes acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick.[2] Although a website is not entirely representative of an organization's position on immigration, it is nonetheless one of its most important public access points.

Openness of associations as a whole

The associations that mention immigration on their Web sites consistently view it in a positive light. Although they sometimes refer to immigrants already in the community (I will return to this point), they talk primarily of immigrants who will be brought to Canada. In this context, the organizations give some of the reasons it is desirable to bring more immigrants into minority settings. The benefits that these elite associate with immigration mirror those in the federal discourse, but with some nuances in the order of importance they ascribe to the benefits. Thus, although it is clear that hope is placed in the economic contributions to be made by immigrants, this benefit of immigration is not among the top advantages found in the discourse of Francophone organizations. For them, it is first and foremost the *demographic* contribution of immigrants that is desired, in order to reduce the growing demographic deficit (relative to Anglophones).

Second rank among the benefits associated with immigration in the discourse of Francophone organizations is contribution to community "development." Development can be interpreted in an economic sense, but also in a much broader sense. Indeed, the third most often mentioned benefit is not economic, but rather the contribution to the vitality of these communities. The clear economic benefits associated with immigration rank only fourth on the organizations' websites, followed closely by cultural benefits. The associations also mention "contribution to diversity" numerous times as being another benefit of immigration.

In short, the organizations that talk about immigration on their websites do so openly and make clear their desire to take in more immigrants.

Inclusion of immigrants in identity in the discourse of associations

It is not sufficient to have a positive attitude regarding the arrival of immigrants. In order for them to be able to become part of the community and to participate in its political life, they must perceive themselves as legitimately having a choice to be part of the group and, especially, must be perceived as having this choice. It is the possibility of being considered a full member of the group that I will call identity inclusion.

In the discourse of organizations that represent the Francophone minority communities of Canada, we find two forms of immigrant identification; one is inclusive and one establishes a permanent difference between immigrants and other Canadians.

The inclusive form is manifested in two ways. First, diversity is presented as an intrinsic aspect of the community. For example, the Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO) includes new Franco-Ontarian men and women in its description of French Ontario and considers them to be part of the Franco-Ontarian society Second, diversity is presented not just as a fact, but also as a value in itself, as a source of wealth for the community.

However, other organizations establish a difference between the host society and immigrants, who are presented as "others," excluded from "us." This representation is at times so profound that it is not difficult to see how the idea of "otherness" could become permanent. Nowhere is this more evident than in the descriptions of the FCFA strategy, *Dialogue*. It states a number of times that it is necessary to be open, while at the same time proposing a "dialogue," which implies two distinct entities that communicate but do not merge:

> In order for [immigrants] to be able to become part of the community and to participate in its political life, they must perceive themselves as legitimately having the choice to be part of the group and, especially, must be perceived as having this choice.

[*Translation*]
We reach out to the Anglophones and Francophones of Quebec, to Aboriginal people and to ethnocultural communities. We invite them to *meet* and *talk* with us. We hope that once these people have gotten to know us better, we will be able to rely on these new *allies* in our efforts to take our place, in French, within our communities and our country. [author's emphasis].

The various target groups are called the "*other* components of Canadian society" with whom "*our* achievements and *our* aspirations will be shared." Then, "beyond *building these bridges between different* communities, we must provide our communities with the means to experience this *dialogue* on a daily basis" [author's emphasis].

This kind of position is less and less common among the organizations studied, but it is still present in subtle ways in a number of them. In the next section, we will see that this view is mirrored in the current attitudes of some young people.

Openness and inclusion among the mainstream population

To study the attitudes towards immigration in mainstream society, I conducted semi-structured interviews with young people (aged 18 to 25) in two large Francophone communities of Canada, Acadia (24 respondents from six regions) and Francophone Saskatchewan (19 respondents from three regions).[3]

Openness to immigration among mainstream young people

In both Acadia and Francophone Saskatchewan, the respondents' attitudes towards immigration were generally positive. Although about one-third had mixed attitudes (6 out of 19 in Saskatchewan and 9 out of 24 in Acadia), most of them stated that they were in favour of immigrants coming to their Francophone minority regions, as long as the immigrants were Francophone. One person expressed a generally negative opinion.

In Francophone Saskatchewan, people are particularly sensitive to immigrants' demographic contribution, perhaps because the need is more striking there or perhaps due to the awareness campaigns conducted by the Assemblée communautaire fransaskoise (ACF) on the issue. In Acadia, the benefits most often associated with immigration in the discourse of the respondents were an increase in cultural diversity, openness to the world and, to a lesser extent, economic and intellectual spin-offs.

Overall, young Francophones in minority communities view the idea of receiving immigrants positively. However, as we have observed of some organizations, not all are prepared to include them in their identity, at least not in Acadia.

Inclusion of immigrants in identity in the discourse of mainstream society

Indeed, when they are asked specifically if they feel that immigrants who have settled in their community should be able to call themselves Acadian or Fransaskois, attitudes become more restrictive.

Young people from Francophone Saskatchewan were more inclusive than their Acadian counterparts. To 15 of the 19 Fransaskois respondents, immigrants can become Fransaskois. Just four felt that immigrants would never really be Fransaskois. Conversely, 14 of the 24 young Acadians indicated that immigrants could never really be Acadian, while just nine felt that immigrants could definitely (4) or possibly (5) call themselves Acadian.

In my view, the main explanation for this divide between Acadian and Fransaskois respondents is that the term "Acadian" designates a collective that is more ethnic (linked to genealogy) than geopolitical (linked primarily to land and language spoken). Indeed, for 15 of the 24 Acadian respondents, genealogy is a key element in the definition of an Acadian, whereas it is mentioned by just one of the 19 Fransaskois respondents.

Conclusion

We have seen that both associations and young people from the mainstream population display openness to immigration and see a number of benefits of Francophone immigrants coming to Francophone minority communities. However, these results should be verified through an extensive survey of the population that is not limited to young people, something I plan to do in the winter 2008.

In terms of inclusion, the results are mixed, both for the associations and the mainstream population. This is particularly so within the Acadian community, where concepts of the group are more often linked to genealogy. For immigrants to have a chance to feel included in this group – a prerequisite for their political participation – a definition of self must be formulated in a way that will do one of two things:

- Make the core groups (i.e. the groups designated by the words "Acadian," "Fransaskois" and "Franco-Ontarian") more inclusive by developing definitions that emphasize plurality and internal diversity, as some organizations are already doing

- Ascribe social and especially political importance to a broader Francophone collective that would include both the core group and immigrants, as well as all Francophones in the province, and re-examine political representation accordingly.

In the case of Francophone minorities that use a term that combines the name of the province with the Francophone descriptor (Franco-Albertan, Fransaskois, etc.), the first option appears to be the more realistic, and most of these groups appear committed to this path. But in the case of the "Acadians," whose historic name has strong genealogical connotations, the first route is perhaps not the best, although some people (particularly the urban elite) are promoting it. On the other hand, the second proposed route seems to have been, in part, behind the name change of the Société des Acadiens et Acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick to Société de l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick in the fall of 2007. It remains to be seen whether immigrants will feel more included in and engaged by this new name and whether Acadians in general will be more inclined to feel that immigrants are "at home" within the ranks of this organization.

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[1] I have borrowed the descriptor "mainstream" from Dryzeck (1990: 175), who used it to designate people who are not particularly active on the political scene and are not included among the elite.

[2] This study was conducted in 2004. For detailed results and more examples, see Gallant and Belkhodja (2005). For an update on and an examination of other aspects of the analysis of this discourse (such as the benefits of associations including immigration in their discourse , as well as the identification of the challenges and issues associated with immigrating to minority Francophone communities and the strategic approaches these associations have developed to deal with these challenges and issues), see a working paper by Nicole Gallant, forthcoming in the spring from the Atlantic Metropolis Centre.

[3] For more detailed results, see Gallant (2007a, 2007b and 2008).

FROM MINORITY
TO CITIZENSHIP

The Challenges of Diversity in Saskatchewan's Francophone Community

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ABSTRACT

The small number of Francophone immigrants who settle in Saskatchewan could indicate that diversity and integration are far from being major concerns in the Franco-Saskatchewanian community. However, events in the community have raised questions about diversity and integration, and these questions led to the creation of an inclusion commission. The commission examined the issues on behalf of the community, and its recommendations lay the groundwork for receiving newcomers.

Saskatchewan makes up only about 2% of the Canadian population, and its Francophone population (known as Fransaskois) makes up just under 2% of the province's population. This population of less than 20,000 will not attract immigrants. Nearly 80% of immigrants to Canada settle in Vancouver, Montréal or Toronto (Jedwab 2002). Of the remaining 20% of immigrants, Saskatchewan attracted between 1,000 and 1,700 a year from 1997 to 2004. However, as a result of federal-provincial agreements[1] on immigration and increased efforts, this number increased to 2,700 in 2006, which is about 1% of the total number of immigrants to Canada. Of these newcomers, the proportion of Francophones is very low because less than 3% of Francophone immigrants settle outside Quebec (Quell 2002). Therefore, at first glance, the question of diversity does not seem to be a major concern for Fransaskois. However, we must avoid an ideological shift (which is unconsciously racist) to using "diversity" as a euphemism or synonym for "visible minority."

In reality, the Francophone community in Saskatchewan has had diversity-related challenges since its early days in the 19th century, but it was only recently that it has needed to examine this issue in concrete and immediate terms. Specific events have revealed issues regarding diversity, such as the inclusion of bilingual Anglophones, exogamy, the lost generations and immersion schools. For example, in 2005, the Association jeunesse fransaskoise (AJF) decided to invite the province's immersion schools to participate in the Jeux fransaskois. Prior to this, these games were only for French schools – schools for children whose mother tongue is French and not children who speak French as a second or immersion language. As a result, the Francophone school board withdrew from the games, and the community looked to the Assemblée communautaire fransaskoise (ACF) for a solution. ACF decided to take a broader look at the problem, going beyond the games to establish the Commission on Inclusion in the Fransaskois Community in 2006 to study the issues from a wider perspective with respect to identity, inclusion and exclusion in the Fransaskois community.

The Commission was made up of seven members: three community representatives, three academic representatives and a chair, who was from the university community and also an ACF community representative. In order to get the entire community thinking, the ACF organized a series of meetings on the theme *Vive la différence* based on a national protocol established by the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA). These meetings raised many issues about the vitality of the community, the challenges of integration and the reception of newcomers. In drafting their report, Commission members took into account the summaries of these meetings, written submissions by individuals and organizations from the Fransaskois community and comments made during public open houses, at which a number of people shared their experiences and perspectives. The Commission submitted its report to ACF on September 16, 2006.

The report undoubtedly reflects the academic and professional perspectives of the Commission members, and their various ties to the Fransaskois community are clear throughout; however, the analysis and recommendations incorporate mainly the perspectives and experiences of the community stakeholders.

[*Translation*]
The Commission identified four polarities around which were focused the key thoughts and comments expressed by the members of the Fransaskois community. It is between the

two points, or poles, of each of these polarities that a number of both the individual and collective discourses on the future of Francophonie in Saskatchewan were situated (Commission sur l'inclusion 2006: 14).

The Commission's 24 recommendations are grouped according to these four polarities. The first polarity is the complementary nature of unity and diversity. Instead of being opposing poles, unity is constructed from diversity and not by imposing uniformity on diversity. The second is the necessary balance to be maintained between inclusion and exclusion, between recognition of certain key elements of the Fransaskois identity and openness to the differences of those who settle here. The third involves maintaining balance between language and culture, while recognizing that the French language unites the Fransaskois community and that this same language is, at the same time, different depending upon the origins of the community members, level of education, level of usage and generational differences. These linguistic differences echo cultural differences and a culture in flux. The fourth polarity relates to the difficulty in and importance of maintaining balance between the community and society. Fransaskois want to keep what is unique about their community while at the same time integrate into the rest of society. Relationships between the dominant society and the Fransaskois community also change depending upon the historical circumstances (*Ibid*.: 14-28). In order to address such changes, the recommendations aim to better orient the programming of Fransaskois organizations, to develop recruitment and reception strategies and to increase the visibility of the Fransaskois community.

> [*Translation*]
> With respect to diversity and the issue of inclusion, the Commission recommends... that the Fransaskois community be defined by "territory" and "language." Two other dimensions can be added to these first two. Being Francophone in Saskatchewan has always been a voluntary act, an effort of affirmation and of resistance to assimilation. However, historically, Francophones from Saskatchewan have diverse origins. The act of choosing to live at least part of one's life in French in Saskatchewan is part of the definition of Fransaskois: a person who identifies with the Francophone community in Saskatchewan, now or in the past, be it by birth, by marriage or by the adoption of or identification with the Fransaskois community, and who contributes to the vitality of the French language as well as to the expansion and development of Francophone communities in Saskatchewan, while recognizing that numerous ways exist to do so (*Ibid*.: 18, Recommendation No. 1).

This definition incorporates some key elements, such as references to history and to origins, to which may be added the concepts of choice or willingness to identify oneself with the community and participate in some way

or another in it. These elements correspond with a constructionist perspective of identity (Cornell and Harman 2007). The diversity of origin and the openness towards the various ways of contributing to the contemporary Fransaskois community correspond with a general multiculturalism (Fleras and Elliott 2002 and 2007) that applies to official language communities as a vision of society.[2]

This openness to diversity extends to Canadian society in general. Therefore, the Commission also recommends:

> [*Translation*]
> ...that the community rid itself of the image of victim associated with the idea of oppressed minority and, instead, think in terms of citizenship. As such, it is recommended that ACF and Fransaskois organizations enhance the status of the French language and of the Francophone culture in society as a key feature in defining Canadian identity. Being a Fransaskois is a privilege that enables a person to contribute to Canadian civic life. To be Fransaskois is an act of citizenship! (2006: 18, Recommendation No. 2)

It is not only the Fransaskois identity that needs to be constructed, but also the Canadian identity, which must include in a greater way, and with greater engagement, the presence and contributions of Francophone minority communities, including the Fransaskois community. Enhancing the status of the French language and French culture nationally requires an ethnic or symbolic – even transformational – multiculturalism, by such means as may be necessary to perform this "act of citizenship" (Fleras and Elliot 2007). Any action that expands the definition of Canadian identity by including linguistic duality can be transformational, especially if it is directed towards the majority community and its institutions.

While personal and collective identity is constantly evolving, the direction it takes is far from uniform or fixed. The construction of personal and collective identity incorporates simultaneously different ideologies, the extent or strength of which will vary depending on the social context and response – especially that of the dominant group, as well as the support and challenges of the other groups. It is therefore not surprising to find in the Commission's recommendations a variety of ideological perspectives and not a one-size-fits all approach (Denis 2007). Some recommendations advocate celebrating the diversity of Francophone communities in Canada and Saskatchewan as symbolic multiculturalism. This sort of multiculturalism is based especially on folkloric celebrations. Other recommendations favour a multiculturalism based on equity, with the objective of attaining greater equality and social justice among various groups, even within linguistic communities. Others still support the civic multiculturalism approach, which emphasizes full participation as a citizen at all levels of society. Lastly, a few recommendations are transformational and aim to transform not only the predominant definition

of Canadian citizenship, but also the dominant social and institutional structures in order to make more room for the various minorities that legitimately make up Canada.

The Commission's recommendations are, therefore, not ideologically homogeneous. They reflect Canada's history and passage from a dominant Anglo-conformity ideology, imposed on the entire country for more than a century, to an ideology that, since the 1960s, has begun making more room for linguistic duality and multiculturalism. To a certain extent, institutions of the majority community still promote the Anglo-conformity ideology in their structures and practices. However, the various forms of multiculturalism are becoming increasingly apparent in these structures and are reflected in their practices, although they often take rather superficial forms that pose little threat to the status of English in the functioning of these institutions.

The Commission on Inclusion advocates diversity in citizenship. However, it does so by extending civic multiculturalism to a transformational form, i.e. it is not a matter of incorporating it into the existing definitions of citizenship but rather of changing this definition so that all acts of citizenship affirm diversity as well. Overall, the Commission's recommendation to Fransaskois is to move from the image of an oppressed minority to that of full citizenship. For the Commission, affirming oneself as Francophone in a minority context also means taking one's legitimate place within the notion of Canadian citizenship and calling for the necessary changes to be made within mainstream institutions.

Conclusion

Francophone immigration in Saskatchewan poses no challenge in numerical terms. However, a small population, distributed over a vast area and grouped into a number of communities scattered throughout the province presents specific challenges in terms of receiving and integrating diverse and diversifying immigrants. The situation is complicated by the weaknesses of the institutional network and resources that do not compare with those of the majority community. Therefore, the openness to diversity does not depend on the number of newcomers. The arrival of a few new families to a small community can pose as many challenges, if not more, than the arrival of many more families to a major urban centre, given the lack of institutional supports. The basic issue, regardless of numbers, is openness to others. Receiving and accepting the other is accepting that the other will change us as much as we will change the other. It is accepting that our identity and our definition of ourselves are always changing and are not based on predominant or predetermined forms. This process of creating an identity, both personal and collective, incorporates different ideological tendencies, as is shown by the variety of perspectives included in

the recommendations made by the Commission. The Commission, therefore, suggests an inclusive definition of Fransaskois based on identification, participation and the willingness to live partly in French in Saskatchewan. It is a definition that opens the door to partnerships among dissimilar groups, to Francophiles, to assimilated French Canadians who want to find their roots, and to newcomers from the rest of Canada and elsewhere in the Francophone world. This definition is then included in the definition of Canadian citizenship. These two definitions open a whole two-part political agenda. On the one hand, this concept of citizenship requires certain changes to the dominant institutions in key sectors, such as politics, education, health, media and the economy. On the other hand, the inclusive definition of Fransaskois poses the challenge of overseeing changes to Francophone institutions in Saskatchewan to ensure that they are truly centred on reception and integration. This double challenge, creating openness among local and community institutions and redefining citizenship, is facing all Canadians here and now.

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Notes

[1] Saskatchewan established its first pilot project in immigration in 1998. This project was renewed in the following years and replaced by a more encompassing agreement in May 2005. Because there had not been any immigration since the 1930s, Saskatchewan has considerable catching up to do both in terms of federal-provincial agreements and of developing reception and integration infrastructures.

[2] According to Fleras and Elliott (2002, 2007: 279-296), we must identify multiculturalism as a social reality, an ideology, a government policy, a group of social practices and a critical discourse.

THE INTEGRATION OF BLACK FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRANT YOUTH IN ONTARIO: CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES*

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This article examines some of the major integration challenges confronting Black Francophone refugee and immigrant youth in Ontario. It explores these youth's concerns with language, racism[1] and violence. It unveils the challenges that Francophone and other mainstream institutions in Ontario encounter as they try to cope with new demands arising from the changing demographics of Francophone communities. The analyzed data were collected between 2000 and 2006 through documental analysis and in-depth interviews from youth aged between 18 and 30, parents and community organizations. This article will provide an opportunity to gain greater knowledge of key integrative issues facing these youth and demonstrate how these issues relate to language, racism and racialization.[2] It provides suggestions aimed at facilitating the integration process for these youth with regard to research, program design and policy development.

The changing demographics of the Ontario Francophonie

Like Canadian society as a whole, Ontario Francophone communities are becoming significantly diverse as increasing numbers of immigrants have relocated from various countries including Haiti, Congo and Somalia. The 2001 Census enumerated 58,520 Francophone members of racial minority,[3] representing 10.3% of Ontario's Francophone population, which is 548,630. The Francophone racial minority is distinctly more youthful than the rest of the Francophone population. Its members are over-represented in the age group 0 to 20 (38.7% compared to 19.6%) and underrepresented in the age group 40 to 64 (22.4% opposed to 38.4%) (OFA 2005). These immigrants and their children have contributed to the transformation of Francophone communities, creating spaces that are vibrant with ethnic and racial diversity and cultural fusion. However, research on Francophone migration to Ontario documents racism and discrimination, and identifies socio-economic obstacles to access to education and skilled employment (Ibrahim 1998; Madibbo 2005). It also demonstrates that newcomers and immigrants encounter rising problems with language and cultural adaptation and an increasing religious racialization, notably towards Muslims who express frustration with the representation of Muslims as violent terrorists, which has resurfaced in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 (Makundila 2007).

Even though they possess considerable educational assets – their percentage of university graduates is twice as high as in the general Francophone population (31.7% compared to 14.7%) – Francophone racial minorities are not successfully integrating into the labour market. Their unemployment rate is almost twice as high as for Francophones in the general population (11.2% compared to 6.1%), (OFA 2005). Lack of employment racial equity policies and the non-recognition of their educational and professional qualifications become barriers to obtaining meaningful employment. Their un- and under-employment, coupled with lower wages and salaries than Francophones in the general population ($29,039 opposed to $35,796), (*ibid*. 2005), as well as the absence of strong community infrastructure result in the specially revealing poverty status of Francophone racial minorities. The drastic socio-economic disparities between them and White Francophones engender what Galabuzi (2006) refers to as the racialization of poverty. This concept underscores the growing gap between the wealthy and the poor in the Canadian context, emphasizing the over-representation of racialized groups in low-paying occupations and consequently their high poverty level (Shields et al. 2006). This gap has created a pressing social crisis triggered by historical and contemporary trends of systemic racial discrimination. The obstacles which Francophone immigrants face emerge from within the spaces in which their integrative process takes place, that is Francophone mainstream institutions and communities and other spaces

in Ontario society. Integration entails the full participation of immigrants in the economic, social and political life of Francophone communities and Ontario society (Anisef and Kilbride 2003). Achieving such integration necessitates addressing issues of concern to youth with regard to the political representation of immigrants, fair distribution of income and opportunities, removing systemic barriers and enhancing citizenship and belonging (Dib 2006). Therefore, identifying the various factors which determine the Black Francophone youth's integration, as well as the social change strategies they develop in order to improve their overall status, give us glimpses of the possibilities of developing social policies and services that the integration of these youth requires.

Black Francophone youth, language, racism and violence

The youth whose voices are included in this article comprise refugees, newcomers and first-generation Haitian and Black African immigrants. Some of the difficulties they endure are associated with their immigration status. For example, refugees are often more concerned than other newcomers with their uncertain status, trauma of war, very limited income or their reliance on public housing and shelters. However, the youth highlighted various commonalities in their experiences surrounding the role of language, racism and violence in an overall integration perspective.

Language determines the experiences of Black Francophone youth in a variety of ways. Living in a predominantly Anglophone environment, youth were primarily concerned with the insufficiency of French-language resources such as counselling, housing and employment services, on which they rely heavily, especially throughout the first years of settlement. This factor forces them to use English language services and eventually, to seek employment and education in Anglophone institutions. In these instances, their limited orientation in English language proficiency creates difficulties for them as they try to integrate into Ontario society, especially when they first arrive in the province. It restricts their access to education, employment and some social networks. Upon learning the English language, they may face the racialization of language, in that their accent may be considered as "foreign," thereby hindering their chances of obtaining employment. In addition to language-related difficulties, the youth identified racism as a real and central systemic issue that affects them seriously. They encapsulated forms of racism that exist at various levels in Francophone institutions and in Ontario

society in general. They highlighted the under-funding of youth organizations and the under-representation of youth in major Francophone athletic and cultural events. Within the orbit of discriminatory practices relevant to the education system, youth stressed the under-representation of material pertaining to Black history and culture in the school curriculum, high suspension and drop-out rates, differential treatment because of their skin color, absence of Black teachers, enrollment of racial minority students in the Basic and General levels and lack of recognition of the experiences gained in their countries of origin (see also Ibrahim 2003). The participants also contested police arrests of Black youth based on racial profiling – an issue that has been a frequent subject of discussion in Ontario and other provinces – as a way of demonstrating institutional racism that targets Black communities (Blatchford 2002). Racial profiling means that youth, especially young Black men, are often stopped, arrested, searched, questioned or beaten by the police. Police harassment of these young people is considered as a form of violence and racism existing in the police force. Tator and Henry (2006) state that racial profiling mirrors the perceptions of the dominant white society's beliefs and prejudices about members of minorities such as Blacks and First Nations people. This assertion demonstrates that racial profiling is fuelled by negative stereotypes constructed about specific racialized groups and that these stereotypes are products of the dominant culture which perceive these groups as more violent than others. Such presumptions put Blacks in constant scrutiny and constitute a major factor which instigates their experiences of police harassment (see also The Uhuru Collective 2003).

In addition to the racial profiling directed toward them, youth also pinpointed the rising violence within certain spheres, notably in the school setting and on the streets, as a serious challenge. They particularly contended that youth involvement in gangs is increasing and that these gangs are closely associated with drugs, organized crime and gun violence. It is worthwhile to note that Black youth's involvement in these kinds of gangs erupted into a series of violent incidents, which reached its peak in the summer of 2005. Many Black youth were killed or were gunned down by other Black youth or by members of other groups. These runs of violence have evolved. It would be appropriate here to make mention an incident involving a Black Francophone youth who was born in Quebec to parents from a central African Francophone country. He moved to Ontario where he eventually dropped out from

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school. As it was revealed in daily newsletters in early 2007, this particular youth was associated with street gangs, was wanted for a murder and was a suspect in two others murders. He was recently stabbed to death. Those incidents generated controversy, and opinions were quite polarized.

On the one hand, antiracist educators and anti-poverty advocates ascribed the Black-on-Black violence, as well as Blacks violence towards others, to systemic elements such as racism, poverty, unequal access to jobs and inadequacy of community-based programs, which adversely affect the Black community in general and its young men in particular (Dei 2066). Those views ascertained that Black youth encounter obstacles in the school system and the labour market and that these youth are subjected to stereotypes and negative representation in the media or to violence stemming from the police force (Walcott 2006). It can be argued that such a state of affairs engenders disenfranchisement and a sense of alienation from the community. It also enforces stigma and lack of prospects for a successful future and causes mistrust of oneself and of the community (Ma 2004). These factors can lead to violence at the individual, community or societal levels. On the other hand, it was maintained that poverty and social inequalities do not explain the youth's rage and unrest, asserting that Black youth are not able to successfully integrate into Canadian mainstream society. Those voices held the youth and their parents responsible for the growing violence (Roach 2006). They called for a re-evaluation of the policies which celebrate diversity and for installing severe measures for the youth who are involved in the violence.

We may contend that the above-mentioned views voiced by antiracists do not discard the accountability of the youth, of their parents and of the Black community with respect to violence. They rather draw our attention to the role that the larger economic and social context plays in determining these youth's behaviour and their involvement in violence. These statements can therefore be situated within existing studies that demonstrate the link between socio-economic inequalities that racialized groups endure and the anti-social behavior that stems from some members of these groups (*Ibid*, 2006). When it comes to the Francophone context, these arguments allow us to suggest that the numerous obstacles that Black Francophone refugees and first-generation immigrants encounter can be contributing factors in their involvement in various forms of violence. These factors include the youth's status as refugees and immigrants and members of racial and linguistic minorities, as well as the social inequities produced within Francophone communities (Madibbo 2006). In addition, the racialization of skin colour, which

> In addition to the racial profiling directed toward them, youth also pinpointed the rising violence within certain spheres, notably in the school setting and on the streets, as a serious challenge.

exposes them to some forms of violence such as police harassment, along with the poverty of the Black Francophone community, should be looked at as systemic and social factors that can possibly put these youth at risk of or involvement in social tensions. These kinds of discussions would also allow us to foresee appropriate procedures that would help reduce the risk factors of violence and foster opportunities for the successful integration of refugee and immigrant youth.

Suggestions aimed at facilitating youth integration

The youth themselves stressed the urgency of eliminating racism and made proposals for concrete actions to initiate the tools of the struggle against racism. Suggestions included establishing caucuses at the regional and provincial levels and implementing roundtables, forums and electronic group discussions about racism between youth groups, in order to raise awareness about racism. In addition, they suggested involving schools and communities in reinforcing issues of diversity and integration. The participants outlined the need for creating committees and programs in schools and in the community to educate society on issues of racism and to initiate a dialogue between social groups. Accordingly, the youth emphasized the need to raise awareness, within the police body, of racism in association with disproportionate arrests of Black youth. They also contended that these programs can be used to counteract the various forms of racialization, including that of language, of skin colour and of religion, which all contribute to making these youth targets of stereotypes and negative representation. We may also maintain that the severe poverty of the Black Francophone community deserves additional public and policy scrutiny. A crucial step in examining this question would necessitate the creation of recreational, training and employment programs for youth. It also necessitates the implementation of policies aimed at accelerating the process of recognition for educational and professional credentials gained outside of Canada.

The increase of French-language services and institutions would facilitate the creation of meaningful employment opportunities and would boost possibilities for retaining French-speaking newcomers and immigrants within Francophone institutions and communities. Such initiatives should be coupled with the implementation of employment racial equity policies that would enhance the representation of the ethnic and racial diversity of Francophone communities at various institutional levels. In addition, the inclusion of diverse histories and cultural perspectives in the school curriculum and in other awareness and educational programs available to students, teachers, counselors,

administrators or to community members would help strengthen the youth's sense of belonging to the school and to the community, thereby contributing to reducing social tensions. Substantial funding to functional community organizations would also allow these agencies to play a crucial role in reducing and preventing violence and in initiating activities that would generate income and create employment opportunities. Finally, applied researchers may thoroughly examine the various systemic, social and economic factors that impact on the settlement and integration processes of newcomers and first-generation Francophone immigrant youth, particularly on their experiences in the labour market and their linguistic and cultural adaptation in the school system and other spheres of society. Future research may also look at the experiences of second-generation Black Francophone immigrants with regard to their identity strategies, sense of belonging to society and the success – or failure – of their socio-economic integration. Despite the fact that the causes and impact of violence on Black youth have recently garnered significant political and community attention, the Black Francophone youth's encounter with violence was the subject of very little discussion. Therefore, it would be useful to investigate these forms of violence solely in the Francophone context. The findings of these studies would help to unveil the efficiency of existing programs and to notably foresee services and policies that would increase possibilities for the full social, political and economic participation of the various generations of Black Francophone youth in Canadian society.

Conclusion

A national census snapshot released recently revealed that Canada's population grew by 1.6 million between 2001 and 2006 and that immigration accounted for two-thirds (66%) of Canada's population growth. Statistics Canada also predicted that immigration will likely become the only source of population increases by 2030, and that significant numbers of newcomers will be visible minorities (Mahoney 2007). These factors tell us that the accommodation of minorities and the full socio-economic inclusion of immigrants in Canadian society are pressing issues to be addressed in order to avoid social tensions and to better integrate current and incoming immigrants. In this context, this article illustrates the magnitude of linguistic and racial barriers that Black Francophone refugee and immigrant youth face while integrating into Francophone and other spaces in Ontario. These challenges create difficulties to Francophone and other institutions as they address and respond to the needs of these newcomers and immigrants. However, possibilities for a successful integration for these immigrants reside in the wise use of their demographic weight and their educational and work experiences, which can be beneficial assets to the Francophone community. These goals can be reached by equity measures and community-building procedures fostered in partnership between the Canadian state, which has the responsibility of enhancing the community development of the Black Francophones as part of one of its two official

communities in a minority situation, the Francophone racial minority and the Francophone community in general. Such efforts will enable community members, policy makers and experts in the field of settlement and immigration to better equip the growing generation, which will replace today's ageing workforce in tomorrow's competitive and globalizing economy, and increasingly diverse – and, hopefully – more coherent society.

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1 In this article, the term "racism" refers to institutional racism which exists where the established rules, policies and practices of a given institution operate to sustain the disadvantages of racialized groups. It also entails negative stereotypes constructed vis-à-vis these groups (Dei 1997).

2 Racialization is the process by which some are denied access to resources, power and status on the basis of how they dress, of how they look – their skin color or how they speak – and their accent (Henry and Tator 2006).

3 Black Francophones are included in the "Francophone racial minorities" category, which refers to groups other than Caucasians

IMMIGRATION AND WORK IN MINORITY COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF FRANCOPHONE ALBERTA

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The number of Albertans whose mother tongue is French[1] is growing: in 2001, it was 62,240 and according to the Census, it was 64,750 in 2006, or 2% of the total population (Statistics Canada 2007). To this number, it is important to add Francophones of immigrant origin whose mother tongue is not French. In fact, "nearly 24% of Francophones who have arrived in Alberta since 1996 are of African origin" (Francovoyageur 2005). Furthermore, in the fall of 2006 in city schools, we see that the number of students increased so much that music rooms and libraries had to be used as classrooms to accommodate all the new arrivals, while Anglophone school boards were closing schools due to lack of enrolment. This historic trend suggests that the 2006 data are already obsolete with regard to the Francophone population of this province. This article looks at the issues raised in the Francophone workplace by this rapid demographic surge. Indeed, rhetoric about different accents is obscuring a struggle over a scarce resource, i.e., employment in French. We will dismantle to a certain extent the "historic community versus immigrant community" dichotomy the literature on immigration tends to construct (see texts collected in Mujawamaraiya 2002a).

In outlining these issues, we will refer to three sources of data collected between 2000 and 2007 in research conducted by the City of Edmonton. The first study, based on interviews, deals with Francophone expectations of the Francophone school system (2001-2002); the second, based on control groups and discussions, deals with immigrant Francophone school choices in Edmonton (2002-2004); the third, an ethnographic case study of the school and community environments, offers a range of data collected from observations, discussions and documents both within and outside the school environment (2003-2007).[2] While these data relate both to persons of diverse Canadian origins and those of immigrant origin, this article focuses more specifically on the issues associated with the arrival and settlement of the latter group.

In Alberta to work

We know that successful integration in the job market greatly facilitates the settlement process for new immigrants (see Sadiq 2005). We also know that an important factor in maintaining the mother tongue is to have a job in which that language is used. The world of work thus proves to be an important component in terms of integrating Francophone immigrants into the Francophone minority community and keeping them there. However, French is the language of work in rather few workplaces in Alberta, English being the province's only official language. Furthermore, resistance to increased status for French in the Canadian public service has culminated in a number of specific federal offices being designated bilingual, with French being excluded elsewhere: one study participant, a receptionist in a non-designated office, reported that she was reprimanded for speaking French to a Francophone client. "I was told that people who want to be served in French have to go to the other office. But it's at the other end of town."

While Alberta has more recently received a large number of Francophones from a wide variety of ethnic, cultural and racial backgrounds migrating from Eastern Canada, the start of that movement was marked by the arrival in the late 1990s of a number of families of African origins,[3] first from Congo and Rwanda, and then from Somalia and Morocco. Although those families constituted only a minority of the newly-arrived Francophone population in Alberta (24%), their arrival was particularly striking because, in the words of one man from the historic Francophone community, [*Translation*] "I never knew there were black Francophones." In fact, the black population of Alberta until then was English-speaking. As one man from Congo put it, "no one here looks at me and thinks I'm a Francophone." However, the immigrants clearly identify themselves as Francophones:

> [*Translation*]
> I'm first a Francophone, then an African and then an immigrant. I'm very aware
> of everything that affects Francophones, and that's why I'm involved in my children's

school. I try to keep up with what's going on. (Congolese immigrant).

The first Congolese and Rwandan families to choose Alberta came after spending some time in Ontario or Quebec. Other members of their communities in Eastern Canada, as well as people from their countries of origin, followed them to Alberta.

[*Translation*]
What you've got is families who landed in Montréal, Windsor, Ottawa, some in Toronto – so they come, and they're there for a year or a year and a half or three years, and more arrive and it's like a network. (Man from historic community).

The same is true for Somali families. Our knowledge of the Moroccan experience is too limited to allow us to comment. In fact, our database only contains third-party references on the Somali and Moroccan communities; members of those communities were not present in Alberta when our first two studies were conducted, and their children did not attend the school that served as the starting point for the ethnographic study. Therefore, we will not really address the experience of these two populations except to emphasize issues that their absence raises.

The persons of African origins we interviewed for our research pointed out that their choice to move to Alberta stemmed from a lack of satisfactory employment, mainly due to their limited English skills – and not just in Ontario, but in Quebec as well. Because Alberta is enjoying an economic boom, the families hoped to find greater opportunities here, while also ensuring that their members learned English, which they considered to be the primary language of Canada. For the adults,[4] however, learning English was hindered by their more day-to-day survival and subsistence needs.

Upon their arrival in Alberta, Congolese and Rwandan adults expect to receive support from immigrant assistance organizations. However, the municipal and provincial authorities do not generally recognize them as immigrants; they are migrants from Eastern Canada and, therefore, ineligible to receive provincial support for English as a Second Language training and settlement aid. As a result, they have to rely on the support of friends who are already established and on assistance from non-governmental organizations.

Consequently, these immigrants have to manage as best they can to learn English on their own – on the job, that is. However, due to their lack of language skills, many find themselves working the night shift, where interaction with Anglophones is rare. In fact, given their reliance on their own ethnic communities to find work for them,

> Because Alberta is enjoying an economic boom, families hoped to find greater opportunities here, while also ensuring that their members learned English, which they considered to be the primary language of Canada.

many Congolese and Rwandans now have jobs in the network of Edmonton shelters for disabled youth: some work the night shift, while others, whose English is better, work as daytime care attendants. In a small town in southern Alberta, this same ethnic concentration has found work in a factory. Meanwhile, other members of these communities have enrolled at the Faculté Saint-Jean, University of Alberta, because it offers French teacher-training programs.

Education profession

Already holding degrees in medicine, nursing or education from their countries of origin, these students choose a career in education because it allows them to complete a graduate program in two years as opposed to four years for other degrees. Such training gives them access to a profession that is highly valued in African countries, and it allows them to make the most of a resource they believe will be valuable to the revitalization of the historic community: the French language. "We give them French," explains one student. But as we shall see later on, just what that "French language" is has proven to be a contentious question.

Unfortunately, this university training rarely leads to jobs in urban school districts, and few are disposed to move to the rural areas: they want to stay close to their communities, an important source of support in the settlement process and of employment opportunities for their spouses. The reason given by school administrators for not hiring these immigrants is their inability to control a classroom – that when they are called upon to substitute for regular teachers, the students stop working and the number disciplinary problems referred to the office increases.

As it happens, our ethnographic study gave us the chance to observe a recent Faculté Saint-Jean graduate putting his substitute-teacher training into practice. The lesson plan provided by the regular teacher indicated that the substitute was to administer a quiz to the Grade 8 students. The regular teacher had specified the time required for the quiz, but when the substitute collected the papers at the end of that time, very few students had completed it. Two girls asked for more time, but the substitute refused on the basis of the regular teacher's instructions. What followed was an uproar among all of the students, and the classroom atmosphere rapidly deteriorated: the students got up to talk to each other, completely ignoring the substitute's instructions, and the noise level became intolerable.

This incident aside, a student teacher informed us of his astonishment that corporal punishment cannot be used in Canadian schools: "Back home, we hit children who don't listen." Indeed, some find it difficult to adapt to the Alberta

school system, more specifically the differences between the teacher-student relationship in Canada and in their countries, where it is more hierarchical. However, the difficulties described above are not unique to immigrant student teachers: they may be the lot of all new teachers (see Bujold and Côté 1996), even more so when the class, like the one in question here, is acknowledged as "difficult" by all the teachers who agreed to allow our research team into their classrooms. In fact, the situation Mujawamaraiya (2002: 09) describes for Ontario seems to hold true for Alberta: in the school environment, there seems to be "a distinction among Ontario Francophones based on name, accent and skin colour." In fact, in one interview, a principal divulged that he "would not hire an African with a thick, thick accent just as [he] would not hire someone from Bouctouche.[5] The kids don't understand them." In fact, "even if a person has a Canadian education and an understanding of local workplace standards, his accent may be so negatively perceived that it overrides all other cultural capital gains" (Sadiq: 72).

Furthermore, during an informal discussion with a group of school administrators, one administrator exclaimed that the Faculté Saint-Jean should direct these students toward another profession because they are too old (between 30 and 50) to adapt to today's classrooms. Without knowing the reaction of school administrations to similarly aged new teachers of Canadian origin, it is impossible for us to affirm whether the treatment immigrant teachers receive is less or more accommodating. On the other hand, what can be affirmed is the tremendous need on the part of this professional category for support and the lack of such support available to them. "Presumably, these students feel somewhat abandoned, and when they rely on their own intuition and creativity, their actions are deemed to fall short of the benchmark." (Mujawamariya 2002: 211).

Other options

It seems easier for immigrants from African countries to obtain positions in Francophone daycare centres or Francophone community organizations in Edmonton or Calgary. In fact, one Edmonton area Francophone daycare centre selected an African immigrant for its director position, and several Congolese and Rwandans joined the staff of the Association canadienne française de l'Alberta (ACFA), first in support positions and later as managers. Moreover, since its inception, the Centre d'accueil des nouveaux arrivants à Edmonton has been co-directed by two men, a Congolese immigrant and a white, long-time Alberta resident born in Saskatchewan. Other African immigrants work in the Centre d'emploi francophone de la région d'Edmonton, the Calgary area ACFA unit, the Association multiculturelle francophone de l'Alberta – one immigrant even works as a Radio-Canada Alberta reporter, while two

others have teaching positions at the Faculté Saint-Jean, one as a full-time professor and the other as an instructor. Some immigrants even managed to create their own jobs by creating a new association, the Alliance Jeunesse-Famille de l'Alberta Society (AJFAS). Briefly stated, those Francophone immigrants who want jobs commensurate with their education level are limited by the small number of jobs on the market requiring mastery of French and not English.

Jobs in French: A scarce commodity

It goes without saying that the positions sought by new Francophone immigrants are also sought after by the Francophones of communities established in Alberta since its creation – and by people from Eastern Canada who arrived at the same time as the new immigrants. Many individuals have had the experience of seeing bilingual members of their family make the linguistic switch to English and not pass the French language on to their children. Because they want to ensure that their language and community are preserved, these individuals often try to create a unilingual Francophone home environment, and they know the importance of their language of work: bilingual people are going to find it easier to continue speaking French at home after work each day when their jobs are performed in French than they will restarting in French after eight hours of interaction in English. In the first situation, it is a simple, natural process of continuing to speak the same language, whereas the second situation requires them to make a very deliberate choice day after day. It is not surprising, therefore, that losing a French-language job can be a source of tension.

In a majority language environment – or in one that is not as much in the minority as the Franco-Albertan population – it is conceivable that French-language employment could be offered to everyone who wants it, but that is definitely not the reality in Alberta. The number of working-age Francophones far exceeds the number of available French-language positions, even when bilingual (French-English) positions are included. Furthermore, positions in organizations like the ACFA and the AJFAS depend largely on government funding and are unstable as a result. Thus, the Calgary ACFA was recently in financial difficulty and had to dismiss some of its employees. To fill the vacant positions, it applied for the government's immigrant hiring program; so an immigrant replaced a native Franco-Albertan in a very tight job market. One person we interviewed in Edmonton said, "they're all going to take our place." An integration strategy for new arrivals modeled on the majority environment is thus a source of tension rather than of integration.

Similar tensions arose when Radio-Canada hired a person of African origin as a radio reporter. In this case, it was not an issue of losing a job to another person but of

> [Francophone] positions in organizations like the ACFA and the AJFAS depend largely on government funding and are unstable as a result.

reopening old wounds. People born of Franco-Albertan parents cannot occupy talent positions in Radio-Canada television or radio:

> You can be a doctor, an accountant, a lawyer, an engineer – you can be vice-president of Horizon in Fort McMurray, you know, pretty much the biggest job there is, and all that, and you can be a CEO on the English side, an entrepreneur, whatever you want. But you can't work at Radio-Canada. You can be a technician, a camera-man and stuff like that, but they're never gonna put your face in front of that camera. (Man from historic community).

It is important to know that the first Francophone station in Alberta, CHFA, was privately owned for 25 years before becoming a part of Radio-Canada in 1974. During those 25 years, CHFA produced most of its shows onsite and featured local people (Alberta Heritage). However, according to Radio-Canada managers, the lack of representation of people born on Albertan soil on the airwaves today is explained by their lack of language skills. And Franco-Albertans are all too aware of it:

> [*Translation*]
> We don't speak Radio-Canada's language. There's a woman who does the weather there… I forget her name, but she drives me nuts and so, uh, I asked someone what country she's from and he said, she's from Quebec. But I said, she's got some kind of accent, and he said, it's the Radio-Canada accent. It's gotten to the point where its like, the Radio-Canada accent… OK, that's the model we've got and all you guys are supposed to follow it.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there would be complaints from the historic community over the hiring of an African-born reporter: historic-community Francophones do not speak well enough as far as Radio-Canada is concerned, but immigrants do. The man cited above raises the problem of an accent that he says tends to close doors to his fellow Franco-Albertans. The criticism leveled against the language of immigrants also relates to accent – but this time, the complaint is that it cannot be understood.

The struggle behind the accents

Lack of language skill often stands in the way of immigrants obtaining employment in Canada (Lochhead and Mackenzie 2005, Sadiq 2005). In Francophone Alberta, newcomers, whether from Eastern Canada or foreign countries, look down on the spoken language of long-time Franco-Albertans (see Dalley, submitted). In return, these same Franco-Albertans pass the same judgement on African immigrants, especially with regard to their accents. On both sides, the French language becomes the justification for exclusion from certain work environments. Such is the antagonistic nature of the Francophone job market in Alberta.

Many Francophone immigrants do not have the necessary language skills to obtain work in the English-language job market commensurate with their degrees. The only workplaces that offer the opportunity to work in French only are those organizations engaged in the community's historic struggle to hold on to its language and culture. Gradually, these organizations (Radio-Canada, for example) are becoming destinations and workplaces for migrants from Eastern Canada, and Quebec in particular. Established Francophones see themselves sidelined in the employee-selection process. The one exception to this rule is the Francophone school system; the leadership and administration of the educational milieu remains under the control of native Franco-Albertans.

As for those in charge of hiring new employees in the Alberta Francophone labour market, it appears that where they are from is less important a factor than the French language itself – and more particularly the accent. Accent seems to be the topmost selection criterion, the decider of inclusion in or exclusion from this important market so essential to the preservation of the French language. Competition for jobs in French plays out as a battle for the right to decide what constitutes real French and, by extension, who is a real Francophone.

While the tendency is currently to see a dichotomy between old-stock Franco-Albertans on one side and Francophone immigrants on the other, it is actually Francophone migrants from Eastern Canada who are most easily finding jobs in the workplaces at issue here. Indeed, in workplaces where immigrants may be hired in middle-manager positions, Francophones from Eastern Canada can occupy senior management positions. This vying for position in the Alberta Francophone job market tends to reflect the language hierarchy overall as it exists in Canada, i.e., standard Quebec French is the Canadian French standard, and any divergence is evaluated in reference to that standard. The evaluation of the divergence as less positive or more positive relative to the standard depends on the perception of the person empowered to make that evaluation.

Conclusion

The Alberta Francophone job market is an antagonistic environment where a struggle for Francophone authenticity is being waged. Discourse on language quality makes it possible to set aside the rhetoric about the differences between historic community Francophones and immigrant Francophones. The demographic growth of the Alberta Francophone population over the last ten years has brought to the fore the longstanding practice of hierarchizing people based on language. In fact, the arrival of black African immigrants is exposing the many levels of minority status that exist within the Francophone minority itself. Speakers of standard Canadian French may sideline Alberta-born Francophones, but the position of Africans on the Francophone job market depends in large part on how they are judged by each of these Canadian-born groups.

Finally, one would be justified in seeing a certain racialization or ethnicization of differences in Francophone Alberta just as there exists elsewhere.[6]

Because we are dealing here with a minority language community, the effects of that ethnicization are more obvious than elsewhere: there are not enough workers to hide that ethnicization. Because we are dealing here with a minority language community, solutions to this phenomenon will also be more difficult to find: without increasing the number of Francophone jobs, equity policies will always leave Francophones struggling to preserve their language in an employment environment dominated by English. In fact, the solution is to be found in the evolution of Albertan society in general toward greater acceptance of differences in general – an acceptance that would reduce the continued minorization of the French language.

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Notes

[1] Statistics Canada uses the phrase "mother tongue" to mean "the first language a person learned at home in childhood and still understands" (2007: 33). Therefore, these numbers do not include people who consider themselves Francophone even though French is not their mother tongue. Statistics Canada data do not allow a more precise portrait of the number of Francophones in Canada or in the provinces and territories.

[2] The study titled "Les choix scolaires des immigrants francophones à Edmonton" was funded by the Prairie Metropolis Centre for Excellence in Research on Immigration, Integration and Diversity. We are grateful to the Centre and to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) for their funding of the ethnographic study "École, identité et diversité en milieu minoritaire."

[3] While one would not normally pluralize "African origin," I have chosen to do so in this text to emphasize the diversity of identities and countries of origin of the people whom we interviewed.

[4] An article recently submitted for publication elsewhere deals with the question of children learning English.

[5] Village in New Brunswick.

[6] White immigrants do not seem to encounter the same problems as black immigrants. The data available to us is insufficient to comment further, but the hierarchy of French in the international French-speaking world suggests that the French of "white" people, especially Europeans, is judged more positively than the French of Canadian Francophones as a whole.

REFLECTIONS ON ACCESS TO JUSTICE BY ONTARIO'S FRANCOPHONE VISIBLE MINORITIES*

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ABSTRACT

The issue of access to justice is critical in guaranteeing the sustainability of an independent, impartial judicial system in a free and democratic country such as Canada. Yet can we speak of access to justice for Francophone visible minorities in Ontario, who constitute a minority within the minority? This article's answer is affirmative and provides the criteria on which the right of access to justice for Ontario's Francophone visible minorities is based.

The *Constitution Act, 1867*[1] gives all persons standing before the courts the right to use English or French in Canadian courts of law. This legal recognition is a fundamental language right because it forms the foundation of Canada's linguistic duality. In this context, we believe that the courts have been called upon to play a decisive role in the advancement of language rights for Francophone minorities living outside Quebec, who have often turned to the judicial system to claim their right to use French. Furthermore, the Supreme Court of Canada has handed down over 50 decisions recognizing the language rights of Francophone minorities living outside Quebec. However, these language gains are no guarantee of equality between Canada's two official languages, since access to justice in French remains a serious problem for those Francophones living in minority communities; it's especially true for Francophone visible minorities, who constitute a minority within Ontario's Francophone minority.

That particular community will be the focus of this article, which begins by presenting an overview of the demographic weight of Ontario's Francophone visible minorities and subsequently examines the problems that they face in their interactions with Ontario's judicial system.

Ontario's Francophone visible minorities:
A minority group in Ontario's Francophone minority communities

The 2001 Census shows that 548,940 Ontario residents have French as their mother tongue (5% of the total provincial population), of whom 59,000 (or 10% of the Francophone population) identify themselves as visible minorities. Also, between 1996 and 2001, more than 3 in 5 members of the Francophone visible minority came from another country (63%), while 1 in 3 came from Quebec (33%). Three-quarters (74%) were born outside Canada, including 32% from Africa, 31% from Asia and 18% from the Middle East. More than 33% live in Toronto, while 15% have settled in Ottawa and Hamilton (Office of Francophone Affairs 2005 and 2006). Statistics Canada also noted that these figures were expected to rise between now and 2017 (Statistics Canada 2003 and 2005).

Visible minority Francophones are also younger than the Francophone population as a whole, since 39% of youth under 20 years of age indicate that they belong to that community, as compared to 19% for the general Francophone population. Their level of education is substantially higher (32% have a university degree) than that of Ontario's Francophone population as a whole (15%). Despite this, the employment income of members of Francophone visible minorities is lower than that of the rest of Ontario's Francophone minority ($29,039 as opposed to $35,796) and their unemployment rate is much higher (11.2% as opposed to 6.1%) (*Idem*. 2005). These data reveal not only that Francophones from visible minorities form a minority within a minority (Ontario's Francophonie) but also that they are a vulnerable group within Ontario, despite the fact that they add to the demographic weight of Ontario's Francophonie.

Principles relating to the concept of "access to justice" in Canada

Let us now examine the concept of access to justice to determine its basis in law. An overview of Canada's legislative framework makes it clear that Canada's Constitution contains a number of

legislative provisions dealing with the concept of access to justice in both official languages. Sections 133 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, 23 of the *Manitoba Act*,[2] 16 to 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*[3] and 530 and 530.1 of the *Criminal Code*[4] all recognize legislative or parliamentary bilingualism, the use of English or French before the courts or in the delivery of government services, the status and privileges of the two official languages, education rights and the use of French in criminal trials.

The Supreme Court of Canada has, in fact, proceeded to construe these provisions in several cases, stressing first and foremost the progressive nature of access rights to justice in the language of the minority in Canada.[5] Recently, in *Beaulac*,[6] *Arsenault-Cameron*[7] and *Montfort*,[8] the highest court in the land and the Ontario Court of Appeal took a progressive approach to language rights in upholding the following three principles:

• The State must take positive steps to recognize equality of status between Canada's two official languages;

• The purpose of language rights is to redress previous injustices suffered by the minority community;

• Substantive equality requires that official language minorities can be treated differently than the majority, owing to their minority status and particular needs.

While these principles mark a significant advancement in terms of equality of the two official languages with respect to access to justice, they cannot be applied satisfactorily to the specific socio-judicial needs of the Francophone visible minorities, owing to their broad scope, which may give rise to different constructions.

For this reason, a field research with Francophone visible minority community leaders conducted for the University of Ottawa Community Legal Clinic (UOCLC) on the question of access to justice for Francophone visible minorities reveals that access rights to justice for their communities include the following:

• Access to legal aid and legal representation in French;

• Access to rehabilitation programs sensitive to cultural diversity;

• Adequate presence of Francophone visible minorities within the judicial system;

• Training of members of the judicial system in cultural diversity;

• Access to a community legal education system in French.[9]

The 2001 Census shows that 548,940 Ontario residents have French as their mother tongue (5% of the total provincial population), of whom 59,000 (or 10% of the Francophone population) identify themselves as visible minorities.

The following paragraphs examine the difficulties faced by Francophone visible minorities with respect to the aforementioned elements.

Access to legal aid and legal representation in French

Access to legal aid is essential to the sustainability of a liberal state such as Canada because it rests on three principles essential to democracy: universality, accessibility and equality (Government of Canada 2007, Etherington 1994). The concept of equality is particularly significant because it means that every person must enjoy, without discrimination, the right of access to an independent, impartial tribunal ruling on civil disputes and/or criminal trials. These principles must be enshrined within clear public policies intended to make legal aid accessible to all, including Francophone visible minorities, most of whom are often newcomers to Canada and do not know where to begin when they have to resolve immigration or family issues. On this point, the research conducted by the UOCLC indicates that Francophone visible minorities perceive Ontario's legal aid system as being slow and unwieldy, which adds to the stress of their integrating into Canada. Legal aid eligibility rules are so complicated that members of Francophone visible minorities who are before the courts often fail to understand the difference between Ontario's legal aid and its community legal clinics.

Research by the UOCLC demonstrates that legal aid lawyers attach little importance to cases involving members of Francophone visible minorities, for financial reasons. Members are not encouraged to use French before the provincial courts, despite the fact that the *French Language Services Act*[10] and the *Courts of Justice Act* give them the right to legal services and legal representation in French while up against Ontario's judicial system.

Access to rehabilitation programs sensitive to cultural diversity

The goal of Canada's penal system is to punish via sanctions and rehabilitate via social and cultural programs that are sensitive to diversity (Wortley 1999). From this perspective, criminal law lies at the heart of our positivist judicial system, in that it constitutes the State's weapon to punish social elements that disobey the established social order. UOCLC's research shows that, if the penal system sometimes falls short on the punishment side, it is especially weak on the rehabilitation side. This weakness stems from the fact that some rehabilitation programs are culturally insensitive to the sociocultural realities existing within Francophone visible minorities. Failure to consider the diversity existing within visible minorities makes it impossible to respond appropriately to the needs of certain particularly vulnerable communities. Furthermore,

members of Francophone visible minorities have little or no awareness of most rehabilitation programs, whose relevance has yet to be assessed.

Another factor identified in the UOCLC study is the impact of the criminal justice system on Francophone visible minorities. Many Francophone racial minorities are ignorant of the many aspects of Canada's penal system and of the procedures applied in the administration of justice. As a result, they are often caught unawares when they must confront the penal system for offenses whose nature they do not always understand. At this level, the issue is to understand not just that Canadian law prohibits certain activities but also how the penal system will respond to their perpetration. This state of affairs reaffirms the results of research conducted in the United States, Great Britain and Canada demonstrating that visible minorities mistrust the legal system in those countries, owing to the negative experiences of those groups in their interactions with different branches of the judicial system (Bowling and Phillips 2002, Wortley 1997).

Adequate presence of Francophone visible minorities within the judicial system

Canada views itself as an international champion of diversity and multiculturalism and has established a number of policies and programs to foster diversity and multiculturalism nation-wide (Government of Canada 2003, 2008). However, Francophone visible minorities often note the absence of mechanisms within the current social structures that would help facilitate their integration into the judicial system, for the following reasons:

- Canada's judicial system is primarily an Anglo-Saxon system that does little to encourage the participation of those minorities within its structures;

- The system providing access to the legal profession is so complicated that many members of Francophone visible minorities who begin law studies are never admitted to the bar and abandon the profession;

- The foreign credentials recognition procedure is lengthy and forces visible minorities to live in straightened socio-economic conditions, without providing any guarantees that their foreign attainments will be recognized.

Training of members of the judicial system in cultural diversity

As a signatory to the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination requires that Canada provide training on cultural diversity

Many Francophone racial minorities are ignorant of the many aspects of Canada's penal system and of the procedures applied in the administration of justice. As a result, they are often caught unawares when they must confront the penal system.

to its officers of the law and members of the judicial system to raise their sensitivity to the realities experienced by Francophone visible minorities. However, research by the UOCLC shows that the judicial system does not educate Canada's judicial system concerning the diversity existing within Francophone visible minorities. Failure to recognize this diversity interferes with the efficient integration of Francophone visible minorities within a judicial system that sometimes fails to comprehend their cultural realities.

Access to a community legal education system in French

A community legal education system is the key to understanding the judicial system and thereby to obtaining greater access to it. It is the *sine qua non* condition for establishing constructive relations between Canadians and the judicial system. The results of the UOCLC's research demonstrate the enormous need among Francophone visible minorities for community legal education in terms of Canadian laws, services related to the judicial system, how the judicial system functions and Canadian values with respect to justice. However, the research also demonstrates that community leaders from Francophone minority communities are unfamiliar with community legal education programs in French because these are inaccessible; it further shows that those leaders believe that they should have been consulted when the programs were developed.

Conclusion

A review of the access to justice system demonstrates that the number of trials in French in Ontario has increased steadily over the last 20 years. However, the reality in terms of access to justice for Francophone visible minorities requires that we take into account not only language but also race and status when administering access to justice policies and programs. We must not only ensure that services are delivered in French to the entire province and that a policy of actively offering services in French developed or implemented, but also that policies and programs relating to access to justice in French take into account the racial and religious diversity existing within Ontario's Francophonie.

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Notes

[*] The views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Canadian Heritage or the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

[1] *Constitution Act, 1867*, (U.K.), 30 and 31 Vict., c. 3.

[2] *Manitoba Act, 1870*, (U.K.), 33 Vict., c. 3.

[3] *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Part I of the *Constitution Act, 1982,* forming Schedule B of the *Canada Act 1982* (U.K.) (1982) c. 11.

[4] *Criminal Code*, R.S.C. (1985), c. C-46, Part XVII, s. 530, 530.1.

[5] *Jones* v. *A.G. New Brunswick* (1975) 2 S.C.R. 182; *A.G. Quebec* v. *Blaikie (No. 1)* (1979) 2 S.C.R. 1011; *A.G. Quebec* v. *Blaikie (No. 2)* (1981) 2 S.C.R. 312; *Beauregard* v. *Canada* (1986) 2 S.C.R. 56; *McConnell* v. *Fédération des Franco-Colombiens* (1986), D.L.R. (4d) 293; *Devine* v. *A.G. Quebec* (1988) 2 S.C.R. 790; *Ringuette* v. *Canada and Newfoundland* (1987), 63 NPEIR 126.

[6] *Beaulac* v. *R.*, (1999) 1 S.C.R. 768.

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MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE | CONFÉRENCE MINISTÉRIELLE
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FÉDÉRATION DES COMMUNAUTÉS
FRANCOPHONES ET ACADIENNE
du Canada
www.fcfa.ca

www.glbsezq.com

400 Years Later, 9 Million People Speak French
The vitality of the Francophone and Acadian communities is at the heart of Canada's linguistic duality
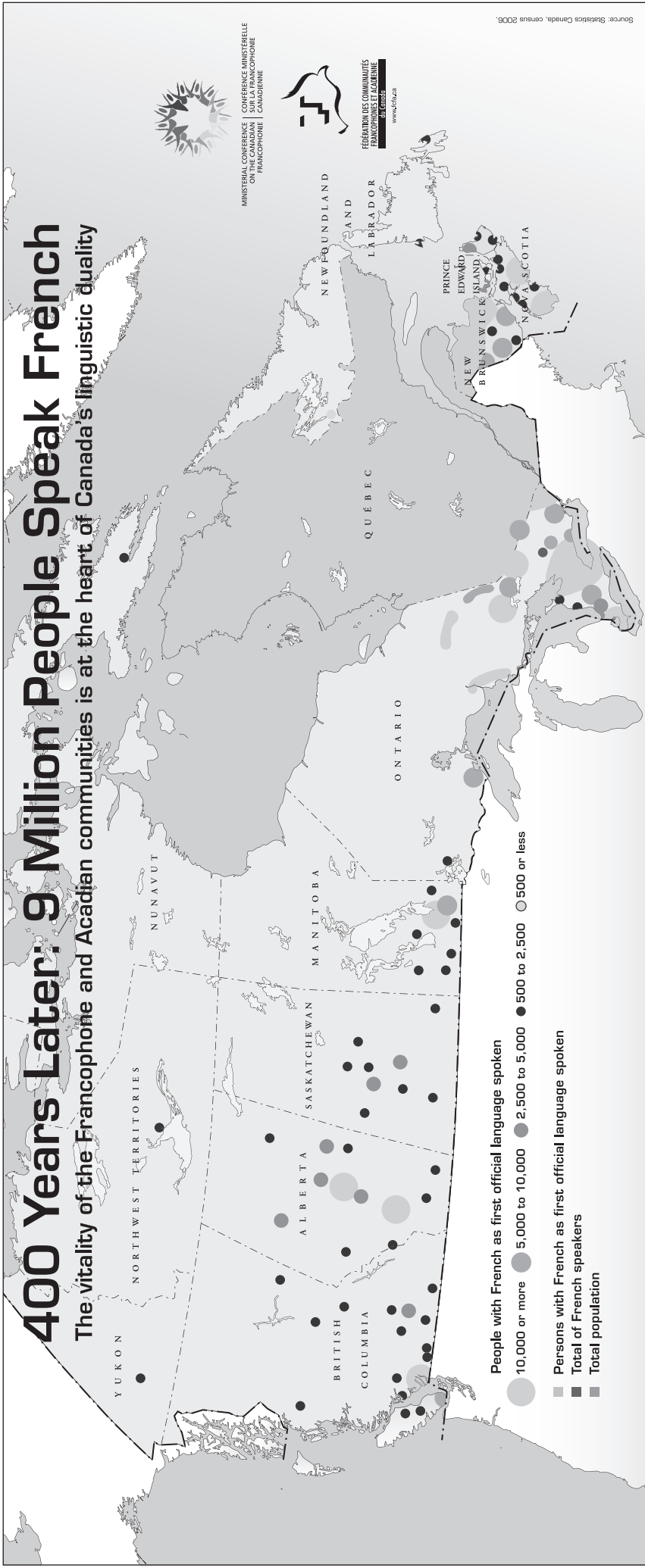
People with French as first official language spoken

- ⬤ 10,000 or more
- ⬤ 5,000 to 10,000
- ⬤ 2,500 to 5,000
- ⬤ 500 to 2,500
- ○ 500 or less

Persons with French as first official language spoken
Total of French speakers
Total population

Canada
Canada's French-speaking population of more than 9 million people now extends beyond its origins in Acadia and Québec to make up a mosaic of some one thousand different accents, backed by the dynamism of Francophone communities from coast to coast and buoyed by the support of millions of Canadians who speak French as a second language. Building on shared objective networks are being forged and solid partnerships being developed within Canada's Francophonie making Canada a key player in the protection and promotion of the French language not only in North and South America, but throughout the world.

Canada	
■	7,536,315
■	9,590,700
■	31,241,030

Nunavut
Enterprising and bold French-language speakers have been putting down roots in the Nunavut region from the very first Arctic explorations. The French-speaking community of this region lives in harmony with three other cultures and languages, without drawing on its own resources, including the Ecole des Trois-Soleils, the Les Petits Nanooks daycare centre and the community cultural centre. The Northern experience is also featured on community radio, as well as in newspapers and on Web sites.

Nunavut	
■	465
■	1,185
■	29,325

Northwest Territories
French speakers in the Northwest Territories have over the years built a circle of multiple social, community and economic relationships. Nine percent of the population is bilingual, largely due to French immersion and French as a first language programs in schools. Yellowknife is home to the Allain St-Cyr school and the Plein Soleil daycare centre, while Hay River hosts the Boréale school. L'Aquilon is a weekly publication aimed at the "Franco-Ténois," who are also served by cultural associations, an economic development council, a French-language health network and a community radio station.

Northwest Territories	
■	1,060
■	3,720
■	41,055

Yukon
The Yukon Territory is home to more than 1,200 French speakers who exhibit an infectious enthusiasm for their culture. Every year, Francophone artists participate in the Frostbite Music Festival and the Yukon International Storytelling Festival. The Solstice Festival, the Francophone Gala and the Francophone Day also contribute to the culture. The Émilie-Tremblay school serves children from kindergarten to grade 12, with a program focused on experiential learning. The Petit Cheval Blanc daycare centre is highly popular and takes children from six months to four and a half years of age.

Yukon	
■	1,245
■	3,550
■	30,195

British Columbia
In the 150 years since British Columbia was founded as a crown colony, Francophone British Columbians have played a significant role in B.C.'s development. Interest in French remains strong today, particularly among students and parents. Over the past ten years, enrolment in the Conseil Scolaire Francophone and French immersion programs has grown dramatically, even while overall enrolment has declined, and more than 45,000 students are now studying French in B.C. Presenting the Vancouver 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games in both of Canada's official languages is opportunity to showcase the province's Francophone community.

British Columbia	
■	70,410
■	297,710
■	4,074,385

Alberta
Alberta has the third largest Francophone minority population in Canada, after those of Ontario and New Brunswick. This community is highly developed and diverse, thanks to a vigorous economy and many newcomers from other parts of Canada and abroad. In addition to reinforcing the French presence in the educational system and the community as a whole, such new vitality gives the way to additional programs and services for Francophones in such sectors as healthcare, early childhood, employment and immigration.

Alberta	
■	66,995
■	225,080
■	3,256,360

Saskatchewan
The Francophone culture and French language have contributed to the richness of Saskatchewan's social fabric for more than a century. The Fransaskois community, whose current growth is driven by its diversity, presents a dynamic, inclusive and contemporary image. Through its commitment to the recruitment and welcoming of French-speaking immigrants, the community, in spirit of its own institutions and infrastructure, and is continued co-operation with the provincial government based on the implementation of the French Language Services Policy (adopted in 2003), the Fransaskois community has continuously strived to further the development of the province as a whole.

Saskatchewan	
■	15,225
■	47,930
■	953,845

Manitoba
French has played a special role in Manitoba for more than two centuries. Over the years, some 46,000 Franco-Manitobans have developed a broad set of services in French. Rural and urban bilingual service centres bring together a range of services at all levels of government. The Francophone community is also known for its vitality, and in its many regional and local festivals, galas and celebrations.

Manitoba	
■	44,110
■	105,455
■	1,133,515

Ontario
The French presence in Ontario dates back to the establishment of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons Mission in 1639. Four centuries later, some 550,000 Franco-Ontarians comprise Canada's second-largest Francophone community, with its fascinating history and culture. In addition to guaranteeing French-language services by law, the Government of Ontario ensures continuous development of the Francophone community. Ontarian French speakers are determined to thrive culturally, socially and economically. Proud of their increasingly diversified roots, they help make Ontario not only a welcoming province, but an excellent place to live and to prosper.

Ontario	
■	578,040
■	1,426,540
■	12,028,895

Québec
Québec is home to North America's largest Francophone population. French is the native language of some 80% of the population, as well as the official language. This special characteristic, enhanced by a rich culture and history, gives Québec a special responsibility in maintaining the French presence in North and South America. Québec is not only the cradle of Canada's French-language culture, but proof of the vitality of the French language on this continent.

Québec	
■	6,482,505
■	7,028,745
■	7,435,900

New Brunswick
The only officially bilingual province of the country, one third of whose residents are French-language speakers, New Brunswick is proud of the progress of its Francophone community and of the harmony between both official language communities. New Brunswick's *Official Languages Act*, the presence of a French and an English educational system, the richness of the province's artistic and cultural heritage all attest to the success of its language policies. With 400 years of history, the Acadian and Francophone communities of New Brunswick demonstrate remarkable vitality.

New Brunswick	
■	236,100
■	313,835
■	719,650

Nova Scotia
The first Acadian communities were settled on the shores of Nova Scotia four centuries ago. Acadians and Francophones are recognized by their distinct accents and live in various regions of the province. These regions are able to unite and join forces through a network of organizations representing Acadian and Francophone economic, cultural, social and linguistic interests. The province gushes with artistic talent and some of its musicians and artists enjoy international acclaim. In 2004, the Government of Nova Scotia proclaimed a law providing for the delivery of government services in French. Nova Scotians have access to French-language education, from kindergarten through to college and university.

Nova Scotia	
■	32,940
■	96,010
■	903,090

Prince Edward Island
The 2006 Census confirmed that there has been steady growth in Prince Edward Island's bilingual population. The bilingualism rate is now 12.7%. The Acadian and Francophone community is spread mainly over six regions each of which have a French language school. French immersion programs are offered in 40% of the province's schools. Beyond the numbers, the Acadian and Francophone community is active, organized and engaged in all aspects of society. Over the next four years, Prince Edward Island joins these small but dynamic communities in celebrating, on May 30 of each year, the *Journée provinciale de la Francophonie*.

Prince Edward Island	
■	5,170
■	17,155
■	134,205

Newfoundland and Labrador
In 2004, Newfoundland and Labrador celebrated its 500th anniversary of French settlement. The provincial government works closely with Francophone organizations and contributes to the development of French-speaking communities thanks to programs and services in the fields of education, justice, child care, health, immigration and economic development. Following an order-in-council by the House of Assembly in 1999, the government of Newfoundland and Labrador joins these small but dynamic communities in celebrating, on May 30 of each year, the *Journée provinciale de la Francophonie*.

Newfoundland and Labrador	
■	2,030
■	23,765
■	500,610

THE CITY OF OTTAWA AND FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRATION

CAROLINE ANDREW
Caroline Andrew is a professor with the School of Political Studies and Director of the Centre on Governance at the University of Ottawa. Her fields of research include municipal government, municipal social policies, and diversity management at the local level. She has observed and participated in some of the activities described in this article; she co-chaired the City of Ottawa's French Language Services Advisory Committee, she helped organize the round tables for "Our Diverse City," and she was a member of United Way Ottawa's Impact Council on immigrants.

The objective of this article is to highlight some of the City of Ottawa's best practices with respect to Francophone immigration. But that objective has to be put into context because, in general, it is difficult to speak of best practices since the City has only recently started promoting Francophone immigration. Therefore, this article will focus on some current best practices and will use those examples to suggest starting points for the development of a true strategy.

Although this article focuses on the City of Ottawa's activities, the City is certainly not the only player; rather, it is part of a governance network, which involves a multitude of players. If we adopt Gilles Paquet's definition of governance – effective coordination when power, resources and information are widely distributed (Hubbard and Paquet 2002) – a strategy to promote Francophone immigration must be considered as governance, because all levels of government, the Francophone communities, the Francophone immigrant communities, the host societies' institutions, and countless other bodies are involved.

So, there is a governance network, and this analysis of that network will focus on the City of Ottawa's role given, among other things, the role identified for the municipalities in the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement. We will then discuss the City itself, because the promotion of Francophone immigration cannot be solely the responsibility of Ottawa's or eastern Ontario's Francophone communities, or of Ottawa's Francophone immigrant community. Those communities have important roles to play, as we will see, but the broader community must also be involved, for a number of reasons, including employment. Employment is at the heart of successful integration for immigrants, and the participation of Ottawa-area employers in a Francophone immigration strategy means that there must be more players than just the Francophone and Francophone immigrant communities. The City of Ottawa does not represent employers, but the City has the capacity to bring the players together and to partner with other institutions in the host society.

An analysis of the City of Ottawa and its activities with respect to Francophone immigration is complex because, in reality, two elements are involved: immigration and French-language services. Each element has a lengthy history in Ottawa (Kérisit, Andrew and Sundar 2007; see also the website of the City of Ottawa's French Language Services Branch), but they have also enjoyed a new beginning since the municipal merger and the creation of the new City of Ottawa in 2001.

At the same time, the City's political and administrative decisions are greatly influenced by its relations with community organizations. The City of Ottawa, like many municipal governments, prefers to work with the community or, better still, to be encouraged and even "pushed" by the community. City council is reluctant to undertake new activities, especially when there is no community pressure.

The City of Ottawa has many ties to the community, and advisory committees are only a mechanism, albeit an institutionalized mechanism. In the case of relations with Ottawa's Francophone community, the French Language Services Advisory Committee plays an important role, but there are also ties between the community organizations and the administrative structure (the French Language Services Branch), and ties between the community organizations and elected officials, most probably Francophone elected officials, in particular. With respect to immigration, the ties are even more varied. There is the Equality and Diversity Advisory Committee (which is responsible for issues affecting members of visible minority groups; gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered individuals; women; Aboriginal persons; and persons with disabilities), as well as the Community-Police Action Committee (COMPAC), which brings together members of Ottawa's ethnoracial communities and the police, and Local Agencies Serving Immigrants (LASI), a coalition of key agencies that is funded by the federal and Ontario governments and that works with the City on numerous files.

Finally, the Metropolis Project, LASI and the universities organized a series of round tables called "Our Diverse City," where players discussed the various municipal activities undertaken to

overcome the challenge of integrating immigrants and visible minorities. The round tables were bilingual and culminated in a community forum that expressed its desire to work with the City of Ottawa to develop a policy and to increase programs and activities. The focus was on immigration in general, but with some acknowledgment of the particularities of Francophone immigration.

With respect to the City as a bureaucratic organization, French-language services and immigration come together only periodically, partly because of the administrative structure: the French Language Services Branch falls under the responsibility of the City Clerk, and immigration is the responsibility of Community and Protective Services (the City's largest administrative branch). More specifically, however, it is a matter of horizontal coordination, which is an enormous challenge for all bureaucratic organizations in our society, and a hot-button topic for such organizations. The City of Ottawa is certainly aware of the challenge, and another article is being written on the City's horizontal coordination efforts.

Before delving into the details of the City of Ottawa's best practices, an overview, based on a model developed for a project on women's urban safety (cited in Andrew 2007: 61), is useful. This model takes the form of a solid table with four sturdy "legs," all of which are equally important: elected "champions," key officials, well-organized and effective community groups, and relevant research. From that perspective, we will start with the first dimension of the model, elected "champions." The November 2006 municipal election was pivotal to Ottawa's policy direction. Ottawa voters had to choose between three visions: the continuation of the cautious and centrist municipal regime; an activist vision of the city; and a vision of reduced municipal activity in order not to raise taxes. The third vision won, and Larry O'Brien, who had promised a tax freeze for his four-year term as mayor, became the City of Ottawa's new mayor. Since the election, the city council has been divided between reducing services and expenditures and maintaining current services. For the moment, there is no clear political will to be proactive with respect to either French-language services or immigration. That is not to say that no elected officials are interested in these areas, but collectively speaking, there is no will to act.

As for the second dimension, key officials, the main difficulty is budgetary constraints, which result in reduced human resources and, consequently, increased workloads for current staff. The Community and Protective Services branch assigned people to work on the immigration file, but those people have to work within existing resources.

Well-organized and effective community groups is a major challenge. Groups do exist, but in this era of government-community partnerships, community groups need much more community capacity than ever before to deliver the services they are being asked to provide. The issues are complex, and the community groups must be able to work with the government stakeholders to develop policies and implement activities. In addition, with respect to Francophone immigration, the community groups are relatively new, because Ottawa has only recently begun to attract considerable numbers of Francophone immigrants. The matter of building community capacity, which is at the heart of centre of our analysis of best practices, is therefore a key issue.

Finally, researchers are only beginning to look at Francophone immigration in Ottawa and, even more generally, at Francophone minority communities (see the bibliography in Andrew and Burstein 2007). The research on Ontario has focused more on the Toronto area, and because the diversification of Ottawa's population is quite recent, there are few empirical studies on the Ottawa area.

The "Our Diverse City" round tables represent a beginning to stimulate research on Ottawa, and some of the presentations have been published in the fourth issue of *Our Diverse Cities / Nos diverses cités*, which focuses on Ontario.

The following is an analysis of two examples of best practices for Francophone immigration in Ottawa: childcare services and the creation of the Réseau de concertation local de l'immigration francophone de la région de l'Est de l'Ontario. We focus only on examples that deal specifically with Francophone immigration, even though that means excluding some best practices with respect to immigration or French-language services, and less directly, the intersection of the two. For example, the last new cohort of the Ottawa Police Service consists primarily of members of visible minority groups, Aboriginals and women. That is certainly attributable to the collaboration between the Ottawa Police Service and COMPAC. In addition, with the publication of the French version of Ottawa's Recreation Guide best practices for French-language services in the area of recreation services were established.

We now return to our examples of best practices for Francophone immigration. We will start with childcare services. The best practices started with the development of a plan to increase French-language childcare services, which was spearheaded by the French Language Services Advisory Committee and the French-language childcare network. The City of Ottawa assumed responsibility for carrying out the plan after the federal government ended their previous program, which resulted in decreased provincial funding. The service plan survived Ottawa's 2006 budget crisis, which indicates some political – and administrative – will to support increasing French-language

> The last new cohort of the Ottawa Police Service consists primarily of members of visible minority groups, Aboriginals and women. That is certainly attributable to the collaboration between the Ottawa Police Service and COMPAC.

services. But what makes this a best practice for Francophone immigration has been the addition of research – Ronald Bisson's *Analysis of Francophone Childcare Services in the City of Ottawa*. According to this report, the new Francophone community, made up of immigrants, needed childcare services adapted to its reality. More specifically, in many families in the new Francophone community, both parents work night shifts and flexible hours, meaning that public 9-to-5 childcare centres are less accessible than a network of home-based childcare providers. Mr. Bisson's report had an impact – Ottawa's Childcare Service Plan was based on his report, and services for families and for Francophone immigrants increased considerably. This best practice illustrates the importance of the four "legs": the service plan required well-organized and effective community groups (the French-language childcare network and the Francophone community through the French Language Advisory Committee); research (Ronald Bisson's study); key officials (after a relatively rocky start, there was good collaboration between the Children's Services Division and the French Language Services Branch); and elected "champions."

The second example is not directly a City of Ottawa action, but it will have an impact on the municipality. The Réseau de concertation local de l'immigration francophone de la région de l'Est de l'Ontario is a program of the Ontario Region of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), which has funded three networks in Ontario (in eastern, northern and southern Ontario). The creation of the Réseau is a best practice, because the Réseau was specifically designed to build community capacity. The Réseau's goal is to increase local cooperation and to build solid partnerships among the new organizations serving the Francophone community, and the Francophone community in general (although it does not fund projects or deliver services). The partnership goal is to make requests for projects related to implementing the five objectives of the Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities (increase the number of French-speaking immigrants, improve the reception capacity of the FMCs, ensure economic integration, ensure social and cultural integration, and foster the regionalization of immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver). The Réseau does not fund projects or deliver services. It aims to increase the community's capacity to formulate major requests for project funding from the federal government, the Government of Ontario, or both.

As stated earlier, the need for cooperation comes from the fact that Francophone immigration in Ontario, especially outside Toronto, is recent and, therefore, the organizations are

new. The federal government's recognition of the need to build community capacity is a best practice. In eastern Ontario, the Economic and Social Council of Ottawa-Carleton (ESCOC) received funds to create the Réseau. ESCOC was also instrumental in setting up la Boussole, which implemented CIC's Host program and settlement and integration program for Francophone immigrants in the Ottawa area. La Boussole is part of LASI and, therefore, also receives support from older, more established immigrant service agencies, through the LASI coalition of agencies.

The objective of illustrating the best practices was to show that City of Ottawa can develop a strategy to promote Francophone immigration. The example of childcare services is important because it shows that, for such a strategy to succeed, Francophone immigrants must participate in Francophone life in Ottawa and in Francophone institutions and programs. That participation clearly is not possible if Francophone institutions and programs do not exist. In other words, French-language service plans are necessary in areas where French-language services are limited. At the same time, the second example, the creation of the Réseau, highlights the importance of increasing community capacity, because partnerships between the City of Ottawa and the Francophone immigrant community requires increased community skills. The integration of Francophone immigrants into the labour market, cultural activities and health services, just to mention a few, requires organizational and human resources capacities that must be developed strategically and must be sustained if the use of community resources is to be a sustainable strategy.

Coming full circle, the City of Ottawa is in the early stages of creating a general immigration policy and, therefore, a Francophone immigration strategy. Best practices exist, and are simply waiting to be carried over to other areas of municipal activity. Is it the research that is missing, or the public will?

> The integration of Francophone immigrants into the labour market,… requires organizational and human resources capacities that must be developed strategically and must be sustained if the use of community resources is to be a sustainable strategy.

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THE POPULATION "INTEGRATED" INTO THE TORONTO FRANCOPHONIE: MEASURE AND GEOGRAPHY

ABSTRACT

The Francophone presence index measures the integration of people for whom French is not a native language into the Francophone community in Ontario cities. It confirms the unique demographic character of the Toronto Francophonie, while emphasizing the issues raised by the residential segregation of "assimilated" Francophones.

ANDRÉ LANGLOIS AND ANNE GILBERT

André Langlois and Anne Gilbert are both professors in the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa. They are well-known experts in the area of Canadian Francophonie and are currently completing an extensive research project on the geographic aspects of the vitality of minority communities in Canada.

Demography is without a shadow of a doubt one of the most significant factors for the vitality of minority communities. The number of people belonging to a group directly influences its ability to benefit from a wide range of organizations. The proportion of the total population it represents significantly determines the community's status and power. Thus, particular attention is given to population growth conditions, whether in scientific or association and government areas. Immigration has, therefore, become one of the key struggles of the Canadian Francophonie.

Birth rates can no longer ensure the growth of Francophone minority communities (FMCs) in Canada. These communities today greatly pin their hopes on immigration. The challenge is daunting. How many newcomers can they manage to integrate? How can they attract more? How should they welcome immigrants so that they choose to live their life in French in areas that most often do not favour it? The community's ability to recruit, settle and maintain immigrants and their presence in French-language schools, cultural centres, hospitals, businesses and other methods of participating in community life are the focus of concern (Jedwab 2002, Quell 2002). The matter of attitudes, whether in Francophone communities or of newcomers who speak French and could be integrated into these communities, has also received some attention (Churchill and Churchill 1991, Chambon et al. 2001, Gallant and Belkhodja 2005, Gallant 2007). The issue of place of residence, however, which is key to their integration into the community, is rarely mentioned, whether at the regional or the provincial level (Belkhodja 2005). In which neighbourhoods are immigrants likely to settle in order to integrate into the Canadian Francophonie? Are they seeking proximity to Francophone populations with more established roots with institutions that they have acquired over time? Or do they develop their own space, as the majority of new immigrants do, here and elsewhere?

This study, although preliminary, intends to provide some answers to those questions. Through the use of a new Francophone Presence Index (FPI), we will evaluate the integration of people for whom French is not the native language into the Francophone community in Ontario cities. By doing this, we confirm the unique character of the Francophonie in the Toronto Census Metropolis Area (CMA) with regard to demographics, while emphasizing the issue raised by the residential segregation of the "integrated" Francophonie when it comes to full participation in community affairs.

Francophone presence and its components

Assessing the size of the immigrant population integrating into the Canadian Francophonie outside Quebec raises a problem. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) measures the knowledge of French among immigrants, but this provides information only on their potential participation in French life at the time of their arrival (Jedwab 2002). It does not say anything, therefore, about the number of immigrants who over time will chose to live their day-to-day lives in French. The Census will, therefore, be more useful to us, particularly for the factor known as the first official language spoken[1] (FOLS). By the way it combines knowledge of languages (KNOL), native language (NATL) and language spoken at home, the first official language spoken provides a pretty good estimate of Francophone population size.[2] Intersected with the native language, FOLS provides information on the Francophone community's capacity to integrate people whose first language learned at home in childhood is neither French nor English, who are essentially first and second generation immigrants.[3]

However, the FOLS factor has its faults. People who speak French and English or even a non-official language as their native tongue and who favour English at home are subtracted from the Francophone population, even if they also speak French and use it in public areas. FOLS also cannot be used alone to determine Francophone presence in a given area. For those reasons, which are explained in further detail elsewhere (Langlois and Gilbert 2006), we have developed a new Francophone presence index (FPI). The FPI takes three linguistic indicators into consideration: native language, first official language spoken and knowledge of languages. It is defined as follows:

$$FPI = NATL(f) + FOLS(f)_{NATL(nf)} - KNOL(nf)_{NATL(f)}$$

where **NATL(f)** = population with French as native language

FOLS(f)$_{NATL(nf)}$ = population for whom French is the first official language spoken among those who do not have French as native language

KNOL(nf)$_{NATL(f)}$ = population who no longer knows French among those who have French as native language

Thus, the FPI includes all persons who have French as their native language. However, it subtracts those who no longer understand French from those who declare having French as native language.[4] It also accounts for people who have French as their first official language spoken, even if they do not have French as a native language. Our index, therefore, makes it possible to include the numerous people who have French as their first official language spoken, even if it is not their native language.

The FPI made this way makes it possible to make the distinction between three components of the Canadian Francophonie (Figure 1). The *core* group contains the population that has French as a native language and French as their first official language spoken. The *non-practicing* group includes people who have French as their native language but do not have French as their first official language spoken. These are seemingly people who, although they learned both French and English as children, favour English as the language spoken at home. They are therefore not accounted for among the people who have French as their first official language. Finally, the *integrated* group, the one of interest to us here, includes people who have French as their first official language spoken, although it is not their native language. This group is primarily made up of immigrants and their descendants who have become part of the Francophone community through their daily use of French. Its size gives quite a clear indication of the contribution of immigrants to the demography of the Canadian Francophone. A fourth group could also be found through cross-tabulations: this is the group who have French as their native language and who no longer know French. In our opinion, this measures much more accurately the assimilation phenomenon than using the language spoken at home.

Figure 1
Francophone presence index : its components
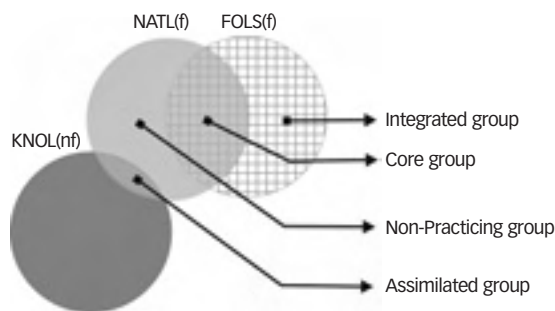
Immigration in Ontario cities

Ontario had a Francophone population of 586,675 in 2001, or 5.2% of the total population, according to the FPI (Table 1). The proportion of Francophones in the province's major urban areas[5] is low everywhere, except in Ottawa – Gatineau and Greater Sudbury, where it corresponds to 20% and 29.1% of the population, respectively. Ottawa – Gatineau has 159,020 Francophones, a number that has been on the increase since 1996 thanks to the arrival of many Francophones from the outlying rural areas and from the rest of Ontario and other Canadian provinces. The Ottawa – Gatineau Francophone population has also benefited from some international immigration, as shown by the size of the integrated group (Figure 2). Greater Sudbury's Francophone community has not shown the same demographic vitality as that of Ottawa – Gatineau. Its size has been decreasing since 1996 as a result of migration to the south of the province. Greater Sudbury counts only on the contribution from a low number of immigrants, since the integrated group makes up less than 1% of the Francophone population. Toronto is in a unique position in this regard. Of the three Franco-Ontarian cities, as we have named elsewhere (Gilbert, forthcoming), only the Toronto Francophonie counts on a significant proportion of immigrants. The integrated population in Toronto

Table 1
Francophone presence index in major Ontario cities, 2001

Major Urban Centres	Total Population	FPI
Toronto	4,647,680	2.4%
Ottawa-Gatineau	795,250	20.0%
Hamilton	655,060	2.0%
London	427,215	1.7%
Kitchener	409,765	1.9%
St. Catharines-Niagara	371,395	4.1%
Windsor	304,955	5.2%
Oshawa	293,545	2.4%
Greater Sudbury	153,895	29.1%
Kingston	142,775	3.5%
Thunder Bay	119,760	2.7%
Other CMAs	1,498,585	5.9%
Elsewhere	1,446,120	7.6%
Ontario	11,266,000	5.2%

Figure 2
Size and components of the Francophone presence : major Ontario cities, 2001
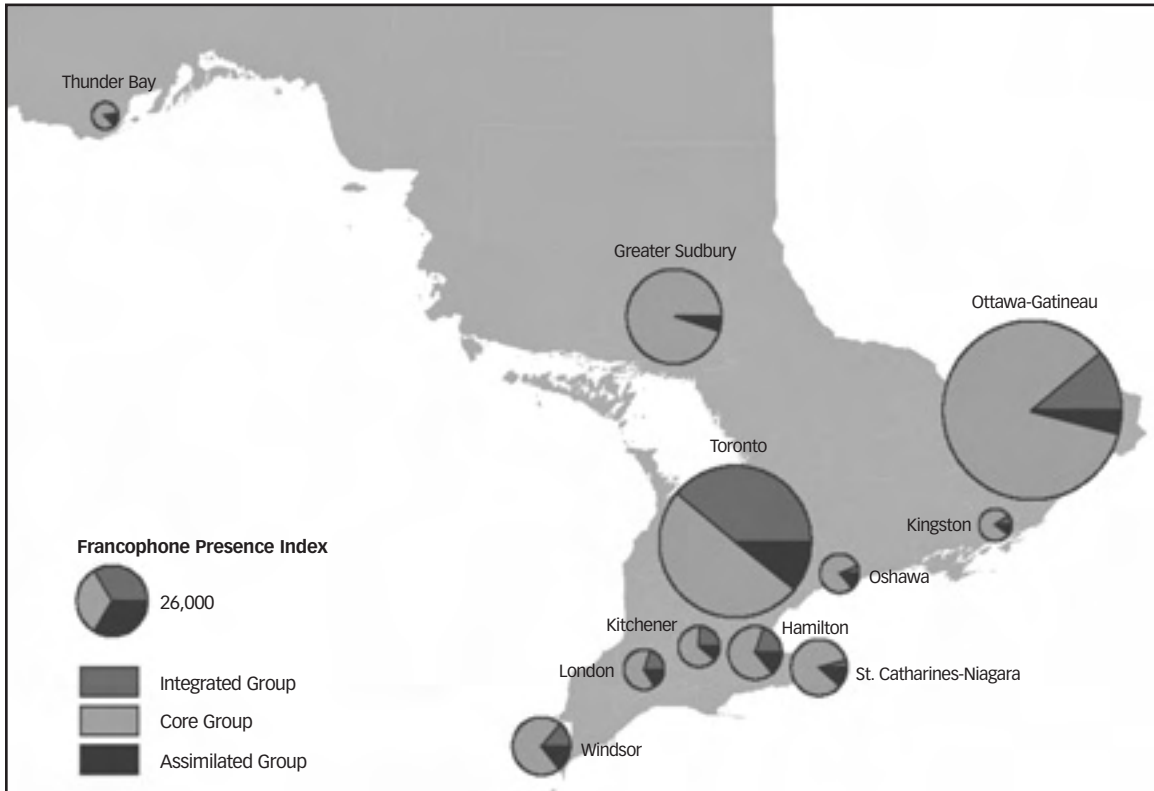
represents 39% of the Toronto Francophonie, and it numbered 45,760 in 2001. The assimilated group,[6] however, is larger in Toronto than in Ottawa – Gatineau and Greater Sudbury, which shows that the Toronto Francophonie is more vulnerable (Figure 3).

Francophone presence is much less significant in other cities in the province, in terms of both number and percentage. However, we note with interest the considerable weight of the integrated group in several cities, including Hamilton (20.2%), London (20.1%) and Kitchener (24.3%). Immigration's contribution to the demographic vitality of these new Ontario Francophonie locations is irrefutable. But its occurrence is far from being comparable to that of Toronto. Thus, we have chosen to focus on the latter to study the geography of these newcomers.

The Toronto Francophonie and its geography

The Francophone presence in Toronto is not evenly distributed throughout the Census Metropolitan Area (Figure 4). Though its relative importance is weak everywhere – less than 3% – it still shows a certain variation, with older urbanized municipalities located around Lake Ontario receiving slightly more Francophone immigrants than those municipalities located more to the north. Thus, Francophones account for more than 2.5% of the population of the City of Toronto itself, a percentage unmatched by any other city except Oakville. Toronto also has the largest Francophone population: 64,320, based on the FPI. Mississauga, which has the second largest concentration of Francophones in the CMA, had only 14,890 Francophones in 2001. Francophone presence does not go much above the 1,000-person mark in any other city, except in the ring of municipalities located just north of Toronto (Brampton, Markham, Vaughan, Richmond Hill) and in Oakville.

Each of the three components of the Toronto Francophonie fills its own niche in this Francophone

Figure 3
Importance of the assimilated group :
major Ontario cities, 2001

Proportionate to the Francophone population

space. Mapping the localization quotients[7] calculated for the different groups shows this very clearly (Figure 5). The core group, made up of people with French as their native language and who have French as their first official language spoken, is under-represented in the central municipalities, Toronto and Mississauga being in the lead. However, it has a stronger base in the outlying municipalities, though the French presence is weaker there. Today, the core group tends to favour the more rural municipalities northeast and northwest of the Greater Toronto Area and, thus, has grown further from its traditional downtown neighbourhoods (Gilbert and Langlois 2006). The integrated group is located according to an inverted pattern, with over-representation in the centre and in the nearby suburbs, and under-representation in the outlying areas. The group, therefore, has a stronger presence in neighbourhoods where Francophones have more solid bases, in Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton, Markham and Vaughan. Its localization is akin to that of other immigrants in the region. Although they have a stronger presence in the suburbs, they are still over-represented in Toronto's central neighbourhoods. Moreover, very few have settled in the rural outskirts, which have thus remained much more Anglo-Saxon ethnically and linguistically speaking. The integrated group's preferred zones are also those where the non-practicing and assimilated groups, whose geographies are quite similar, are less represented. This gives its localization within the metropolitan area quite a unique character.

The central location of the integrated population of the Toronto Francophonie certainly has its advantages. It is located where both the Francophone community's size and importance are greatest. It is also concentrated in neighbourhoods with a larger number of French-language institutions, particularly with regard to post-secondary education and health. The Centre Francophone de Toronto, which has been providing new immigrants with welcoming services for a number of years, is located downtown. Not only can Francophone immigrants enjoy these services, but they can also contribute to their development through active participation in existing programs. The fact that the host Francophone society – those who have French heritage and still use the language in their daily lives – and immigrant Francophones who have French as their first official language spoken without having it as their native language live in different areas within the metropolitan space represents just as significant a challenge with regard to integrating immigrants into the Francophone community.

Conclusion

Like other immigrant populations in Ontario, those who chose to lead their public and civic lives in French have developed their own geography. Although the Toronto example does not allow us to conclude this definitely, it certainly suggests it. Immigrant Francophones indeed favour different municipalities than

Figure 4
Francophone presence index in municipalities in Toronto CMA, 2001

As a percentage of total population
- 0.0-1.0
- 1.1-1.5
- 1.6-2.0
- 2.1-2.5
- 2.6-2.7

Municipalities in Toronto CMA

No.	Name	Population
1	Toronto	2,456,800
2	Mississauga	610,815
3	Brampton	324,390
4	Markham	207,945
5	Vaughan	181,600
6	Oakville	143,690
7	Richmond Hill	131,600
8	Pickering	86,685
9	Ajax	73,525
10	Newmarket	65,070
11	Caledon	50,355
12	Halton Hill	47,980
13	Aurora	39,810
14	Georgina	38,845
15	Milton	31,005
16	New Tecumseth	25,820
17	Orangeville	24,905
18	Brandon West Gwillimbury	22,145
19	Whitchurch	21,835
20	East Gwillimbury	20,195
21	King	18,495
22	Uxbridge	17,265
23	Mono	6,905

2001 Census

Distribution of Francophones Based on FPI

100,000   10,000   1,000   100

Figure 5
Components of the Toronto Francophonie : the localization quotient, 2001

Core Group

Integrated Group

Non-Practicing Group

Assimilated Group

Sub-group localization quotients

- 0.000-0.500
- 0.501-0.750
- 0.751-1.250
- 1.251-1.500
- More than 1.5
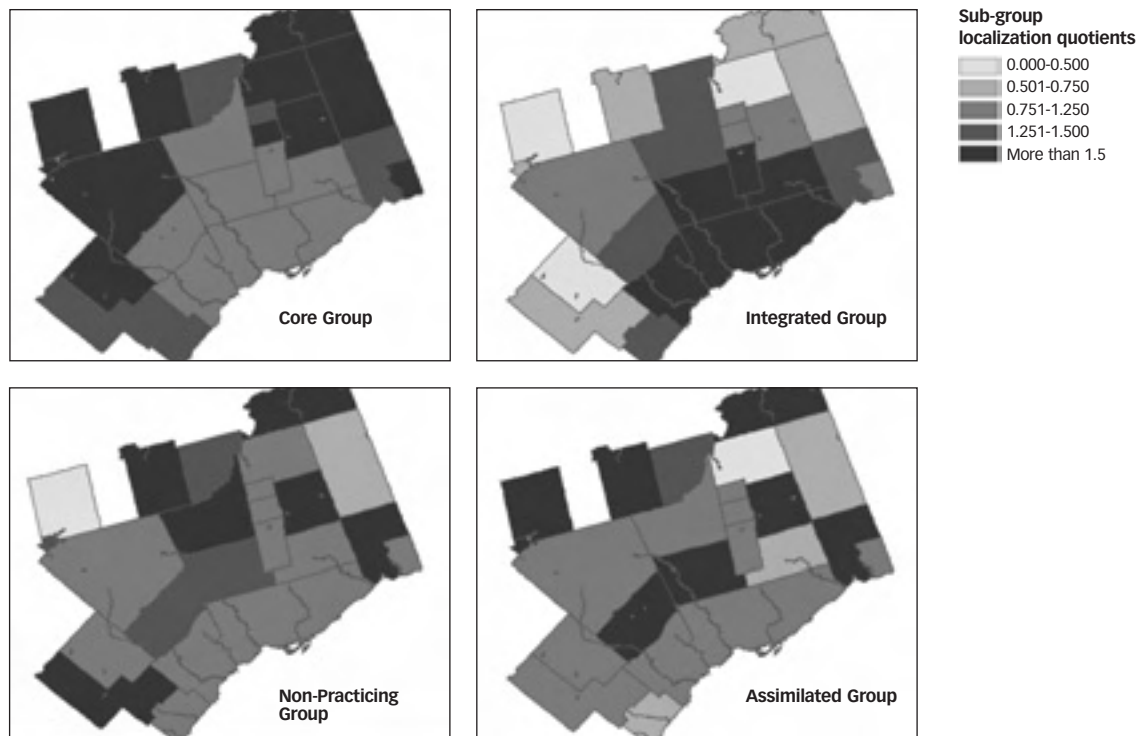
Francophones "of origin," as those who have French as their native language are often referred to, whether they practice it or not.

This residential segregation has its advantages. It facilitates interaction between people who have had similar experiences at the time of settling or later on, when it comes to joining the work force or even when developing strategies to allow for greater participation in the welcoming society. Numerous studies have confirmed that integrating immigrants is not incompatible with forming distinct neighbourhoods. Quite the contrary. However, it seems to us that it could be more problematic in a minority situation.

Integration into society is presented differently "when the immigrants are the minority of the minority," to use an expression by Nicole Gallant (2007). The minority situation imposes additional obstacles related to language status, which discourages many immigrants. Literature also shows the disappointment and dissatisfaction of some immigrants with the lack of acceptance by the Francophone communities into which they are attempting to integrate (Quell 2002). Several of these communities, including those in most Ontario cities, have managed to survive until very recently thanks to their traditional networks. Diversity is a new phenomenon. In this context, geography could turn out to be an essential tool for integration. Yet, our study has shown that it would separate more than unify Francophones from here and those coming from elsewhere.

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Notes

1 The first official language spoken is a variable derived within the framework of the application of the *Official Languages Act*. It takes into consideration the knowledge first of both official languages, second of the native language, and third of the language spoken at home. According to the *Census Dictionary*, the variable comprises the following: people who can sustain a conversation in French and who have only French as their first official language spoken, and people who can sustain a conversation in English and who have only English as their first official language spoken. Answers to questions on native language and language spoken at home were then used to establish the first official language spoken of people who can speak French and English or who speak neither one of the official languages. Included in the "French" category were people who speak only French or French and at least one non-official language as a native language. People who speak only English or English and at least one non-official language were included in the "English" category. For cases not yet classified, people speaking only French or French and at least one non-official language as the language spoken at home were included in the "French" category. We proceeded in the same manner for the "English" category. The population was thus classified into two principal categories: French on the one hand, and English on the other. Two residual categories should be added for people who could not be classified with the information provided: French and English and neither French nor English.

2 The FOLS has its faults, nonetheless, including that of subtracting from the Francophone population those people who, like many immigrants who settled outside of Quebec, favour English at home, even if they also know French and use it in the public space.

3 The Francophone population as described by the first official language spoken could include people who have English as native language and who integrated into the Francophone population to the extent that they no longer speak English. In a minority Francophone environment, this is a highly unlikely situation.

4 Even though the Census issue is clear in that the language declared as native language must always be understood by the respondent, slightly more than 50,000 people who declared themselves native French speakers at the last Census in Canada say they no longer know French.

5 Only Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) were used for this analysis. Statistics Canada defines CMA as the territory formed by one or several municipalities neighbouring one another and located around a large urban centre. To form a Census Metropolitan Area, the urban centre must contain at least 100,000 inhabitants.

6 The assimilated group's proportion was calculated by using a broader measure of Francophone presence that includes this group within the total Francophone population. This method of counting the Francophone population thus includes all those whose native language is French, notwithstanding their knowledge of French. This measure, therefore, takes into consideration the potential represented by this group, possibly re-francisized, for Francophonie affairs.

7 Localization quotients are indexes often used to show the relative concentration of a population. The localization quotient of a group in a given geographic sector corresponds to the relationship between the group's percentage of the sector and this group's percentage on the scale of the whole territory that is the focus of the study. In the case we studied, for example, the integrated group represents 39% of the Francophone population of the CMA of Toronto. A municipality where this group represents 78% of the municipality's Francophone population will have a localization quotient of 2.0, while a municipality where it counts for only 1.5% of the municipality's Francophone population will have a quotient of 0.5. The caption categories were chosen so as to highlight the municipalities where each group is over-represented. The central category covers the value of 1.0 (+ or – 0.25).

ACADIAN MIGRATION IN NEW BRUNSWICK: FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH*

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ABSTRACT

The migration of Acadian communities from northern to southern New Brunswick is producing a new dynamic in demographic, economic, social, linguistic and cultural distribution across the province. The area of Moncton-Dieppe is experiencing the effects of this Acadian mobility. These effects are raising many questions about the future of these Francophones in a predominantly Anglophone urban environment.

The migration of New Brunswick's Acadians from rural to urban environments, whether considered from a demographic, socio-economic, linguistic or cultural viewpoint, is characterized by its urbanization (Langlois and Gilbert 2006, Cao, Chouinard and Dehoorne 2005).

The trend in this "intraprovincial migration" (Cao, Chouinard and Dehoorne 2005) is migration from the rural and predominantly Francophone regions of the north to the urban and predominantly Anglophone regions of the south. The literature refers mainly to the Acadian communities that migrate to Greater Moncton[1] and, more specifically, to the cities of Moncton and Dieppe.

Emerging from this movement towards urban areas is a new demographic, socio-economic and, above all, linguistic dynamic in which 42.3% of the combined population of Moncton and Dieppe is Francophone[2] (33.0% in Moncton and 74.2% in Dieppe). These Acadians thus find themselves in the minority, both linguistically and culturally. Most of them are moving from a majority situation to a minority one. Have Acadian migrants living in a predominantly English-speaking environment been able to maintain their linguistic vitality?

Portrait of Acadian migration

In New Brunswick, the northern regions – and particularly the northeast – that are disadvantaged in terms of migration are among those regions in the Maritimes that rely the most on their natural resources for their development (Savoie et al. 1999). They are experiencing a difficult situation, both demographically and economically. The high unemployment rate, which ranges between 11.0% and 21.0%, depending on the county, stems primarily from an economy that revolves around seasonal activities based on the exploitation of natural resources (Statistics Canada 2006, Beaudin and Forgues 2005, Desjardins 2005, Polèse and Shearmur 2002). Consequently, the literature cites essentially economic factors to explain the migration of these Acadian communities (Landry and Rousselle 2003).

While economic growth is unstable in the province's rural areas, it is less so in the urban areas, which benefit from migration (Beaudin and Forgues 2005, Desjardins 2005, Polèse and Shearmur 2002). A real disparity is growing between the rural north and the urban south: the former depends on natural resources; while the latter enjoys a more diversified, dynamic and innovative economy (Beaudin and Landry 2003).

Consideration must therefore be given to the changing spatio-linguistic configuration of the cities of Moncton and Dieppe. While the proportion of Francophones within Moncton city limits has remained fairly stable, Dieppe's Francophone population is expanding significantly (Cao, Chouinard and Dehoorne 2005).[3] In 2006, Dieppe counted 13,600 Francophones – people who stated that their first language was French – out of a total population of 18,320 (74.2%), while Moncton numbered 20,795 Francophones of a total population of 62,965 (33.0%) (Statistics Canada 2006).

Dieppe and Moncton are attracting individuals who want to leave their native regions and move to another, which offers a stronger economy and more opportunities to pursue education. This attraction can be explained by several factors: the advantageous geographic position of the Moncton urban area in the heart of the Maritimes, the availability of bilingual services, its location on a busy transportation route, and a diversified economic base (Polèse and Shearmur 2002).

As Beaudin and Landry (2003) have shown, among Canada's Francophone minority communities, the "losing" Acadian regions rely on the extraction and primary processing of natural resources, while the "winners" enjoy a more diversified, dynamic and innovative economy.

Linguistically speaking, however, Francophones are in the majority in northern New Brunswick, while Anglophones predominate in Dieppe and Moncton. It is therefore legitimate to wonder whether what individuals are gaining economically is being lost linguistically.

This being said, even though economic factors seem to be driving migration to urban areas, the dynamic cultural life referred to in the literature may also be a factor behind Acadian migration to Moncton-Dieppe (Boudreau 2005). Acadians see the Moncton urban area as their cultural capital (Boudreau and Perrot 2005), with a lively cultural scene that stimulates vitality and development in a linguistic minority (Boudreau and Perrot 2005). Cultural settings help maintain the French language, and an increasing number of Francophone media are settling in the urban area of Moncton. It is reasonable to think that improvement in the situation of Francophones in Moncton stems from the creation of a Francophone cultural "space" in the Moncton area (Boudreau 2005).

Literature and the arts are paramount to promoting the French factor in Moncton and Dieppe. The 1960s saw the founding of Francophone theatre companies, such as Moncton's amateur theatre company, L'Escaouette, and Les Feux Chalins (Brun 1999). The greatest cultural achievement of Moncton's Francophone community has been the creation of the Aberdeen Cultural Centre in 1986, an artists' cooperative that brings together some 20 arts, culture and education organizations.

Migration to Greater Moncton rose markedly from 1996 to 2001 (Statistics Canada 2006), whether for economic or cultural reasons. With a net migration of 6.8% in 2001, Greater Moncton had the second highest rate of in-migration of all urban centres in the Maritimes. Of those migrants, 36.7% were Francophones, compared with 9.64% in Fredericton.[4]

Diversity of minority Acadian communities

According to some studies, Francophonie in urban settings is made fragile by the presence of an Anglophone majority. The urbanization process decimates local communities, most of whom reconstruct themselves in cities. This raises significant linguistic issues. For example, Landry, Allard and Deveau (2005) explain that increased urbanization, primarily resulting from the migration of young people, threatens the vitality of Canada's Francophone minority communities. While Francophones in urban environments clearly face language issues, minorities in some Canadian regions have been able to create a social and institutional environment that has enabled them to stabilize the linguistic assimilation process (Langlois 2000). This has been the case in Moncton and

Dieppe, where the rate of linguistic assimilation seems to have slowed (Cao, Chouinard and Dehoorne 2005).

A look at history may be instructive here. The *Official Languages Act* of 1969 made New Brunswick the only officially bilingual province in Canada. This statute was repealed in 2002 to allow Francophones to receive French-language services in rural and urban environments areas where at least 20% of the population is Francophone. Also significant were *An Act Recognizing the Equality of the Two Official Linguistic Communities in New Brunswick*, passed in 1981, and the constitutionalization of New Brunswick's language rights the following year.

In the first half of the 18th century, many French-speaking families settled in Moncton and Dieppe, located in the southeast of the province. The first wave of Francophones to settle in Moncton arrived in the late 19th century, when the city benefited from the arrival of the head office of the Intercolonial Railway (LeBlanc 1996).

Migration of Acadians from the north to the south is therefore not a recent phenomenon in New Brunswick. According to Brun (1999), there were only about 30 Franco-phones in the urban region of Moncton in 1851, but by 1991, 7.2% of the total population was French-speaking. By 1911, that figure had risen to 28.9% and by 1941, to 33.6%. However, [*Translation*] "until about 1840, everything seemed to suggest that, apart from a few labourers in Dieppe and St. Anselm, who worked in the shipping trade, no Francophones lived permanently in the 'Coude'[5]" (Brun 1999: 13).

Moreover, studies of Canada's Francophonie have shown that the Moncton urban area unquestionably illustrates an institutional process that has profoundly altered regional structure (Cao, Chouinard and Dehoorne 2005). This area is a model of community vitality for Francophones throughout Canada, because it developed in a setting with an Anglophone majority. During this development of the urban area, largely French-speaking and bilingual institutions were created in Moncton with the establishment of several entities: the Université de Moncton, the Atlantic service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Dr. Georges L. Dumont Regional Hospital, the regional office of Fisheries and Oceans Canada, the Société de l'Assomption and five French-language schools. These institutions also developed in Dieppe, with the founding of Collège communautaire de Dieppe and five French-language schools. These institutions fostered the settlement of Francophone residents and thereby provided a geographic and social Francophonie. Brun (1999) also explains that the vitality of the Francophone community in these regions is ensured through various media, parishes, schools and hospitals.

The *Official Languages Act* of 1969 made New Brunswick the only officially bilingual province in Canada. This statute was repealed in 2002 to allow Francophones to receive French-language services in rural and urban environments areas where at least 20% of the population is Francophone.

According to a study (Guignard 2007) we conducted on the social integration of Francophone migrants from northern New Brunswick in the social networks of the Moncton-Dieppe urban area, Dieppe's Francophone migrants benefit from more Francophone social networks than do Moncton's, while most Francophones in Moncton seem to rely on French-language networks, since bilingual networks are more solidly established there than in Dieppe. That said, language distribution in the two cities must be taken into account. Francophones represent the majority in Dieppe but the minority in Moncton. Language distribution therefore produces a social and community setting that is more Francophone in Dieppe than in Moncton.

The results of this study form the basis of several findings. First, the majority of Francophone migrants considered in this study were mostly integrated in Francophone networks, except for neighbourhood networks and client networks in the workplace, which are usually bilingual. This finding supports research on the subject, including the study by Dubois (2003) that indicates that Moncton's Francophones speak French in their private life (with family, at church and in school), while they speak mostly English at work. Landry, Allard and Deveau (2005) have shown that for Francophone minorities, French often predominates in private life, while English is preferred in the public sphere.

Another aim of this study was to determine whether Francophone migrants from northern New Brunswick received assistance to better integrate into the social networks of the urban area of Moncton-Dieppe, mainly so that we could understand the impact that these networks have on language at work and in neighbourhoods. The results seem to show that social networks do not play a significant role in ethnolinguistic vitality. Based on a careful examination of the data, the assistance received from families actually has a negative effect on the language spoken in the workplace; however, assistance received from friends fostered strong ethnolinguistic vitality in the workplace. Networks do not appear to play a significant role in determining the language spoken in neighbourhoods.

In conclusion, migration of Acadians from northern to southern New Brunswick is a positive phenomenon for the Francophone community of Moncton and Dieppe. As Lefebvre points out (2005: 43), although much remains to be done, the Francophones of Greater Moncton are a shining example of a thriving Francophone community. Urbanization in an environment with an Anglophone majority certainly involves some linguistic risks, but these are mitigated by the role of institutions and, to some extent, that of the social networks that help create Francophone settings. Nonetheless, the problem must be studied from a provincial perspective and be acknowledged as not being further detrimental to the regions that are disadvantaged in this regard.

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Notes

* This article is based on a study we conducted in connection with the Master's program in Environmental Studies at the Université de Moncton. The study was directed by Omer Chouinard and Huhua Cao.

[1] According to Statistics Canada (2006), "Greater Moncton" includes the cities of Moncton, Dieppe and Riverview.

[2] City officially recognized as bilingual in 2002.

[3] Census data from 2001 and 2006 (Statistics Canada 2006) show that the population increase in Dieppe was 24%, compared with 5% for Moncton.

[4] In 2001, Fredericton had the highest rate of net migration in the Maritimes: 6.88%.

[5] Name that the Acadians used to give to the city of Moncton (Brun 1999).

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RURAL AND FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRATION IN NOVA SCOTIA: CONSIDERATIONS

ABSTRACT

This article addresses rural and Francophone immigration in Nova Scotia, relating the phenomenon to six aspects of daily life: geographic distance, employment, housing, family, neighbours and lifestyle. The purpose of the text is to consider the geographic mobility of Francophone immigrants in the province.

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Immigration is at the core of national and international current events (Koser 2007, Stalker 2001). In Canada, this phenomenon seems to be of interest to many political and social stakeholders because it represents, to a certain extent, a "solution" to Canada's ageing population, the rural exodus and the problematic situation of Francophones in minority situations. Our consideration of rural and Francophone immigration in Nova Scotia will be done in this context. Our objective is to explore research questions and develop working hypotheses for future research on the subject.

As a first hypothesis, we claim that living in a rural area involves a particular lifestyle that differs considerably from that of urban living. By lifestyle, we mean [*Translation*] "the way income is spent, type of subsistence activity and use of free time, type and frequency of social activities" (Boudon et al. 1998: 154), which are understood to be daily social interactions (Goffman 1973 and 1983).

Our second hypothesis states that the Francophone reality in Nova Scotia presents a linguistic diversity that is much more complex than we may think. In other words, when the emotional charge and political aspects associated with French are removed, the remaining central issues are: How to communicate to be understood? What words to choose in our social interactions? What level of language to use with such and such a person from our neighbourhood?

Who speaks of immigration and how do they speak of it?

Canada has long been an immigration country. It was built upon a series of waves of immigration, as Henripin (2003: 209-237) appropriately states. If we are to properly understand the issues surrounding immigration, it is important to: 1) Distinguish the issues regarding immigration that attract government attention (political leaders, public servants or other); 2) Examine these issues in relation to the many representatives of various community associations that will take these same issues and act as political intermediaries; and 3) Explore the daily experiences of individuals, in particular Francophone immigrants[1] who settle on our streets, in our neighbourhoods and who we see at the grocery store, at school, in our work place, etc. In this study, we will focus on this last aspect.

Predominant situation in Nova Scotia

In January 2005, the Government of Nova Scotia officially announced an immigration policy (Communications Nova Scotia 2005). This government policy was developed from four main principles: encouraging reception of new arrivals, attracting them to Nova Scotia, fostering their integration and keeping them in the province (Fontaine 2005a).

In 2005, 1,929 permanent residents were admitted to Nova Scotia by 2006, this number had reached 2,585 (CIC 2007: 38). Table 1 indicates the number of permanent residents admitted to the province during those years, according to their knowledge of English and French (*Ibid.*: 42). It is easy to see that residents who master French form a very small minority.

In 2006, Nova Scotia admitted 2,585 permanent residents, accounting for 1% of a total of 251,649 admitted across Canada. Among these 2,585 permanent residents, 1,916 have settled in Halifax, while the remaining 669 live elsewhere in the province; hence, 74% of these residents are concentrated in the Metropolitan Halifax Area. In 2006, the total population of Nova Scotia was of 913,462 (Statistics Canada 2007), among which 372,679 people, or 40.8% of the population, lived in Halifax (Nova Scotia Department of Finance 2006: 2). Rural and Francophone immigration in the province is therefore twice as challenging.

Table 1
Number of permanent residents admitted to Nova Scotia, according to knowledge of English and French, 2005 and 2006

	2005	2006
Knowledge of English	1,301	1,762
Knowledge of French	13	22
Knowledge of English and French	192	162
Knowledge of neither	423	639
Total	**1,929**	**2,585**

What university studies teach us about rural immigration in Canada

Statistics Canada (2005) defines "rural population" as "persons living outside centres with a population of 1,000 *and* outside areas with 400 persons per square kilometre." According to Bollman, Beshiri and Clemenson (2007: 9), "a rural community has a density less than 150 persons per square kilometre. The predominantly rural regions are then disaggregated into three sub-regions."

We must point out that when we mention rural immigration as opposed to urban immigration, our point of reference is a large urban centre such as Halifax, with concentric circles radiating from this focal point. This is what led authors such as Bollman, Beshiri and Clemenson (2007) to propose for the following sub-regions for predominantly rural regions: rural metro-adjacent regions, rural non-metro-adjacent regions and rural northern regions. The first category could include a city such as Truro (population near 12,000 according to the municipal Website), located approximately 100 km from Halifax. Non-metro-adjacent regions could include Church Point, located 45 km from Digby (a small city with a population of around 2,300) and 65 km from Yarmouth (population of around 7,200). Mentioning Church Point is relevant because the head office of the Université Sainte-Anne, the only French post-secondary institution in the province, is in this small village that could, to a certain extent, be a focal point for establishing Francophone immigrants in rural regions.

According to Clemenson and Pitblado (2007: 27), people choose to settle in rural regions or small towns for two main reasons: for employment or "other quality of life advantages." Reimer (2007: 4-6) suggests four characteristics that distinguish rural regions from urban regions: distance and density, economic structures, amenities, heritage and identity, while Bruce (2007: 103) outlines nine factors to consider in order to attract and keep immigrants in rural regions of the Maritime provinces.

Keys for interpreting daily life in rural regions

In light of the above, and relying particularly on some of our research (Fontaine 2005a and 2005b), we shall formulate the following hypothesis, which is complementary to the others presented at the beginning of our analysis. In a globalization context, the population is generally more mobile than before, and for individuals born outside Canada, this section of the population seems to move more frequently towards other geographic regions. If such is the case, in a lifetime, someone who settles in a rural region will be faced with a series of issues related to six aspects of daily life.

Geographic distance

- There is a problem of distance, and even accessibility, to various services, even with new information and communications technologies (Mills and Legault 2007).

- The attraction of a city with multiple advantages should never be underestimated.

- Relatives or friends and acquaintances may live in other regions of Canada or elsewhere in the world, and occasional visits would be wanted.

- Having an airport nearby is an advantage to consider.

Employment

- Who works in the family? In cases of qualified workers, it is likely that the man and woman are seeking employment as professionals in their fields.

- What salary can be offered?

- Is it possible to have a flexible schedule to go, for example, to Halifax for certain services that are not available in the rural region, and to visit relatives?

- Is the salary high enough to allow for transportation costs to various urban centres, among other things?

- How would the problem of concurrent skills be solved in relation to skills that could be found in the "local population"?

- Recognition of credentials is problematic for many qualified workers.

Housing

- What is the situation regarding access to property?

- Will we rent or buy a house?

- How to negotiate a bank loan?

- How to transfer funds from Canada to another country?

- Who do we contact for firewood? Find an electrician, a plumber, and… how does one communicate with and be understood by this person?

Family

- Family is to be considered as an affective unit but also as an economic unit, and it develops with time, defining various future projects including post-secondary education and employment for the children.

Neighbours

- In a rural region, interpersonal relations are mainly dependent on relatives. Friendly and intimate relationships are more often than not defined within this sphere.

- As for psychological support, this emerges mainly from various social meetings.

- Social relations involve concern for others mixed with a certain social control. It is a sense of mutual assistance that is distinctive.

Lifestyle

- As for the private-public opposition, in a rural environment, this distinction is rather vague.

- Money-related issues are distinctive: services can be rendered for free… the debt may be moral instead of economic.

- Prestige associated with a profession, the socio-professional status and related privileges seem secondary rather than essential when defining an individual's identity.

- Since many qualified workers are informed consumers, the question is: Where does one find such and such a product, be it a food, cosmetic or other product?

- There are social conventions to learn; these are dependent on oral traditions, not on written documents.

- The relation between time and life is different; this leads to particular perceptions of the past and the future… and also of the present.

Conclusion

An interest in rural and Francophone immigration in Nova Scotia involves a closer look at the inherent complexity in moving from one territory to another country to settle more or less permanently. In this article, we presented a very succinct picture of the main immigration situation in Nova Scotia. We then linked this phenomenon to rurality and the French communities. This allowed us to outline a series of questions and to develop working hypotheses, which provide new research directions on the topic of reception and establishment processes for newcomers to Canada.

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Note

[1] A Francophone immigrant means any individual born outside Canada *recently* established in Canada and who uses the French language in most daily social situations. Mother tongue is not a criteria we are considering here. We prefer to focus on the language of use. In Nova Scotia, the use of French is unique and often more complicated than we think. In fact, most social interactions take place simultaneously in "standard" French, English, and also in Acadian French (Fontaine 2005a: 17).

CAN SOCIOLINGUISTICS BE USED TO ANALYZE FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRATION?

Reflection on the Relationship Between Reception Structures and Linguistic Development[*]

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Francophone immigration in Canadian minority communities is giving rise to many discussions, as illustrated by the day of reflection on Francophone immigration organized in March 2007. The material presented at this event and my research in the region of Moncton, New Brunswick, under the direction of my thesis supervisor, Annette Boudreau, will be the foundation of this article in which I will discuss the importance of analyzing Francophone immigration from a sociolinguistic perspective. First, in order to define sociolinguistics, I will identify some issues related to language. Then, I will establish a link between the reception structures that welcome newcomers and the concept of language planning. My arguments will be based on a new Francophone reception centre in Moncton, the Centre d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants du Moncton Métropolitain (CAIIMM). While it is based on field observations gathered in Moncton, this reflection can serve in many ways as a starting point for other Francophone minority communities that are interested in building a new Canadian Francophonie that is open to linguistic and cultural diversity.

The issue of language in Francophone minority communities

First, while language is implied in all discussions of Francophone immigration issues, it is never dealt with on the front lines, in day-to-day reality. Language is a profoundly social phenomenon linked with group identity building; the issues that stem from language are not restricted to the communicational level (Gumperz 1989). Sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between language and society, particularly the link between representations (attitudes) and language practices (Calvet, 2002, Blanchet 2000). Beyond mutual understanding among groups that are together in a single space, there is a range of heterogeneous language practices that serve to indicate, notably, community affiliation or lack thereof. The aim is not to reduce Francophone immigration issues to language, but to demonstrate how they are linked to questions of power, capital and economic resources, social legitimacy, and, ultimately, integration and inclusion.

Francophone immigration cannot be analyzed without taking into account the underlying sociolinguistic context. Ignoring this context would certainly still allow for discussions on immigration, but not through the lens of language. The expression "Francophone immigration" implies the integration of French-speaking immigrants into a Francophone community where they can live fully in French. However, "living in French" is the actual problem for Francophones in minority communities. Francophone minority communities are shaped by the complex interactions at play between languages – standard French and English on the one hand, and regional vernacular on the other hand, in this case Chiac[1] and Acadian French[2] in the southeast part of New Brunswick (Boudreau and Dubois 2001). These linguistic interactions create language tensions[3] that often result in inequalities and identity issues (Boyer 1991). I will not elaborate on the ambivalence that characterizes the attitudes of minority language speakers towards their own dialect; however, I will note that many Francophones in minority communities feel linguistic tensions, sometimes to the point of losing their ability to express themselves[4] (Boudreau et Dubois 1993). In addition, Francophone communities are characterized by asymmetrical bilingualism, or an imbalance in the importance given to each of the official languages.

While many of us tout the benefits of official bilingualism in Canada, in the province of New Brunswick and in the city of Moncton,[5] especially within the discourse of Francophone immigration, this bilingualism is far from the portrait of two languages on equal footing. Statistics support this

observation: the population of the Moncton metropolitan area is 60% Anglophone and 40% Francophone. However, 92% of Francophones reported knowing both languages, while only 23% of Anglophones described themselves as bilingual (Statistics Canada 2001). In addition, English is still the by and large the public language, whether it be in business, signage, work, etc. As a result, being Francophone in Moncton often involves a complicated play of negotiation, compromise and avoidance that could confuse some newcomers. The research I am conducting with Francophone migrants under the supervision of Annette Boudreau is aimed at understanding how members of the immigrant community experience and manage this sociolinguistic reality. From there I will discuss some innovative reception measures recently implemented in the Moncton area.

A sociolinguistic perspective on Francophone immigration: What is the impact of language inequalities on Francophone immigrant retention and integration in minority communities?

I must take a critical stance and argue that the promotion of official bilingualism conceals the actual situation in many regions and fails to prepare immigrants for the reality that awaits them. This could lead them to question the importance of French in their life and, in turn, affect their integration into the Francophone community. In fact, according to results of semi-structured interviews[6] conducted with Francophone immigrants in Moncton, their vision of bilingualism before their arrival to New Brunswick did not correspond to the linguistic interactions they later experienced. When they imagined a bilingual province, many thought that they could live fully in the official language of their choice regardless of the area they lived in. Given that the majority of Francophone immigrants to New Brunswick settle in the area of Moncton, in part because of the Université de Moncton and the socio-economic vitality of this urban centre, it is possible to imagine how upsetting it can be to realize that English is a necessity while French does not serve the same purpose as English and is mainly restricted to particular locations.[7] On this subject, one interview with a French immigrant who has been living in Moncton for almost a decade was particularly enlightening. When I asked him about the idea of being a minority, he talked mostly about the issues stemming from his lack of fluency in English:

> [*Translation*]
> Henri[8]: It was the fact that I didn't speak English well, and I realized that…that I had to learn English because I was stuck…then I felt, uh, below average, if you will,…because I realized that all of the Francophones spoke English…so

I told myself yes…I have to also…and that if I wanted to continue to eat and have a job, I had to [laughter].

Francophones from varied backgrounds are thus confronted with the predominance of English. Until recently, Francophone immigrants were welcomed by a so-called bilingual association,[9] which, according to many, could not respond to the needs of the Francophone population. Sociolinguistic management can be a problem, and it was this difficulty in establishing an equal form of bilingualism that actually led some stakeholders to create the Centre d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants du Moncton métropolitain (CAIIMM) and to insist that it remain exclusively French. One of the main architects of the project described the asymmetry of bilingualism: [*Translation*] "Everything that is bilingual, many say, is English." He added that many newcomers were greeted in English, which led them to understand that French is not the language of success and socioeconomic integration; for example, their children were directed to English schools. The mandate of the CAIIMM is to create a place that is visible to the Francophone community in the region, providing information and directing immigrants towards French-language institutions. This "francisizing" ideological discourse would be very interesting to analyze in depth since, by being far removed from an official bilingualism policy, it illustrates a different approach to linguistic coexistence in Moncton. Suffice it to say that the situation seems to indicate a struggle for resources and power between two reception structures, a struggle that is articulated mainly in terms of linguistic tension.

CAIIMM is a fairly new institution; its grand opening was May 11, 2006. CAIIMM is the fruit of the desire of some international alumni from the Université de Moncton and Acadians to create a meeting space. As one of them explained, the goal was to get out and share with the host society. This seed planted in the community grew thanks to support from institutions and government. Recognition goes to the Société des Acadiens et des Acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick (SAANB), the organization that set up the Table provinciale de concertation sur l'immigration francophone, and federal language policymakers (CIC, Canadian Heritage, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages) who contribute to immigration to Francophone minority communities. A synergy was immediately apparent between the immigrant community and the host society, with an emphasis on intercultural collaboration. The board of directors is composed of Francophones of various origins and Acadian stakeholders. CAIIMM also

> The population of the Moncton metropolitan area is 60% Anglophone and 40% Francophone. However, 92% of Francophones reported knowing both languages, while only 23% of Anglophones described themselves as bilingual.

established many local partnerships with stakeholders such as the Université de Moncton, Entreprise Grand Moncton, the City of Moncton and its sister city, Dieppe, and School District 1, the district for the French schools in the region. Based on the ethnographic observations made during five public events, the project seems to have rallied a significant part of the Francophone population. Activities organized by CAIIMM regularly attract over a hundred people from all backgrounds: international students, immigrants who have been living in Moncton for a number of years, academics, business people, teachers, etc.

Immigration in minority communities and language management

The demographic deficit is a major concern for Canadians, especially for Francophone minority communities that continue to be locked in a struggle against assimilation and that, moreover, did not benefit from the same influx of newcomers as Anglophone communities. The arrival of Francophone immigrants is perceived as something that can foster the development of the Francophone community. The preamble to the *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* clearly endorses this vision:

> Given the fact that immigration is an important factor in the growth of Canada's population, it should benefit the country's two linguistic communities equally. Measures should be developed to help the Francophone and Acadian communities profit more from immigration to mitigate their demographic decline. They would benefit from the economic and cultural spin-offs of the arrival of immigrants in their communities and make up for lost time.[10]

This perspective leads me to the concept of language planning, which is often used in situations of linguistic inequalities and which is used here in the context of immigration. In this section, I will describe the role of CAIIMM in terms of language planning.

Language planning includes all deliberate and concerted efforts by government, associations, organizations and citizens to manage the cohabitation of at least two language groups in one given area (Corbeil 1980, Labrie 1999, Boudreau and Dubois 2001). In terms of intervention, measures can relate to the corpus or the status of the language. Concretely, actions related to the corpus affect the language itself, that is, standardization, mainly by way of developing tools such as dictionaries and grammar books. Actions at the status level relate to the social position and

functions fulfilled by a language. Usually, this involves legal or legislative measures to guarantee equal status to a language, thereby securing certain rights for those who speak it. These actions can result from government strategies, but they can also come from associations or organizations like CAIIMM. In recent years, a third component that intertwines with the first two has been added: the spread of a language in the public sphere, which ensures the presence of the minority language in the linguistic landscape, in street names, toponyms, signage and, of course, the media (radio, television and newspapers) (Boudreau and Dubois 2001: 50-56).

In light of this definition, it is interesting to consider Francophone immigration as a language planning project.[11] By instituting French as the working and functioning language, CAIIMM gives French a certain status or visibility, and a space in which to exist. The Centre's language policy undeniably makes the host Francophone community more vibrant, which could have an impact on its ability to attract newcomers by making the community more appealing to future immigrants. Furthermore, linking immigration and language planning would likely enable the development of a collective project between the host society and the immigrant community based on a shared concern – the desire to live fully in French. However, only a long-term study will allow us to measure the impact of CAIIMM on the development and growth of the French language in Moncton's Francophone community.

Towards a new Francophonie in Moncton?

CAIIMM is going back to the strategy used by Acadian activists in the 1980s, one of creating Francophone spaces. Interestingly, cultural diversity and the advancement of French internationally are now integral parts of a Francophone space. In fact, there seems to be an emerging collective movement based on shared interests to build a diverse and heterogeneous Francophonie in Moncton. To illustrate, here are two excerpts from interviews conducted with founding members of CAIIMM. First, when Yousouf talks about the foundation of CAIIMM, he talks about a common project that mobilizes stakeholders from both the host society and the immigrant community:

> [*Translation*]
> Yousouf: But these people, when we're around the same table, we all defend the same cause – the cause of the Acadian Francophonie, the Moncton Francophonie, the international Francophonie, the Canadian Francophonie. We defend the same cause, and that is what people were looking for.

Cultural diversity and the advancement of French internationally are now integral parts of a Francophone space. In fact, there seems to be an emerging collective movement based on shared interests to build a diverse and heterogeneous Francophonie in Moncton.

The following comment shows the spirit of change, emergence and diversity at the core of the CAIIMM project:

[*Translation*]
Mamaye: This new Francophonie that is emerging, we see it everywhere…but let's not forget that the new Francophonie has accents and colours.

Both of these comments converge in the desire to build an open and inclusive Francophonie. In light of these concerns, I believe that a sociolinguistic perspective allows us to see certain phenomenon of interest relative to immigration in minority communities, more particularly, in the Acadian communities of New Brunswick discussed in this paper. Sociolinguistic analysis highlights the asymmetrical nature of bilingualism in Moncton and provides support for innovative immigrant reception and integration strategies. This research, however, is preliminary, and it would be premature to assume that these findings are conclusive. Regardless, a real vibrancy emerged surrounding Francophone immigration in Moncton, which is both promising and inspiring. Based on my observations, I propose two strategies necessary, but in no way exhaustive, to address Francophone immigration:

- Focus on the creation of Francophone spaces;

- Encourage parties in the immigration process to paint a *realistic* rather than an ideological picture of bilingualism, both when "recruiting" and when welcoming newcomers, to better prepare immigrants to handle the complex sociolinguistic situation they will face.

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Notes

[*] Paper prepared following the day of reflection on Francophone immigration held March 1, 2007 in Toronto.

[1] Chiac is a form of French characterized by the abundant and recurrent insertion of English elements in an Acadian French matrix, following specific rules and at various degrees, depending on the speaker (Perrot 1995).

[2] Acadian French has phonetic, lexical and morphosyntactic particularities that distinguish it from other North American French dialects. Acadian French is composed primarily of terms deemed archaic (see Perronet 1989).

[3] Conflicts arise out of contact between language groups in many countries, and the situation of Francophone minorities in Canada is far from exceptional. Think of Belgium, Catalonia and the Basque Country in Spain, and the former Soviet states.

[4] For more details, see Boudreau and Dubois (1993 and 2001).

[5] The city of Moncton, located in the southeast of New Brunswick, has been offering bilingual municipal services since 2002. It is Canada's only officially bilingual city.

[6] 15 interviews were conducted with immigrants from different cultural backgrounds. The idea is not to generalize from such a small sample, but to explore in greater depth the issues and problems observed.

[7] These locations include French educational institutions, Radio-Canada, the Aberdeen Cultural Centre, the Georges L. Dumont Hospital and the provincial and federal public service.

[8] To respect respondents' privacy, all of the names in this article have been changed.

[9] We are not questioning this institution's legitimacy as a multicultural association but simply highlighting issues linked to predominantly Anglophone bilingualism in reception structures.

[10] www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/settlement/framework-minorities.asp

[11] Quebec already demonstrated this with Bill 101, which compels children whose parents speak a language other than English to attend school in French, resulting in the fran

DEVELOPING RECEPTION AND INTEGRATION STRATEGIES IN URBAN FRANCOPHONE MINORITY COMMUNITIES

The Experiences of Several Canadian Settlement Service Providers*

ABSTRACT

This article presents highlights from a comparative study of ten Francophone reception and integration settlement service providers in urban areas. The initial objective of this study was to provide the Centre d'accueil pour les immigrants et immigrantes du Moncton métropolitain (CAIIMM) with accounts from similar organizations serving Francophone clients in urban areas throughout Canada.

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This paper presents highlights from a comparative study of ten Francophone reception and integration settlement service providers in urban areas. The initial objective of this study was to provide the Centre d'accueil pour les immigrants et immigrantes du Moncton métropolitain (CAIIMM) with accounts from similar organizations serving Francophone clients in urban areas throughout Canada.

The Greater Moncton area has only one organization dedicated to the reception and integration of newcomers – the Multicultural Association of Greater Moncton (MAGMA). Established in the early 1980s, MAGMA mainly works with refugees and provides essential services such as settlement and integration services, English classes, and employment assistance. MAGMA is also an umbrella organization of some 30 cultural associations from various sectors of the community.

In recent years, New Brunswick's Francophone community has become more aware of immigration issues. Seeing the Francophone population decline forced political and community stakeholders to take a position on the question. In 2003, the Société des acadiens et des acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick (SAANB) created a forum for discussion, the Table de concertation sur l'immigration francophone au Nouveau-Brunswick, which brought together the main government and community stakeholders. Officially established in May 2006, the CAIIMM is a tangible outcome of the efforts of the issue table. The CAIIMM is the work of young foreign students who met at the Centre culturel et d'échange international de Moncton (CCEIM). Since the summer of 2004, they have organized various activities to raise awareness in Acadian and Francophone communities.

The CAIIMM provides a place to welcome Francophone immigrants and those who have already settled in the region. It is also a meeting place for immigrants and the host society. A Francophone immigrant reception and integration centre in the heart of the city, it provides Francophone newcomers with information and resources to help them integrate into their new community and with a cultural space that promotes interaction between different Francophone communities.

This study took a qualitative approach – a literature review and semi-structured interviews with spokespeople from selected organizations. The literature review consisted mainly in gathering data available on the Internet about the services offered and the mission of the organizations. We then conducted ten semi-structured interviews with spokespersons from these organizations. The ten responding organizations came from five provinces: one from British Columbia, two from Alberta, two from Manitoba, three from Ontario and two from Quebec. No organizations serving specifically Francophone immigrants in urban communities in the three territories or in the Atlantic Provinces were identified (aside from CAIIMM in Moncton, New Brunswick).

Certain characteristics emerged from our sample. First, seven of the organizations are in major urban centres where Francophones are a minority, and three are in more peripheral urban centres, including two in Quebec and one in a Francophone minority community. Second, most of the organizations target Francophone clients: one organization targets women in particular; another is in a community where the immigrant population consists primarily of foreign students. In terms of longevity, the selected organizations had between one and 52 years of experience assisting in the reception and integration of immigrants. Our sample provides the benefit of experience gained throughout different development stages of the organizations. We interviewed the spokespersons designated by the organizations themselves or by the person we were able to speak with over the telephone. Most of them were employees – five were general managers, two were coordinators, one was a representative and one was president. Three of the respondents were founding members of their organization, four were hired to implement services for immigrants, and the last four joined as employees or members of the board of directors. Among the last four, two had been active in their organization for over 15 years, while the other two had started less than five years ago. Finally, the gender and origins of the respondents were not selection criteria, but nine of the 11 respondents (including those from CAIIMM) were immigrants, and the gender ratio was almost even (six of the 11 respondents were women).

Findings from these interviews were divided into four categories: profile of the organizations, lessons learned, service priorities work to be done at the community and municipality level.

Profile of the organizations

Most organizations were founded to address a lack of particular settlement services for immigrants. This need was met both by the immigrant population and by the host community: about half of the organizations we contacted were created by and for immigrants; the others were founded by native Canadians involved in Francophone associations. The fact remains, however, that in half of the cases, it was immigrants themselves who decided to get together to create reception services and improve the life of Francophone immigrants because of the obstacles and difficulties they experienced in Canada themselves.

Among the 11 organizations we contacted, including CAIIMM, five share an office building with other community and/or Francophone organizations. They are, therefore, located in areas where French services and activities are concentrated, so most of them have access to free office space. Others have chosen instead to establish partnerships with key stakeholders like Francophone associations (like CAIIMM, which was located until very recently in the offices of SAANB) or the municipality or a mall; this also provided the organization with access to meeting rooms, photocopy services or even free office space. Most are located in geographic proximity to Francophone or immigrant populations. Finally, some of the organizations have a permanent space where people can get together informally. One organization provided a recreational centre where youth could meet and even do their homework.

Lessons learned

The respondents described lessons learned in terms of best practices and challenges encountered. Obviously, the experience of the longer-standing organizations played a key role in creating a relationship of trust in the host community, which lends a certain degree of legitimacy to the services offered. For younger organizations, experience comes in the form of human resources, because employees often have experience working in immigrant communities. One respondent considered an educated board of directors, especially one of diverse origins, and the presence of international students on the board as important assets. Awareness on the part of partners and the people who work nearby can also strengthen an organization. Having offices near other Francophone associations gives the reception structure one foot in the door of the Canadian Francophone community and facilitates participation in activities in the host community. Finally, whenever possible, reception organizations should promote their services and have visibility in the countries of origin of its immigrant population so immigrants can come into contact with reception and settlement service providers before they even leave for Canada; this would also ensure that the organization is ready to receive the newcomers once they arrive in Canada.

Of course, no development process is without obstacles, and all of the organizations we contacted faced difficulties at some point in their existence. These obstacles can be broadly grouped into two categories: financial difficulties and relations with other community stakeholders.

Of all the difficulties, lack of resources and funding seems to be major obstacles, as they were mentioned by eigth of our 11 respondents. Whether at the municipal, provincial or national level, the number of immigrants coming into Canada is increasing and they have significant needs when they arrive. Organizations can but wish they were able to provide newcomers with more services and better support them during integration.

> In half of the cases, it was immigrants themselves who decided to get together to create reception services and improve the life of Francophone immigrants because of the obstacles and difficulties they experienced in Canada themselves.

Faced with this seemingly permanent problem, despite efforts to alleviate the situation, respondents identified many interesting avenues for solutions, including partnerships with other organizations and joint projects with the private sector (e.g., internships, training) and diversification of funding sources. Financial difficulties often lead to other issues, such as competition and mistrust, which affect relations between organizations. According to seven of our respondents, one of the challenges they faced was mistrust, competition or overlap with other organizations or institutions, both Anglophone and Francophone.

Service priorities

Reception: Information and support

In our interviews, one element that came back in almost all of the respondents' accounts was the importance of a constant flow of information. At various stages of their integration into Canadian society, immigrants have many questions – about their arrival at the airport; accommodations; shopping and food; administrative formalities; banking; the legal, medical and education systems; transportation; individual and family rights; places of worship; language classes; preparing for winter; childcare – in short about *all* aspects of life, including details that Canadians often take for granted. Reception organizations must therefore be able to answer all newcomers' questions, or at least be able to refer them to the appropriate sources where they can get the answers. Some respondents noted the benefit of making contact with newcomers as soon as possible once they have arrived in Canada so that guidance can be provided in the early stages. One respondent added that this first contact between the centre and the immigrant is a significant challenge. There must be a good flow of information and documentation so that newcomers know what services are available, and there must be collaboration and referrals between organizations and some promotion of their services outside Canada.

Integration

Because integration into a new community is virtually impossible without the resources necessary for survival, employment is a crucial component of any integration process. Reception and settlement services must be able to support newcomers in the employment process by providing job search assistance and orientation on Canadian labour market practices, such as social insurance, resume writing and interviewing, or they must at least direct them to the services available for immigrants and Canadians in general. In the same vein, because the object of this study was reception settlement service provision for Francophone immigrants in Anglophone majority communities, the question of learning English was especially significant, as it is often an unavoidable step in integrating into the job market and into Canadian society in general.

Four respondents mentioned peer-matching programs between families or individuals as an effective, even essential, strategy for facilitating integration. One respondent explained that this type of program is important because it enables the immigrant family to form a bond with the host family, which leads to rich cultural exchanges and provides newcomers with important emotional and practical support.

Some respondents mentioned the importance of social and community activities for creating a feeling of belonging to the host community, activities that put immigrants and members of the community in contact with one another and allow newcomers to become more familiar with the city and feel comfortable there.

Relations with other stakeholders

During the interviews, respondents highlighted in many ways the importance of working within the community itself and its organizations. The types of activities most frequently stated were, among others, raising the awareness of Francophone organizations themselves so that they can adapt their services to the new diversity of the Francophone community, becoming involved in schools and school boards and involving the city in Francophone immigration issues.

Conclusion

This study is a good starting point for a more comprehensive profile of the experiences and challenges faced by reception and settlement service provider organizations for Francophone immigrants in Canada. On the one hand, the study showed that reception settlement services are plagued with financial difficulties, as is often the case for associations and community services. They also experience some problems in their relations with other reception organizations, both Anglophone and Francophone. On the other hand, the study revealed several innovative solutions to these problems. The experiences of different reception and settlement service organizations certainly overlap, and it could be beneficial for them to take inspiration from one another. This paper was meant to stimulate dialogue in that regard. We hope that the parties involved in the reception and integration of Francophone immigrants will find the experiences

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gathered here useful in their own development, particularly CAIIMM, which we wanted to support by conducting this study.

To conclude, the reception and integration of Francophone immigrants clearly requires a holistic approach. Both these elements cut across many issues that immigrants face at various stages of their settlement in Francophone communities and in Canadian society as a whole. To support them during this process, a host of complex realities and variables related both to specific individual needs and to the characteristics of each community must be taken into account. Thus, it is clear that the newcomer's needs – and consequently the associated services – that are to be considered a priority can only be identified together with these individual and based on the strengths and weaknesses of the host community. Every reception centre, new and old, must carefully examine its own situation to develop services that bring immigrants and host communities together into a single multicultural Francophone community. In some cases, the focus must go beyond the discourse of Francophone organizations that simply call for immigrants to meet demographic needs.

Note

Religion and Ethnicity in Canada

Canadian Edition • © 2005 • ISBN: 0-321-24841-4

Paul Bramadat, University of Winnipeg
David Seljak, St. Jerome's University at the University of Waterloo

Religion and Ethnicity in Canada explores six major religions in Canada: Judaism, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Islam, and Chinese religions. The book also discusses the place of religion in Canadian society as it pertains to the formation of government policies, the ebb and flow of immigration and the economy, and the laws and standards of education.

PEARSON
Education
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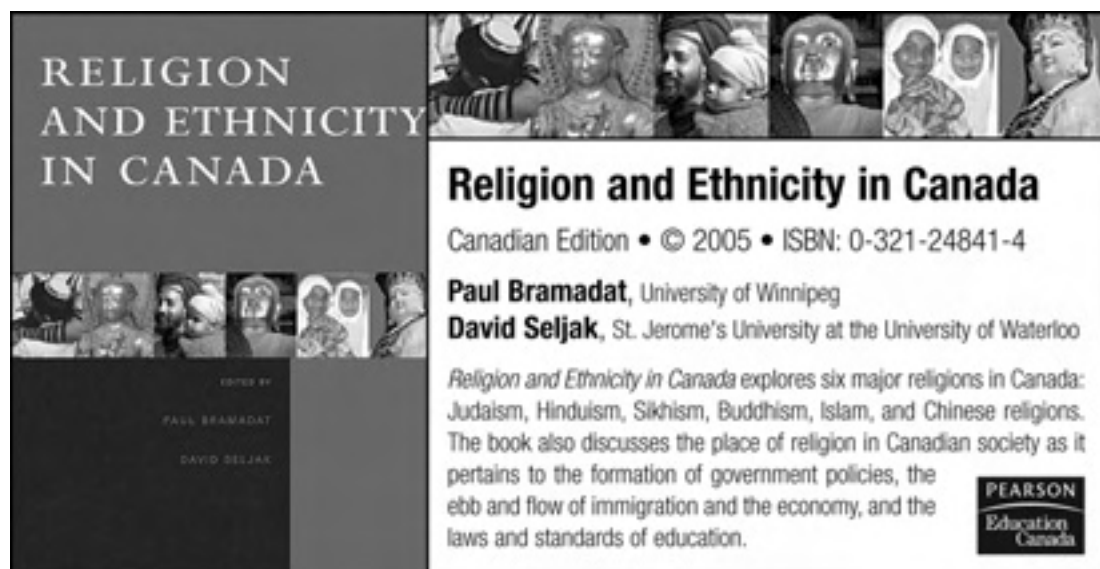
DEVELOPMENTS IN IMMIGRATION TO FRANCOPHONE MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Immigration is key to the development of Francophone minority communities. Although great strides have been made in this regard in recent years, numerous challenges remain. We shall begin by outlining certain aspects of the latest developments, then list some achievements and conclude with a description of the outstanding issues.

In 2000, the FCFA spearheaded a major reflective process with the launch of a project called Dialogue. Its aim was to explore the future of French language communities in the context of their relationships with other parts of Canadian society, particularly, ethnocultural communities. The report from this project pointed to a number of important issues, including:

- The role of immigration in the development of Francophone minority communities;

- The reception needs of Francophone immigrants;

- The issue of linguistic and cultural diversity within Francophone communities.

Among other things, the *Dialogue* report (2001) recommended that a national committee be convened to see to the development of an action plan on Francophone immigration.

In March 2002, Denis Coderre, then Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, announced the creation of the Citizenship and Immigration Canada-Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee. The Committee brought together representatives from Citizenship and Immigration (CIC); various other federal, provincial and territorial departments; as well as representatives of Francophone communities from virtually every province and territory. The Steering Committee members were given the mandate of developing strategies to increase the number of French-speaking immigrants and to facilitate their reception and integration in Francophone and Acadian communities. The partnership entered into by the communities and government partners was predicated on shared priorities, namely, identifying and implementing strategies for the recruitment, settlement, integration and retention of immigrants who meet the specificities of French-speaking communities.

Since its inception, the Steering Committee has published three documents: the *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Communities in Canada* (2003), the *Summary of Initiatives 2002-2006 to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* (2005), and the *Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* (2006). The *Strategic Framework* identifies five objectives:

- Increase the number of French-speaking immigrants[i] to give more demographic weight to Francophone minority communities;

- Improve the capacity of Francophone minority communities to receive Francophone newcomers and to strengthen their reception and settlement infrastructures;

- Ensure the economic integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into Francophone minority communities in particular;

- Ensure the social and cultural integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into Francophone minority communities;

- Foster regionalization of Francophone immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver.

The Strategic Plan reiterates these objectives and gives priority to three major directions, namely: 1) improving the integration of immigrants who have already settled in the communities, 2) recruiting new immigrants, and 3) integrating new immigrants into the communities, helping

them become established, and retaining them. While recognizing the need for national coordination to foster collaboration and coherence, the Plan recommends an approach that focuses more on local networks to ensure consistency of action and involvement of all key stakeholders. This approach allows for the fact that Francophone immigration requires participation by a variety of players at the federal, provincial, municipal and community levels.

The Strategic Plan also encourages development of an approach that supports consultation and mobilization of French-speaking communities to provide co-ordination of Francophone immigration to their respective regions. This approach is intended to engage communities toward developing Francophone communities that are open, inclusive, and responsive to the needs of French-speaking immigrants, and that have the capacity to receive these immigrants and facilitate their integration. It is also intended to connect communities and immigrants as soon as they arrive and to ensure that the host community retains them.

Local networks

The FCFA has played and continues to play a leadership role in Francophone immigration. It fosters consultation of Francophone spokesgroups[2] where immigration is concerned, supports development of local networks and encourages consultation and information sharing, as well as best practices at the community level. In June and July 2007, the FCFA visited several regions to get a clear picture of existing local networks. The report indicates that there are now provincial committees on Francophone immigration in seven provinces: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Colombia, and Manitoba, where the committee is in the process of being restructured. Although these provincial committees (or provincial consultation tables) have their specificities, as a rule, there is representation from Francophone spokesgroups, community organizations representing various sectors, such as women and youth, ethnocultural organizations, settlement agencies institutions focused on education and employability, and federal and provincial government representatives. Some of the associations have provincial coordinators for Francophone immigration, who play an influential role in consulting various stakeholders in the field.

The achievements of these various networks include several initiatives in the field, specifically, raising awareness in Francophone and Acadian communities and preparing them to receive and host immigrants. A number of community activities have been undertaken to raise awareness around the contribution of immigration and cultural diversity, as well as cultural rapprochement

> While recognizing the need for national coordination to foster collaboration and coherence, the [Strategic] Plan recommends an approach that focuses more on local networks to ensure consistency of action and involvement of all key stakeholders.

activities. In 2007, for instance, the Alliance Jeunesse famille de l'Alberta Society organized a "tolerance caravan" – called the Caravane contre le racisme et la discrimination – that visited every Francophone school in Alberta to raise awareness among youth about the values of acceptance and non-discrimination. In Ontario, La Passerelle launched a "cultural skills" project to foster intercultural dialogue among stakeholders through cross-cultural training for immigrants and native Francophones. In Saskatchewan, round tables on immigration and integration were held during Rendez-vous fransaskois to bring together representatives from the French-speaking community (native Saskatchewanians, migrants from elsewhere in Canada, longstanding immigrants and newcomers). A number of communities have also developed vehicles for promotion and recruitment, as well as tools aimed at Francophone newcomers (directories of French-language services and guides for newcomers). In some cases, employers have been approached in different regions – business lunches have been held in Nova Scotia, for example – with a view to raising awareness and promoting the hiring of immigrants. All of this activity tells us that a number of communities are going to great lengths to attract, integrate and retain French-speaking immigrants. Fear and resistance linger on, however, so the need for public awareness efforts remains.

Since 2003, a number of Francophone reception and settlement assistance structures have been set up. In fact, in Edmonton and Manitoba, respectively, the Centre d'accueil et d'établissement d'Edmonton and Accueil francophone du Manitoba processed more than 350 clients each in 2007. Various community-run settlement services have also been created, directly targeting Francophone newcomers whose needs were not being met by the existing settlement agencies. There are also various services in Ontario and a few in British Columbia and Saskatchewan. Some are still struggling. In several communities, the number of Francophone newcomers is increasing thanks to promotional efforts and secondary migration (particularly in Alberta). In some cases, however, there is still a gap between emerging needs and existing services.

Immigration to Francophone minority communities has definitely gained significant ground. In fact, immigration was a major topic at the Francophone and Acadian Community Summit, an event organized by the FCFA from June 1 to 3, 2007, where 750 participants from every region of Canada came together to define a common vision for their future. The Summit resulted in an undertaking by 33 national, provincial and territorial Francophone organizations to work together on a development plan and to create a roadmap for the next ten years. The guiding

principles in the Summit vision statement include the principle of inclusiveness:

> [*Translation*]
> The diverse culture, origins, history and geography of Francophone and Acadian communities mean that any initiative within the framework of the Strategic Plan must be undertaken with a concern for inclusiveness. It must be characterized by respect for gender equality, cultural and generational differences, and for the environments in which Francophone and Acadian community members live and work (Proceedings of the Francophone and Acadian Community Summit, June 1-3, 2007).
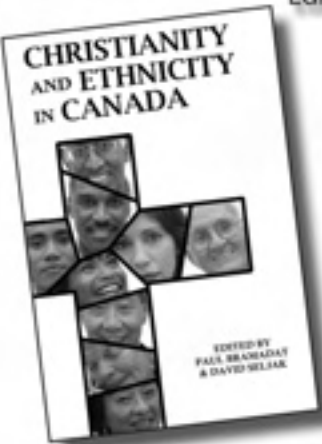
Discussions at the Summit focused on five priority areas (our people, our space, our governance, our influence, our development). The "our people" priority was closely tied to the issue of Francophone immigration. In terms of strategic results, the discussions and the consensus underscored the importance of increasing the number of Francophone immigrants in communities and ensuring that they stay in those communities. The strategic results from this priority area focus on receiving but also on integrating newcomers through reception and coaching infrastructures, and in the sharing of a Francophone identity that values diversity of origins and cultures. The themes of immigration, diversity and inclusion are actually interconnected and cut across all five priority areas identified at the Summit.

Francophone immigration is a complex issue that requires commitment from a number of different government (federal, provincial, municipal) and community partners. Major progress has been made since 2003. Several challenges still remain, however, in terms of the economic, social and cultural integration of Francophone immigrants. Accordingly, Francophone and Acadian communities and the provincial, territorial and regional networks and committees that are orchestrating efforts by different partners in the field have a key role to play in this process: they must reinforce this shared plan for a diverse, welcoming and inclusive Francophonie and really bring it to fruition, with all the subtleties and challenges that this might entail.

Notes

[1] The Strategic Plan defines "French-speaking immigrant" as 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.

[2] Organizations representing French-speaking communities at the provincial/territorial level.

NEWCOMERS AND SOCIAL AND HEALTH PRESSURES IN FRANCO-MANITOBAN COMMUNITIES

Overview of Avenues of Research and Preliminary Considerations

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ABSTRACT

The arrival of Francophone newcomers is placing additional health, social and cultural demands on the Franco-Manitoban community. The pressure newcomers exert on local reception services compels, and warrants, the development of new protective strategies for improved community health and social and cultural well-being.

Thoughts expressed by Gbeudi, a newcomer: "I'm African. I spent six months in London before coming here, but it's good here, really well organized. *Accueil francophone* has been very helpful: they placed me with a Canadian family where I rent a room. People are very nice....I was at an African evening, with people from my country, but you see local white girls at the door selling tickets to get in. It's surprising, but it's good. I came here to see what it's like, to get things ready, and later I will go back and bring my family here to settle."

This article outlines theoretical considerations and preliminary data for a research project undertaken at the request of the research office at the Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface in Winnipeg, with the support of the Corporation Catholique de la Santé du Manitoba. The Corporation's "Étude d'évaluation stratégique sur l'intégration des médecines alternatives à la médecine officielle (2006-2009)" seeks to build the capacities of public medical institutions in view of, among other things, socio-demographic changes caused by the arrival of newcomers. The study, now in progress, is already concerned with the potential clientele for the alternative health services that would be integrated into what is regarded as official medicine. Our research project, entitled "Nouveaux arrivants et pathologies émergentes en milieu franco-manitobain: Quelles exigences?" seeks to identify newcomers' implicit (unexpressed) and explicit (known) demands regarding socio-cultural and health services available in the Franco-Manitoban host community. The first step involves collecting basic data on migration trends and their multidimensional implications at the community level. This article will, therefore, focus on contrasting local social and health services with the direct and indirect demands of newcomers. It will attempt to identify requirements for community, social and institutional development. The abovementioned theoretical considerations relate to the issues, objectives and approach of our research project. The preliminary data consist of information obtained from Accueil francophone and from several immigrants, such as the excerpt at the beginning of this paper.

Overview of the Winnipeg Franco-Manitoban community

According to historians, the beginnings of the Franco-Manitoban community date back to the 18th century. The community's principal area of urban settlement remains Saint-Boniface, where, naturally, its main provincial organizations are located (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages – OCOL 2007). The community also extends into the Saint Vital and Saint Norbert neighbourhoods. According to OCOL, it was in 1970 that Saint Boniface lost its independence and was administratively absorbed into the City of Winnipeg. Of Winnipeg's 648,600 inhabitants, 4.1% report French as their first official language spoken (Statistics Canada 2007). With its distant origins, the community is clearly an important part of Manitoba's history. The French language is

the main marker of community identity. Other features include the fact that only 10.4% of the population are 14 years old or younger. The Francophone population has varied origins: 18.2% were born outside Manitoba and 5.5% in other countries (Statistics Canada 2007). Mutual support networks are organized primarily around the family and language, although core elements also extend to the neighbourhood, the workplace and, more broadly, to interest groups (Bahi 2007). The daily life of the community may be analyzed according to two fundamental dimensions, which we will call the "political state" and the "social state." Political state refers to official, administrative and governmental institutions and the underlying structures of governance; social state refers to community governance, interpersonal behaviour, day-to-day of individuals and groups, the development of initiatives and the delivery of community services. These attempts to reclaim ownership of responses to community needs are used as "vitality indicators in the Winnipeg Francophone community" (OCOL 2007). The indicators are community governance, health care, immigration and access to government services. The issues addressed in our study are clearly bound with these core indicators insofar as the indicators combine and interact to promote community development, the end result of efforts to adapt to the needs of newcomers with respect to health, social and cultural issues.

Research avenues

The following points relate to the issues, purpose and underlying methodology of the research project.

In the context of a culturally pluralistic minority Francophone community, there are two vehicles for the delivery of health and social services: on the one hand, government institutions and, on the other hand, community-based organizations, such as the Société Santé en Français (SSF) and the Corporation Catholique de la santé du Manitoba. How can the needs of newcomers be matched with these two categories of service delivery to ensure a healthy community and the inclusion of all its members?

Our investigation of different aspects of the circumstances of newcomers requires and warrants attention to a related main objective: to strengthen and safeguard the health and vitality of the community by controlling emergent or spreading diseases, without neglecting related needs such as housing, employment and children's education.

This central objective gives us the opportunity to examine the institutional development of one of Canada's minority Francophone communities (Savas 1990). The inquiry can be broken down into several steps:

The Franco-Manitoban economic situation seems to offer women more opportunities for work, but in areas that do not require a particular specialization. Male immigrants often appear to cling to their specialization or area of expertise when looking for work.

- Mapping anticipated local therapeutic facility needs;

- Thoroughly assessing new pressures (caused by the needs of newcomers) on reception resources by identifying new or emergent diseases;

- Identifying and understanding newcomers' help-seeking behaviours, in terms of their language, their culture and their lack of knowledge about current local health entitlements;

- Outlining a new approach both for human resources and facilities in the health and social services system.

Clearly, the need to give substance to these specific objectives will help define future research approaches. This study aims to determine the relationship between conditions of daily life in a large urban centre such as Winnipeg and the principal needs or daily experiences of newcomers. Consequently, the process involves three complementary levels:

- Descriptive studies of changes in the social organization of the community and in health and social facilities as they affect various categories of citizens (Bibeau and Corin 1994);

- Surveys of the viewpoints and practices of particularly vulnerable newcomers in order to understand the nature and scale of their vulnerability and the protective strategies and actions they take to deal with the situation;

- Reconstruction of personal trajectories based on the life histories of individuals belonging to these groups.

Although this study is in its initial stages, we nonetheless have access to preliminary information, which should be mentioned here.

Preliminary information

Our initial results show a strong preference among newcomers for alternative sources of assistance and protection. These choices seem motivated, in part, by a preference for communication on an ethnic and linguistic basis (Statistics Canada 2001).

Diseases and types of treatment provided are related to illnesses and distressing experiences that are more or less common. These include tuberculosis, AIDS, diabetes, cases of rape, war trauma and unwanted pregnancy due to rape in refugee and transit camps before immigration (source: Accueil francophone). Social and health consultation services for newcomers listed by Accueil francophone are: Centre de santé de Saint-Boniface, Clinique Fléchette, Clinique sur Portage, Ahmen, Sexual

Resource Center, Need Center, Mount Carmel Clinic, Plurielles, Justine Lafournaise (family services).

Adapting local services to the needs of newcomers involves identifying the pressures on health and social services. The two principal types of pressure on the abilities and anticipated community services relate to social and cultural life and health services. The first demands a new understanding of the relationship between domestic and family space, and public space and the schools, for example.[1] The second requires adjustments of local human resources and material health care resources to the potential health care demands and needs of newcomers in relation to specific emergent diseases. While newcomers have passed CIC's medical examination for the purpose of settlement in Canada, problematic or "exotic" health situations often arise (Statistics Canada 2001). Sometimes, medical expertise for dealing with these situations is lacking. When the expertise is available, it is not always accompanied by effective intercultural communication, according to staff at community reception services for immigrant.

In addition, Gbeudi's account at the beginning of this text reflects the opening up of the domestic, family space to the "stranger." Gbeudi reports that he found accommodation with a Canadian Franco-Manitoban family as soon as he arrived. He seems satisfied with the mediating and sponsoring role played by Accueil francophone,[2] which he said found him the lodgings. While Gbeudi pays to rent his room, it remains that this "intrusion" into the domestic – hence private – space requires an extra measure of what might be called openness and tolerance on the part of his hosts. The continuation of this research should shed light on the true motivation behind this opening up of the family space and support for the integration of the newcomer, Gbeudi. At the family level, some changes tend to occur in male-female relations among newcomers, a situation not free of problems, according to some reports.

Increasingly, we are seeing a reversal of spousal roles and mediation of family disputes. According to *Accueil francophone*, the Franco-Manitoban economic situation seems to offer women more opportunities for work, but in areas that do not require a particular specialization. Male immigrants often appear to cling to their specialization or area of expertise when looking for work. Consequently, problems arise in households where the women work while the men remain at home unemployed, which is contrary to the traditional male-female division of labour between these spouses. Such culturally rooted tension sometimes requires and justifies mediation by the director of Accueil francophone. She reports, "Couples of my parents' age ask me to intervene in their disputes, but I don't feel at all comfortable. I don't feel I'm in a position to do that." This account is indicative of the pressures faced by the personnel of some community reception and newcomer support services. We see here a type of intercultural meeting place or dialogue, which requires some intercultural training for staff.

Conclusion

The new social and cultural makeup of the Franco-Manitoban community lends a certain vitality to the daily life of the community. Adjustments are required not only in reception services for newcomers, but also, and more importantly, on the part of health care providers and facilities. Attention must be paid to the demands of the new health care situation created by newcomers. One of the solutions involves intercultural training in international health for the health care providers who must deal with the social and health needs of newcomers. Community health and well-being relies on the health and well-being of the individual members who make up the community. In an evolving Franco-Manitoban society, understanding is a prerequisite for finding other ways to provide care (Corin et al. 1990).

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Notes

[1] Televised debate (SRC–Manitoba) on January 21, 2007, on the continuum of Catholicism religious practices between the family and the school; newcomers prefer their own religion in school for their children or secular schools. As a sociologist I was invited to participate in this debate.

[2] Community organization established to facilitate the reception and integration of Francophone newcomers in Manitoba.

FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRATION IN NOVA SCOTIA

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ABSTRACT

In spring 2006, the Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FANE) organized a tour of the province's Acadian and Francophone regions to raise awareness of the immigration issues in their communities. Two years later, with data from the last Census showing a 4.4% decline in Nova Scotia's Francophone population, the time is ripe to provide an update on FANE's Francophone immigration project and the role immigration can play within a broader strategy for repopulating the province's Acadian communities.

In July 2007, Nova Scotia had 934,147 residents, representing 2.8% of Canada's population. For some years, the province's population has been declining by approximately 1,000 persons per year, a trend that should continue over the next two decades given the Government's forecast 4% population decrease by 2026. This situation is partly due to the fact that Nova Scotia has one of the highest median ages of all provinces (41.5 years) and its population is one of the fastest ageing[1].

Economically, Nova Scotia has different realities: in rural areas the population is declining, plants are closing and the unemployment rate hovers steadily in the double digits; however, in the capital, Halifax, the population is growing and the unemployment rate is below the national average. Halifax, with a population of 350,000, a total of five universities with enrolments of about 30,000 and an economy that is 85% service-based, has what it needs to maintain its status as Atlantic Canada's economic and political capital. The capital can be likened somewhat to a locomotive going full steam ahead into the 21st century while its cars (the regions), whose economies are based on the primary and secondary industries, remain in the 20th century. This is only an image, of course: some rural communities are thriving, but they are the exception.

Nova Scotia's Acadian communities

Nova Scotia has about ten Acadian and Francophone communities, almost all of them rural. The highest concentration of Acadians, over 10,000 people whose first language is French, is in southwest Nova Scotia. Their number is almost evenly split between the communities of Clare and Argyle. However, there are more Francophones in Halifax – approximately 12,000 – a diverse population comprising Acadians, Quebeckers and Francophones from around the world, from places like Europe, Lebanon and Africa. According to the last Census, Nova Scotia's Francophone population fell 4.4% to 32,540 people from 2001 to 2006.

Nova Scotia's immigration strategy

In January 2005, the Nova Scotia government developed an immigration strategy aimed at doubling the number of newcomers each year to 3,600 (in 2010), with a retention rate of 70%. Historically, Nova Scotia's retention rate has struggled at barely 40%.

The province's goal is modest compared with those of other provinces. New Brunswick, with a smaller population than Nova Scotia (New Brunswick's population is 750,000), is aiming to attract 5,000 new immigrants each year.[2] Quebec, with a population of 7.6 million, welcomes 45,000 immigrants annually and wants to increase that number to 55,000. In other words, for every 1 million inhabitants, New Brunswick and Quebec hope to attract more than 7,000 immigrants each year, compared with Nova Scotia's target of 3,600.

To reach its goal, Nova Scotia's provincial government has created the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration, which developed the Nova Scotia Nominee Program (NSNP). The Program has five streams that lead to permanent resident status. Acceptance within each stream, with the exception of the Community Identified Stream, is dependent on an offer of employment. To qualify, nominees simply need "long established" connections to Nova Scotia acquired during one or more stays as a tourist, student, worker, and so on. In fall 2007, the province signed a new agreement with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) renewing the NSNP and eliminating the cap on the number of nominees.[3]

Table 1
French-speaking newcomers to Nova Scotia

Year	Number of newcomers	French-speaking	French mother tongue	French second language
2005	1,929	204 (10.6%)	13	191
2006	2,585	183 (7.1%)	22	161

Positive results…
except for the number of Francophones

The news is good: the province's efforts are paying off. The number of new arrivals increased from about 1,500 in 2003 to reach almost 2,600 in 2006. Although these figures are encouraging, Nova Scotia, like other Maritime Provinces, is still not attracting a number of immigrants that is proportional to its population. Although it has 934,147 residents, Nova Scotia is home to only 2.8% of the Canadian population. In addition, the 2,600 new arrivals in 2006 accounted for only 1% of all immigrants and refugees admitted to Canada that year.

Moreover, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, both with similar population figures, welcomed 8,090 and 31,190 immigrants, respectively, during the last Census period, compared with only 6,900 for Nova Scotia.

There is another reason for concern: the number of new Francophone arrivals is not going up, and while the number of immigrants is increasing, the percentage of Francophone immigrants is falling. However, these numbers should be interpreted with caution given that our Francophone immigration project was not implemented until 2006-2007. Also, few new Francophone immigrants report French as their first language; in most cases, their mother tongue is Arabic or an African language such as Swahili.

The three areas of concentration for the Francophone immigration project

The Francophone immigration project led by FANE is focused on three key areas: recruitment, community awareness and reception of newcomers.

Recruitment

One only has to attend an immigration fair in Europe to see that the vast majority of our Francophone cousins overseas are completely unaware of Nova Scotia's Acadian community. This is not very surprising for the same could be said of Quebeckers. Nova Scotia's Acadians live in the shadow of New Brunswick Acadians and lack visibility. In response to this, we created a website, called L'Acadie de la Nouvelle-Écosse,[4] to show Francophones around the world interested in immigrating to Canada that Nova Scotia is welcoming them with open arms and that French is spoken here. We also participated in Destination Canada missions in 2006 and 2007, which gave us an opportunity to present the province to thousands of potential immigrants.

Finally, we conducted an awareness campaign targeting Acadian employers in three regions. The campaign gave employers information on immigration programs they can use to recruit foreign workers without lengthy delays. As a result of this pilot project, which was conducted in fall 2007, we identified 25 positions that Acadian entrepreneurs were having trouble filling and advertised them in Francophone Europe and in Tunisia during the November 2007 Destination Canada mission. We hope to expand this project across Nova Scotia in 2008.

Community awareness and preparation

To kindle an interest in immigration in Nova Scotia's Acadian and Francophone communities, we implemented a wide range of initiatives. We published portraits of immigrants in community media, had immigrants speak to community groups, held multicultural awareness workshops in schools, created regional Francophone immigration committees, held public meetings to discuss depopulation, organized international dinners to give native Acadians a chance to meet new arrivals, held theme days on immigration for community leaders, and so on.

FANES's pilot project is driven by the philosophy that it is impossible to attract more French-speaking immigrants and better integrate them into our communities without the support of the communities themselves, and that it is up to each community to determine the degree of emphasis they place on immigration in their respective repopulation strategies. Some communities prefer focusing on the youth exodus, and we respect this decision. Others show a polite interest but point out that the socio-economic climate is not conducive to immigration (for example, a plant closure putting dozens of people out of work). We respect the realities of each community while regularly suggesting that they join the Francophone immigration project.

To assist communities in becoming welcoming places for new arrivals, we help them prepare welcome kits. These kits cover a range of subjects (education, health, transportation, public services, etc.) and identify French services that are available in our communities as well as all other services considered essential for newcomers, regardless of the language in which they are delivered.

Reception of Francophone newcomers

Most of the some 200 French-speaking newcomers who move to Nova Scotia each year settle in Halifax. We hired a person in the fall of 2007 to welcome them and help them get settled. We should point out that our project does not deliver frontline services; this function is still handled by English-language service providers because the Citizenship and Immigration Canada office for Nova Scotia does not yet recognize us as a settlement agency.

We work downstream of the English-language agencies. Our officer organizes tours of the main institutions of the Francophone community and assists newcomers with some of the steps necessary for them to integrate into their new country (for example, registering children for daycare and in French schools). Our officer also organizes a variety of activities so newcomers can meet members of the Acadian and Francophone communities. This helps ease newcomers into Francophone groups in the region and, as a result, assists them in getting settled and increases their chances of finding employment.

Halifax is 96% Anglophone, and English-language settlement agencies are very limited in their ability to offer services in French. We believe it is essential for newcomers to quickly develop strong ties with Francophones in the area; otherwise, the risk of assimilation into the Anglophone majority is high, particularly since French is not the first language of most French-speaking newcomers.

Project team

The Francophone immigration project team is made up of a full-time provincial coordinator (since September 2006) and three part-time regional coordinators (since September 2007). Each regional coordinator covers one of the regions of Cape Breton, Southwest Nova Scotia and Halifax.

Our project is two-tiered: regionally, our coordinators implement awareness activities and develop tools (welcome kits); in Halifax, our coordinator spends all her time on welcoming newcomers and organizing activities to help them get settled.

All of these coordinators are FANE employees; however, the Francophone immigration project is headed by a steering committee made up of representatives of half a dozen Acadian organizations and institutions. These include FANE, the Association des juristes d'expression française, the Association des femmes acadiennes, the Association des ainé(e)s, the Conseil de développement économique, Université Sainte-Anne and representatives of our core funding agencies (CIC Atlantic Region via the official languages programs and the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration).

A final word on funding: all of these positions are contract positions under annual or semi-annual projects. The contracts for our three coordinators, which are for seven months, expire in the spring of 2008. At the time this article was written, it is not known whether we will be able to renew the contracts.

> In January 2005, the Nova Scotia government developed an immigration strategy aimed at doubling the number of newcomers each year to 3,600 (in 2010), with a retention rate of 70%. Historically, Nova Scotia's retention rate has struggled at barely 40%.

Achievements

It has been just over three years since FANE became interested in the immigration issue and approximately 18 months since the project hired a full-time provincial coordinator. During this time, there have been several interesting developments:

• Immigration and the welcoming of newcomers are now on the radar of most Acadian and Francophone institutions and associations in Nova Scotia. This is thanks to a number of factors: the presence of representatives from the above organizations on the steering committee and on regional Francophone immigration committees, the activities we organize in Halifax and in the regions that give these representatives an opportunity to meet newcomers and to become aware of the challenges of integration, daily media coverage of immigration-related issues and, of course, the growing number of immigrants who choose Nova Scotia as home.

• There is greater collaboration with English-language service providers has improved. For example, the Halifax YMCA immigrant service, which has had settlement officers in about 15 English schools in Halifax for about ten years, has just created its first position in Halifax's French-language schools.

• We have created a partnership with government agencies. For example, FANE is an organization mandated by the Nova Scotia government to support Francophone nominee applicants under the Community Identified Stream of NSNP.

• Nova Scotia's Acadian community has visibility via a website, and our participation in Destination Canada missions has given us the opportunity to meet thousands of potential immigrants.

• We are beginning to see a program for welcoming newcomers developed in Halifax.

• Welcome kits are ready or very close to being ready in most Acadian communities.

Challenges

The project's foundations have been laid. All that is left to do is build the walls and put on the roof to make Nova Scotia an attractive and welcoming place for Francophone immigrants. However, there are still some significant challenges ahead in achieving that goal, including:

Making regional progress

Given that nine of FANE's ten Acadian member communities are in rural areas, making progress on the Francophone immigration issue in these communities is a cornerstone of the project. However, things are moving slowly in the regions, for a number of reasons:

- Immigration implies a medium- and long-term return, while a number of other areas addressed by our community organizations promise short-term benefits. As a result, it is difficult to bring immigration to the top of the list of important issues for our community leaders.

- Very few immigrants settle in Acadian and Francophone communities. It is more difficult to rally a community around an idea (welcoming immigrants in the future) than it is to get them involved in a concrete situation (an immigrant family is arriving tomorrow!).

- In the past, communities welcomed some immigrants who eventually ended up leaving. The communities had made an investment in welcoming these newcomers and were left with a bitter taste and the feeling that their regions do not have what it takes to keep newcomers.

- Business people have the impression that the immigration programs available to them for recruiting abroad are too complicated (and who could disagree?).

- Immigrants go where they can find work and where there are members of their ethno-cultural community to help them through the difficulties in adapting to a new country. Our Acadian communities are in rural areas where few new jobs are created and ethno-cultural groups are almost non-existent.

Consolidating welcoming programs for newcomers in Halifax

Although it has been 18 months since the Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities was adopted, the philosophy and goals of this strategy are slow to trickle down to CIC provincial offices. Concerned about duplicating services offered by English-language service providers, CIC/Halifax has so far refused to fund Francophone program, even in the development stages, in the capital city.[5] However, it is hard to imagine French-speaking newcomers considering settling in a Francophone community if services are offered by English-language settlement agencies with limited ability to offer services in French and that have only a few links with the Acadian community. We hope that the arrival of a high number of Francophone refugees in late 2007 will encourage our regional CIC office to reconsider its position.

Reviewing our strategy

In 2006, FANE invited each Acadian community to create an immigration committee to prepare for welcoming new immigrants. Two years later, we must recognize that it is difficult to rally our rural communities around the immigration issue. In fact, there are committees in only three regions. Perhaps we should have proposed repopulation committees instead: people in the regions are prepared to address immigration if we also address youth migration, the loss of entire families to the west and the return of Acadians who left the area a long time ago. Of course, immigration is not a miracle solution to regional depopulation, and an immigration project should be part of a broader repopulation strategy.

Conclusion

Welcoming and integrating newcomers involves every facet of life: employment, education, recreation, access to health care and social services, spirituality and more. As a result, immigration cannot be addressed by only one organization. Immigration must be part of a collective effort that brings together all of the organizations and associations in a community.

Traditionally, Acadian associations have developed services in response to the needs of Acadians and Francophones arriving from other provinces. Now, an increasing number of organizations are learning about the needs of newcomers from other countries and are starting to try to meet those needs when they create programs and develop activities.

Numbers and programs aside, perhaps this new interest in the needs of newcomers is our greatest success. As the latest Census data show, the future of Francophone minority communities is closely tied to their ability to attract and keep French-speaking newcomers.

Notes

1 The median age has increased by 2.5 years in five years (almost twice the increase observed for the Canadian population as a whole). Source: Statistics Canada.

2 This was the goal set in late December 2007 (when this article was written) for the N.B. provincial strategy, which should be made public in early 2008.

3 Previously, 400 per year.

4 www.vienouvelle-ecosse.ca

5 Our funding for the 2007-2008 fiscal year comes from CIC Atlantic Region official languages programs, not from the Halifax office's settlement budgets.

A NEW MODEL FOR RECEIVING AND INTEGRATING FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRANTS INTO MINORITY COMMUNITIES

The Centre d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants du Moncton métropolitain

SYLVIA KASPARIAN

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ABSTRACT

In this article, we present the experiences of the Centre d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants du Moncton métropolitain (CAIIMM), an initiative launched by immigrants and members of the Francophone community of the Greater Moncton area to set up a reception and integration structure *specifically* to serve Francophone immigrants in the Greater Moncton area.

Immigration is a global everyday phenomenon. Driven by political and economic insecurity, it is almost becoming a modern way of life. Canada's three major urban centres, Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver, are the most common destinations, since they are the most multicultural and dynamic cities in the country. For most immigrants, New Brunswick and Moncton are not even on the map. Not even 15 years ago, if someone said they were going to live in Moncton, the common refrain was, "What are you going to do in that hole?"

Indeed, Moncton was a tiny backwater with very little colour to offer. The two main communities, English and Acadian, were not very receptive and were primarily concerned with internal issues. The Aboriginal community was too small to carry much cultural weight in this landscape and the few representatives of diverse ethnic groups were not visible on the social scene.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Moncton was just a stepping stone for the refugees and immigrants who, after a year or so, would come to the realization that Moncton was not the place where the Canadian dream was going to be fulfilled. Also of note is the fact that Francophone immigration was almost non-existent at that time.

But since then, how the ethnic landscape and ethnocultural reality have changed!

Immigration in general and Francophone immigration in particular are major areas of concern for the economic, political and sociocultural fabric of New Brunswick. Francophone immigration has also been on the increase in recent years. So what has been going on?

Social and Historical Context

The Francophone communities of New Brunswick

Francophones have been settled in the Maritime provinces for over 400 years. Primarily from the Poitou region of France, they form the matrix of the Francophone communities of Atlantic Canada. On the periphery of this regional Francophone matrix are other immigrant communities, including Irish, Dutch, French, Belgian, Lebanese, Syrian, Italian, Greek, Armenian, Romanian, African and Asian communities. There are thus numerous faces to the Francophone communities, but the majority have blended into the Acadian community, either through mixed marriages or because of lack of support for their culture. This is particularly true in the case of communities that settled here over two generations ago. They have become full-fledged Francophones who have integrated into the Acadian community and who no longer identify with their original culture.

However, those who did maintain their cultural heritage often remained outside the Acadian family. It was only recently, for instance, that the Société des artistes acadiens et acadiennes accepted

its first Francophone artists representative from outside the Acadian community.

The Société des Acadiens et Acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick (SAANB) also relaxed its rules for immigrants very recently. In 2005, Monica Moldovan, representing the Table de concertation provinciale sur l'immigration francophone au Nouveau-Brunswick,[1] issued a press release for a document on immigration, stating [*Translation*] "The Acadia of New Brunswick is a Francophone society that is making constant progress and undergoing profound change. As a result, immigration is a real opportunity for our community, which simply wants to become aware of other cultures, to rise to the numerous challenges facing it….The Acadia of New Brunswick is a community that is open to immigrants."

Benchmarks: Immigration to New Brunswick

Let's take a quick look at the figures. In a forthcoming article, Chedly Belkhodja states, [*Translation*] "Immigration in Greater Moncton remains a matter of small numbers. The city has welcomed 3,360 immigrants since 1970….However, we must acknowledge an evolution, because the annual number of immigrants to Moncton increased from 84 in 1997 to 262 in 2006." Philippe Ricard (2008) has also pointed out that [*Translation*] "[O]ver the last two or three years, New Brunswick has made considerable progress on the immigration front. A province that received an average of 700 immigrants a year between 1997 and 2004 attracted just over 1,600 in 2006."

For its part, School District 1 observed a gradual increase in Francophone immigration beginning in 2004, with a 100% increase between 2006 and 2007. According to an article by Claudette Lavigne (2007), an educational officer with District 1, the number of newly arrived immigrant pupils increased from 15 in 2005, to 77 in 2006 and 153 in 2007.

The following are a few benchmarks that partially explain this shift.

Beginning in 2001, there was a realization at the provincial and federal level and in economic and sociocultural circles that immigration would be crucial for the economic and cultural growth of Greater Moncton (Moncton, Dieppe and Riverview). As Belkhodja (Forthcoming) states, [*Translation*] "An ageing population, combined with a lower birth rate, has made the region increasingly vulnerable to and dependent on foreign workers and foreign capital. According to local economic stakeholders, the growth of Greater Moncton will be driven by its competitiveness in the "immigration market." Then, in December 2003, the Atlantic Metropolis Centre[2] was established, with a wing at the Université de Moncton.

At the same time, Francophone immigration was becoming an issue. Following a consultation process and given the context of the economic development and changing demographics of the Francophone and Acadian community of New Brunswick, the SAANB set up the Table de concertation provinciale sur l'immigration francophone au Nouveau-Brunswick in the fall of 2003. To better understand the reality of the Francophone and Acadian community and identify possible means of supporting the immigration, reception and integration of

potential newcomers, meetings have been held on a regular basis since February 2004 with representatives of the Francophone and Acadian community, other ethnic communities, associations, universities and the provincial and federal governments.

As a backdrop to these initiatives, we must remember that the New Brunswick provincial government was developing recruitment policies through its Provincial Nominee Program,[3] strategies were being put forward by the New Brunswick business community, and the federal strategic immigration framework and in particular the Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities (CIC 2003 and 2006) were being released. National and international meetings such as Rendez-vous Immigration in Saint Andrews or the Halifax immigration conference in 2004 provided a forum for exchange and for refining all of these new policies.

At this time, the Multicultural Association of the Greater Moncton Area (MAGMA) was the main organization responsible for delivering reception and integration services to newcomers, particularly refugees, but it was unable to adequately serve the Francophone public, given the new federal and provincial policies. The Francophone community had to take charge of its own immigration. That is where CAIIMM came in.

A new model for reception and integration: CAIIMM's new settings and networks

A brief history of CAIIMM

While these policies were being discussed, concrete initiatives were being introduced on the ground. In 2003, two young immigrants named Aziz Gangue (Guinea) and Laure Bourdon (France) created the Centre culturel et d'échange international de Moncton (CCEIM), with the support of a number of young people from the Acadian and immigrant communities. It held a variety of awareness-raising activities within the Acadian and Francophone community, demonstrating the value of immigrant culture through thematic national dinners and speaking engagements at schools, etc.

Their work was based on the premise that in order for immigrants to integrate successfully, they had to integrate into socio-cultural networks. Thus they developed ties with a variety of organizations and individuals who were active in the Acadian community, such as the Centre culturel Aberdeen, the School District 1, the Alliance française, the Association des étudiants internationaux, the Bureau de la coopération et d'échanges internationaux at the Université de Moncton, the Bureau du Québec dans les provinces maritimes, the Collège communautaire de Dieppe, the City of Moncton, MAGMA and the Association multiculturelle du Grand Moncton.

With increasing pressure to establish a Francophone immigrant reception centre and supported by a number of institutions in Moncton and the surrounding area, the CCEIM underwent its first transformation, becoming the Centre d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants de Moncton (CAIIM) between August and November 2005, and welcomed new local and immigrant members. Contact with the Table de concertation intensified.

The year 2006 would mark a new phase, during which the SAANB and the Table de concertation[4] joined forces with CCEIM-CAIIM. The organization adopted its current form, becoming the Centre d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants du Moncton métropolitain (CAIIMM) in December 2005; it made the name permanent at its founding annual meeting in May 2006. CAIIMM is a not-for-profit organization whose purpose is to bring together immigrants and the host community, facilitate the economic, social and professional integration of immigrants and increase their retention in the Greater Moncton area through a variety of activities.

Concepts and new tools for immigrant integration

CAIIMM offers a holistic, global approach by tackling integration on every front and supporting immigrants in every aspect of integration (social, economic, administrative, legal, etc.), providing reassurance and forging a place for them in the various networks, while guiding them every step of their way into the new community. This approach supposes that immigrants who becoming full-fledged members of society will then become intermediaries for subsequent newcomers. Who better to understand a newcomer than someone who has gone through the same process?

Networking

The key to this journey of initiation is *networking*. The best way to reassure newcomers is to integrate them into the greater Francophone family of the region from the very outset, so that they can feel supported, secure, wanted, valued. Using the innovative concept of creating social host networks (economic, education, scholastic, cultural and institutional networks), CAIIMM has succeeded in created mixed settings that enable immigrants to feel welcome and accepted.

These networks unfold in sociocultural settings led by volunteers from the host community and by immigrants, both recent and settled. All kinds of events (such as thematic get-togethers, concerts, film nights, community picnics, music festival, soccer) are held in Moncton's community facilities (schools, town halls, cultural centres, the university, the hospital). All meeting and exchange venues located in the heart of Moncton, where people can share ideas and information, be attentive to integration problems and take action. They are above all places where people can get to know one another and *establish ties*.

The real purpose of this networking is *mutual assistance* and *friendship*. Finding employment, childcare or assistance with administrative or legal procedures becomes much easier when one has friends in the community.

> CAIIMM offers a holistic, global approach by tackling integration on every front and supporting immigrants in every aspect of integration, providing reassurance and forging a place for them in the various networks, while guiding them every step of their way into the new community.

Awareness and intercultural education

Although the primary objective of these get-togethers is to provide newcomers with information and resources that will facilitate their integration in various ways, there are a number of underlying objectives. First, *getting to know others*: racism and intolerance of differences stem from value judgments, wrong interpretations or negative ideas that arise from a lack of knowledge of others. Foreigners are frightening because we lack reference points. The get-togethers are therefore opportunities to *raise awareness and teach about cultural differences*, whether these be in terms of lifestyle, childhood education, legislation and individual rights, religion, etc. The activities are designed to develop a welcoming community, on the one hand, and ensure a smooth integration process for immigrants, on the other.

Thus, for instance, rather than taking children away from an immigrant couple who think they are doing the right thing by resorting to spanking in their childrearing (which is an acceptable and sometimes even venerated practice in some cultures), social services, with the cooperation of CAIIMM, can work with newcomers to educate them and help them adjust before taking action that might be traumatizing for the children (removing them and placing them in a foster home). Integration of newcomers is handled gently for both the host and the immigrant communities.

Partnerships

Working in partnership with the various institutions and agencies involved in integration is crucial, because joint efforts lead to more solid host networks. The cities of Moncton and Dieppe, social services, the police department, cultural centres, legal services, businesses and financial institutions, merchants, schools and the Université de Moncton are among the stakeholders who contribute to the success of CAIIMM's objectives. One of CAIIMM's goals is to work with all generations, and young people in particular, because they are our future. Hence the importance of developing solid partnerships with District 1, the Maison des jeunes de Dieppe, the Collège communautaire de Dieppe and the Université de Moncton, among others.

Appreciation of and exposure to different cultures

Another of CAIMM's concerns is to *appreciate* the various Francophone cultures and their get-togethers, as well as their intercultural dialogue. Appreciation has an educational but also a psychosocial value, because immigrant cultures are recognized through the creation of settings where these cultures may be expressed. It also

makes it possible to go even further and offer activities that encourage a convergence of or dialogue between the two cultures, through active listening on both parts.

Some examples of CAIIMM's activities

The following are some of the activities CAIIMM[5] has organized thanks to volunteers and significant support from the community.

Thematic get-togethers

These facilitate the economic and sociocultural integration of immigrants. Following a short film or discussion on the selected theme is an exchange between the immigrants and the various community stakeholders. Viewpoints and cultural differences are shared over multicultural refreshments.

- A job for everyone;

- Childrearing without borders: Initiating a dialogue for a smooth integration process;

- Let's talk: French around the world.

Cultural exposure and pairing

This is a concert celebrating the heritage of Black communities and the values that bring together the entire Moncton and New Brunswick community, underscoring the richness and diversity of the communities of Greater Moncton and their contribution to the development of the metropolitan area. A number of artists from diverse backgrounds converged and took part in this colourful evening.

Conclusion

Thanks to its progress and affirmation since 2003, the resounding success of CAIIMM's first year of activity demonstrates that, with willpower and commitment, a few individuals can accomplish great things when the cause is just, when there is a real need and when action is driven by genuine human motives and common sense. Channelling energies can result in miracles. That is why bringing together the various immigration stakeholders

to create the Francophone society of tomorrow through common action has been CAIIMM's greatest strength.

This global and interactive vision of integration, this desire to create dynamic networks in a variety of physical integration locations, appears to be a formula that suits the Francophone minority community in the region. Other Francophone minority communities, including that of Prince Edward Island, are taking their inspiration from CAIIMM's experience in Moncton as they put in place their reception structures. Perhaps the CAIIMM model will eventually be transferred to other minority settings.

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Notes

[1] See www.umcs.ca/pressrel/details.cfm?id=889.

[2] A network of university researchers, government representatives (federal, provincial and municipal) and non-governmental organizations whose mandate is to conduct research projects in the area of public immigration and cultural diversity policy. See http://atlanticportal.hil.unb.ca:8000/archive/00000071/02/Finney_French.pdf.

[3] See www.gnb.ca/immigration/index-e.asp.

[4] The important work of Kabule Weva and Philomène Zangio with the SAANB and the Table de concertation on this project deserves mention.

[5] See *www.caimm.org*.

PLAYING A LEADING ROLE IN IMMIGRATION: YUKON'S CARREFOUR D'IMMIGRATION CROSSROAD

YVETTE BOURQUE
Director, Carrefour d'immigration Crossroad Yukon

The Association franco-yukonnaise (AFY) is an organization that speaks for Francophones living in the Yukon. It also plans and implements programs and projects designed to meet the needs of a visibly growing community. Sustainable development is the organization's ultimate goal: it is striving for social, cultural and economic development, not just for the Francophone community but for all of Yukon Territory.

Through an agreement with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), AFY has provided programs and services to immigrants in the territory since the spring of 2005. The programs and services are not limited to Francophones but are intended for all newcomers. To qualify, clients must meet all of the criteria established by CIC. People waiting for a determination of their refugee status cannot participate in the programs until CIC official grants them refugee protection.

In order to consolidate its efforts on the immigration front, AFY has signed a multi-year agreement with Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada's Rural Secretariat under its Models for Community Capacity Building program. By becoming a model Carrefour d'immigration rurale in 2005,[1] AFY can now hire the staff it needs to set up a genuine immigration service, complete with management, programs for the reception and integration of immigrants and second language program teachers.

Programs and services of the Carrefour d'immigration Crossroad Yukon

Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC)

We offer second language courses on a regular basis. In the Yukon, English is given priority as the second language, but we facilitate access to French classes through an agreement with the Yukon government. We offer full- and part-time classes, and we assist with class participation by providing bus passes and covering childcare costs for students in need.

Classes sizes vary from five and 12 students, and participant numbers have increased steadily since the outset of the program. Our teachers must have obtained or be working towards TESL certification (Teachers of English as a Second Language). We also support immigrants with rudimentary language skills in achieving level 1 by providing tutoring or coaching by volunteers.

The Host Program – You don't need a passport to discover the world!

To help immigrants adjust to their new life in Canada, we offer a host program whereby volunteers living in the Yukon are paired with immigrants for a number of months to help them settle into life in the Yukon. In many cases, close friendships are developed through these partnerships.

Meetings with their hosts enable clients to practise a new language and learn about life in the Yukon through simple activities such as grocery shopping, visiting the hospital and going to the dentist. Information on how to go about obtaining a health insurance card or driver's licence can also be included in the program. Other activities can assist newcomers in using the public transit system or other services available in the Yukon. New Yukoners can also hugely benefit from volunteers' experience and get to know more about social, cultural and recreational aspects of life in Whitehorse and the surrounding area.

The Immigration Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP)

This program enables the Carrefour d'immigration team to play an active role in the integration of newcomers.

An initial meeting with clients enables us to identify their specific needs so that we can better guide them in their settlement process.

A new reception centre opened in June 2007. Their Excellencies the Right Honourable Michaëlle Jean, Governor General of Canada, and Mr. Jean-Daniel Lafond attended the official ribbon-cutting ceremony. The purpose of the centre is to encourage immigrants and Yukoners to get to know one another better through workshops on topics such as how to apply for Canadian citizenship, how to purchase a house and how to survive your first winter in the Far North, as well as through community dinners, mini-conferences and meetings.

At AFY, we also offer a job search support service for Francophone newcomers. For our English speaking clients, we arrange meetings with the English language agency, Employment Central. By helping newcomers put together a professional résumé, we proudly take part in supporting them in their integration into the territory's economy.

At Carrefour d'immigration Yukon, all immigrants have free Internet access through a dedicated computer, which also offers English language programs and applications for English speakers. The Centre's regular Internet access centre offers all programs in French.

When there is a need, we provide interpretation and translation services. We also do our utmost to ensure that our clients are informed of all economic and financial, social and health services available to them and to ensure that they are given information on the education system and local social and cultural leisure activities.

All of these services are available free of charge to all immigrants who meet the CIC criteria.

Intercultural activities

Intercultural activities are designed to promote the Yukon's cultural diversity. Through these activities, we work to combat discrimination by achieving greater understanding and cohesiveness among all intercultural communities of the Yukon, including First Nations, the Francophone and Anglophone communities and the various ethnocultural communities living in the territory.

Among other things, activities are regularly held to help immigrants get to know their community and their neighbours better. Community dinners and arts and crafts fairs are just two activities that bring Canadians and immigrants out in large numbers.

To help immigrants adjust to their new life in Canada, we offer a host program whereby volunteers living in the Yukon are paired with immigrants for a number of months to help them settle into life in the Yukon.

We also mark special occasions such as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and Multiculturalism Day and participate as volunteers in Canadian citizenship ceremonies.

Recruitment

In 2006, AFY's immigration sector launched its website: www.immigrationyukon.com.

Since the introduction of this tool, we have received regular requests for information and support from people who want to immigrate to the Yukon. Ongoing cooperation with the Yukon government facilitates the referral of applications for consideration under the Yukon Nominee Program.

Through its CIC funding, AFY has developed a recruitment package designed to encourage Francophones to choose the Yukon as their new home. The package contains an interactive CD ROM and is sent out to a number of French-speaking countries around the world via embassies or consulates and to organizations in Belgium and France that facilitate permanent or temporary expatriation.

Carrefour d'immigration has launched two recruitment missions to promote the Yukon internationally. The first, in November 2006, resulted in 30 or so students coming to the Yukon in the summer of 2007 under the Student Work Abroad Program (SWAP). Even before the second recruitment mission of November 2007, seven other young people arrived in the Yukon as part of SWAP to discover the beauty of winter north of the 60th parallel.

Yukon remains a fascinating place for people around the world. A young territory inhabited primarily by First Nations people before the famed gold rush of the late 19th century, most people who have decided to make it their home come from the four corners of the earth.

Yukon is therefore an ideal choice for newcomers. We are all "newcomers" here, and this is manifested in our open and accepting attitude. A recent study conducted by Carrefour d'immigration indicated that immigrants feel very accepted and have no difficulty integrating. Their only problems relate to adjusting to the northern climate!

Note

[1] Saint-Léonard, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island's Évangeline region also each have a Carrefour d'immigration rurale.

FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRATION TO BRITISH COLUMBIA

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Multiculturalism and Immigration Branch
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Although British Columbia has strong historic ties to the United Kingdom, the province is home to a diverse Francophone population, comprised of the descendents of French-speaking settlers who came during the 18th century, more recent inter-provincial migrants from Québec and other French-speaking Canadian regions, as well as an increasing proportion of immigrants from Europe, Africa and elsewhere. The 2006 Canadian Census puts the number of British Columbia residents who speak French at 298,000 (7.3% of the total population). This figure includes people who speak French only, those who speak French and English and those who speak French and one or more non-official languages.

Of course, the vitality of a community cannot be measured by its demographic weight alone; institutions matter too. British Columbia's Francophone community is served and represented by a total of 40 associations. Outside of the Greater Vancouver and Victoria regions, where Francophones are concentrated, French-speaking individuals are spread thinly throughout the landscape. This geographic reality has caused members of the latter group to depend on English-language institutions for services, thereby rendering them vulnerable to Anglicization. This assertion is supported by data from the last Canadian Census, which suggests that although 62,500 British Columbia residents declared French as their mother tongue in 2006, less than one-third (19,985) speak it most often at home.

At the national level, it was recognized that immigration can play a role in supporting the demographic vitality of Francophone minority communities. The following quote from Citizenship and Immigration Canada's *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* (2003: 2) illustrates this fact. Given "that immigration is an important factor in the growth of Canada's population, it should benefit the country's two linguistic communities equally." In 2002, the federal government established the Citizenship and Immigration Canada-Francophone Minority Communities steering committee, with the mandate of "overseeing the establishment of the conditions necessary to facilitate the recruitment, selection and reception of newcomers and their integration into Francophone minority communities" (*Ibid*.). The participation of provinces and territories was solicited and British Columbia joined the committee shortly thereafter.

At around the same time, the Agreement for Canada-British Columbia Cooperation on Immigration (2004) was renewed, maintaining British Columbia's responsibility for the design, administration and delivery of settlement services to newcomers. Through the agreement, the Province officially recognizes the "objectives of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* to support and assist the development of minority official language communities in Canada and enhance their vitality." To support this commitment, the Province has taken measures to ensure that settlement services are available in either official language where there is significant demand. The Province has also consulted with representatives of minority official language communities in providing these services, as well as in planning promotion and recruitment activities targeting Francophones.

In order to assess the demand for settlement services in French, the multiculturalism and immigration branch of the Ministry of Attorney General commissioned a report on Francophone immigration to British Columbia. Based on an examination of various statistical data sets, as well as on extensive interviews with service provider organizations who deal with Francophone newcomers, basic service guidelines were established. Among other things, these guidelines include the funding of three full-time French-speaking settlement workers in Vancouver and a part-time settlement worker in Victoria, the establishment of English language classes for Francophone newcomers to be delivered by a Francophone organization in Vancouver, as well as the creation of a community connection centre. The latter centre, which is intended to strengthen collaboration between the Francophone community and multicultural immigrant service delivery organizations, is expected to be up and running in early 2008. In addition to the recommendations from the study, during the fall of 2007, the Ministry implemented Settlement Workers in Schools. This initiative includes funding support for three school-based settlement workers in the province-wide Francophone School District.

In 2005, British Columbia signed a memorandum of understanding with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) that allowed for the transfer of federal funding to support promotion and recruitment initiatives targeting Francophones. Recognizing the importance of involving

community stakeholders in planning and carrying out these activities, British Columbia established a provincial committee on Francophone immigration involving representatives from a number of Francophone associations, as well as various federal government departments (including CIC) and provincial ministries. The committee, which sits approximately once a month, has achieved a number of goals so far. These include the production and dissemination of French-language promotional materials on British Columbia, including a website and print materials. Members of the committee also organized and carried out sessions aimed at informing French-speaking nationals on working holiday visas of opportunities to remain in the province, as well as three promotional and recruitment missions to Western European countries, including France and Belgium.

A number of lessons can be learned from the British Columbia example. First, it is important to have realistic expectations. In part as a result of the province's activities on this file, the yearly intake of immigrants to British Columbia who speak French has grown from 602 in 2002 (2.2% of yearly newcomers) to 1,466 in 2006 (4.2% of yearly newcomers). The Province sees this as a step in the right direction and believes that the partnerships that have been established between local actors and individuals and institutions overseas will yield positive, long-term results.

Secondly, provinces must be practical in their recruitment efforts and target economic sectors facing labour shortages. Over the past few years, British Columbia's economy has experienced high growth with very low unemployment. During the same period, provincial birth rates have dwindled below replacement levels. Although there is some question whether these growth rates are sustainable, it is expected that British Columbia will continue to experience skill shortages for the foreseeable future as there will not be enough school leavers to fill emerging positions in the labour market. This acute shortage has forced employers to depend more on foreign labourers. Recognizing the need to act, the Province has attempted to connect employers with qualified candidates in French-speaking regions overseas. For example, in planning the November 2007 Destination Canada (a large-scale promotion and recruitment event organized by the Canadian Embassy in Paris), priority was given to the tourism and hospitality sector, which is facing a looming shortage of labourers. Using funds from CIC, the Province was able send a sector representative to Europe to promote job opportunities and to collect resumes. During the event, provincial delegates were also able to meet with representatives from a number of French training institutes to discuss the possibility of setting up internship programs. By targeting economic sectors facing labour shortages, the Province effectively ensured that French-speaking newcomers are able to secure adequate employment in their field of expertise.

Thirdly, and related to the previous point, Francophone immigration should be considered in the context of a province's overall immigration strategy. As elsewhere in Canada, newcomers to British Columbia tend to settle in large cities. According to the 2006 Canadian census, approximately 75% of foreign-born individuals who call British Columbia home live in the Greater Vancouver region. In recent years, the Province has attempted to better distribute the benefits of immigration by encouraging more regionalization of immigrants. In planning Francophone recruitment missions, a conscious effort was made to involve economic development offices located in regions outside of the Lower Mainland, including in the Okanagan and on Vancouver Island. These opportunities have offered smaller communities a new perspective on ways to work proactively to attract international students, immigrants and foreign investors. And, although promotional missions are one-time events, there is evidence that they have exerted an impact on the way in which these different economic development offices do business.

Fourthly, provinces must adopt a balanced approach to recruitment. Whereas provincial nominee programs provide a good tool to bring in French-speaking individuals who meet the skilled worker or business criteria, they are not the only strategy that works. International students and temporary foreign workers should also be targeted, given that the latter may decide to settle down permanently after spending time in the country. There is also recognition that humanitarian streams and family reunification bring French-speaking newcomers to the province, who can settle and become active members of the community given appropriate supports.

Finally, and most importantly, it is crucial to involve individuals from the Francophone community in the process. In British Columbia, the idea of attracting more French-speaking immigrants was received enthusiastically. A number of associations from the Francophone community have risen to the challenge and have dedicated their time and energy to achieving this goal. Although the Province has assumed a coordination role, the success of its activities must be attributed to the partnerships and efforts of local stakeholders. This is especially important given the key role that community associations play in ensuring that Francophone newcomers remain in British Columbia once they land.

Reference

Canada. Citizenship and Immigration. 2003. *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities*. Ottawa.

RECRUITMENT AND RECEPTION CAPACITY OF FRANCOPHONE MINORITY COMMUNITIES

ABSTRACT

This article looks at the issue of Francophone immigration and the new reality of a Francophone immigrant community in British Columbia. The author also describes an important initiative in reception and integration entitled the Host Program, which matches newcomers and members of the host society.

MOUSSA MAGASSA

Moussa Magassa is a community relations coordinator for the Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia (ISS) Host Program for Francophone immigrants and refugees. Originally from Sénégal, he holds a Master's degree in Human Security and Peacebuilding from Royal Roads University in Victoria and a Bachelor's degree in Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies from the University of Natal in South Africa.

It is an established and accepted fact in Canada that immigration is unavoidable. This idea appears everywhere in the media and in government policy circles. Here, however, the focus is on the positive contribution of immigration to Canada's sustainability not only on economic, social and political fronts, but also for cultural enrichment.

Francophone immigration to minority communities in particular is not only the subject of a huge new wave of sociological and political research, but it also contributes to the debate surrounding the linguistic rights enshrined in the *Constitution* and the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

However, the reception and integration of the newcomers immigrating to Canada every year does not occur without problem. On the contrary, reception and integration are the major issue for Francophone immigration to minority communities.

In the past few years, governments have begun working with Francophone minority communities on reception and integration issues. One of the main products of that work was the development of a national strategic framework to promote Francophone immigration to minority communities. This framework centres on five major objectives arising from the partnership agreement between Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Francophone minority communities.[1] Of these five objectives, the second and third objectives directly touch on the issue of reception and integration of newcomers:

- Improve the capacity of Francophone minority communities to receive Francophone newcomers and to strengthen their reception and settlement infrastructures;

- Ensure the social and cultural integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into Francophone minority communities.

One of the major initiatives developed to meet these objectives was the establishment of a reception and social and cultural integration program for Francophone newcomers to minority communities, known as the Host Program.

In British Columbia, a province recognized as the second most popular destination for newcomers to Canada, this strategy comes up against a myriad of socio-economic, cultural and practical challenges, challenges that highlight questions about the recruitment and reception capacity of Francophone minority communities.

Newcomers

The question of the total number of Francophones living in British Columbia has been a topic of wide debate. John van Dongen, Minister of State for Intergovernmental Relations, indicated at a gathering held under the auspices of the Ministerial Conference on the Canadian Francophonie that there were approximately 63,000 people in the province whose mother tongue was French and another 250,000 or so who spoke both French and English. The question we have is this: In which category are newcomers from countries whose official language is French and that are historical colonies of France counted?

In other words, the definition of Francophone newcomers is in itself problematic. The terminology for "native-born Francophones" and "Francophones immigrants" causes problems in terms of

both statistics and recognition of community members, while creating a new reality of a minority within a Francophone minority.

Comparing immigrants and refugees

"Newcomers" is a generic term that includes women and men who have many different reasons for immigrating to Canada. Initially, that group tends to be divided into landed immigrants and refugees. Table 1 is an attempt to classify newcomers into the two subgroups. For each group, we have also indicated their migration patterns based on the circumstances under which they left their country of origin.

Table 1
Classification table based on status

Immigrants	Refugees
Decide to leave their country of origin	Forced to leave their country of origin
Plan their trip in advance	Often do not have the time to plan their trip or escape
Have the time to prepare, both materially and psychologically	Do not have the time to say goodbye to friends and family members
Can say goodbye to friends and family members	Leave for their own or their family's safety
Leave for a better life or the hope of a better life	Would return to their country of origin if possible
Can decide to not return to their country of origin	

Aside from these distinctions between immigrants and refugees, we must acknowledge that they all constantly deal with the same challenges.

Challenges facing newcomers

Challenges facing newcomers are often related to their status as newcomers to Canada. However, they are also related to the political, social and cultural systems in place here. A recent immigrant from France, François Roux (creator of the Web site France-expatriés.com) defines the challenges this way:

> [*Translation*]
> The real problem that expatriates (immigrants) have can be summed up in one word: integration!...Behind this word lies all the problems associated with employment, social relations with local residents and dealing psychologically with being far from one's roots.

Challenges associated with newcomer status

In British Columbia, the challenges associated with integration vary depending on the region selected, particularly those related to language; other challenges are related to visible minority status (in the case of Francophones of African origin) and the status of single women or female heads of families (particularly among refugee families) with no social and community support. In their home country, the extended family would help with childcare, education and recreational activities. Also, numerous conflicts arise relating to the reversal of roles among couples, whereby the wife often ends up acquiring greater financial autonomy than the husband because she can find work more easily. There are cases where the marriages of newcomers break down because the husband is too jealous of his wife's professional success. In addition, there are the challenges associated with the psychological trauma refugees experienced prior to their arrival in Canada, trauma that they usually try not to think about for a while but that has a major impact on their integration and settlement in Canada. There are also problems linked to literacy and to the matter of validation of professional and educational qualifications, which are often at the root of mental health issues for newcomers. Problems associated with intergenerational conflict between parents and young people are very common and have resulted in many family members, especially fathers, leaving the family home after a child reports him or her to the police. Immigrant young people suffer greatly: The stress they experience in their new society, primarily stemming from racial discrimination at school and in public places, is profound.

All these challenges are often felt by newcomers as a result of a lack of appropriate services in French for meeting the specific needs of these Francophone communities of diverse origins.

Challenges associated with the Canadian system

Newcomers face various challenges associated with the Canadian system. These challenges include the vicious circle of the lack of recognition of their professional qualifications and of their eligibility for work based on training acquired overseas. They are concerned with getting their children enrolled in the French school system, which cannot be taken for granted. The most common problem reported is that they do not speak enough French at home or that their mother tongue is not French. This is a very serious issue in the communities, especially for newcomers of African origin. There is a risk that this barrier will prompt entire communities to bypass the French-language school system and send their children to English schools.

In addition to the challenges associated with French schools is the thorny issue of learning English as a second, third or umpteenth language for newcomers. The chronic shortage of ESL classes, which are crucial for newcomers to learn to function in the Canadian economy, has been repeatedly criticized in the media. This is in addition to the problem of waiting lists, with newcomers often having to wait over four months to gain access to English classes.

Then there are the problems related to poverty among newcomers. The issue of adequate housing is more than a social emergency when families of five to ten people find themselves squeezed into a two-bedroom apartment. Usually, the financial assistance available for newcomers (especially refugees) is not sufficient to rent appropriate housing. Finally, the stress associated with transferring newcomers, particularly refugees, from the Refugee Assistance Program (RAP) to social assistance at the end of their year of government support under the RAP cannot be ignored.

It is impossible to list all of the challenges experienced by newcomers throughout the immigration process. Not only are these challenges related to the socio-historical context of each newcomer, but they are also systemic. The common difficulties felt and expressed by Francophone newcomers result in a loss of confidence in all services and organizations in general, and in Francophone ones in particular. Francophone newcomers feel used, and end up resolving to live in English rather than waste their time trying to become part of a Francophone community that has such gaps in social programming and lacks a sensitive, ethnocultural approach.

However, the challenges and difficult choices that newcomers often face result from the obstacles related to reception and integration facing the Francophone minority communities.

Francophone minority communities: Needs and challenges

The survival, development and growth of Francophone minority communities are major topics of discussion these days. One of the strategies for addressing these issues involves immigration and promoting Francophone immigration to minority communities.

However, these communities are facing major challenges with reception and integration of Francophone newcomers, which they have tried to resolve by way of collaborative strategies for the last few years. For instance, since 2002, Francophone minority communities have participated in partnerships with governments and have been involved in developing the national *Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities*.

Among the major challenges with reception and integration of newcomers facing Francophone communities is the issue of numbers. The 63,000 Francophones or the 250,000 others who speak French and English are just estimates. We know that among ethnocultural groups, there are Francophones who do not feel included or represented, either in institutions or in Francophone community associations.

Another major challenge facing these Francophone minority communities is a lack of both expertise and services for receiving and integrating Francophone newcomers. So, even if the communities wanted to provide new residents with better reception services, they would still have to deal with the lack of reception structures and the necessary resources to provide comparable services to those offered by English-language organizations.

It goes without saying that for these Francophone minority communities, the challenge is also to gain the confidence of newcomers. To do that, they need to show

The most common problem [with getting children enrolled in a French] is that they do not speak enough French at home or that their mother tongue is not French….There is a risk that this will prompt entire communities to bypass the French-language school system and send their children to English schools.

that they want and are able to provide adequate services for newcomers to settle and integrate into a Francophone community that is not only representative of everyone but also open to diversity.

In British Columbia, the concept of Francophone community is also being questioned by some Francophone ethnocultural communities, who complain that they are not represented fairly in Francophone organizational structures and decision-making processes.

To respond to those challenges, Francophone communities must, therefore, raise awareness about Francophone diversity,[2] bring together the various communities and decision-making bodies of Francophone organizations and acquire expertise in the area of reception and integration.

However, it is very important to remember that, as François Roux has pointed out, integration must be done through local residents who are socially and culturally rooted in their city and in their country.

As mentioned earlier, one of the initiatives implemented in order to reach the objectives of the Strategic Framework of March 2002 was the social and cultural reception and integration program for newcomers to minority communities, the Host Program.

The Host Program: A strategy for integrating Francophone newcomers to British Columbia

The Host Program has been run as a pilot project since 2005. The program is managed by ISS and is the first of its kind in Francophone minority communities outside Quebec.

The program is designed to ease the challenges faced by newly arrived immigrants and refugees by matching them with trained volunteer hosts from the Francophone community.[3]

Objectives of the Host Program

The objectives of the Host Program are to match newcomers with Canadian volunteers, facilitate their integration into Canadian society, help them integrate as quickly as possible, provide emotional support for newcomers, help newcomers overcome the stress of immigrating to a new country, promote greater understanding among newcomers and native-born Canadians, and cultivate public awareness of the positive contribution of immigration to Canadian society.

Host Program programming

Programming for the Host Program is handled through volunteers recruited from among established Francophone communities and who have experience with Canadian culture and knowledge of the community resources to which newcomers can be directed.

The role of the host volunteers is therefore to help newcomers get to know Canada better and to help them learn about the cultural and social affinities of the communities that have taken them in.

The volunteers are Canadian individuals, families or groups interested in welcoming and orienting newcomers, helping newcomers settle in Canada, forging rewarding friendships with newcomers and learning about other cultures, countries and languages.

The Host Program for integrating newcomers into Francophone minority communities is one response to the recruitment and reception challenges facing Francophone minority communities. One of the major lessons that we are learning with this program is that it is creating a huge buzz among some Anglophones who also want to join the program as host volunteers for Francophone newcomers. In other words, the Host Program is part of a more global movement to promote and create a welcoming Canadian society that is active and inclusive of everyone.

Notes

[1] www.cic.gc.ca/ENGLISH/resources/publications/settlement/framework-minorities.asp#minister

[2] www.canada.metropolis.net/events/Diversity/diversity_index_e.htm

[3] www.issbc.org/impact_lives/friendship_hosts/default.htm

Our Diverse Cities: Challenges and Opportunities

Special issue of the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*

A recent issue of the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* (Vol. 15, No. 2, 2006) was guest edited by Tom Carter and Marc Vachon of the University of Winnipeg; John Biles and Erin Tolley of the Metropolis Project Team; and Jim Zamprelli of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. It contains selected articles on politics, religion, housing, youth gang activity, sports and recreational services. These articles explore the challenges posed by the increasing concentration of religious, linguistic, ethnic and racial groups in Canadian cities, suggest ways to facilitate the integration process.

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FRANCOPHONE INTERNATIONAL HEALTH GRADUATES

CONSORTIUM NATIONAL DE FORMATION EN SANTÉ

The Consortium national de formation en santé (CNFS) brings together ten college and university institutions[1] that represent the Francophone minority community's post-secondary education network and that play a role in training Francophone health professionals. The CNFS national secretariat provides coordination, consultation and liaison among the ten member institutions.

In 2003, the CNFS undertook Phase II of the Health Training and Research Project, which will continue into 2008. To carry out this project, the CNFS received support from Health Canada under the Action Plan for Official Languages, announced in 2003.

Phase II of the CNFS project has been developed around four complementary lines of action – recruitment, training, research and coordination – that allow intervention throughout the training process, from raising awareness of the health professions among young Francophones to continuing the education of graduates in their professional environment within the community. In a field like health, training – whether clinical or practical – is essential and is the central line of action that the three other lines support and reinforce.

The CNFS has recently designed two special projects devoted to the retraining and professional integration of Francophone internationally educated health professionals (IEHPs). It is therefore developing health retraining programs to meet the specific needs of Francophone immigrants who are living in a minority community and are health graduates. The CNFS is also developing tools to support teachers and staff of educational institutions that deal with Francophone IEHPs. Finally, the CNFS is also working to advance research in this area.

Francophone IEHPs

Many of the people who come to Canada every year possess health qualifications. These immigrants represent a tremendous asset to Canadian society, but professional difficulties and barriers prevent many of them from practicing in their field. Nonetheless, efforts are being made to facilitate recognition of their qualifications while guaranteeing quality of service. Several national and provincial organizations are running projects designed to speed up credential recognition, but few of them deal with the specific needs of Francophone IEHPs, and they are rarely conducted in French.

Canada has a shortage of Francophone professionals and human resources in the critical area of health care. Recruiting, integrating and retaining Francophone IEHPs is therefore crucial for Canadian society as a whole, and particularly for Francophone minority communities who wish to increase access to French language health services.

In November 2003, Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee published the *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* (CIC 2003). The Committee proposed significant efforts to ensure better integration and retention of French-speaking immigrants in Francophone minority communities. It also adopted a strategic plan to increase and more effectively coordinate the efforts to achieve the five objectives set out in the Strategic Framework.

The Strategic Framework covers the period from 2006 to 2011 and sets out three key guidelines, including the recognition of internationally educated workers' credentials in order to foster employability. The Committee suggests that the health sector be given priority, through large-scale projects. It also recommends that French language post-secondary educational institutions receive support for their efforts to recruit and integrate international students by offering them academic and social guidance services. In addition, the Committee stresses the importance of planning and offering training and internships to upgrade professional competencies and employment-related skills. Finally, the Committee plans to establish language training in English or French for Francophone immigrants.

In November 2005, the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (CIRLM) did an exploratory study for the CNFS. In 2006, it published its results in a report entitled *La reconnaissance des diplômés internationaux francophones en santé au Canada : un potentiel pour les communautés francophones en situation minoritaire* (Lafontant et al. 2005). The CIRLM noted a lack

of data on the particular circumstances of Francophone immigrants who have competencies in the health field and who want to enter the labour market outside Quebec.

To carry out its study, the CIRLM conducted interviews and held meetings with 38 Francophone international health graduates (IHGs), 11 employment agencies and 13 employers in New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta. Based on a random sample of 3% of the 2001 Census, 79% of international graduates settled in Ontario, 12.6% in Alberta, 4.3% in Manitoba and 4% in New Brunswick. According to the estimates, the four provinces appear to have 12,531 Francophone immigrant health graduates.

The following are some of the highlights from this study.

The difficulties that IHGs experience in entering the Canadian labour market relate to recognition of degrees and work experience acquired outside Canada. The source of these difficulties is an institutional or bureaucratic approach to establishing equivalences, an approach characterized by slowness, a complex multi-level system, evaluation criteria that are not entirely fair, and problems in communicating information because of a lack of clarity or promptness. The process is further complicated by the fact that in Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta, it is conducted in English.

A second type of difficulty arises from the fact that training or upgrading is insufficient, especially in French. Newcomers are asked to do their training again and not only is this unnecessary training costly, but it can take the place of other types of training that would prove more useful or necessary, in areas such as technical skills, language and work environment (vertical and horizontal relationships, relationships with the clientele). For IHGs as well, this upgrading is expensive. Finally, the particular characteristics of the Canadian work environment in the health field may also cause problems of integration.

The interviews conducted with IHGs have revealed that, in their efforts to obtain work where they can apply their training before coming to Canada, they rely primarily on their own talents and determination. They are inclined to prepare themselves better by taking professional courses, passing examinations and acquiring Canadian work experience. Their assets of professionalism, openness and good horizontal and vertical communications also help them to retain employment. However, they also rely considerably on the Canadian authorities to make a fair, consistent evaluation of their foreign credentials and to provide focused, effective retraining that will avoid unnecessary costs to them and to the state.

According to the placement agencies that took part in the interviews, qualifications, in particular those that

> Newcomers are asked to do their training again and not only is this unnecessary training costly, but it can take the place of other types of training that would prove more useful or necessary, in areas such as technical skills, language and work environment.

are transferable, networking, Canadian training and personal qualities are the factors that help IHGs find employment in their field. Where IHGs are unsuccessful in securing such employment, the most important solutions to consider are retraining courses and language learning, especially of English. The agencies also suggest some other solutions, such as streamlining accreditation procedures, better dissemination of information, financial assistance for training and options for alternative employment in a related field.

This study has shown the inadequacy of French-language training or upgrading available to meet the specific needs of Francophone immigrants with training in the health field. It revealed that the process of establishing equivalences and accreditation often takes place in English, which is detrimental to Francophone minority communities. Lack of proficiency in English is a major obstacle for Francophone IEHPs. Several types of retraining exist and are available in Canada's English-language educational institutions, but there is little in the way of training or programs designed for Francophone IEHPs.

It is in this context that the CNFS is trying to fill the gaps identified in the study, in order to foster the employability of Francophone IEHPs and to facilitate accreditation of their qualifications so that they can find their rightful place in Francophone minority communities.

CNFS projects that meet the needs of Francophone IEHPs

The CNFS launched its major initiative in this area in February 2007, thanks to the financial support of Health Canada's Internationally Educated Health Professionals Initiative. This project in support of training Francophone IEHPs involves priority initiatives that will facilitate the accreditation and integration of Francophone immigrants with professional competencies in the health field. It will be carried out over four years (from February 1, 2007 to March 31, 2010).

Several components of the CNFS's Francophone IEHPs training initiative are of particular interest to official language minority communities. It also calls upon the many government departments and agencies whose mandates include immigration and training, regulation and evaluation in the health field. The CNFS wants to engage them in partnership and collaboration to carry out its project.

The CNFS's Francophone IEHPs training initiative has four objectives:

- To design and promote, through a Web site, intercultural training for stakeholders involved in retraining Francophone (IEHPs). The targeted professions are medicine, nursing science and practical nursing, occupational therapy and physiotherapy;

- To develop French language methodological and practical training in nursing science and in practical nursing, in order to prepare candidates to take regulators' examinations in various provinces;

- To hold three regional meetings in early 2008 to examine obstacles associated with the supply of French language services for evaluating degrees and competencies, in order to identify solutions and to increase the provision of these French language services;

- To engage in consultation, provide liaison, create partnerships and promote the project and the training that is developed.

The Francophone IEHP training project thus enables the CNFS to design and deliver retraining and educational tools to meet the needs of these health professionals. However, the project can only be carried out with the support of regulators, professional associations and networks of international graduates.

A second CNFS project will start in early 2008.[2] This project, called L'intégration professionnelle des diplômés internationaux francophones en santé dans les communautés francophones en situation minoritaire, will examine the factors involved in the professional integration of Francophone IHGs in the four target provinces (Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and New Brunswick). This project is designed to increase the number of Francophone IHGs practicing as Francophone health professionals in Francophone minority communities. The project will take the form of action research in both rural and urban environments and will be carried out in partnership with

organizations that provide assistance to immigrants, and in particular, the network of regional coordinators of the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada, training institutions, employers and regulators.

Thanks to its national network of post-secondary health education institutions, the CNFS is developing partnerships with a large number of organizations that are complementary to theirs or that are active in this field. Because of its positive record in conducting health training and research in French, this national organization is ideally suited to coordinate and advance the cause of Francophone IHGs.

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Notes

[1] Université Sainte-Anne, Université de Moncton, Quebec-New Brunswick agreement, Nouveau-Brunswick Community College in Campbellton, University of Alberta's Faculté Saint-Jean, Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface, Laurentian University, Collège Boréal, University of Ottawa, and La Cité collégiale.

[2] Project submitted to Human Resources and Social Development Canada; final approval pending. The project will run for three years (2008-2011).

THE CHALLENGES THAT FRANCOPHONE MINORITY COMMUNITY SCHOOLS FACE IN INTEGRATING IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

This study concerns the challenges that arise in the integration of immigrants students into Francophone minority communities. Interviews were conducted with school principals, teachers, teacher's aides, educational counsellors, and immigration professionals and officers of the Carrefour d'immigration rurale (CIR) of Saint-Léonard, New Brunswick. The results show that newcomers are perceived as either an obstacle or an asset for the mission of schools in a minority community. The challenges associated with the francization of immigrant students are discussed.

While the issues surrounding immigration are fairly well mastered in large urban centres, this is not the case in smaller areas, like New Brunswick's Francophone community. In this minority Francophone context, schools must not only meet their own challenges in promoting the French language and culture, but now must also deal with issues regarding the integration of immigrant students. In fact, these individuals represent a clientele with characteristics that require special attention from the various actors in the education system : cultural diversity, lack of mastery of the language (Blackwell and Melzak 2000), psychological trauma, solitude, cultural exclusion, various adjustments in order to construct their identity (Ishida 2005, Kirova 2001, Zine 2001), and so on.

Our research provides an overview of the challenges faced by Francophone minority communities (FMCs) when trying to integrate immigrant students.

A paradox for FMC schools: Welcoming immigrants students while preserving their own language and culture

In addition to battling assimilation, Francophone linguistic minorities are struggling with the problem of a low birth rate (Castonguay 2001, Couture 2001, Martel 2001), which results in smaller numbers of students in French-language schools.

The *Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) foresees increasing the number of immigrants to reach a target, by 2020, of 8,000 to 10,000 French-speaking individuals settling annually in Francophone communities. From this viewpoint, planning for the successful integration of these newcomers is obviously a necessity.

In FMCs, the school is regarded as an agent for maintaining the community and fostering its development (Foucher 1999) and as an assimilation-countering agent that demonstrates the value of life in these communities (Martel 2001, Landry Allard 1996, 1997, 1999).

The role of schools in integration in FMCs

Day-to-day life is difficult for young immigrants. While grappling with various challenges of adaptation, they must successfully complete their studies as soon as they arrive in the host society (Belzil 1999). Throughout their adaptation, young immigrants often undergo cognitive and emotional changes, for various reasons: culture shock, lack of experience concerning cultural norms and practices, a break with their own language, culture, community and family, lack of models and mentors, loneliness, etc. (Van Ngo and Schleifer 2005). These difficulties vary from person to person, depending on such factors as the age at which these young immigrants arrived in the host society, whether or not they are refugees, their level of language proficiency, and so on. In fact, adolescents

have a tendency to adapt more easily in social terms, compared to those who arrive at a younger age (Van Ngo and Schleifer 2005).

In New Brunswick, schools determine the French instruction requirements of students who speak another language; the Department of Education funds this program, which is offered in the form of tutoring. This practice is criticized for various reasons: its "uniformist" approach (treating all students in the same way), inadequate francization of students who attend regular classes, lack of an institutional framework for francization, and the fact that those who provide francization are unqualified (Gallant 2004).

However, regardless of the philosophy adopted with regard to immigrant students, a number of authorities and authors point to the shortcomings of the host communities in integrating French-speaking immigrants (the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada mentions an insufficient ability to recruit immigrants, 2004). In this respect, the status of the Francophone minority is problematic, as is the way in which it defines itself as a minority that must protect itself, not as an assimilating majority (Belkhodja and Gallant 2004, Gallant 2004).

Nonetheless, education in New Brunswick remains little affected by immigration, despite the fact that the Acadian and Francophone associations are aware of this issue (Gallant and Belkhodja, 2005). Bernard (1997) speaks of a *fundamental contradiction* in showing the paradoxical situation in which French-language schools in minority communities find themselves. The more pronounced a community's minority position, the more schools are designated to counter the erosion of minorities and the greater the value attached to its role. However, it is in these minority communities that we find the greatest deficiency of human and material resources to meet their needs (Bouchamma, Lapointe and Richard 2008).

Results

This study, which aimed at identifying the obstacles inherent to the successful integration of immigrant students, was conducted through interviews with 36 participants: 10 school principals (P) and vice-principals (VP), 21 teachers (T), 2 teachers' aides (TA), and an education officer, in nine elementary and secondary schools in French-speaking New Brunswick. Two professionals from the Carrefour d'immigration rurale (CIR) in Saint-Léonard also took part in the study.

The data revealed two major themes: the view that the actors in the school sector have of immigration in FMCs, and the obstacles associated with the francization of newcomers.

> [Some] students must undergo intensive French tutoring outside the classroom. This practice is vigorously criticized….In the first place, it imposes a pace that exceeds the capacities of the child. Secondly, the tutors are not necessarily specialized in French.

The concept of immigration in Francophone minority communities (FMCs)

The participants saw immigrant students in FMCs in two ways: as representing an enrichment to the FMC, and as an obstacle.

Newcomers: An advantage for the minority community

The participants mentioned that immigration is not always synonymous with challenges as far as acquisition of language or culture is concerned, and that even where challenges do exist, the FMC remains a winner in its fight to preserve the French language.

Some of our participants pointed out that the presence of immigrant students in the classroom makes it possible to initiate students from the host society to the presence of Francophones elsewhere in the world. Immigrant students who are not challenged by the language are sometimes *model students*.

Some participants regarded immigrants not as a threat to the language of the minority community, but as an enrichment that helps to ensure the sustainability of the language. In this sense, these participants regard immigrants in FMCs as a means of showing the students of the host society, through living examples, what standard French, and different is and how it is spoken differently around the world. The presence of immigrant students in the classroom makes it easier for educators to make their students conscious of the importance of the French language and of the use of a more standardized French to facilitate communication.

However, regardless of the point of view subscribed to by the various participants, they unanimously acknowledged the fact that there is a lack of resources and services that are indispensable for receiving and following newcomers. In particular, they stressed the difficulties that immigrant students have in understanding French and the challenge of communicating with parents who speak a language other than French. They recognized the importance of making newcomers conscious of the reality of language in FMCs.

Newcomers: A concern for the minority community

While a number of participants did not feel that the presence of immigrant students in classrooms compromised linguistic survival in FMCs, others expressed concern about immigrants' language proficiency in a context where educators are already concerned about the language issue.

Whatever the advantages that immigration might offer to minority communities, some participants spoke of the mission of the schools, which is to safeguard language and culture. In this sense, the schools must

ensure that French is spoken in the schoolyard and during extracurricular activities. The teaching staff must be increasingly vigilant where there are students who do not speak French inside or outside the classroom, because the use of English becomes more frequent, and this interferes with language learning.

In fact, some situations compel teachers to authorize the use of English, but strictly on an ad hoc basis, where English is understood by the immigrant. In other words, English is used as a means of communication in situations where the teacher has no other choice. Nonetheless, the teacher continues to be concerned increasing numbers of students who choose English. This explains why they are concerned about any tolerance of English in French schools: it is contrary to the mandate of these schools, which is to ensure that French is used within the institution.

Some spokespersons in the school sector mentioned the importance of involving these students in promoting the language, regardless of their origins and mother tongue.

The francization of newcomers

There are three types of obstacles to helping immigrants in French-language proficiency: *structural* obstacles, obstacles associated with the social, demographic and cultural characteristics of New Brunswick, and obstacles associated with the social, demographic and cultural characteristics of the immigrants. Structural obstacles include *tutoring practices* as pursued in the community, *the unpreparedness of the school system*, and *the lack of preparation of the immigrants*.

One of the major obstacles cited by the majority of participants is the fact that students requiring intensive French training must resort to tutoring, and they must do so outside of regular school hours. This practice is vigorously criticized for at least two reasons. In the first place, it imposes a pace and workload that exceeds the capacities of the child. Secondly, the tutors are not necessarily specialized in French. That means that practices are different. For example, some participants mentioned tutoring as a support in various subjects, to fill in gaps. Some teachers described difficulties in mastering the French language and the help given to these students by retired teachers.

In some cases, students attend class part of the time, and the rest of their time is devoted to learning the language.

The participants criticized the system for its *lack of preparation* in receiving newcomers. They said that they did not have the means to supervise these young people: "[the officials] send them into the school system, but the schools are still not properly equipped, they do not have what they need to assist those young people" (VP1). Consequently, teaching staff sometimes find themselves in situations where

their skills are insufficient and where communication, which is the basis for all assistance, is difficult, if not impossible. The participants also mentioned the *lack of preparation of the immigrants*. They deplored the fact that newcomers are thrust into the school system without any preparation or information whatsoever regarding the social and educational context into which they have been received. Participants also emphasized the fact that immigrants because no information is available for them.

Communication problems affect not only those who do not speak French, but also those who do speak it, since some adjustments of the local speech are necessary. These problems also relate to the culture transmitted by textbooks.

Regarding the obstacles associated with the social, demographic and cultural characteristics of New Brunswick, the participants stressed the problem of the province's low population density. According to the CIR employees, the social and demographic characteristics of small communities require that existing programs be "redesigned." Due to the small number of immigrants, the system is prevented from acquiring the appropriate resources for francization: "It is not that easy to go and see about tutors and francization officers… We don't always have the critical masses of students." (CIR)

Our participants also cited the linguistic diversity of the immigrants, the school-family relationship, which remains critical in the case of families that speak a language other than French, and the immigrants' social and cultural characteristics, which are often at odds with those of the FMC.

Discussion and recommendations

The participants cited a number of obstacles associated with integrating newcomers into FMC schools: lack of understanding of the educational system and of the host society, lack of communication among stakeholders, and discrepancies in the expectations among them. The participants also described some confusion in the relationship with the other, the immigrant whom one does not know, whom one has not welcomed, with whom there is no possibility of communication, to whom no help can be given because neither the immigrant's needs nor interests are known, etc., and who in some cases finally drops out and goes to the English-language sector.

However, it is necessary to consider these problems in their socio-economic and cultural context: immigration remains a heterogeneous phenomenon (involving several ethnic groups), in a context that has its own peculiarities. That is why teachers are called upon, in particular, to differentiate between their teaching and their evaluation, while keeping in mind the school's mission to preserve and promote French and the Acadian culture. This process of adaptation cannot take place without appropriate training

> The social and demographic characteristics of small communities require that existing programs be "redesigned." Due to the small numbers of immigrants, the system is prevented from acquiring the appropriate resources for francization.

for teaching staff and education managers, so that they can acquire the skills required in the field. This is an important question, which must be examined.

While several authors observe that the FMC school is often the only institution where French predominates (Allard and Landry, 1999; Bernard, 1997), the school also represents an important universe of socialization (both social and occupational) for immigrant children, and it must maintain this role or this socialization role might be channelled by other groups.

New Brunswick has already had several debates on education, but to date, education officials still have nothing to say about their policy and its future prospects. It is precisely this situation that is apparently causing education practitioners to feel uncertain and at sea. They are led to adopt certain practices (in teaching or evaluation) that come from their own initiatives, in order to meet the urgent needs of immigrant students. The system must respond to its new clientele, first of all, as a system, in accordance with a vision and a shared perspective. It is important to provide an institutional framework for francization and to start thinking about diversity and immigration. The system's decisions regarding education are still non-existent.

It goes without saying that the situation requires not only a common vision but the mobilization of significant human and material resources, including the appropriate tools for various actors (school principals, teachers, students and parents of the host society, as well as immigrant students and parents, and so on).

The schools must communicate and establish ties with their community, and especially with the most recently established families. Collaboration between schools and families is of course extremely important for establishing dialogue and supporting success. To facilitate this collaboration, however, it is necessary to establish school policies that govern the integration of immigrant students and the French language training offered to them, and to provide sufficient human and material resources to support these policies.

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"MY MOTHER IS FROM RUSSIA, MY FATHER IS FROM RWANDA"

The Relationship between Immigrant Families and the School System in Francophone Minority Communities

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Francophone immigration in minority communities is an issue that mobilizes social actors. No longer approached as an exceptional phenomenon, it is now the object of a national strategy (CIC 2003 and 2006). It has an important diversifying effect in educational establishments. Schools play a defining role in shaping the population, as access to knowledge is a key factor of academic achievement; conversely, failure leads to stigma (Kanouté 2006). The challenges encountered by Francophone immigrant families are not well known. How can we approach the question of diversity in minority schools? How is the transformation experienced in public schools? What are the obstacles to school participation? The objective of this paper is to gain a better understanding of school participation issues.

I will present findings from two studies conducted in French schools in Ontario, the first conducted between 2002 and 2004, and the second between 2003 and 2006. The first study was conducted in a metropolitan area, where we analyzed representations and institutional practices in 15 schools, as well as one community initiative developed by a local association of immigrant women[1] (Farmer et al. 2003, Farmer and Labrie, forthcoming). The data gathered in the second study concerns a school located outside of the major urban centers, in one of the oldest Francophone regions in the province, where immigration is seen as a recent phenomenon. This school belongs to a wider sample, pulled from a study on school work and socialization.[2] The analysis that follows is based on three series of indicators: issues linked to the context, issues that arise from the schools' solutions to managing diversity, and issues of family positioning. This enables us to see the transformation of French schools and the obstacles encountered by immigrant families. The following are some clarifications on the concepts that will be developed.

Studying the relationships between school and family

There is a dominant discourse in everything from science research to educational policies, teaching practices, and common wisdom that underscores the benefits of parent school participation and sets out the obstacles to participation (Epstein 1995, Fullan 1982, Labrie, Wilson and Roberge 2003). Obstacles can be materials (time, resources, access) and are especially symbolic (knowledge of the school system, its norms). Additional structural factors must be taken into account when identifying obstacles to participation. First, the relationship between schools and families is mainly defined from the institution's point of view. The school prescribes parental involvement and defines what a good parent is; this form of control can extend to the promotion of certain parenting methods (Dubet 1997, Duru-Bellat and van Zanten 1992, Migeot-Alvarado 2000, van Zanten, 2001). This is quite a revealing factor that can explain the institutional position of the parties involved in our two studies.

Furthermore, the relationship between the school and the family is shaped by the relative distance between the parents and the institution. This position is far from fixed; it can vary according to the position of the family in relation to the school. Some parents have more control over education, which puts them at an advantage in a competitive system. This leads to a first rift between families, based mainly on class differences.

The rift widens when it comes to immigrant families (Vatz-Laaroussi et al. 2005). According to Kanouté (2002), many elements contribute to this distance, including fluency, immigrant/refugee status and links to the home country, socio-economic and professional situation and integration experience. This situation is not without influencing school access and opportunities for academic achievement. The studies below take this concept of distancing into account, and question the school processes that have a distancing effect on Francophone immigrant families.

Issues linked to context

I will approach the question from the perspective of a study conducted on the relationship between the school system and immigrant families in Francophone minority communities (Farmer et al. 2003, Farmer and Labrie, forthcoming). The study explored how relations between institutions, parents and the community are structured in the context of school diversification in the region. The project was conducted in all French schools in the city, namely 12 elementary schools and three secondary schools. The data was gathered from official documents, 35 individual interviews, one group interview, observations and group discussions.

Schools in this region are culturally very diverse. In some establishments, we counted over 50 languages. This diversification can be explained by the waves of migration that began in the late 1980s. It can also be explained by the settling strategies privileged by immigrant families. The migration movement continued within the school district, depending on the families' integration conditions and improvements in living conditions.

From the point of view of the institution, while some schools welcome well-established families, others receive families in very precarious situations, especially downtown and near the airport. French schools in minority communities are considered regional, as they offer services over a greater territory than do neighbourhood schools in majority communities; however, the neighbourhood still has an influence on the school. Regarding mobility, the study showed that families are not the only ones moving around. School administrators rarely remain at one school for more than three years, and the teachers are also fairly transient.

Those are the first issues linked to school participation: the transience of actors (families, teachers and administrators) and the significant disparity between schools.

Institutional response to school diversification

The findings from that study also showed that the discourses and practices developed to manage the diversity of public schools arose from a certain "institutional gap." Francophone school boards have only been established in Ontario since 1997, following an in-depth education reform. They have not had the opportunity to implement the policy against racism developed a few years earlier (MÉFO 1993, Gérin-Lajoie 1995) and put aside by the Conservative government elected in 1995.

Our study revealed that school boards in the region are very interested in the issue and this greatly facilitated our access to schools. On the question of diversity, leadership is asserted by the school principals. Few school administrators responded that they have no school activities related to diversity (3 out of 15 schools). However, the responses were ad hoc, and mainly limited to arts education. The study underscored the school administrators' feeling of isolation and the urgency to act to fulfill pressing needs. Denouncing this situation, a school principal expressed his concern and said that he knew that there was talk about the big feast… and that something else must be done (Farmer and Labrie, forthcoming: 15).

Institutional measures have been taken to "manage" diversity. The first measure occurs before the child even attends the school; school registration is not automatic for immigrant families, who do not have the same educational rights granted to official language minorities. They must make a request to an admissions committee. The French development program is transformed into an informal reception program when necessary. This is mainly done on a case by case basis. Lastly, a settlement program was established in the schools, thanks to joint efforts of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, school boards in the region and the community. Appreciated by all the administrators, it was seen as a way to reach out to new families and, for secondary schools, to work with young refugees.

Many issues have been observed in this regard. Linguistic minorities' educational rights do not extend to Francophone immigrant families. Access to minority schools depends on the perception of the role of the admissions committee's (which is perceived as responding to requests from families in different ways or again as controlling access to French schools). The lack of a formal policy has important consequences, including spontaneous practices, lack of resources and failure to adjust to educational or legal measures (admissions committee, language classes). The leadership demonstrated by some school administrators and the partnerships developed recently, for example in settlement services, are avenues to be explored.

Issues associated with families' positioning

I will approach this last question based on the two studies conducted between 2002 and 2006. In both cases, we noted that schools tend to approach immigrant families based on "differences," which has a certain impact on the quality of this relationship. This can be seen in the type of contact between families and the school (the principal knows all the other parents, but not me), of school activities (talk to me about *your* country), and in the admissions process (I have to appear before a committee) (Farmer et al. 2003). Such practices distance families and the school and create significant barriers.

The second issue is related to the untapped potential for the community to facilitate relations between families and the school. An initiative by a local African women's association that we observed over a period of two years revealed many continuous negotiation processes between the association, the families and the school system. It also showed the support that can be provided by the community to the school (Farmer and Labrie, forthcoming).

The study we conducted from 2003 to 2006 also aimed to understand the school experience of children placed in multi-level classes, in various schools throughout the province. The school in question, established at the turn of the 20th century in an area that is now in a serious linguistic minority situation, saw its attendance diversify quickly in the last few years. This phenomenon really mobilized the discourse of school actors. We conducted 15 days of in-class observation, interviews with teachers, school administrators, parents and school children aged 9 and 10 (18 respondents in total), as well as a literature review. Here are some observations on the data collected.

We found that the teachers' discourse presented the school and its environment as separate spheres. The school is Francophone, in an Anglophone environment, and is attended by allophone families. Children, however, took much more nuanced positions in how they defined themselves in relation to their family and school. One child's mother was from Russia and the father was from Rwanda (d31oc5: 4).[3] A girl said that she was from Syria and that she spoke several languages (d1no5: 2). Another girl said that she was Muslim, came from Lebanon and liked to help out (d31oc5: 2). Thus, the challenge is to better understand this Francophonie, with its multiple trajectories, and try to break the isolation of the cultural Francophone minority.

This last element brings us back to equal opportunities for academic achievement. Children serve as intermediaries between the school and the family in day-to-day communications (Perrenoud 1995). Some of the students we met not only had to manage this daily reality but had to translate, both literally and symbolically, school documents and expectations, which is a heavy burden not all children share. Regarding homework, peer assistance was essential for some children. The challenge for schools and families is to better understand functions and expectations in separate contexts. This brings us back to the relative distance between parents and the school.

This paper is labelled under sociology of education, a sociology that focuses on the educational institution, its logic (system of constraints) and the interplay of social actors – teachers and other education professionals, parents, students and the social environment (Dubet and Martuccelli 1996, van Zanten 2001). This approach allows us to further study the school system. It also gives us a better understanding of educational and social inequalities as they emerge (Coulon 1990: 236). A better grasp of the processes puts actors in a better position to promote positive change. We have identified many issues that prevent immigrant families from participating in school life, as well as some challenges faced by the school. These include the transience of actors in the school system, the disparity between schools and the families' living conditions, educational rights for linguistic minorities, the lack of a formal educational policy, the complexity of local contexts, and partnerships that remain untapped. To this, we add distancing between the family and the school, and the representation of immigrant families based on differences. The real issue is the question of equal opportunities for academic achievement in children of immigrant families.

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Notes

[3] The information in brackets are internal references for the location of the transcript number and the page of the quote.

FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRATION IN MINORITY COMMUNITIES

The State of the Research

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E very year, Canada receives thousands of newcomers from every part of the world. Through immigration, the landscape of a number of Canadian communities has been transformed, and what emerges is a society that is increasingly multicultural, multilingual and multi-ethnic. While the majority of newcomers choose to settle in the large urban centres, and particularly in Anglophone communities, few of them opt for Francophone communities outside Quebec. For some years, the federal government has officially undertaken to promote immigration to Francophone minority communities and foresees reaching an annual target of 8,000 to 10,000 French-speaking immigrants (CIC Steering Committee 2006). However, receiving and integrating newcomers into groups that are themselves in a minority position is a complex problem, and more and more researchers are tending to orient their thinking toward the issues associated with this phenomenon.

This article suggests a certain state of research on Francophone immigration in minority communities. For this study, various documents published since 1995 by the university community, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and different levels of government have been grouped together in the form of an annotated bibliography. A reading grid was then designed to classify the documents collected according to the various themes they deal with. Relying on this preliminary work, we will try to identify the milestones of research on Francophone immigration, offering an overview of its recurrent themes and of its gaps. This will make it possible to establish research priorities in this field for years to come.
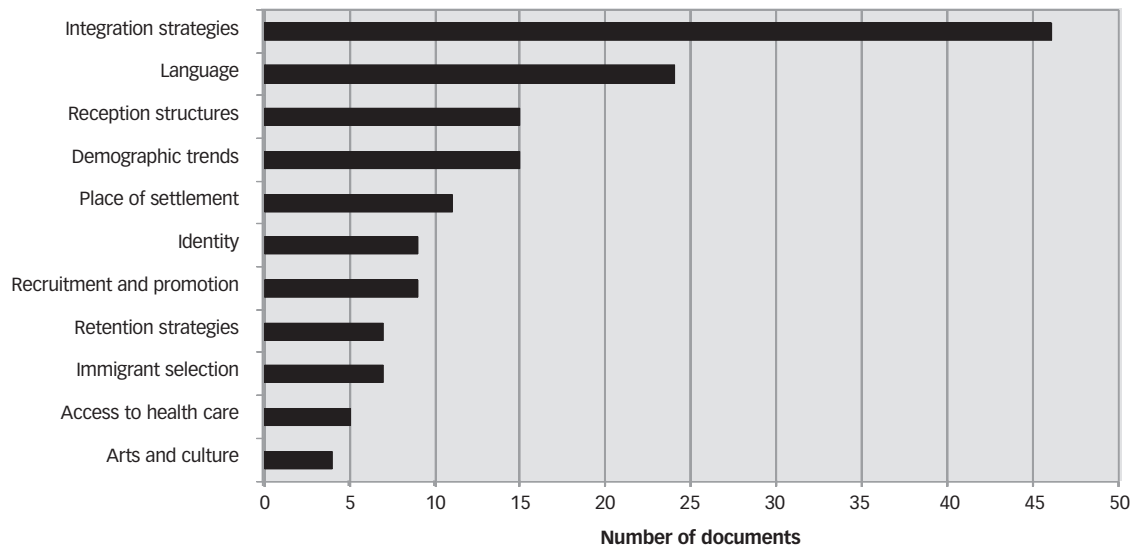
Major research issues

Since 1995, more than 50 studies have been devoted to Francophone immigration in minority communities, and several projects are currently underway across Canada. The growth in Francophone immigration and the flourishing of Francophone minority communities thus seem to be priority topics for a number of researchers and stakeholders. The research studies obviously approach this issue from many perspectives and in relation to many themes. For this reason, each of the documents inventoried for this study was classified according to the themes it deals with. As a result, we were able to observe the occurrence of the following themes:

- Demographic trends;

- Recruitment and promotion;

- Immigrant selection;

- Place of settlement;

- Reception structures;

- Retention strategies;

- Integration strategies;

- Arts and culture;

- Language;

- Identity;

- Access to health care.

This division of labour has enabled us to illustrate clearly the inequality in the treatment of various themes considered in research on Francophone immigration. As Table 1 shows, while some

Table 1
Occurrence of issues considered in research on Francophone immigration in a minority situation

themes seem to arouse considerable interest, others remain neglected by research. In order to arrive at a better understanding of the major issues associated with this field of research, it seems essential to shed light on our state of knowledge and on the avenues of research that need to be explored for each of these themes.

The state of knowledge

As we go through the various studies that have been inventoried, we cannot help but note the recurrence of the theme of integration, which seems to be the leading idea in thinking about immigration to minority communities. Many researchers are orienting their work toward the strategies put in place by the various bodies in society to facilitate the integration of Francophone newcomers into minority communities. We should first point out that the integration of immigrants represents in itself a considerable challenge, as the difficulties of adaptation can be experienced as much in the host society as in the immigrant community (Bitupu 2002). Integration is a process that is both personal and social; consequently, the services, resources and programs put in place by the host society go hand in hand with the newcomers' adaptation and integration mechanisms. It thus seems legitimate to study integration in tandem with other issues, such as reception, language training or retention, since those issues can have a definite reciprocal influence. Some research tends to examine the cause-and-effect relationship between the process of integrating immigrants and other coefficients. That makes it possible to more fully understand – to give only a few examples – the role of linguistic development in the process of integrating immigrants (Boudreau 2005), or that of reception services and structures as factors in the integration of newcomers (Dalley 2003). It should also be said that integration is not a process that proceeds in isolation; rather, it tends to depend on other factors that

have the power to strengthen it or, on the contrary, to weaken it. That certainly explains the importance attached to integration in research on Francophone immigration to minority communities.

To talk about integration is above all to take a look at the capacity of newcomers to create their own space, to develop new reference points and to contribute to the vitality of a community. Obviously, integration operates on various levels: social, cultural, economic, civic and community. To achieve true adaptation, the immigrant must first learn to be self-supporting by integrating into the economic life of the host country. Many recently published studies recognize the serious difficulties that immigrants face in the area of economic integration and employability. The situation is no different for immigrants who settle in French-Canadian communities. Some research work therefore tries to measure these difficulties and to offer solutions. In particular, the research identifies the obstacles that newcomers face in this area, such as the non-recognition of the diplomas and degrees they earned in their country of origin, the lack of work experience in the host country, and the negative attitude of employers toward immigration (Chambon et al. 2001, Li 2001, Lafontant et al. 2006). Language is another key factor in the economic integration of immigrants. The fact that a number of immigrants who settle in a Francophone minority community are unilingual is an obstacle to their integration. Several studies mention the importance of providing newcomers with accurate, complete information on the linguistic realities of minority communities (Okana-Solutions Marketing 2002, CIC 2006).

In addition to the difficulties of economic integration faced by newcomers, researchers are interested in the inclusion of young immigrants in Francophone schools. What perceptions and attitudes do these schools have with regard to immigration? Have the provinces adopted practices to meet the needs of students with

different ethnic backgrounds? Some researchers have attempted to answer these questions (Gallant 2005, Gérin-Lajoie 1995). Research interest in minority community schools is certainly not limited to the experience of young immigrants; in particular, the cultural enrichment that immigrant teachers can bring is not overlooked. Though access to teaching positions seems arduous – according to several researchers – the inclusion of teachers from ethnic minorities appears to be beneficial both to students and to the community (Lamontagne 2002, Gérin-Lajoie and Demers 2003).

Language obviously plays a vital role in research on Francophone minority communities, and research interest in language-related problems thus seems perfectly legitimate. While the literature on language issues in Francophone immigration to minority communities does not always examine these issues in depth, the fact is that the particular context of Francophone communities outside Quebec raises many questions. Several authors have noted the barriers encountered by these immigrants as members of both a racial minority and a linguistic minority. Some advocate strengthening Francophone institutions so that immigrants can develop their potential in their own language (Boudreau 2005, Madibbo 2005), while others are more concerned about the problems of identity often associated with membership in a linguistic minority (Quell 1998, Madibbo and Maury 2001).

Furthermore, Francophone minority communities do not attract a sufficient number of immigrants to reflect their demographic weight, and that is why a number of studies consider the fact that Francophone communities will have to increase the number of French-speaking immigrants they attract to counter this downward demographic trend (Jedwab 2002, Quell 2002, Adam, 2003), although this issue may not be the main thrust of their analysis. Recruitment and promotion efforts are thus advocated, to attract immigrants to Francophone communities and also to foster regionalization of

immigration (Belkhodja 2005, Fontaine 2005). A review of the literature shows that considerable importance is attached to Francophone intake and settlement structures, which unfortunately seem to be deficient in several regions of the country. According to some researchers, providing intake structures adapted to a region's social and demographic reality would help to retain and integrate immigrants (Dalley 2003, Association francophone des municipalités du Nouveau-Brunswick 2004, Carrefour d'immigration rurale 2006).

The contribution of the university community and the active participation of the various levels of government and of non-governmental organizations are considerable. Close collaboration within this network of researchers makes it possible to pursue the objectives that were originally set, namely, to increase the number of French-speaking immigrants in minority communities and to improve strategies for recruiting, receiving and integrating immigrants. These themes reflect the main concerns of researchers who are trying to understand the issues associated with Francophone immigration to minority communities. While the questions pursued in this area have not all been considered comprehensively, the matter deserves further thought, but with some change in analytical perspective in order to think about the phenomenon of immigration along different lines.

Research gaps

While it is unquestionably important to deal with the problems discussed above, it seems essential to orient research toward filling some undeniable gaps in the body of research. Researchers seem to be paying great attention to economic factors in migratory movements, yet neglect the specific cultural aspects of immigration to Canada's Francophone communities. However, the foundations of our society are obviously modified and renewed by contacts between various cultures living together in the same space. In the research published on Francophone immigration, there is a lack of concern for the cultural impact of

Table 2
Occurrence and distribution of the theme of integration in research work on Francophone immigration to minority communities
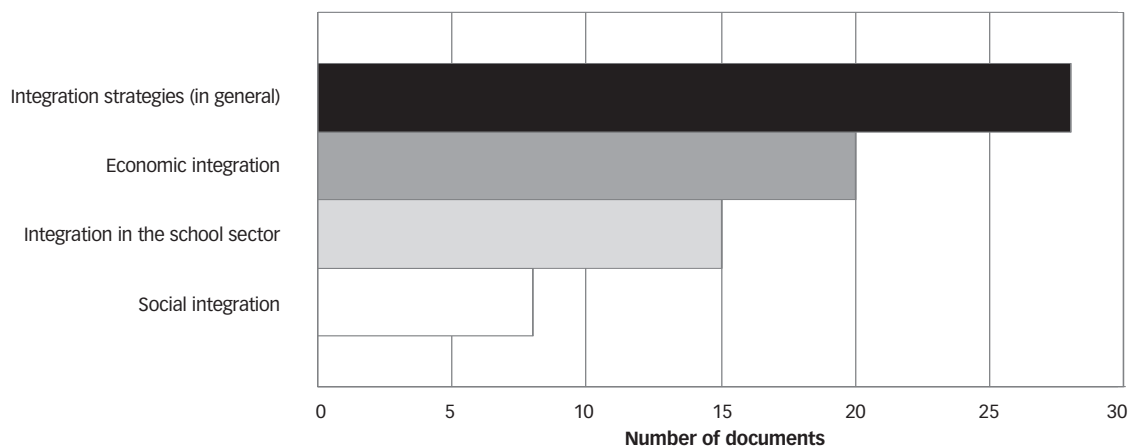
migration on the immigrant population and on the host society. We must point out that we are thinking of culture in its broadest sense, as embracing not only mores and customs, but also the arts and religious practices. This is a vast field, of great importance to immigrants in their everyday lives. To cite another neglected area, while there is considerable interest in the integration of immigrants into Francophone minority communities, few studies offer an in-depth examination of social inclusion (see Table 2). The only research work that deals with this topic concerns young people and their school environment (Madibbo and Maury 2001, Gallant 2005, Moke Ngala 2005), though it is acknowledged that social networks undeniably play a role in the process whereby immigrants become integrated and put down roots.

In addition, most of the studies we reviewed focused on pre-immigration phases (promotion, recruitment, selection) and on arrival in the host country (reception and settlement structures, economic integration). But what of immigrants' everyday experience? Instead of looking at immigration in purely migratory terms, it would be worthwhile to consider its full reality and to study it in relation to managing diversity and social inclusion. In other words, in studying Francophone immigration to minority communities, researchers should do more than consider newcomers, and should think about how the various ethnic groups that make up Canada's Francophone community are realizing their potential. That would certainly result in a more accurate picture of the situation experienced by immigrants in Canada's Francophone communities and would thus facilitate their integration and retention.

Future outlooks

The issues surrounding Francophone immigration to minority communities are complex and have yet to receive much attention. However, the need for more research is strongly felt. As noted, few studies have considered the social, cultural, artistic and identity aspects of the phenomenon, although analysis of immigration from these angles would shed new light on the integration of the immigrants who have settled in Canada's Francophone minority communities. With contributions from the university community, various levels of government and NGOs, the coming years should see the emergence of new lines of thinking that will foster the full development of Francophones who immigrate to minority communities.

Given the observed gaps in research on Francophone immigration to minority communities, recruitment strategies should be strengthened to promote our Francophone communities in the countries forming the mosaic of the worldwide Francophone community. That would also help reverse an unfavourable demographic trend. Regarding the cultural and artistic aspects of immigration, it would be worthwhile, for example, to assess how Francophone immigrants take an interest in, and participate in, social, cultural and artistic activities across the country (festivals, shows, etc.), to study the circulation of ethnic artists within the Francophone space, to observe how French-speaking Canadians perceive ethnic arts, or again to look at the representation

and involvement of Francophone immigrants in community, cultural and arts institutions. Along the same lines, an analysis of the contribution of French-speaking immigrants to the vitality of Francophone communities would undoubtedly lead to a better understanding of the process by which these immigrants become integrated and put down roots. These issues could also be looked at through a study of migratory movements within Canada's Francophone community or through a census of Francophone immigrants in terms of how they perceive their identity.

That, then, is our brief overview, however incomplete, of some factors whose examination might help enlighten the stakeholders who deal with immigration to Francophone minority communities. Through the combined efforts of the researchers working in this field, we will achieve a better understanding of this phenomenon in all its aspects.

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Facts and Figures 2006: Immigration Overview for Atlantic Canada—Permanent and Temporary Residents
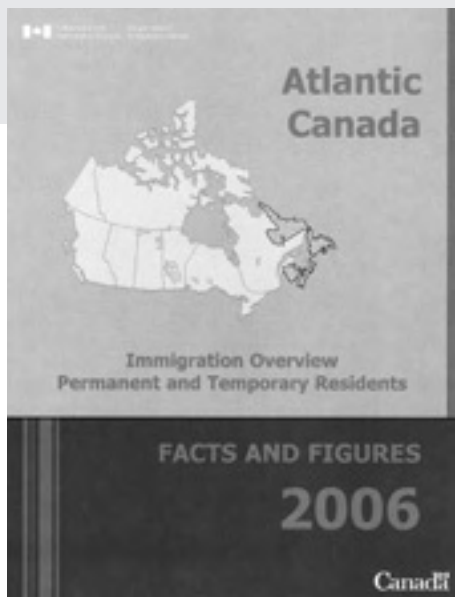
Facts and Figures 2006: Immigration Overview for Atlantic Canada—Permanent and Temporary Residents presents immigration statistics for the provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The report provides the annual intake of permanent residents by category of immigration and of temporary residents by primary status from 1980 to 2006 as well as the annual December 1st stock of temporary residents during the same period. The main body of the publication consists of a series of statistical tables and charts covering the ten-year period from 1997 to 2006. The publication is divided into two separate sections, each depicting selected characteristics for the permanent resident population or the temporary resident population during this ten-year period.

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LINGUISTIC ISSUES OF FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRATION IN ACADIAN NEW BRUNSWICK

The State of Research

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This article complements previous contributions[1] and describes the progress of the main areas of linguistic research conducted since 2003 on Francophone immigration to Acadian minority communities and a number of proposals that could result from it. In fact, the year 2003 marks a significant linguistic watershed regarding issues relating to immigration to Canada with the development and adoption of the *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities*. Also, the term "Francophone immigration" is especially revealing for the purposes of our discussion. Have there ever been any discussions around Anglophone immigration? Not as far as we know. This can be explained primarily by the fact that the Anglophone community in Canada represents the majority (in terms of numbers) and dominance (in symbolic status), allowing it to obscure any language issues. Francophone communities, however, because they are in the minority, feel a political heightening of these issues. So, the mention of Francophone immigration makes it possible to recognize the linguistic issues that this phenomenon represents for Canada's Francophone population, and more specifically, for the ca se at hand, the Acadian Francophone population. In this article, we will present our key research questions and the principal themes that emerged from them. As sociolinguists, we are interested in the linguistic representations of French-speaking immigrants. By "representations" we mean language-related beliefs, images, values and attitudes.

Our field studies were carried out within the framework of three interdisciplinary research groups – the Atlantic Metropolis Centre's Culture, Language and Identity domain, led by Annette Boudreau (2005-2007); the CDI project, led by Nicole Gallant from the Université de Moncton; and the project entitled "La francité transnationale," led by Monica Heller from the University of Toronto. We conducted our field research together with Sonya Malaborza, a doctoral candidate in language sciences and a research assistant for 2004-2005. The research consisted of 17 semi-directed interviews, a focus group[2] comprised of seven members of people from the sub-Saharan French-speaking community in Moncton, more than 20 hours of ethnographic observation at a drop-in centre for French-speaking immigrants and perusing official documents from the federal and provincial governments and various Acadian organizations, as well as articles relating to our research topic published in *L'Acadie nouvelle*, a daily newspaper that serves the province's French-speaking population. To date, we have limited our research to the region of Moncton, located in the south-east of the province, because in addition to being home to a greater number of immigrants than the so-called homogenous regions (the northeast part of the province), it has the advantage of raising the language issue due to the "language contact"[3] situation there. We will close by setting out a number of proposals that may be of use in managing the linguistic and cultural diversity within present-day Acadian Francophonie.

Bilingualism: Illusion or reality?

The initial thrust of our research was to study representations of bilingualism in New Brunswick among French-speaking immigrants who have settled in the province. We were interested in the bilingual nature of the province and wondered about the attraction that this could represent for French-speaking immigrants. New Brunswick has been officially bilingual since 1969, that is,

the Province recognizes the equality of French and English in the services it provides. But this is not a uniform and symmetrical bilingualism. For some, the concept of bilingualism is often very nebulous and it is difficult to determine what it covers in the political and legislative arenas on the one hand, and the public and commercial arenas, on the other hand.

Therefore, we first sought to determine if New Brunswick's bilingualism had played a role in the settlement of French-speaking immigrants in the province. We then attempted to discern their representations of bilingualism prior to their arrival as well as after they had settled in the province in order to detect any potential gaps. Once these initial elements had been established, we then attempted to evaluate the outcomes and learn lessons from them in developing a provincial strategy for attracting French-speaking immigrants from abroad. We must stat up front that the scope of our research is not broad enough to allow us to make generalizations. It is more of a preliminary type of investigation to outline a number of answers to questions for further study. Overall, the idea that seems to be emerging is that bilingualism as it is experienced in New Brunswick does not measure up to the expectations and representations that are normally raised by the notion of bilingualism. Many people had the expectation they would be able to use the two official languages interchangeably, as can be seen from this interview excerpt:

> [*Translation*]
> Yousuf:[4] When you arrive you know that this country, this province, is a province, the only officially bilingual province in Canada…that enjoys a linguistic duality, but what does duality mean….I would like to be able to receive services in this language…just like…my friend…my neighbour…my colleague who decides to…associate with the English-speaking side,…which is not the case.

The immigrants that we interviewed were confused by the predominance of English and by the fact that not having a mastery of English represents a substantial roadblock to their participation in public and professional life. Moreover, it is difficult to determine at this point in our research whether New Brunswick's bilingual nature is a factor in attracting immigrants, especially since the Province is not very involved in activities abroad promoting Canadian destinations.[5] In addition, a large number of French-speaking immigrants pass through other provinces, primarily Quebec, before settling in New Brunswick. However, it seems fair to say that bilingualism shapes the interactions, practices and representations of French-speaking immigrants in their daily lives in New Brunswick. This observation brings us to our second point of discussion, namely the linguistic representations of immigrants in living the sociolinguistic situation in Acadian New Brunswick.

Linguistic representations of French-speaking immigrants

If we have, up until now, placed a great deal of emphasis on the concept of bilingualism, it is because it is very much a part of the Province's political and institutional discourse. Yet, this concept is not suitable for understanding the sociolinguistic characteristics of the province's French-speaking community. In fact, bilingualism tends to obscure the unequal power relationships that govern linguistic practices and interactions between speakers of different languages. In light of this discrepancy between discourse and reality, we looked at the representations that French-speaking immigrants have of the relationships between English and French and also the language or languages and varieties of languages spoken in Acadia. We elected to focus on two topics that we felt had particular significance for our issue.

The workplace

Entering the work force is one determining factor in keeping immigrants in a given location. Immigrants will settle first in places where there is employment, which also explains the concentration of migratory flows to the three major Canadian cities, Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. We therefore wondered about this process of socio-economic integration for French-speaking immigrants living in Moncton. In fact, the labour market is dominated by English: knowledge of English is a necessity, whereas knowledge of French *may* be an asset. This situation reinforces the idea that in order to succeed professionally, you can forget about French, which is hard for French-speaking immigrants who are not very familiar with English to accept.

> [*Translation*]
> Locutus: You can carry on in French, but if you want more, forget French. Go with English and help French disappear more quickly. Because wherever you go, it's English. When you see Francophones here they even say that they prefer to be served in English, rather than French; you go to a meeting where there are ten Francophones, there is one English-speaking person mumbling a few words in French, and then the meeting switches to English. There's something wrong here….So it's an obstacle. I would say that speaking French here serves no purpose. Except if you work at the university, the hospital or Radio-Canada.

Immigrants who come here thinking that they are in a bilingual environment and that they will be able to use French as their working language quickly become disillusioned. Knowledge of English is compulsory in virtually all public places in Moncton.

For newcomers, the language situation in Moncton is difficult to interpret. Greater Moncton is 40% French-speaking, but that 40% is only visible in Dieppe (Boudreau and Dubois 2005). Immigrants who come here thinking that they are in a bilingual environment and that they will be able to use French as their working language quickly become disillusioned. Knowledge of English is compulsory in virtually all public places in Moncton. English therefore represents greater chances of integration, but this strategy does not work for everyone. One of the people interviewed told us that she was let go from a call centre after management had received complaints about her accent in English. So, we return to the concept of bilingualism and what it involves for each individual: in a minority Francophone situation, the expectations are very high for competency in English, that is, nearly equal to that of a "native speaker." We can observe, from the interview excerpts quoted, that the socio-linguistic situation has given way to varied interpretations that, in turn, have resulted in different represen-tations and attitudes regarding French and the Francophone community. We must, therefore, work with Franco-phone immigrants and explain the dynamics of the languages in Moncton to them without passing the torch of safeguarding French in Acadia to them. This ambiguous and ambivalent relationship that the immigrants have toward the language spoken by Acadians, especially those in the Moncton area, constitutes our second focus for analysis.

Linguistic variation: Chiac, Acadian French and the conflict of legitimacy

With generalized use of expressions such as "Francophone community," "Acadian Francophonie" and "Francophone immigration," while it is tempting to represent the French language as the common base uniting a number of highly diversified populations, it would be more appropriate to talk about a number of French languages or linguistic varieties of French, where variations in some cases are very pronounced (Violette 2006). From this reality flows another challenge related to language and immigration – that of managing the linguistic diversity when there is a coming together with the "other Francophone." Research has already determined that the Acadians from the south-east of the province tend to devalue their way of speaking French because it differs from "standard French" and incorporates a number of English terms (Boudreau and Dubois 2001). These negative representations are adopted by a certain number of the immigrants who were interviewed, and this can lead to a certain distancing or even disengagement when it comes to the recognition of French (previous excerpt). Nonetheless, we would be wrong to conclude too quickly that Chiac and Acadian French represent an obstacle to the integration of French-speaking immigrants into the Acadian community. Several of the interviewees stated that, on the contrary, they liked this variation, and some even said that they had adopted some of the regional terms and expressions to show their sense of belonging to the local Francophone community:

> [*Translation*]
> Henri: [Chiac] it's like a way to become… accepted….It happens quicker like for helping in relationships with people.…You're showing that you speak their language. It helps a lot.

We cannot discuss here all the issues involved in this problem; nevertheless, we can state that the Acadian community will never be able to constitute a welcoming community in its own right if it does not receive full social recognition of its language.

Proposals in lieu of conclusion

In this the last part, we propose to discuss certain measures that could be adopted in an attempt to better manage the linguistic challenges faced by French-speaking immigrants living in New Brunswick, particularly in the area in and around Moncton. While we still need to probe further and refine our research, our research thus far enables us to propose four possible paths to be explored. They are:

- Highlight the linguistic skills and resources related to French and English by emphasizing the fact that it is not because a language fails to respond to all social func-tions, as is the case with French, that it should be devalued, or indeed even abandoned.

- Encourage innovation and dialogue with a view to creating Francophone spaces in the province. The establishment of the Centre d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants du Moncton métropolitain is a good model. In addition to making French its working language, this centre encourages dialogue between the "receiving community" and the "immigrant commu-nity" through activities such as themed early evening get-togethers organized on an almost monthly basis.

- Host public information sessions on issues related to minority societies and languages, and, more particu-larly, those in Acadian New Brunswick. By better understanding the language situation of their own community, immigrants will be able to participate in its development. For example, many immigrants of French origin that we interviewed were intending to send their children to the English-language

Several of the interviewees stated that, on the contrary, they liked this variation [referring to Chiac/Acadian French], and some even said that they had adopted some of the regional terms and expressions in order to show their sense of belonging to the local Francophone community.

school so that they could become "truly" bilingual. These parents, drawing on their own experience and wishing to offer their children an opportunity to become bilingual, send their children to the English-language school, unaware of the repercussions of their actions in a minority Francophone situation. Many of them realized later that English can be acquired very easily in the area. As a result, in order to allow full participation in the Francophone community, it is desirable that immigrants possess a knowledge of the sociolinguistic reality and related issues.

In the same vein, training courses in French should be offered to immigrants wishing to perfect their knowledge of French. Also, it would be important to develop an awareness of linguistic variation, that is, discuss the fact that French is not unique and uniform by highlighting local characteristics in such a way as to foster comprehension between the various speakers of French.

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Notes

1 The results discussed here have been covered in previous articles (see Boudreau, Malaborza and Violette (2006) in the Metropolis Working Papers Series, Violette and Boudreau (forthcoming) and Violette in this issue).

2 This focus group was carried out as part of another project funded by the SSHRC, entitled Profiles of Immigrant Communities in Atlantic Canada: The Role of Networks in Attracting, Retaining and Integrating Immigrant Men and Women in Atlantic Canada, led by Nicole Gallant, Professor at l'Université de Moncton.

3 Moncton is the only bilingual city in Canada. The French-speaking and English-speaking communities live together with one another, and this sometimes gives rise to confrontation and tension.

4 To ensure the anonymity of all our interviewees, names used are fictitious.

5 Little is known about New Brunswick by immigrants prior to their arrival in Canada.

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