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FMC Reception Capacity Typology Comparative Analysis of British Columbia and Manitoba

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Table of contents

List of Acronyms.....	iii
Executive Summary	iv
Introduction	viii
1. Literature Review	1
1.1. From nation to community and from community to minorities: the very gradual shift in focus to Francophone diversity	1
1.1.1. <i>Shift from nation to community</i>	1
1.1.2. <i>Shift from community to minorities</i>	3
1.2. Immigration and integration policy issues.....	5
1.2.1. <i>Francophone immigration and community vitality</i>	6
1.2.2. <i>Continuum approach</i>	7
1.2.3. <i>Policy regulation issues</i>	11
2. Methodology	13
2.1. Bibliography and literature review	13
2.2. Review of secondary data	13
2.3. Semi-structured interviews	13
2.4. Participant observation	13
3. Immigration and Multiculturalism in a Bilingual Context	14
3.1. Federal legislation	14
3.2. Provincial legislation.....	16
4. Sociodemographic Data	19
4.1. Definitions.....	19
4.2. Comparative portrait of the Francophone Population and French-speaking Newcomers.....	20
5. Comparison of Reception Strategies and Capacities	25
5.1. Prioritization of Francophone Immigration in British Columbia and Manitoba.....	25
5.2. Service Offer	25
5.2.1. <i>Promotion and Recruitment</i>	26
5.2.2. <i>Reception and Settlement</i>	30
5.2.3. <i>Integration Sectors and Services</i>	31
5.3. Clienteles.....	36
5.4. Organizational Structure and Community Governance	39
5.4.1. <i>Before Repatriation</i>	39
5.4.2. <i>After Repatriation</i>	40
Conclusion	43
Recommendations	46
Appendix A: Bibliography	49
Appendix B: Community Maps	57
Appendix C: List of Organizations Interviewed and Number of Persons per Organization	61
Appendix D: Liste des personnes interviewées.....	62

List of tables

Table 1 :	Francophone (FOLS) and Francophile Population , British Columbia and Manitoba, 2011	20
Table 2 :	Distribution of Francophones (FOLS) by Concentration Index within their Municipality, British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006.....	21
Table 3 :	Number and Percentage of French-speaking Immigrants (15 years and older), British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006 to 2013	22
Table 4 :	Service Offer in British Columbia and Manitoba	33
Table 5 :	Clientèles in British Columbia and Manitoba	36
Table 6 :	Francophone/Anglophone Collaboration on Settlement Services.....	42

List of figures

Figure 1 :	Birthplace of Francophones (FOLS), British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006	20
Figure 2 :	Principal Countries of Origin of Francophone Immigrants (FOLS), British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006.....	22
Figure 3:	Regions of Origin of Francophone Immigrants (FOLS), British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006	23
Figure 4 :	Immigration Class of Mother-Tongue Francophone Immigrants, British Columbia, 2013	24
Figure 5 :	Immigration Class of Immigrants with a Knowledge of French, Manitoba, 2013.....	24
Figure B1 :	British Columbia before Repatriation	57
Figure B2 :	British Columbia after Repatriation (2014).....	58
Figure B3 :	Manitoba before Repatriation	59
Figure B4 :	Manitoba after Repatriation (2013)	60

List of Acronyms

AFAI	<i>Agence francophone pour la réception et l'intégration des immigrants</i>
AFSurrey	<i>Association francophone de Surrey</i>
AUFC	<i>Association des universités de la francophonie canadienne</i>
BC-FISC	BC-Francophone Immigration Steering Committee
CDEM	<i>Conseil de développement économique des municipalités bilingues du Manitoba</i>
CIAI	Centre of Integration for African Immigrants
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
DSFM	<i>Division scolaire franco-manitobaine</i>
EAL	English as an Additional Language
ELSA	English Language Services for Adults
ESL	English as a Second Language
FCFA	<i>Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada</i>
FCMs	Francophone Minority Communities
FFCB	<i>Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique</i>
FIN	Francophone Immigration Network
FOLS	First Official Language Spoken
ISSBC	Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia
LINC	Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada
LIP	Local Immigration Partnerships
OFFA	Office of Francophone and Francophile Affairs
OLMCs	Official Language Minority Communities
RIFCB	<i>Réseau en immigration francophone de la Colombie-Britannique</i>
RIFMB	<i>Réseau en immigration francophone du Manitoba</i>
ROC	Rest of Canada
ROF	Rest of Francophones
RVPP	<i>Rendez-vous des presidents et presidentes</i>
SDE	<i>Société de développement économique</i>
SFM	<i>Société franco-manitobaine</i>
SFU	Simon Fraser University
SUCCESS	United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society
TÉFIÉ	<i>Travailleuses et travailleurs en établissement des familles immigrantes dans les écoles</i>
UBC	University of British Columbia
USB	Université de Saint-Boniface
WELARC	Winnipeg English Language Assessment and Referral Centre
WHP	Working Holiday Program
WTC	World Trade Centre

Executive Summary

Canada has a long history of immigration and immigrant integration. The recent diversification of migratory flows has, however, had profound impacts on the forms of political regulation. This is notably the case for official language minority communities (OLMC). For several years, the declining number of Canadians whose maternal language is French has prompted immigration to be seen as a way to compensate for the decline of Francophones outside of Quebec and to contribute to the vitality and survival of these communities. Specific plans to attract and retain Francophone immigrants were implemented during the 2000s, and as a result, a large portion of Francophone minority communities are immigrants, creating new plurilingual and multicultural Francophone spaces.

These Francophone minority communities can be thought of as spaces with redefining boundaries. The importance of studying these small spaces resides in the intense and shifting cleavages in Canada in regards to linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity, interactions between bilingualism, multiculturalism and federalism and the ways in which these cleavages impact citizenship in a neoliberal governance context.

How are these spaces laid out? How do these communities implement strategies to recruit, receive and integrate French-speaking newcomers while in the context of claiming linguistic rights in Canada? In turn, how do these community-led strategies, in the context of claiming linguistic rights in Canada, fit and restructure these spaces?

The recognition of “Otherness” within Francophone minority communities has evolved over the course of time. What had once been a national and homogenous representation of French Canada developed into a community vision that was much more fragmented, as provinces began to be the new standard of reference from the 1960s onward. International immigration in the 1990s prompted an increased awareness of ethnocultural diversification and changed the contours of these new spaces, modifying the representations of “Self” and “Other”, as Francophone communities acknowledged “Otherness” within their communities. Conceptualizing a “minority within a minority” was a game changer for these communities, and it’s within this context that immigration became – not without its tensions – a factor of revitalization.

Although academic research has only recently begun to address ethnicity and immigration within the Canadian *francophonie*, there is now a burgeoning literature on this topic that addresses the themes of identity and vitality of communities, and is structured around the idea of a continuum of attraction, selection, reception, settlement and retention. However, a limited number of studies have taken a public policy approach and this study intends to enrich this corpus.

This study compares British Columbia and Manitoba. Although the historical, socio-demographic and geographic characteristics of these two provinces are distinct, these provinces share a number of institutional characteristics: both signed agreements with the federal government in order to gain further responsibilities in the selection, reception and settlement of immigrants, and both provinces were required by the federal government to recentralize the management of these settlement programs (effective in 2013 for Manitoba and in 2014 for British Columbia). In this context of similarities and differences, this

comparative study of “most similar cases” allows us to isolate the differences between the two cases, as the institutional constraints are similar.

This study combines several methods of compiling data: a literature review of Francophone immigration in minority settings (i), the processing and analysis of statistical data concerning immigration and Francophone minorities in Manitoba and British Columbia (ii), a study of the principal texts of laws adopted by the federal, British Columbian and Manitoban governments since 2000 (iii), a press review of Francophone immigration and of the two communities (iv), semi-directed interviews (v) and finally, participant observation in British Columbia (vi).

Francophone immigration in OLMCs refers to several legislative and political regimes: multiculturalism, immigration, and official languages. Although these are distinct issues, they are nevertheless inter-related. The federal regime is essentially characterized by the *Official Languages Act* (1969), the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982), the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988) and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (2002). Multiple strategic plans to foster immigration in OLMCs (the most recent being the *Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages*) and the creation of a target for Francophone immigration (of 4.4%) stem from this legal ensemble.

In this context of similar constraints, a distinct political and legal regime is apparent in both provinces. Both provinces adopted similar legislation regarding multiculturalism: The *Manitoba Multiculturalism Act* (1992) and the *Multiculturalism Act* (1993) in British Columbia. They both signed a series of agreements with the federal government on immigration and integration (since 1996 for Manitoba and 1998 for British Columbia), which were canceled in 2012 by the federal government. Nevertheless, the provinces are still active in the selection of immigrants through the Provincial Nominee Program. In terms of official languages, the two provinces differ significantly: only the province of Manitoba has a *French Language Services Policy* and a target for Francophone immigration (of 7%).

In terms of population, Francophone immigration in both provinces is a recent phenomenon (arrival since 1996) and in a state of growth. French-speaking immigrants are increasingly becoming a larger proportion within OLMCs (25% in British Columbia in comparison to 5% in Manitoba, Statistics Canada 2006).

The number of French-speaking landed immigrants has evolved over the past ten years in both provinces. The fact that British Columbia welcomes more French-speaking immigrants than Manitoba in absolute numbers is not a surprise. What is more surprising is that the province admitted a larger percentage of French-speaking immigrants than Manitoba between 2006 and 2011, with a maximum of 4.6% in 2007. Manitoba struggles to reach its target of 7%, its highest rate of Francophone immigration being only 3.8% in 2012. Nevertheless, since 2010, the number of French-speaking immigrants in British Columbia has decreased while it has increased in Manitoba. In addition, there are important differences between the categories of immigrants each province receives, as Manitoba receives a large percentage of refugees (representing one quarter of its immigration in 2013).

The forms of community governance are also specific and shape the recruitment, reception and integration strategies, and reciprocally. Not only do these strategies influence the scope and type of services delivered to Francophone immigrants, they also have an impact on the organizations offering these services, and ultimately restructure the forms of community governance.

In order to compare the settlement capacity of Francophone minority communities in Manitoba and British Columbia, three principal criteria are distinguished in this report: the offer of reception and integration services (i); the clientele (ii); and the organizational structure of the community, including relations with organizations of the majority-language community that offer settlement services (iii).

Manitoba considered Francophone immigration to be a political field of action earlier than British Columbia. Since the beginning of the 2000s, the *Société franco-manitobaine* (SFM) and the ensemble of Francophone organizations in Manitoba came together with a shared plan, *Agrandir notre espace Francophone*. As a province that doesn't "naturally" attract many immigrants, the province of Manitoba, with the collaboration of community organizations, focused on developing recruitment and attraction strategies right from the beginning. Conversely, British Columbia is considered an attractive destination for immigrants and the province consequently took longer to focus on developing Francophone immigration. The first "action plan" dated to the middle of the 2000s. Without consulting the community like the Manitobans did, British Columbia embraced the priorities put forth in the *Strategic Framework* to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities rather than develop its own unique strategic vision.

These different strategies have affected which services are offered in both provinces. In regards to promotional international initiatives and recruiting immigrants, both communities use similar tools (notably Destination Canada, Francophone Significant Benefit, and buying advertising space in magazines abroad). However, the proactive attitude of the Manitoban communities is highlighted by a certain number of practices that they exclusively conduct: recruitment in Francophone countries since the end of the 1990s, exploratory visits of Manitoba, international student recruitment, and refugee sponsorship agreements.

The provincial strategies are also distinct in terms of reception and settlement services. In Manitoba, *l'Accueil Francophone* has been the "one-stop-shop" for providing settlement services to French-speaking immigrants since 2003. In British Columbia, the creation in 2008 of *l'Agence Francophone pour l'accueil et l'intégration des immigrants* (AFAI) fulfilled the need for receiving and integrating French-speaking immigrants, but was not able to provide settlement services, as these were dispensed by Francophone or bilingual employees in Anglophone organizations. In 2014, following the federal recentralization of settlement services, the federal government recognized the Francophone community's ability to provide services. There are now three service centers in the province. In comparison, Manitoba has experienced limited impacts as a result of the federal recentralization of settlement services.

In regards to their clientele, community organizations endeavor to provide the whole scope of services for Francophone and francophiles and to adapt these services to a diverse clientele with various needs. In both provinces, organizations have an implicit understanding among themselves in terms of who serves which clientele. Nevertheless, the repatriation of settlement services restricted the eligibility requirements and had a significant impact on the provision of services for both communities (in particular for international students and temporary workers). Additionally, the recentralization had the effect of increasing competition between organizations.

In terms of community governance, the repatriation of services changed the situation in both provinces. In the Manitoban case, the loss of a certain work culture was the subject of

worry and questions. In the British Columbian case, the recognition of the community's ability to offer services was accompanied with debates in regards to the legitimacy of the organization representing the Francophone community in delivering direct services to French-speaking newcomers.

As with the federal and provincial governments, the official language minority communities of Manitoba and British Columbia consider immigration as a demographic, linguistic, and economic resource. In the same way that immigration is an instrument of national and provincial constructs for the governments, Francophone immigration plays a central role in community development. All the same, what was not anticipated is how immigration has exacerbated the competition between actors that look for all possible means of maximizing their benefits. In this way, immigrants have been a source of tensions and intergovernmental and community restructuration.

The report concludes with a list of public policy recommendations.

Introduction

Canada has a long history of immigration and immigrant integration. The recent diversification of migratory flows has, however, had profound impacts on the forms of political regulation. This is notably the case for Francophone minority communities.¹ For several years now, the declining number of Canadians whose mother tongue is French has prompted immigration to be seen as a way to compensate for the decline of Francophones outside Quebec and to contribute to the “vitality” and even survival of these communities. Specific plans to attract and retain Francophone immigrants have been introduced since the 2000s and, as a result, Francophone minority communities include a large proportion of immigrants, creating new plurilingual and multicultural Francophone spaces.

How are these spaces configured? How do these communities proceed in order to implement strategies to recruit, receive and integrate French-speaking newcomers while in the context of claiming linguistic rights in Canada? How do the boundaries for inclusion and exclusion take shape within such communities? And how do the strategies to recruit, receive and integrate French-speaking newcomers in the context of claiming linguistic rights in Canada, and were put in place by communities, fit and (re)structure these spaces?

To answer those questions, we have divided the report into five parts:

- The first comprises a literature review;
- The second covers methodology and data collection;
- The third summarizes the political and legislative context of Francophone immigration;
- The fourth compares demographic data on immigration and the *francophonie* in Manitoba and British Columbia; and
- The fifth compares strategies for recruiting, receiving and integrating immigrants on the basis of three main criteria: (i) offer/ fields of reception and integration services; (ii) clientele; and (iii) the community's organizational structure, including relationships with the reception and integration bodies of the majority official language community.

We conclude the report by summarizing key findings and making policy recommendations.

¹ In this document, the terms “Canadian francophonie,” “Francophone communities” and “Francophone minorities” all refer to French-language minorities. Any reference to Francophones or Francophone communities in Quebec is made clear.

1. Literature Review

To address the questions set out in the introduction, we have organized our literature review around the following three objectives:

- Understand the recent focus of research on ethnic diversity and immigration within the Canadian *francophonie*;
- Identify the key issues shaping this burgeoning literature; and
- Take stock of the research on the integration of Francophone immigrants in minority communities using a public policy approach

The first work on the diversity of Francophone minority communities in Canada focused on cultural, structural and normative specificities (Francophones outside Quebec, Acadians, Franco-Ontarians, Franco-Manitobans, etc.). They addressed the relationships between ethnicity and minority in a direct manner, but failed to consider immigrant minorities within the *francophonie*. The recent inclusion of immigration on the policy agenda has spurred research in this direction and there is now a substantial and varied body of literature that explores the boundaries and content of these new spaces. Since the new *Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages 2013-2018* makes immigration a priority action area, the time seems right to take stock of the literature and present the key issues dealt with therein through the lens of immigration and integration policies.

Before we start, we would like to provide a few explanations regarding methodology. Research on Francophone immigration...

- includes work published as early as the mid-1980s; however, the number of studies published since the mid-2000s is much higher—a total of 129 references were found;
- is interdisciplinary; however, since this study focuses on policy issues, we have concentrated on works in the areas of political science and political sociology;
- covers all Canadian provinces and territories and all municipalities within them; however, given our field investigations for the Department of CIC, our bibliographical research was focused on British Columbia and Manitoba.

1.1. From nation to community and from community to minorities: the very gradual shift in focus to Francophone diversity

This part emphasizes the existence of two great paradoxes in considering diversity within the Canadian *francophonie*. First, whereas early work on the Canadian *francophonie* focused on diversity and fragmentation, Francophone communities have always tended to be seen as homogeneous from ethnocultural and identity viewpoints. Second, while Francophone communities have fought to tear down dominant-subordinate power relationships, they themselves have similar relationships of inequality in their midst. To illustrate those two paradoxes, we will analyze the shift from literature focused essentially on the idea of nation to a focus on Francophone communities resulting from the fragmentation of the French-Canadian nation, and will then analyze the emergence of the concept of minorities within the Francophone community.

1.1.1. Shift from nation to community

The realities of minority Francophone communities following the 1960s were conducive to analysis of the relationships between ethnicity and identity. Although French Canada had resisted cultural,

political and economic domination for over two centuries, the Canadian *francophonie* underwent a slow "fragmentation" (Cardinal, 1994: 71) into several local, provincial, regional and national communities (Breton, 1994; Cardinal and Dobbon, 2003: 78), forming a series of small islands in a Francophone "archipelago" (Louder and Waddell, 1983). Several factors were identified as playing a part in this complex process, including the influence of the Quiet Revolution and the rise in nationalism in Quebec (Juteau-Lee, 1980), the growth of the provincial states (Thériault, 1994), and the *Official Languages Act* (Cardinal and Dobbon, 2003). This balkanization gave rise to an unprecedented situation from national, ethnic and identity viewpoints.

While the vision of the French-Canadian nation, seen in opposition to the English-Canadian nation and reinforced by the vision of two "founding peoples," was characterized by homogeneity, the displacement of that space was the basis for a particularly interesting sociological study. Danielle Juteau (1980) was among the first to conceptualize the identity of Francophones outside Quebec. Focusing on the case of Ontario, Juteau proposed looking at ethnicity as a social and historical construction. While the conceptualization of the French-Canadian nation tended to make biology the basic criterion for membership in this community, Juteau insisted instead that being French Canadian was not based on "blood," emphasizing the changing, contextual, experiential and process-based nature of ethnic identity. At that same time, Raymond Breton analyzed ethnic and political communities, stressing changing boundaries. Breton posited that the collective identity resulted from choices based on specific cultural and historical configurations that were not fixed once and for all. On the contrary, [translation] "the community's identity and social organization are rooted in its history, but that history is constantly being reinterpreted and adapted to the requirements of every era, requirements that are themselves the result of a political process and ideology" (1983: 27). However, some authors were not satisfied with those approaches alone for studying Francophone minority communities, as they placed too much emphasis on ethnicity to the detriment of nation, and refused to see Francophone communities "reduced" to the rank of "ethnic communities." Joseph Yvon Thériault wrote that the fact that the French-Canadian and Acadian nations became provincialized did not mean that their national aspirations completely disappeared. In his view, the originality of Francophone minority communities resided in the fact that they inhabited the space [translation] "between nation and ethnicity," that [translation] "they cannot choose between the two as their reality falls somewhere in between" and so they formed "nationalist groups" (1994: 26). The claims they made were accordingly ambivalent and their demands wavered between greater autonomy and more equitable integration into the Canadian majority.

The breakdown of Francophone minority identities revealed a shift from a largely national vision of the Canadian *francophonie* to a more complex vision of Francophone minority communities. However, this contemplation of ethnicity, identity and nation was focused on understanding what made the "Self" different from the "Other" (Quebec, the Anglophone majority, or ethnic groups) without really considering the "Other" within the "Self." For instance, the first attempts to define a "Self" that was different from the "Quebec Self" by taking the name *Fédération des francophones hors Québec* in 1975 illustrates not only a longing for a restored sense of unity but also a form of rehomogenization. In the same way that the ROC (Rest of Canada) may be seen as a Quebec construction that homogenized the Canadian "Other"-which is also closed off from the Francophone reality in its midst-what could be termed the ROF (Rest of Francophones) is also a homogenizing view of Francophone minority communities. The change in the name, to *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadiennes* (FCFA) in 1991-a change that emphasized the plurality of the communities and the singularity of Acadia-reflected a quest for balance between unity and

differentiation. However, there was a tendency to continue to ignore the international component² of the Canadian *francophonie*. This internal differentiation would gradually surface, however, as the concept of "minorities" came under increasing scrutiny.

1.1.2. Shift from community to minorities

The work of Breton and Juteau in the mid-1990s did not deal directly with the internal heterogeneity of Francophone communities. For example, in 1994, Breton merely named the different sub-ethnicities,³ while Juteau, in analyzing Francophone minority communities, focused primarily on their relationships with the Francophone majority in Canada, that is, Quebec.⁴ Nonetheless, that work would play a decided role in developing a focus on ethnicity and minorities within Francophone communities.

For example, Linda Cardinal (1994) dealt directly with the issue of immigration after questions in this regard emerged in community forums.⁵ She stressed the resistance to the inclusion of Francophone newcomers and their racialization, relying on Breton's work (1983) to show that differentiation between native-born Francophones ([translation] "Us, the real thing") and the others ("You, the ethnocultural Francophones") prevented immigrants from identifying with the Francophone community (Cardinal, 1994: 72), always thought of in the singular. According to Cardinal, the internal diversity of the community revealed a reversal of the situation. Identifying [translation] "Francophone newcomers as ethnocultural Francophones" made it very difficult for the latter to [translation] "identify with the Francophone community, as the identity model was derived solely from Franco-Ontarian history. Admission or rather failure to gain admission into the community was therefore based on membership in a 'blood' community. There was a shift from one identity, though coveted as the product of a social relationship, to a different identity, naturalized through power dynamics within the group; like the dominant group, the minority group built a relationship of oppression and, in this case, racialized it" (Cardinal, 1994: 81). It was as though defence of the "cause" and the perception that this required unity took precedence over any other consideration, at the risk of excluding those perceived as a threat to the group's uniformity and rendering them illegitimate.

The reversal mechanism that caused the oppressed minority group to start acting like an oppressive majority group led to questions about the relationships between minority and ethnicity within communities. Looking at work that considered ethnicity as a construct and the result of social relationships, minority and majority statuses cannot be deduced *a priori* without the risk of essentializing them. On the contrary, majority/minority relationships are not fixed once and for all; a minority group may act like a majority group in different power relationships. Building on the work of Louis Wirth (1945) and Colette Guillaumin (1972), Juteau (1994) defended the perspective that

² Amal Madibbo rightly noted that there had been Blacks in Canada since the 16th century; however, the first waves of Haitian immigration date back to the 1960s and those of African immigration, to the 1980s (2005: 1–2).

³ [Translation] "those who consider themselves a region's native-born and Quebecers or others who only recently settled there; Francophones of French origin and those of other ethnic origins." (1994: 60). Breton is one of the few authors who incorporates Francophiles, [translation] "that is, Anglophones who have seriously adopted the idea of a bilingual Canada and seek to participate in French-language institutions and Francophone cultural life" (Ibid.) within Francophone spaces.

⁴ Her call, in closing, to challenge [translation] "practices and ideologies that seek to establish a hierarchy for the different types of historical and cultural communities and to exclude and dismiss the stateless" seems clear (1994: 43).

⁵ Such as the publication by the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA) in 1990 of a document on multiculturalism and the struggle against racism, and debates on Francophone immigrants in the Atlantic provinces and in Ontario during that same period.

social, ethnic or cultural labels per se do not define a minority group. What characterizes a minority group is its relationship with other groups. In fact, relations of domination are more what determine minority groups than arbitrary labels. But while the concept of minority stresses the sharing of some kind of discrimination, the specific characteristics of social relationships must not for all that be blotted out: an individual may be a member of a majority group and a minority group and have both majority or minority statuses, hence the importance of looking at the way in which such shared and differentiated relationships are organized. In the early 2000s, some work addressed such intragroup relationships through political discourse and the concept of discursive spaces, or analyzed the interplay among minority statuses and their self-reinforcing dynamics.

A publication edited by Claude Couture and Josée Bergeron in 2002 was one of the first⁶ that focused entirely on the issue of Francophone immigration, through testimonials and the identification of "Francophone multiculturalism" issues in Alberta. Following the failure of nation-state discourse to drown out the multiplicity of identities, the authors saw the linkages and conflicts between multiculturalism and bilingualism as an iconic case of debunking Canadian homogeneity (Couture and Bergeron, 2002: 16). This same theme was addressed again a few years later by Bergeron, who looked at the multiplicity of identities and the tensions that could result. She posited that the heterogeneity of and antagonism between majority groups (Quebec/Canada) were helping to mask the diversity within minority groups and the minorities within Francophone communities (2007: 372), whereas Couture viewed it as important not to pit the plight of Francophone immigrants against that of French-Canadians, as they all faced the English-dominant model-which refused to acknowledge any difference-that they sought to silence (2002). Power relationships between minorities and the majority were also the main focus of the work on discursive spaces by Normand Labrie and Monica Heller published in 2003. Through their analysis of "Frenchness" in Ontario and Acadia, the authors insisted on the diversity of and conflicts within Francophone discursive spaces. Viewing discourse as [translation] "the expression of competition between two social groups for control over symbolic and material resources" (2003: 406), Labrie and Heller emphasized the struggles between the actors who had defined the broad lines of the dominant discourse on identity and members of minority groups (women and immigrants, for example) seeking to redefine them. Thus, the (re)definition of the boundaries separating the "excluded" from the "included" is at the heart of such struggles. According to these two authors, the stakes are such that only a discursive process [translation] "aimed at defining the self in relation to the 'Other' while contending with the definition of 'Self' suggested by the 'Other'" (*Ibid.*: 414) can lead Francophone minorities to [translation] "reproduce themselves." In short, these two studies advocated for awareness of the diversity of discursive spaces and showed how it was more productive to think about multiculturalism and bilingualism together than to place them back to back, especially since advocates of bilingualism⁷ never asked whether bilingualism adversely affected ethnic minorities, but only whether multiculturalism interfered with bilingualism (Garneau, 2010: 43). By stating it in this manner, the author sought to show that the multiculturalism-bilingualism dilemma was a false line of reasoning even though it did frame the discourse as the two policies intersected (Quell, 1998: 174).

The intersection of multiculturalism and bilingualism policies illustrates the phenomenon of intersectionality, that is, the fact of having overlapping minority statuses, as is the case for many Francophone immigrants (based on such identity markers as ethnicity, religion, gender, disability,

⁶ Flowing from meetings that spanned the period from 1997 to 2001.

⁷ This fact is important as opponents of bilingualism advanced multiculturalism to oppose Francophones' language rights. Bilingualism was thus presented as a threat to the rights of other groups. In particular, this argument was used in Western Canada to defend a policy of unilingualism, based on the right of the greatest number (Churchill and Kaprielan-Churchill, 1991: 72).

sexual orientation, age, immigration, socioeconomic status and language). The latter in fact tend to be suspicious of any attempts to have them support a cause that does not take account of their multiple identities (Hadj-Moussa, 2000, in Quell, 2002: 12). Indeed, if the communities exist on the basis of a [translation] "kind of collective identity and active attachment," that state of affairs becomes problematic when it calls into question or denies other identity markers (Quell, 2002: 12).

Stéphanie Garneau (2010) proposed adopting an intersectional perspective and rethinking the concept of "minority" within Canada's Francophone communities. In her view, it was not very productive to entertain fears-characterized by Thériault as "visceral" (Thériault, 1994: 25)-of multiculturalism and the "ethnicizing" of Francophone communities. In fact, Garneau stated that contrasting the multiculturalism and bilingualism policies actually helped fuel competition among groups, in particular through [translation] "the race for subsidies," and nurtured the creation of essentialist environments and environments that downplayed groups' identities (Garneau, 2010: 31). She believed that there was a need to lay aside the discourse on nation and debates pitting the "postnationalist" schools of thought defended by Heller and Labrie (2003) against the "French-Canadian neo-nationalist" schools of thought of Meunier and Thériault (2008)-to use the distinctions made by Cardinal (2012)-and use an intersectional approach to shift the identity controversy to the social landscape. Adopting the definition of intersectionality proposed by Sirma Bilge (2009), Garneau pointed out that intersectionality considers the classes of social differentiation together. In refusing to assign any kind of ranking to the causes of discrimination, Garneau saw a way out of the sterile opposition that pitted minority groups against each other and a way to foster greater social justice among groups.

In summary, we have shown that academic research has only very recently focused on ethnicity and immigration within the Canadian *francophonie*. While the early work done by Juteau and Breton led to contemplation of the changing boundaries of communities and ethnicity and thus led to consideration of diversity within Canada's Francophone communities, it did not prompt consideration of the issue of immigration until quite later. In fact, the priority in research was the national prism—even through its kaleidoscopic lens⁸—focusing essentially on the "Self" versus the "Other," whether in Canada or Quebec. It was only when the homogenizing nation-state political discourse was cast into doubt and there was a call to move away from it that the research started to discuss issues of internal differentiation as the discursive spaces or intersectionality. However, added to the diversification of theoretical approaches was the role of sociopolitical contexts, which evolved over time. The waning of constitutional debates, the increase in immigration to Canada, the mobilization of immigrants, conflicts within Francophone communities and even public policy played just as significant a role in shaping the research.

1.2. Immigration and integration policy issues

In this part we aim to gain an understanding of issues related to Francophone immigration through policy analysis. We will begin by looking at how research topics such as vitality or even the recruitment, reception, integration and retention continuum are inherently tied to public decision making. We will then take a closer look at the issues related to the different steps in the continuum and touch on some of the continuum's limitations. Finally, we will consider specific policy regulation issues.

⁸ That is, the fragmentation of French Canada.

1.2.1. Francophone immigration and community vitality

The first community-based and government publications on Francophone immigration date back to the 1990s. After the FCFA selected [translation] "the *francophonie*, multiculturalism and francophiles" as the theme for its annual general assembly in June 1988, it issued several news releases. The federal Department of Employment and Immigration accordingly introduced strategies and policies relating specifically to Francophone immigration. The concerns raised informed the research and vice versa. The publication in 1991 of a report commissioned by the FCFA on pluralism and the Canadian *francophonie* (produced by Churchill and Kaprielian-Churchill) was the starting point for discussion by the FCFA of issues relating to Francophone immigration. The political context played a major role in this regard and it is important to keep this historical aspect in mind when discussing present-day issues relating to Francophone immigration. In fact, the fieldwork for that publication was done shortly after the passing of the *Multiculturalism Act* (1988), in the tense climate surrounding the Meech Lake negotiations (1987-1990). The combination of those debates and the growing awareness of irreversible demographic changes both in terms of the decline and aging of the Francophone population and the increase in non-European immigration to Canada was a turning point for Francophone communities in Canada. New Francophone immigrants to Canada, who were associated with multiculturalism²a word that still had a negative connotation for many Francophones in Canada³and the other ethnocultural groups with which Francophone communities competed for government resources, tended to be perceived as a threat. The report sought to offset that perception and suggested that immigration had not only demographic but also economic benefits (Churchill and Kaprielian-Churchill, 1991: 91 and 56). The authors also stressed the negative consequences that poor management of immigration had on the language rights of Francophones. In their view, since Francophones depended on [translation] "good will and tolerance" to advance their cause, it was in their interest to convey an inclusive image of the *francophonie* and avoid at all costs [translation] "impediments resulting from a lack of awareness of the real problems of immigrants" (*Ibid.*: 56). The authors went on to propose strategies for action to help the FCFA manage in the best way possible the implications of cultural pluralism in the short and longer terms (Churchill and Kaprielian-Churchill, 1991: 68).

Assuming that immigrants must have the opportunity and means to integrate into Francophone and Acadian communities, the FCFA in turn recommended building a community more open to multiculturalism and immigration and organized the Dialogue initiative starting in the late 1990s. The FCFA thus positioned itself as a CIC partner to recruit and integrate immigrants following the commitment made by the Department of Immigration in 1998 to facilitate the integration of newcomers into Francophone minority communities and to take their interests into account in designing and developing its programs.

In that context, immigration was seen as a solution to the demographic decline of Francophone communities while at the same time being economically and socially beneficial. In that sense, the issue of Francophone immigration to minority communities is no different from the situation across Canada generally. In fact, Canadian immigration policies have always been based on the country's economic, demographic and political interests, requiring that selection be based on strict criteria to separate "desirable" immigrants from those who are not (Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2003; Dhamoon and Abu-Laban, 2009; Vineberg, 2011). The emphasis on the linguistic advantages of immigration was not brand new in Canada either, as one of the considerations for the selection of immigrants by Quebec had since 1991 been the proportion of Francophones in Quebec. Hence, while the encouragement of Francophone immigrants to settle outside Quebec was new and viewed in relation to the specific context of official language minorities in Canada, it should be seen as falling

within the Canadian immigration system's utilitarian logic-that is, as a response to needs. The "utilitarian paradigm" in relation to Canada's immigration policies (Green and Green, 1999; Piché, 2009; Pellerin, 2011) combined with the fear of the demographic decline of Francophone communities outside Quebec gave a new dimension to the concept of "vitality": Francophone immigrants were perceived as desirable because it was assumed that they would contribute to the [translation] "revitalization," "development" and "enhancement" of the communities.

In regard to Canadian Francophone minority communities, government, academic and community-based writings on the concept of vitality were plentiful to the point that it could be said that vitality largely defined the literature on Francophone minorities. Within the framework of this [translation] "vitality paradigm" (Traisnel, 2012), which among other things addressed the criteria for defining and measuring or assessing vitality (Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal, 1981; Gilbert, 2002; Gilbert *et al.*, 2005; Johnson and Doucet, 2006; Johnson, 2008), immigration itself became a factor of vitality (Jedwab, 2002; Donaldson, Dufresne and Mathieu-Alexandre, 2010; Farmer and Da Silva, 2012). Immigration gradually came to be accepted as a condition for the survival of the communities, explaining the notion of a target to be attained, be it by the communities or by government.⁹

The situation appears unprecedented as, while immigration is seen as vital for Francophone communities, it is a very recent issue. A new field of research has accordingly been created in recent years and is growing, in particular as a result of support from public authorities and the communities themselves.¹⁰ One of the notable consequences of those days was in fact the emergence of common focuses for researchers, communities and governments, the continuum of recruitment, reception, integration and retention being one of the major areas of analysis (Farmer and Da Silva, 2012: 8; Traisnel, 2014).

1.2.2. Continuum approach

The continuum (recruitment, reception, integration, retention) approach illustrates the different steps in the successful integration of immigrants into Francophone communities. While this approach is not so different from the integrationist approach used in Canada generally (Li, 2003), this continuum for Francophone immigration to minority communities has some major distinguishing features.

Recruitment

In recruitment, being able to select one's "own" immigrants is crucial. The Canada-Quebec Accord and the Provincial Nominee Program give provinces greater latitude in selecting immigrants to more effectively meet their specific needs. In the case of the Provincial Nominee Program, economic priorities are considered, though they are not the sole considerations. Other objectives include encouraging the development of official language minority communities. Based on the assumption that it is more difficult to encourage Francophone immigrants to settle in Francophone minority communities-particularly small centres in the regions (Vatz Laaroussi, 2008)-special initiatives to

⁹ The 2006–2011 Strategic Plan had a target of 4.4% Francophone immigrants and, more particularly, was designed to attract 6,000 economic immigrants and 2,000 foreign students a year. That target, which is still in effect, has yet to be reached and the target date has been moved back to 2023. While few provinces have targets for Francophone immigration, Manitoba has set itself a target of 7% and Ontario, 5%.

¹⁰ The Metropolis Conference pre-conference days on Francophone immigration and the dissemination of research by the Metropolis Secretariat show this. Metropolis is a joint initiative of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and a group of federal government departments and agencies led by CIC.

encourage immigrants to do so were introduced by the federal¹¹ and provincial governments,¹² as well as by communities and universities¹³ (Bertrand, 2008; Paquet, 2008; Belkhodja and Wade, 2010; Martin, 2010?11). While those initiatives may have been devised in a collaborative manner, the competition amongst the different actors should not be underestimated, especially given that the Francophone immigration market is smaller (Farmer and Da Silva, 2012). This system, which is both competitive and based on local needs, implies success that is by definition variable and, according to Farmer, dependent on the different provinces' positions vis-à-vis language provisions (2008: 136).

Also with regard to selection, the launch of *Express Entry* in January 2015, which changed the process for recruiting immigrants to Canada, has been the subject of a number of assessments. While some consultants concluded that the reform would have generally positive effects on Francophone communities (Bisson and Brennan, 2013), the FCFA insisted that *Express Entry* had to have mechanisms to take account of the specificities of Francophone immigration to minority communities (in Pierroz, 2014). Representatives of CIC and the FCFA met on December 10, 2014, to discuss specific mechanisms for Francophone immigrants under the *Express Entry* program.

Some concern was also expressed concerning the risk of Eurocentric bias associated with this recruitment method. By encouraging selection based first on economic criteria, increasing the role played by employers in the process, and no longer processing all applications, there is an increased risk that European immigrants will be given preference over racialized immigrants.

Reception

The second step in the continuum is reception. Reception has been treated in different ways in the literature: authors have focused either on the institutional and macro-sociological aspect of reception, or on its individual and micro-sociological aspect.

Initially, reception was mostly addressed at the institutional level. Without a nation-state or ethnic or national minority status, sometimes labelled "official language minority" or conceptualized as a "nationalist" minority (Thériault, 2007), how should the Francophone minority community be characterized as a host community? Faced with this conceptual in-between state, Nicole Gallant defined the Francophone minority as [translation] "a national minority or at least a minority with the potential to become a national minority" (2010b: 182). Based on this ambition to [translation] "make a society" (Thériault, 2007) and based on the forms of institutional autonomy recognized by the federal government, Gallant defended the idea that Francophone communities could be studied as full-fledged host societies. According to that author, while their organizational structure and actions are similar to those of pressure groups because they lack the democratic representative legitimacy associated with elected government, the fact that these institutions [translation] "say they speak on behalf of the Francophone minority (beyond formally registered members)" (2010b: 191) leads to community representation issues and problems related to inclusion and exclusion from their midst and in short tests their reception capacities.

This perspective is very different from that adopted by Raffaele Iacovino and Rémi Léger (2013), that Francophone minority communities cannot be considered host communities as, because of empirical and normative considerations, they lack the capacity to integrate newcomers. In their view,

¹¹ Through programs such as the Destination Canada Job Fair in Paris and Brussels or promotion and recruiting activities in French-speaking Africa and in Eastern Europe (e.g., Bucharest). Under the recently introduced Roadmap 2013–2018, there are plans to step up those efforts, in particular by broadening the mandate of Destination Canada and planning more activities aimed at employers.

¹² Through the Provincial Nominee Program.

¹³ For example, Moncton University works very actively to recruit Francophone foreign students.

without the institutional means or the democratic legitimacy associated with nation states, Francophone minority communities are doomed to fail in their efforts to integrate immigrants. While Iacovino and Léger indicated that it was not their intention to frustrate the efforts of Francophone communities to maintain, develop and seek reception services for immigrants, they questioned the federal government's willingness to delegate this side of public policy to groups that were not in a position to succeed (2013: 111).

While those two positions do not share the same premises, they are nonetheless based on a common supposition: hosting capacities are always assessed against national integration models (multiculturalism, interculturalism and universalism). However, such premises can be considered in the light of analyses with a different focus—for example, studies that focus on immigrant integration at a local level and call into question state-national primacy in analyzing immigrant integration (Fourot, 2013) or studies that use a micro-sociological approach. For instance, Phyllis Dalley (2003) posited that reception had to be treated at the individual level and was actually [translation] "an act of communication consistent with culturally derived standards of behaviour" (2003: 76). According to that perspective, a community cannot receive "others" if the individuals comprising that community, whether longstanding members or newcomers, do not adopt a reciprocal position in terms of [translation] "learning about the [other] culture." Without this curiosity and desire to recognize the "Other" beyond [translation] "mere cultural peculiarities," reception is not possible as it cannot lead to the [translation] "development of strategies for dialogue that make it possible to build some common ground" (*Ibid.*).

Integration

The third part of the continuum is immigrant integration, which is generally measured politically, economically and socially. Here again, the difficulties encountered by Francophone immigrants are in many ways similar to those encountered by immigrants in general. However, their status as minorities within a minority is an added obstacle, particularly for racialized minorities.

Approaching this issue from a political angle, Gallant measured the presence of immigrants in the provincial organizations said to represent the Francophone community and noted in particular the representation of immigrants on their boards of directors and among their staff. Her findings reveal significant disparity among provinces: immigrant representation is low in the Atlantic provinces; it is starting improve in the Prairies (particularly in Manitoba); there are immigrants on the organization's board of directors in both Ontario and British Columbia, and the organization in this latter province has a large number of immigrants on its staff (2010b: 199). According to Gallant, political representation of immigrant presence is linked with social representations of ethnocultural diversity. Thus, the more open the discourse on ethnocultural diversity appears, the more political representation of immigrants is favoured within bodies of the *francophonie*. Christophe Traisnel, Isabelle Violette and Nicole Gallant continue in this same vein, showing the diversity of immigration reports depending on the province considered and its specific dynamics in terms of "openness to diversity" discourse versus discourse defending 'the particularist authenticity' of historic Francophone communities (2013: 24).

On the economic side, employability difficulties and the issue of poverty have been raised in many articles. In a recent article, Nong Zhu and Denise Helly (2013) identified the factors¹⁴ involved in the

¹⁴ Which are [translation] "(i) a weaker labour-intensive sector as a result of industry restructuring in response to economic globalization, which has reduced the number of manufacturing jobs occupied by poorly skilled immigrants, who have often been sponsored; (ii) higher education requirements for new jobs; (iii) requirement for a high level of fluency in French or English for new skilled employment; (iv) higher level of education among the native-born and

worsening economic performance of immigrants over the past 20 years. However, there is very little published research dealing specifically with the economic performance of French-speaking immigrants outside Quebec. One recent survey commissioned by the FCFA deals specifically with the economic integration of Francophone immigrants in British Columbia and Nova Scotia, but that survey focuses more on services provided by the communities than on the economic performance of immigrants per se (EEC, 2013). Statistics Canada data are therefore among the few that can be used to measure the economic performance of Francophone immigrants outside Quebec: according to Statistics Canada (2010), while there is little difference between such performance and that of immigrants generally, immigrants whose first official language spoken (FOLS) is French or French-English are more affected by unemployment than non-Francophone immigrants, and immigrants from Africa are the most disadvantaged. Some have put this situation down to the fact that unilingual Francophone immigrants are admitted to Canada on the basis of their French language skills but are not properly informed about the non-bilingual job market in Canada and are unable to find work in predominantly English-speaking provinces (Thomassin, 2008: 117). Others have emphasized the fact that racialized immigrants are generally more affected by unemployment and poverty and, in a Francophone environment outside Quebec, face several forms of discrimination as members of a racialized minority and a language minority both outside and within the Francophone community. Again, it is easy to see the benefits of intersectional approaches that stress the need for additional policies and services to improve the economic integration of racialized immigrants (Madibbo, 2005 and 2010). Since education is a major focus in research on Francophone immigration, studies have also looked at not only the experience of immigrant children in school (for instance, Gérin-Lajoie and Jacquet 2008; Jacquet, Moore, Sabatier, 2008; Bouchama, 2009; Dalley, 2009; Piquemal 2009; for a literature review, see Robineau, 2010), but also the experience of the personnel. Ghizlane Laghzaoui (2011) highlighted the negative professional integration experiences encountered by immigrant teachers and their feeling of rejection within the French-language school board in British Columbia.

In the area of education, while earlier work showed that school directives and practices were not properly addressing the needs of minority Francophone immigrants (Gérin-Lajoie, 1995), more recent studies on the needs of young immigrants have stressed the lack of receptiveness to internal diversity of French-language schools. The issue of "multiple minorities" has been addressed directly (Couture and Abu-Laban, 2010) and a number of studies have shown that school-age children with a [translation] "triple minority status" (immigrant, Francophone and racialized minority) face greater discrimination (Jacquet, Moore and Sabatier, 2008).

Other sectors, such as housing, language training, health, culture, worship, and sports and leisure are of course crucial in the process to integrate Francophone immigrants. It is important to bear in mind that, even if the literature focuses on these sectors separately, they form a whole that frames the experiences of immigrants, contributes to "proper" integration and fosters retention within the communities.

stricter criteria for economic selection of newcomers, leading to greater competition on the job market; (v) difficulty or refusal on the part of authorities, professional or occupational bodies and corporations to weigh the value of foreign qualifications not attested to by a diploma or degree; (vi) despite the Employment Equity Act and the Embracing Change Initiative for recruiting visible minorities introduced in 2000, low level of absorption by the federal public service of a significant share of the immigrant workforce because of the bilingualism requirement for many positions; (vii) increase in the number of immigrants from the developing world and ethnic and racial discrimination in employment; (viii) economic fluctuations, including two periods of recession, which raised the unemployment rate." (2013: 69–70).

Retention as ultimate goal of continuum

Retention, the last "stage" in the continuum, is without a doubt an issue common to all immigrants to Canada. After all the adaptations required of the immigrant and the host society in the previous stages, retention is generally considered an indicator of the successful "completion" of the immigration process. In other words, the efforts are seen as having "borne fruit." However, there is one consideration specific to Francophone minorities at this stage: the fear of assimilation¹⁵ into the majority Anglophone group. The literature has identified two issues in particular in this regard: retention in small centres, which is more difficult than in major cities (Vatz Laaroussi, 2008) and retention of foreign students, whose forms of mobility are different from those of immigrants generally (Wade and Belkhodja, 2010). Despite these two issues, the literature tends to approach retention as a cross-cutting concept, often as an imperative [translation] "implicitly contained in the overall process" (Farmer and Da Silva, 2012: 14).

This meshing of retention with the various "stages" of the continuum highlights the limitations of a linear conceptualization of integration. According to Diane Farmer, [translation] "an option would be to develop a model that takes greater account of immigrant movements and of potential communication and mutual aid mechanisms" (2008: 133). Indeed, the multiple movements of immigrants (in the form of return trips, for example) and the diversification of such movements (particularly as a result of the time delimitations of immigration policies promoting two-step immigration (temporary at first, then permanent) tend to call into question integration seen as a stage race with retention as the finish line.

1.2.3. Policy regulation issues

Needless to say, the different stages in the process are supported by special services for immigrants. Many such services are delivered by community organizations, within the context of policy regulation marked by new forms of governance.¹⁶ Despite its polysemic nature, governance generally refers to the both vertical and horizontal consultation, coordination and cooperation processes and practices between the state and organized civil society, as well as community actors and the private sector. While governance does not signify the disappearance of the state or loss of state control over policy regulation, it points to a downplaying of the state's role (Le Galès, 1995). However, the different forms of community governance have specific meaning within the context of the Canadian *francophonie*.

In fact, without control over state levers to ensure their development and vitality, Francophone communities have always sought a special status in their relations with the Canadian government, though the nature of their claims has of course evolved over time. With the repatriation of the Constitution in 1982 which brought with it the "dualistic dream" (Laforest, 1992), Francophone communities stopped referring to the founding nations to invoke their rights and started basing their search for community autonomy on the new official languages governance structure (Léger, forthcoming). It is within this institutional context that fosters cooperation between the administrative and community spheres¹⁷ that immigration to Francophone minority communities has been managed in recent times (Farmer, 2008). The relations between actors are crucial here, as partnership governance does not merely involve interaction between the Francophone communities

¹⁵ For example, Thibault Martin noted that the Francophone assimilation rate (based on Statistics Canada's definition) is 74% in Saskatchewan, 67% in Alberta, and 55% in Manitoba (2010-11: 107).

¹⁶ Several terms are used, for the most part interchangeably: "community governance" (Cardinal and Forgues, forthcoming); "shared governance" (Cardinal et al., 2005) "horizontal governance" (Bakvis and Juillet, 2004).

¹⁷ Through bodies such as the CIC-Francophone Minority Community Steering Committee created in 2002.

and the federal government's political and administrative actors but also involves other actors at the provincial and municipal government levels, English-language immigrant service organizations, employers, academics, etc. And when the number of actors increases and their status in terms of power and resources differs, coordination issues take on a critical edge in the implementation of public action. Unfortunately, while there are general analyses of relations between community-based organizations and the state (Forgues, 2010), there is little research available on governance of immigration to minority communities.¹⁸ This is an obvious gap in the literature, especially given that there are many, well developed analyses-most often critical-of the consequences of the restructuring of the Canadian government on English-language immigrant service organizations (Richmond and Shields, 2004; Sadiq, 2004; Evans and Shields, 2005; Leo and August, 2009; Laforest, 2012; and Acheson and Laforest, 2013, among others).

In this regard, the analysis by Mireille Paquet and Caroline Andrew (forthcoming) is an important contribution to the field. Building on the work of Chris Ansell and of Alison Gash (2008), the authors dissociate the direct and tangible results of a measure or action plan from the process leading to the results, which is much less quantifiable. According to Paquet and Andrew, relationships characterized by trust, commitment and solidarity clearly make it easier for initiatives to succeed even though such characteristics are mostly ignored in assessments done by government. Yet, when insufficient emphasis is placed on internal governance processes, there is a risk of incomplete assessment of the results and poor management of immigration in minority communities. This is especially important given that, despite their positive analysis of Francophone immigration networks in Ontario, the authors note stress points such as ambiguity in regard to the expectations of the actors and donors, or the limits to the networks' decision-making power. In the same work, the chapter by Nathalie Bélanger, Diane Farmer and Lori Ann Cyr (forthcoming) also contributes to a better understanding of policy regulation, in particular because it considers an actor that is neglected in research on Francophone immigration, that is, the municipality, the role of which is increasingly being addressed in literature on immigration in general (for example, Tolley and Young, 2011; Fourot, 2013).

In conclusion of this part, our literature review emphasizes the importance of a historical perspective to understand the debates and how things currently work in a rapidly changing space. It also shows the close connections between the changes taking place and research and public policy and how they influence each other. The growing body of literature in this area nonetheless contains some gaps, in particular in the areas of research on public policy, municipalities and governance for immigration. Further, the research tends to rely in very large part on case studies, leaving out interprovincial comparisons.

¹⁸ The relative newness of the immigration sector for Francophone communities is one likely explanation.

2. Methodology

To help address the gap, we will be comparing Manitoba and British Columbia, two provinces that are very different historically, geographically and demographically, but that share similar institutional characteristics. Both signed agreements with the federal government to gain further responsibilities in the selection, reception and settlement of immigrants, and both had to contend with the recentralization of the management of the settlement programs by the federal government (effective in 2013 for Manitoba and in 2014 for British Columbia). In this context of similarities and differences, we will be using a comparative approach based on "most similar cases" in order to more effectively isolate the differentiating factors, given the similar institutional constraints.

We have combined several methods of data collection:

2.1. Bibliography and literature review

- 129 titles submitted to CIC.

2.2. Review of secondary data

- Statistics on immigration and Francophone minorities in Manitoba and British Columbia and for the cities of Winnipeg and Vancouver and their metropolitan areas.
- Key legislation, in particular since the mid-1990s (federal, BC and MB) and 45 community-based and government reports published since 2000.
- Media reviews on Francophone immigration in British Columbia and Manitoba.

2.3. Semi-structured interviews

- Total of 32 semi-structured interviews with 34 key actors (association and government officials). See Appendix D for a list.
- 15 interviews conducted with 16 participants in Manitoba in July 2014; 10 interviews conducted with 11 participants in British Columbia prior to obtaining this contract (SSHR grant), in July 2013. Some final interviews conducted with 6 participants in November 2014.
- The average length of the interviews in both provinces was 1.15 hours. All of the interviews (nearly 40 hours of interviews) were transcribed and analyzed.

2.4. Participant observation

- In British Columbia: attendance of annual general meetings (June 2013 and 2014), the *Rendez-vous des présidents et présidentes* [chairs' rendezvous] (Nov. 2014), National Francophone Immigration Week (Nov. 2014), and the meetings of the Office of Francophone and Francophile Affairs (OFFA) Advisory Committee (2013 and Nov. 2014), as well as volunteer work and action research in Francophone associations whose members receive a high proportion of immigrants (*La Boussole*, *Réseau-femmes Colombie-Britannique*, *Association des universitaires francophones et francophiles de la Colombie-Britannique*).

3. Immigration and Multiculturalism in a Bilingual Context

3.1. Federal legislation

In Canada, multiculturalism and bilingualism are very closely linked. In fact, the adoption in 1971 of an official *Multiculturalism Policy* was the direct result of recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1969 in Book IV, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*.

That policy affirmed the equality of the cultures and had the following objectives:

- support all cultures and assist cultural groups to preserve and affirm their identity;
- assist members of cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society;
- promote creative exchanges amongst all cultural groups, in the interest of national unity;
- encourage the learning of at least one of the two official languages.

In 1982, the multicultural heritage of Canadians was recognized when multiculturalism was entrenched in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Section 27 of the Charter reads as follows:

- This *Charter* shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.

Further, section 15 of the *Charter* guarantees equality rights to all and protects against discrimination. Subsection 15(1) provides as follows:

Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

Language rights are set out in sections 16 through 23.

In 1988, Parliament enacted the *Multiculturalism Act*. Through this legislation, the federal government not only recognized that multiculturalism was a reflection of the cultural and ethnic diversity of Canadian society, but also that it must guide the content of federal policy, in conformity with a bilingual language system. Thus, the federal government made the following commitment:

- promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation...

advancing multiculturalism

- in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.

Against this multicultural backdrop, Francophone immigration to minority communities combines the constitutional aspects related to federalism (section 95 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, made immigration a responsibility shared between the federal government and the provinces) and those related to bilingualism (in particular language guarantees under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the *Official Languages Act*).

The inclusion of Francophone immigration to minority communities on the agenda in the early 2000s explains the new interpretation standards related to official languages added to the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* in 2002. Paragraph 3(1)(b.1) lists one of the objectives of the Act as "to support and assist the development of minority official languages communities in Canada." Subsection 3(3) moreover provides that the Act must be construed and applied in a manner that "ensures that decisions taken under [the] Act are consistent with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, including its principles of equality and freedom from discrimination and of the equality of English and French as the official languages of Canada" and that "[supports] the commitment of the Government of Canada to enhance the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada."

In that context, immigration is seen through the lens of both official languages and should accordingly help Francophone minority communities to benefit equitably from the economic and social spinoffs of immigration.

Since the late 1990s, the federal government has introduced a number of action plans in this regard. In 1998, the first *CIC Official Languages Action Plan* was adopted, providing in particular for more cooperation between the department and official language minority communities and consideration of official language minority interests in developing policies and programs. The creation of the CIC/FMC Steering Committee (Citizenship and Immigration Canada/Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee) in 2002 played a major role in this regard. The Committee had a mandate to ensure that the needs of Francophone minority communities were taken into account in developing and implementing immigration policy.

Several strategies were brought forward in succession:

- 2003-2008: Official Languages Action Plan;
 - 2003: Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities;
 - 2006: Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities;

The 2003 strategic framework was important as it established the CIC's five objectives in the area of Francophone immigration-priorities that were reaffirmed in 2006. Those priorities are as follows:

- increase the number of French-speaking immigrants to give more demographic weight to Francophone minority communities;
- improve the capacity of Francophone minority communities to receive Francophone newcomers and 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 in particular; and
- foster regionalization of Francophone immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver.

Without going into the details of the strategies, we would like to draw attention to two points in particular. The first is that the plans recognize that immigration is a community development tool from linguistic, economic, demographic and sociocultural points of view. Right from 2003, the first objective of the Strategic Framework indicated that, to take advantage of the contribution of immigration, Francophone minority communities had to attract and retain at least the same

percentage of French-speaking immigrants, that is, 4.4% (or somewhere between 8,000 and 10,000 immigrants per year).

The second point is that the federal government wanted to develop the capacity of Francophone communities to receive Francophone newcomers in the areas of recruitment, selection and reception and the delivery of reception and integration services in French to ensure retention of the immigrants within the communities. However, an incremental approach was chosen in regard to both preferred services and activities (reception services first) and the number of communities supported to increase reception capacities:

- 2008-2013: *Roadmap for Canada's Linguistic Duality: Act for the Future*;
- 2013-2018: *Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages: Education, Immigration, Communities*.

Starting in 2008, the federal government's five-year plans were known as "Roadmaps." In the first *Roadmap*, immigration was deemed a priority sector and addressed through the lens of linguistic duality and support of official language minority communities. The economic spinoffs of immigration were touted, with emphasis on recruiting abroad. The second *Roadmap* confirmed that economic concerns were a key-if not the uppermost-focus of the government and emphasized recruiting of economic-class immigrants abroad. Apart from the \$120 million that CIC was provided with to deliver language training for all economic immigrants, the budget for immigration to official language minority communities was increased from that allocated under the former Roadmap (from \$20 million to \$29.5 million).

3.2. Provincial legislation

The provinces of British Columbia and Manitoba have their own statutory regimes respecting multiculturalism and immigration. However, only Manitoba has a policy relating specifically to the French language.

In 1992, Manitoba passed the *Manitoba Multiculturalism Act*, which sets out the province's multiculturalism policy objectives. It is the policy of the Manitoba government to

- recognize and promote understanding that the cultural diversity of Manitoba is a strength of and a source of pride to Manitobans;
- recognize and promote the right of all Manitobans, regardless of culture, religion or racial background, to
 - participate in all aspects of society,
 - respect for their cultural values;
- enhance the opportunities of Manitoba's multicultural society by acting in partnership with all cultural communities and by encouraging cooperation and partnerships between cultural communities.

A year later, British Columbia also passed a *Multiculturalism Act*. It is the policy of the Government of British Columbia to

- recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the racial and cultural diversity of British Columbians ;

- promote cross cultural understanding and respect and attitudes and perceptions that lead to harmony among British Columbians of every race, cultural heritage, religion, ethnicity, ancestry and place of origin ;
- promote the full and free participation of all individuals in the society of British Columbia ;
- foster the ability of each British Columbian, regardless of race, cultural heritage, religion, ethnicity, ancestry or place of origin, to share in the economic, social, cultural and political life of British Columbia in a manner that is consistent with the rights and responsibilities of that individual as a member of the society of British Columbia ;
- reaffirm that violence, hatred and discrimination on the basis of race, cultural heritage, religion, ethnicity, ancestry or place of origin have no place in the society of British Columbia ;
- work towards building a society in British Columbia free from all forms of racism and from conflict and discrimination based on race, cultural heritage, religion, ethnicity, ancestry and place of origin ;
- recognize the inherent right of each British Columbian, regardless of race, cultural heritage, religion, ethnicity, ancestry or place of origin, to be treated with dignity, and
- generally, carry on government services and programs in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of British Columbia.

In the area of immigration, both provinces have been-and continue to be-very active in the areas of reception and settlement services and the selection of immigrants through the Provincial Nominee Programs.

In October 1996, the first Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement was signed. In May 1998, British Columbia followed Manitoba's lead and arrived at a similar agreement that gave it responsibility for managing the delivery of settlement and integration services. In both cases, schedules were provided for in order to include a provincial nominee program. Other agreements followed (1998, 2001 and 2003 for Manitoba and 2004 and 2010 for British Columbia) before the services were returned to federal government control, in 2013 for Manitoba and 2014 for British Columbia (see Box 1).

Box 1: Political Agreements in Manitoba and British Columbia

British Columbia (1998 - present)

- 1998: Collaboration Agreement between Canada and British Columbia on Immigration - Realigning Responsibilities for Immigrant Settlement Services
- 2004: Renewal of the Collaboration Agreement between Canada and British Columbia on Immigration
- 2010: Canada-British Columbia Immigration Agreement
- 2012: Repatriation of settlement services by CIC, effective April 1, 2014

Manitoba (1996 - present)

- 1996: Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement
- 1998: Canada-Manitoba Agreement on Provincial Nominees
- 1998: Canada-Manitoba Agreement to Realign Responsibilities for Immigrant Settlement Services

- 2001: Expansion of the Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement
- 2003: Canada-Manitoba Immigration Agreement
- 2012: Repatriation of settlement services by CIC, effective April 1, 2013

Selection of Francophone immigrants and delivery of services in both official languages reflect different political obligations and considerations. Indeed, if we think of two spectra - selection of Francophone immigrants and protection of Francophone minorities' language rights - the provinces are at both extremes.

The province of Manitoba has set a Francophone immigration target (7% of annual immigration, the most ambitious target in Canada). In addition, its language framework is distinguished by its *French Language Services Policy*, with the goal of providing comparable government services in both official languages in designated areas in which the French-speaking population was concentrated

British Columbia has no Francophone immigration target, and its language system is very unfavourable to Francophone minorities (the province is one of only two, the other being Newfoundland and Labrador, not to implement specific measures for recognition of official languages or French-language service offer). The immigration agreements signed with the Government of Canada contain only a few provisions on official languages.

The 2004 Agreement between British Columbia and Canada mentions only one partnership with government of Canada to support the development of official language communities in British Columbia. The province undertook to make French-language settlement services available where demand is warranted, or to participate in promotion and recruitment activities (e.g., Destination Canada) with Francophone community organizations.¹⁹ The 2010 Agreement places greater emphasis on Francophone minorities, however; for the first time, the number of Francophone immigrants admitted became one of the required indicators in annual reports.

¹⁹ A memorandum of understanding with CIC was signed to that effect in 2005.

4. Sociodemographic Data

4.1. Definitions

Without an unambiguous definition of "Francophone," there can certainly be no single definition of "Francophone immigrant," which involves important precisions with respect to data collection and analysis. Generally speaking, substantial differences can be noted in the research: the definition of a Francophone immigrant varies significantly by study and by institution. Consequently, the available figures are inadequate on several levels, making comparisons and evaluations difficult.

- Measurement of mother-tongue Francophones is both restrictive and vague. This is especially true for British Columbia, which has a very large immigrant population.²⁰
- Measurement of people able to speak French (knowledge of French, Francophiles) may seem too broad, as the minority dimension is lacking.²¹
- Measurement of French as first official language spoken (FOLS) is not used systematically.²²
- Since 2011, the National Household Survey has been the primary source used by Statistics Canada for immigration data. The data collection method (voluntary) is different from that used for the Census, which complicates longitudinal comparisons. Moreover, Statistics Canada and CIC do not use the same analysis categories.²³
- In interviews, temporary residents are included in the definition of "Francophone immigrants," but they are excluded from the statistics. The statistics generally do not include recent data on temporary residents (international students, residents with a temporary work permit or working-holiday permits).

In this context, while we prefer using the FOLS category for analyzing the statistics, some of our data refer to the "knowledge of French" category. The different categories used are specified in our analyses.

Finally, the expression "French-speaking newcomers" is used by CIC but not by Statistics Canada. In our opinion, however, that expression is best adapted to the complex realities of minority Francophone communities. The concept of "French-speaking," understood as "mother tongue" or "first official language in Canada" is precise enough not to dilute it in the concept of "knowledge of French." However, "newcomer" should not be synonymous with permanent resident (as it is used by CIC), but only to indicate being born outside Canada without discriminating as to immigration status (e.g. immigrants, refugees, undocumented, permanent, temporary).

²⁰ Some community evaluations based on a narrow definition of Francophones evaluate only 15 % of Francophones not born in Canada (e.g., the Plan de développement global de la communauté francophone de la Colombie-Britannique 2004-2009). A recent study by Brennan (2014) on British Columbia finds that if mother tongue is used rather than first official language spoken, 55% fewer Francophone immigrants are counted, and that figure rises to 65% for immigrants who arrived less than 10 years ago.

²¹ Canadian-born Anglophones who speak French are included in that category.

²² Some analyses include people with only French as FOLS, while other include people with both French and English as FOLS. Depending on the calculation methods, the sociodemographic characteristics and language practices are different.

²³ The category of knowledge of official languages is used extensively by CIC. Several definitions are used by Statistics Canada (knowledge of official languages, mother tongue, language spoken at home). The concept of FOLS covers those three criteria.

These precisions are important, because in addition to the statistical implications (e.g., achieving targets or evaluating results), including or excluding individuals or group through those expressions has an impact on attachment and on integration itself.

4.2. Comparative portrait of the Francophone Population and French-speaking Newcomers

Although the Francophone population in British Columbia is numerically larger than in Manitoba, it makes up a very small proportion of the province. Conversely, Francophones in Manitoba make up a greater proportion of the provincial population.

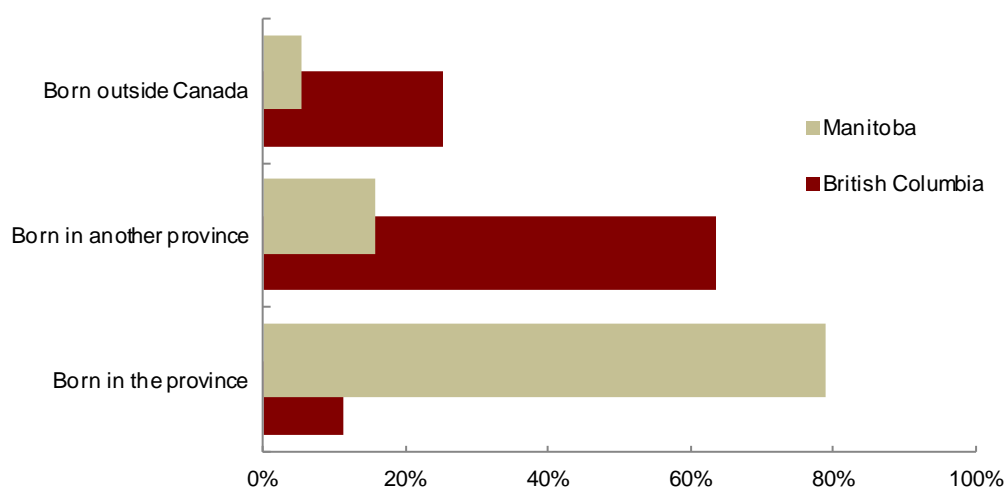
Table 1: Francophone (FOLS) and Francophile Population , British Columbia and Manitoba, 2011

	Total population		Francophone population (FLOS)		Population with a Knowledge of French (Francophile)	
British Columbia	4,356,205	100.0%	62,190	1.4%	298,690	6.9%
Manitoba	1,193,095	100.0%	41,365	3.5%	104,630	8.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 Census (Statistics Canada, 2011a)

Francophones settle in British Columbia as a result of interprovincial and international migrations. In comparison, Francophones in Manitoba are characterized by greater homogeneity, as the vast majority of them were born in the province. More precisely, there are 2 330 Francophone immigrants (FOLS) in Manitoba, accounting for 5.4% of all Francophones (Statistics Canada, 2012). In British Columbia, there are 15 565 Francophone immigrants, accounting for 25.2% of the province's Francophone population (Statistics Canada, 2011b).

Figure 1 : Birthplace of Francophones (FOLS), British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census (in Statistics Canada, 2011b; 2012)

The territorial concentration of Francophones is weak in British Columbia and medium in Manitoba.

Table 2 : Distribution of Francophones (FOLS) by Concentration Index within their Municipality, British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006

Concentration within the Municipality	British Columbia	Manitoba
Weak	98.0%	13.5%
Medium	2.0%	75.7%
Strong	0.0%	10.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census (in Statistics Canada 2011b; 2012)

British Columbia has one of the largest immigration populations in Canada (27.6% of its total population). Manitoba's is twice as small proportionally, (15.7%), but the province has a high proportion of recent immigrants within its immigrant population, at 31.2% compared with 15.5% in British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 2011c).

Francophone immigration in both provinces is a recent immigration. In British Columbia and Manitoba, 40% of Francophone immigrants arrived after 1996 (FCFA, 2009a and 2009 b).

It is also a growing immigration. In British Columbia, according to data collected for the FCFA,²⁴ French-speaking newcomers made up only 14% of BC Francophones in 2001, compared with 30% in 2006, a 100% increase in five years (FCFA, 2009a). Manitoba received four times as many French-speaking immigrants in 2013 as it did in 2002, even though the numbers are still low, i.e., from 103 to 462 (Department of Labour and Immigration, 2014a).

The number of French-speaking immigrants admitted in both provinces has evolved in the past eight years. It is not surprising that British Columbia receives more French-speaking immigrants than Manitoba in absolute numbers. More surprising, however, is that between 2006 and 2011, the province received a larger percentage of French-speaking immigrants than Manitoba, even though BC has no Francophone immigration target. Manitoba is struggling to reach its target of 7%, the highest immigration rate being 3.8% in 2012. However, that is because the total number of immigrants dropped sharply²⁵ in 2012, while the number of French-speaking immigrants increased.

In British Columbia, the drop in the number of French-speaking immigrants starting in 2010 is also attributable to the decrease in total immigration. However, since 2010, the number of French-speaking immigrants in British Columbia has dropped continuously, while it is on the rise in Manitoba.

²⁴ The calculation method is different from that used by Statistics Canada.

²⁵ In Manitoba, that drop is attributed to the restrictions on the number of provincial nominees (Interview 19, 27/07/2014)

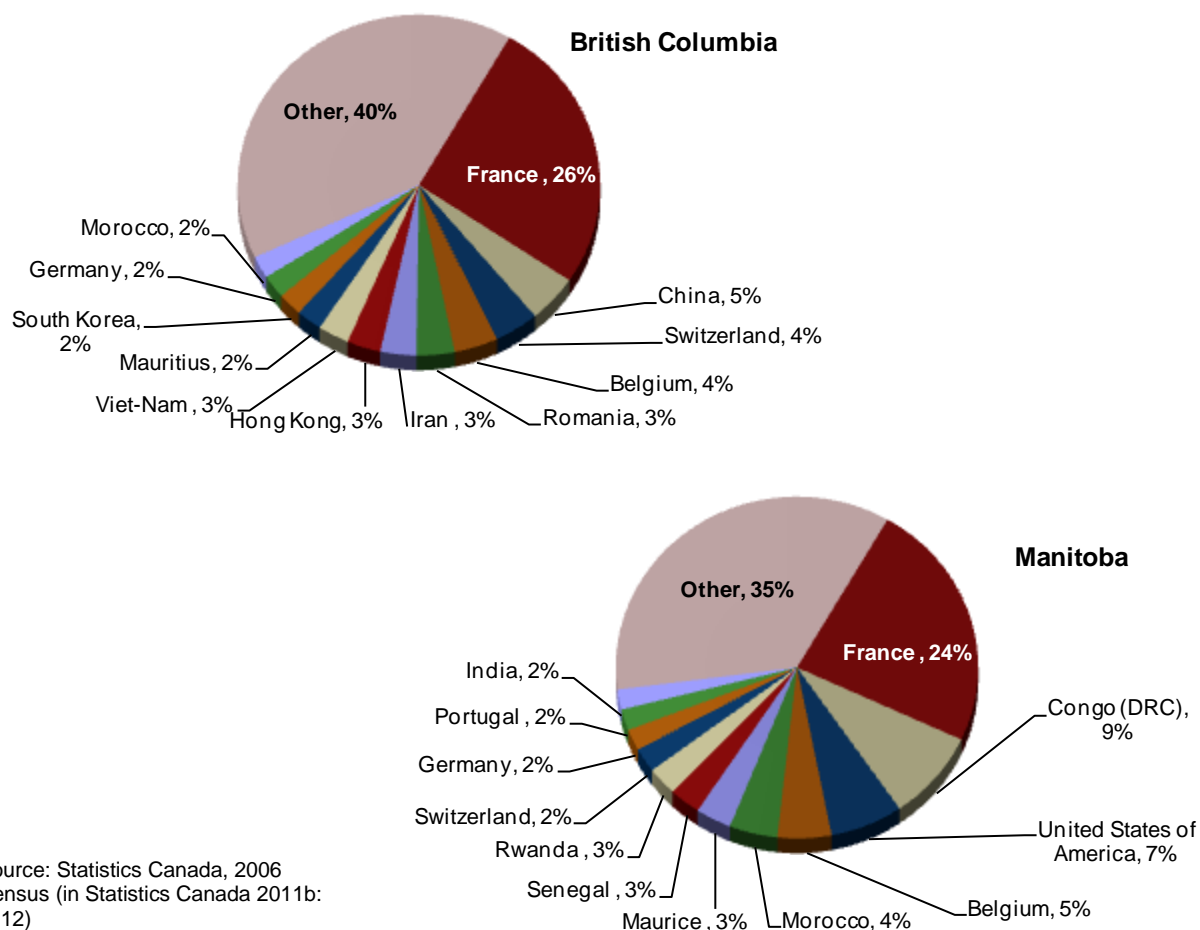
Table 3 : Number and Percentage of French-speaking Immigrants (15 years and older), British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006 to 2013

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
British Columbia								
French	143	111	127	132	114	74	77	64
Bilingual	1,327	1,368	1,418	1,310	1,235	974	932	835
Total French + Bilingual	1,470	1,479	1,545	1,442	1,349	1,048	1,009	899
Total Immigration	34,337	31,848	35,923	34,140	35,462	28,564	30,301	31,117
% of Total Immigration	4.3%	4.6%	4.3%	4.2%	3.8%	3.7%	3.4%	2.9%
Manitoba								
French	100	182	98	135	126	181	185	193
Bilingual	164	152	166	214	304	284	322	269
Total French + Bilingual	264	334	264	349	430	465	507	462
Total Immigration	10,048	10,954	11,218	13,521	15,807	15,963	13,312	13,100
% of Total Immigration	2.6%	3.0%	2.4%	2.6%	2.7%	2.9%	3.8%	3.5%

Source: Manitoba Department of Labour and Immigration, 2014b; WelcomeBC, 2013

With respect to countries of origin, the data indicate various origins for French-speaking immigrants (the category used is French-speaking immigrants, not first official language spoken (FOLS)).

Figure 2 : Principal Countries of Origin of Francophone Immigrants (FOLS), British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006



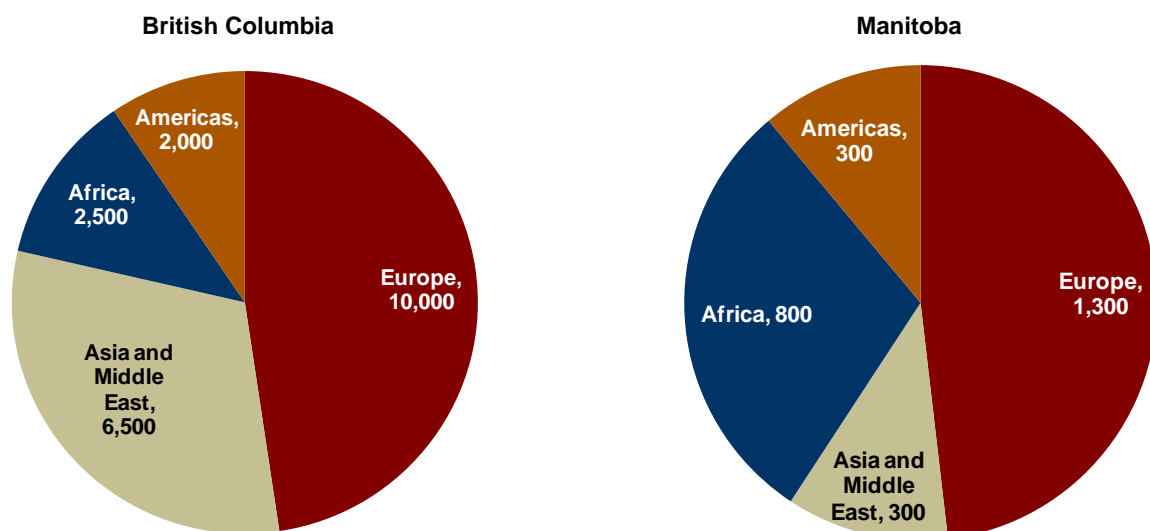
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census (in Statistics Canada 2011b: 2012)

However, the available Statistics Canada analyses do not differentiate countries by recent immigration. This tends to mask the recent diversification in Francophone immigration flows.

For example, in Manitoba in 2013, the principal countries of origin of French-speaking immigrants were Congo (15.2%), France (8.8%), Cameroon (6.9%), Uganda (6.9%), Senegal (5.6%), and Morocco (5.4%), indicating a recent non-European immigration (Department of Labour and Immigration, 2014a). Those figures were not provided to us by the province of British Columbia (the numbers were deemed too small to be able to be communicated).

However, we do have comparable data on immigrants' regions of origin: immigrants from the Maghreb or sub-Saharan Africa are less represented in British Columbia.

Figure 3: Regions of Origin of Francophone Immigrants (FOLS), British Columbia and Manitoba, 2006

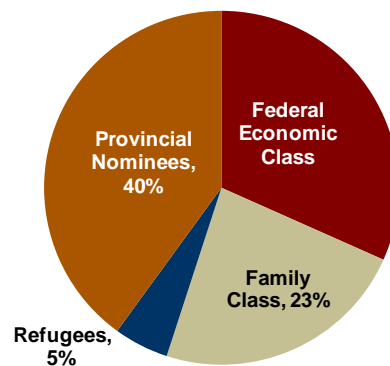


Source: FCFA, 2009a ; 2009b

With respect to immigration classes in 2013, British Columbia and Manitoba are distinctly different, but that comparison must be used advisedly, as British Columbia uses figures for French mother-tongue immigrants, while Manitoba uses figures for immigrants with a knowledge of French.

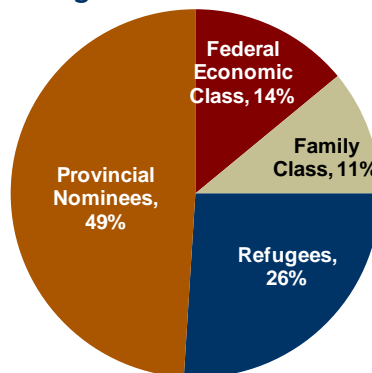
While the majority of immigrants to both provinces fall under the "provincial nominee" class, the main difference lies in the proportion of refugees (5% in British Columbia compared with 26% in Manitoba). The difference in the breakdown is significant, as many French-speaking refugees are not mother-tongue Francophones. It is thus not possible to draw reliable conclusions. However, other studies confirm the very low percentage of refugees among French-speaking newcomers in British Columbia: Lapointe (2004) estimates the proportion of refugees to be 3% of all immigrants with a knowledge of French.

Figure 4 : Immigration Class of Mother-Tongue Francophone Immigrants, British Columbia, 2013



Source: Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Skills Training, 2014

Figure 5 : Immigration Class of Immigrants with a Knowledge of French, Manitoba, 2013



Source: Department of Labour and Immigration, 2014a

With respect to temporary immigration, in 2006, 0.41% of Manitoba's Francophone community (FCFA, 2009b) were non-permanent residents, compared with 1.6% in British Columbia (FCFA, 2009a). Those relatively old data — in light of the increase in temporary residents since 2006 — may explain a certain discrepancy with the information obtained from our interviews, which highlight the high number of international students, working-holiday permit holders, and temporary workers. However, the available data do not allow us to confirm or deny that for the time being.²⁶

In Manitoba, the Department of Labour and Immigration notes that "a large number of French-speaking immigrants first arrive to Manitoba as international students" (2014a). In 2013-2014, over 250 international students chose to study at the Manitoban Francophone university, the Université de Saint-Boniface (Radio-Canada, 2014), or 17% of the student population (AUFC, 2014). Those students come mainly from Morocco (33%), Senegal (25%), Mali (19%) and France, Côte-d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso (4% each) (USB, 2012). In British Columbia, the lack of a Francophone university makes a major difference. At the University of British Columbia, France is the only "Francophone" country among the main countries of origin, but it accounts for only 2% of international students (UBC, 2013). Simon Fraser University, which offers French-language study programs, has no "Francophone" countries among major countries of origin (SFU, 2014).

²⁶ In a recent statistical report, Brennan confirms that the data on temporary residents do not contain any linguistic variables in British Columbia. (2014: 47).

5. Comparison of Reception Strategies and Capacities

To compare the reception capacities of minority Francophone communities in Manitoba and British Columbia, we used three main criteria: (4.1) reception and integration services; (4.2) clientele; (4.3) the organizational structure of the community, including relations with reception and integration organizations of the majority official language community.

Before setting out those criteria in detail, we think it necessary to provide an overview of the prioritization of Francophone immigration in British Columbia and Manitoba.

5.1. Prioritization of Francophone Immigration in British Columbia and Manitoba

Manitoba deemed Francophone immigration to be a public action field sooner than British Columbia. In 2001, the Société franco-manitobaine (SFM) set out five major strategic directions. A year later, all Manitoban Francophone organizations agreed on a community plan, *Agrandir notre espace francophone*, which sets out four main priorities: developing a community leadership and a reception structure with a set of French-language services; raising the awareness of the community, employers, governments, and newcomers; promoting French Manitoba internationally; rewriting policies on refugee reception, international student retention, labour requirements, and the number Francophone immigrants received in Manitoba compared with Quebec.

In British Columbia, Francophone immigration priorities were set out later, with the first action plan in 2005. Based on a study commissioned by the FFCB (Lapointe, 2004), BC's Francophone community set the following local priorities: disseminating information for immigrants through new communication tools, offering English courses, and a pilot project geared to African immigrants. Apart from those local priorities, British Columbia's actions are in line with the priorities set out in CIC's *Strategic Framework* released in 2003.

While the community discussion in Manitoba led to the adoption of a broad and consensual localized vision of immigration issues, BC's Francophone community opted to align itself with national priorities and propose projects addressing very specific needs. The interviews confirm the key role of that Manitoban vision, which most - if not all - stakeholders refer to. In British Columbia, federal and national initiatives are most often referred to in interviews, in particular the Dialogue project and the leadership role of the CIC - Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee.

5.2. Service Offer

The strategy differences are reflected in the service offer. In this section, we describe and compare the service offer for French-speaking newcomers through the continuum (recruitment, reception, integration, retention) favoured by the federal government and internalized by service delivery organizations. While this approach is not different from the Canadian integrationist approach in general, there are some significant specificities that characterize that continuum for minority Francophone immigration.

5.2.1. Promotion and Recruitment

Decentralization and the growing role of the private sector (including universities) in immigration selection in Canada play a key role in the recruitment strategies for newcomers used by the provinces and various Francophone community stakeholders.

In Manitoba, specific promotion, international outreach and recruitment efforts were deployed very early. Knowing that Manitoba's drawing power internationally is low for Francophones compared with Quebec's, community and government stakeholders began in the late 1990s to promote the Franco-Manitoban community by travelling to a number of Francophone regions (northern Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, Europe). A Manitoban community official noted that the SFM had promoted the community and the province starting in 1998 in Morocco (Interview 16, 25/07/2014).

Another interviewee noted:

we go to countries where the Canadian embassies don't know Saint-Boniface, don't know the Université Saint-Boniface, and we have to make a trip where it's not just awareness. (...) You get situations where someone says Quebec, everyone knows Quebec, but Manitoba is less well-known. But we have good success, we have had great success in the Maghreb countries, with Mali, with western Africa, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso. And that's based on... it was to ensure that they, the embassies, support our efforts. Because they can say who wants to go study in Manitoba, after all? You can go to Montreal. Why would you go to Saint-Boniface? They didn't even know there was a university in Saint-Boniface! (...) We made that trip in 2006; starting the next year, there were a lot of improvements, it had taken off. It's a little like a machine, so it's going well. You always have to promote. But that time we made a special effort. (Interview 19, 27/07/2014)

The very close ties with the province in that promotion and recruitment strategy are clearly indicated:

When there are tours in Europe, in France or in Belgium or in the Maghreb, the province generally goes, but the province is always accompanied by Francophone community members, because those are recruitment initiatives for Francophones. So that shows how much the file is important to the province and that the province has always worked with the community, precisely for that cause. (Bintou Sacko, 28/07/2014)

Indeed, a large number of Francophone immigrants are recruited through the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program. One of the special features of the program - exploratory visits - are an important part of the Manitoban strategy. Because the visits are pre-immigration visits, they provide a major promotion opportunity to encourage potential immigrants to integrate into the Francophone community, especially as the community has facilities for integration:

In that whole process before permanent residence, there's also the exploratory visit. So, that's mandatory for nominees under the Manitoba Provincial Nominee program who have no ties with the province. They have to make an exploratory visit (...) The province uses it when they go to physically recruit in different countries, they offer invitations to submit applications for the Program, to submit an application for the provincial nominee program, but that remains open year-round for Francophones. So the Francophones who qualify for the program, but who have no ties with the province, can submit an application after they make an exploratory visit. So already there's an

application made to the province, We require a lot of information, to ensure that the person qualifies before requiring them to visit. But that visit will ultimately help them to forge ties. They meet people in their field of work, potentially for eventual work, or not, even just people who work, the same type of work they do, so that they have an idea how that goes here because it can be very different from their country. Socially, I put them in contact with other immigrants... We meet with people, and it's really customized. It all depends on who does what, if it's an engineer, they're always referred to the University of Manitoba, there's a special program for engineers, it's to understand a little, well ... what will I need to do to be able to work as an engineer. I have a whole system in place with the Université de Saint-Boniface for people in the health field. So they go meet with someone there who will help them to see what steps they need to go through to be able to work as a nurse, or a doctor, so... That really prepares them. When they come back, one day with their permanent residency, they already know people, they've made friends, contacts, and that facilitates integration a lot... (Brigitte Léger, 29/07/2014)

British Columbia has developed international promotion and recruitment initiatives, but its strategies are not as proactive as Manitoba's. Several explanations can be put forward: later awareness on the part of the Francophone community, a less "urgent" migration problem, in that British Columbia has greater potential drawing power, and looser relations between the province and Francophone communities.

Thus, the BC-Francophone Immigration Steering Committee (BC-FISC), comprising representatives of the province, CIC and Francophone organizations, was struck in 2004 to bring together community and government stakeholders. As it was explained to us:

So, for example, before, we had an initiative that was overseen by the province, and because CIC transferred a certain amount - \$50 000 - to the province for international recruitment and promotion. And so we set up a group called "the BC-FISC" [BC Francophone Immigration Steering Committee]. So the province managed that, and that group was responsible for recruitment and promotion, so the province was in that group, and the community partners like the FFCB, the SDE, the Collège Éducacentre, there were some three community partners, and the other partners were the province and CIC, of course. (Interview 34, 20/11/2014)

Those activities included information sessions for WHP participants to facilitate their permanent immigration, as well as information and recruitment tours in European countries, in France and Belgium, including Destination Canada, based on BC's economic needs (e.g., in natural resources, tourism and the hotel industry).

However, the communities reacted differently after CIC stopped funding the provinces to participate in Destination Canada. At that point, BC Francophone community organizations stopped participating:

for recruitment and promotion, before when we had funding, we participated in Destination Canada, but in 2011, the government cut that funding. So then we no longer had funding to really undertake major projects. (Interview 34, 20/11/2014)

Today, British Columbia organizations are discussing strategic planning, and thinking about structuring their recruitment activities under the leadership of the FFCB. They are currently working on an ad-hoc partnership for CIC.

In contrast, in Manitoba the World Trade Center funds its participation with its own funding.

CIC stopped funding the provinces two years ago. So before, the province paid for my trip, and my travel for that... with the CIC funding they received. So obviously that was cut (...) And so it's been coming out of my budget for two years now. (Brigitte Léger, 29/07/2014)

In addition, as in Manitoba, other smaller activities like buying advertising in French magazines (*L'Express*) are undertaken to make the province known to Francophones:

We said from the get-go that we had to decide where we were going to recruit. I can't recruit everywhere, it's just not possible, we don't have the funding, so we chose Belgium and France as the two countries where we'd recruit, where we'd focus our efforts, so... wherever I'm going to run ads, and even at that I don't run many, for several years I've run an ad in *L'Express* magazine. And it yield a lot, a lot. And we do it somewhat in the type of articles, we highlight... We always feature some families that are here, why they choose Manitoba... So that costs us a lot of money, but that's the only ad I run, and it's read everywhere. (Brigitte Léger, 29/07/2014)

Through the provincial nominees program to attract qualified immigrants, for example we forged partnerships in connection with Destination Canada, in the past to promote British Columbia in *L'Express*, a magazine distributed in Europe for the... just before Destination Canada, so to promote the provinces. So that's something that we did in the past. (Interview 2, 12/06/2013).

The recruitment efforts by communities and the provinces pertain to different classes of immigrants and temporary residents. As in the rest of the country, Francophone communities intend to benefit from a "two-stage" immigration, i.e., that fosters the transition from temporary residents to permanent residents. Communities use a number of tools, depending on their targets.

A major difference between the Manitoban and BC Francophone communities pertains to recruitment of international students. While the province of British Columbia mentions international students as one of its targets (Bertrand, 2008), the universities have not undertaken active recruitment campaigns. Conversely, the Université Saint-Boniface has focussed on recruitment of international students in two countries in Africa in particular, although USB is now expanding the target countries:

We also have recruiters, in two main countries. We have one recruiter in Senegal, and we also have a recruiter in Morocco, and we are very pleased to have international students, although we now prefer international students who have had a good preparation for arriving here, at the university level. (Interview 15, 24/07/2014)

In British Columbia, the OFFA of SFU - the only institution offering French-language postsecondary courses in British Columbia - nevertheless expressed interest last November in exploring opportunities for recruiting international Francophone students, in conjunction with the Association des universités de la francophonie canadienne (AUFC). In addition, the Éducacentre college has been recognized as a "designated institution," enabling it to receive foreign students, and is trying to receive more international students, especially in the health and business administration fields (Yvon Laberge, 13/11/2014).

With respect to temporary foreign workers, visa exemptions for Francophones have been used as recruitment and promotion tools. In that connection, the federal government's termination last September of the visa exemption program for Francophones - Francophone Significant Benefit

Program - set off a hue and cry in both communities, as that decision took away a major component of their attraction strategy. As was explained to us, that tool was widely used to recruit Francophone temporary workers:

Normally a Canadian employer has to have a labour market opinion. It's an exemption... from the labour market opinion for positions in category 0, A and B of the National Occupational Classification. And it's used a lot. It means we can have a permit in 10 days. It's very quick. So yes, we use it often. (...) Easily 4 [applications] a month, that I make here myself (Brigitte Léger, 29/07/2014)

With respect to permanent immigration selection, we noted that the rollout of *Express Entry* in January 2015 resulted in a number of evaluations. For the time being, the new ministerial instructions published on December 1, 2014, in the Canada Gazette do not contain any specific provisions for French-speaking immigrants, other than equal points being given for official language proficiency (i.e., based on the language proficiency level in French and English in all language skills).

Francophone organizations in both provinces still seem to be in wait and see mode, however, and are expressing some concern about the impacts of that reform on two levels: decreased admissions of French-speaking immigrants, and also decreased funding for settlement services.

Those recruitment differences are attributable to Manitoba and the Franco-Manitoban community having appreciated very early on the importance of developing a proactive Francophone immigration strategy. As a province that does not "naturally" attract a lot of immigrants, Manitoba focussed on attraction and recruitment strategies for Francophone immigrants in partnership with community organizations. In contrast, as an immigrant attraction pool, without specific targets, British Columbia attracts, in absolute and relative value, large number of French-speaking immigrants (see Table 3).

A final difference pertains to refugee sponsorship, as Manitoba is a province that receives a lot of refugees. Churches play a large role in refugee sponsorship, and the Archdiocese of Saint-Boniface is recognized by CIC as a sponsorship agreement holder. However, the Archdiocese no longer sponsors refugees on behalf of parishes or families, because of a lack of resources to support them:

We didn't have the people to follow up with them more, and to ensure that they were properly settled in Winnipeg, in Canada. (...) For that reason, in the past two to three years, we have really pretty well sponsored no one. We have had no new people in recent years. Because we can't support them more, as we should support them. (Interview 26, 22/08/2014)

That lack of follow-up is also reminiscent of the past experience of refugees who arrived from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in the late 1970s (boat people), and may explain why the issue of refugee retention in the Francophone community is important in Manitoba.

Many issues have been identified. Reception was a big priority because we had had the experience of having done things badly in the past, especially with people who came to us from Laos, which was really a total failure. Most were sponsored by churches and by groups that look after that, and the rate of retention, if one can talk in terms of retention, was very low. They returned... Most of them were absorbed into the Anglophone community, and they no longer speak French. (Louis Allain, 25/07/2014)

In British Columbia, the link between the role of churches, refugee sponsorship and Francophone community organizations seems more relaxed. One possible explanation is the lack of a geographically rooted Catholic Francophone clergy, like in Manitoba. The refugee class is addressed in British Columbia through airport reception and temporary accommodation. The first contacts for French-speaking refugees in British Columbia are federal government officials and Anglophone organizations. They are subsequently referred to Francophone community organizations.

A family from Congo arrives directly at the airport in Vancouver and is received by the federal government... it is sent directly to ISS to be accommodated on their premises... they have temporary accommodation for refugees identified by the federal government... those people stay at ISS, they receive settlement services and after they are sent to La Boussole. The continuum was ensured like that. (Interview 1, 12/06/2013)

In Manitoba, however, there is a specific agreement to refer French-speaking refugees to Francophone community organizations:

An agreement with Citizenship and Immigration Canada, in which all Francophone refugees who arrive in the province of Manitoba go through *Accueil francophone*. It's an agreement... (...) we know when they arrive here, they are received, we have the funding to help them resettle. It's called the refugee resettlement program. But in our day-to-day work, we have also forged partnerships or where we work with everyone, including churches, to support all Francophone immigrants, Francophone refugees. In any case, every person who arrives, who speaks French, is integrated into the Francophone community, or at least are made aware that there are services that can help them to integrate. (Bintou Sacko, 28/07/2014)

5.2.2. Reception and Settlement

Reception and settlement are key areas for service offer, and are addressed differently by stakeholders in the two provinces. That ambivalence stems from how the two terms are defined and how they are confused in terms of timing.

On the continuum culminating in the integration of immigrants, reception refers to the first weeks spent in Canada (reception at the airport, administrative formalities, referral to community services, etc.), while settlement refers to longer-term services to foster integration (language training, employment, community connections, etc.). In practice, however, that distinction is less clear. First of all, because of two-stage immigration, many French-speaking newcomers go without reception and settlement services and are thus "integrated" without using those services. Second, CIC is trying to develop settlement services before arrival, to foster integration, which blurs the lines of the process. Last, the divisions between reception and settlement services are porous, and have substantial implications for Francophone organizations.

In Manitoba, *Accueil francophone* was established in 2003 following community consultations on "expanding the Francophone space." The structure originated in the desire to fill a gap in terms of reception services and to facilitate integration into the Franco-Manitoban community. *Accueil* was designed as a single window for French-speaking newcomers, and has two settlement counsellors (an initial position was created in 2003 for permanent residents and a second specifically for refugees in 2009). The range of *Accueil*'s services has expanded over time and now covers all stages in the continuum. For example, *Accueil* provides home follow-up services and manages the Refugee Resettlement Assistance Program sponsored by the government.

In British Columbia, the distinction between reception and settlement services has been a major issue. The Agence francophone pour l'accueil et l'intégration des immigrants (AFAI) was established in 2008 by the FFCB, as a consortium of several community organizations.²⁷ AFAI staff provided reception services (e.g., information and guidance), but unlike Accueil employees, they were not recognized as settlement officers. Settlement services are thus initially delivered by Francophone or bilingual officers within major Anglophone service delivery organizations (e.g., MOSAIC, SUCCESS, DIVERSEcity, ISSBC).

5.2.3. Integration Sectors and Services

The third component of the continuum is integration, generally measured at the economic, social and political level. Here again, the difficulties experienced by Francophone immigrants are in many ways similar to those experienced by immigrants in general. However, status as minorities within a minority is an additional barrier, especially for racialized minorities, and calls for intersectoral approaches.

Francophone communities in Manitoba and British Columbia provide services in a wide range of fields (socio-economic, housing, language training, school, health, legal and administrative assistance, culture, religion, sports and recreation). However, the type of services provided varies by province. Here we focus on the major differences between the two communities.

- With respect to housing, Manitoba's specificity is the Abri-Marguerite, which is managed by Accueil francophone in partnership with the Société franco-manitobaine and the Catholic Health Corporation of Manitoba. It provides temporary affordable housing in Saint-Boniface and enables newcomers to forge ties with the Francophone community, and to draw on a support network during the settlement process. In contrast, apart from specific housing assistance projects, including a partnership between AFAI and ISSBC for furniture collection (HomeStart) - assistance also provided by Accueil francophone in Manitoba - no equivalent structure to the Abri Marguerite is in place in British Columbia.
- With respect to language services, British Columbia's specificity is a Francophone college that provides English courses to immigrants (ELSA and LINC). British Columbia is also distinguished by K-12 francization and English as a second language (ESL) TÉFIÉ Services funded by the Ministry of Education. In Manitoba, immigrants have to register in Manitoba START and take four week of training (*ENTRY Program*), which includes a language proficiency test for permanent residents and refugees in addition to general guidance services. Based on the test results, newcomers can take English as an Additional Language (EAL) and French as a Second Language (FSL) courses (through WELARC).
- With respect to employment, government restructuring in British Columbia (transfer to the province) has led to a restructuring of forms of funding and consequently to a loss of funding for employment assistance services in two provincial organizations. In Manitoba, employability has been a source of tension among some organizations.
- In the health field, the Saint-Boniface hospital, where French-language health care services are available, has no equivalent in British Columbia, again underscoring the importance of the legacy of Catholic institutions for the Franco-Manitoban community.

²⁷ FFCB, Conseil scolaire francophone, Conseil jeunesse francophone de la Colombie-Britannique, Collège Éducentre, La Boussole, Société Inform'elles.

- At the political level, the findings of Gallant (2010b) in British Columbia were confirmed in the last election in June 2014, when a number of immigrants were elected to the board of the FFCB. The same is true in Manitoba, where organizations are beginning to be more representative of the population's ethnocultural diversity. For example, the current and former chair of the board of SFM are members of racialized minorities. Also noteworthy is the specificity of Amicale multiculturelle, the only advocacy organization for French-speaking newcomers in both provinces that differs from ethnocultural associations focussed on culture of origin (Congolese, Haitian, Algerian, etc.).

Table 4 (Service Officer) summarizes the service offer for French-speaking newcomers in both provinces, before and after the repatriation of reception and settlement services by the federal government.

Table 4 : Service Offer in British Columbia and Manitoba

Services	Activities	British Columbia			Manitoba		
		Before repatriation	After repatriation (2014)	Clarifications	Before repatriation	After repatriation	Clarifications
Recruitment	Destination Canada	RIFCB working group	Ongoing recruitment strategy (FFCB)	Recruitment and promotion group (FFCB, SDE, Éducacentre) – until 2011	SFMAccueil francophone	Accueil francophone	Since 2012, no external funding
		Province	Province		WTC Winnipeg	WTC Winnipeg	
	Relations with Canadian embassies	Éducacentre	Éducacentre		RIFMB CDEM	RIFMB CDEM	Tours by employers (with FCFA)
		RIFCB working group	Ongoing recruitment strategy (FFCB)		USB WTC Winnipeg	USB WTC Winnipeg	
	PNP – exploratory visits				WTC Winnipeg	WTC Winnipeg	
	Recruitment trips				USB	USB	International recruitment
Reception	Promotional material	Province	Province/(SDE)	<i>L'Express Magazine</i>	WTC	WTC	<i>L'Express Magazine</i>
	Refugee sponsorship				Archdiocese of St-Boniface		
	Refugee reception				Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	
	Reception	AFAI	FFCB	1 reception officer and 3 settlement officers	Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	2 agents d'établissement
	Airport reception				Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	
	Obtaining driver's licence, etc.	AFAI	FFCB		Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	
Settlement							
Housing	Assistance in finding housing, furniture, etc.	AFAI with Homestart) CIAI	FFCB		Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	
		La Boussole	La Boussole				
	Temporary housing	-	-		Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	Abri Marguerite

Service Offer (cont'd)

Services	Activities	British Columbia			Manitoba		
		Before repatriation	After repatriation (2014)	Clarifications	Before repatriation	After repatriation	Clarifications
Langue	English						
	Provincial government courses	Éducacentre		ELSA - no longer exists			
	LINC		Éducacentre	Since 2014			
	Other English training	CSF-Services TEFIÉ	CSF-Services TEFIÉ		DSFM	DSFM	
		CIAI	-		USB	USB	
	French						
	Literacy	Éducacentre	Éducacentre		Pluri'elles	Pluri'elles	
Employment	Job search assistance	CSF-Services TEFIÉ	CSF-Services TEFIÉ		DSFM	DSFM	
		Éducacentre CIAI	Éducacentre -		USB	USB	
	Credential assessment	Éducacentre	Éducacentre		USB	USB	
	Professional training	Éducacentre	Éducacentre		CDEM USB	CDEM USB	
	Support for entrepreneurs	SDE	SDE		CDEM	CDEM	
School	Help with homework	Repère Francophone			Pluri'elles Accueil francophone	Pluri'elles Accueil francophone	
	School orientation/reception	Éducacentre CSF-Services TEFIÉ	Éducacentre CSF-Services TEFIÉ	Reception class	USB DSFM	USB DSFM	
Health	Various services	Boussole CIAI	Boussole -	On-site nurse Counseling, before closing	Pluri'elles Hôpital St-Boniface	Pluri'elles Hôpital St-Boniface	Counseling
Legal / administrative services	Legal advice	La Boussole	La Boussole	Assistance with accessing legal services	Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	Administering oaths/ notary services
	Assistance with administrative procedures	AFAI	FFCB		Accueil francophone WTC Winnipeg	Accueil francophone WTC Winnipeg	
	Interpretation/translation	CIAI La Boussole	- La Boussole	Interpretation services	Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	

Service Offer (cont'd)

Services	Activities	British Columbia			Manitoba		
		Before repatriation	After repatriation (2014)	Clarifications	Before repatriation	After repatriation	Clarifications
Community/ cultural	Matching	AFAI (w ith ISSBC)	FFCB (w ith ISSBC)	With Anglophone families (bilingual)	Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	With Francophone families Anglophone language exchanges, English club
	Social life	Maillardville	Maillardville	Festival du Bois	Accueil francophone	Accueil francophone	Christmas dinner
		FFCB	FFCB	Open house, Black History Month			
Services for temporary residents	Direct counselling/ services	Éducacentre	Éducacentre	Black History Month	Accueil francophone	-	Assistance with immigration procedures terminated
		La Boussole	La Boussole	No funding			
		AFAI	-	No funding	Pluri'elles	Pluri'elles	Francophone Significant Benefit terminated
		-	FFCB		USB	USB	
	Employment	Éducacentre	Éducacentre	Funding until 2012	-	-	
	Transition to permanent employment	-	FFCB		WTC Winnipeg	WTC Winnipeg	Information on MB PNP

While the immigration services provided changed relatively little with the repatriation of services to CIC (except for the FFCB), the impact of those changes should not be underestimated for clientele, service delivery organizations, and structuring methods of Francophone communities in both provinces.

5.3. Clienteles

Community organizations are trying to cover all services for Francophones and Francophiles, and also to adapt them to a diverse clientele with different needs.

Table 5 summarizes the clienteles served by organizations in both provinces (before and after repatriation of services CIC), distinguishing specific clienteles for particular projects.

Table 5 : Clienteles in British Columbia and Manitoba

British Columbia			Manitoba		
Organization	Initiative/ Before repatriation	Initiative/ After (2014)	Organization	Initiative/ Before repatriation	Initiative/ After (2013)
FFCB	No direct services	Reception and settlement services: French-speaking new comers	SFM	No direct services	No change
RIFCB	No direct services	No change	Coordination network/ RIFMB	No direct services	No change
AFAI	Reception and referral services: eligible clientele according to CIC (permanent residents and admitted refugees); Assistance to temporary residents	No longer exists	Accueil francophone	Reception and settlement services: French-speaking new comers	Reception and settlement services: eligible clientele according to CIC (permanent residents and admitted refugees)
Educacentre	College/professional training: Francophones and Francophiles (including French-speaking new comers); Before 2012, employment services assistance: Francophones and Francophiles (including French-speaking new comers); ELSA: eligible clientele admissible (CIC)	LINC: eligible clientele (CIC); College/professional training: Francophones and Francophiles (including French-speaking new comers); For-fee employability workshops; Victoria service point	USB	Professional /university training: Francophones and Francophiles (including French-speaking new comers); School reception and immigration counselling: French-speaking new comers; French courses: eligible clientele according to CIC (permanent residents and admitted refugees)	No longer provides immigration counselling
SDE	Services to entrepreneurs: Francophones and Francophiles (including French-speaking new comers)	No change	CDEM	Francophones (including French-speaking new comers); Employability services: youth 15 to30	No change

British Columbia			Manitoba		
Organization	Initiative/ Before repatriation	Initiative/ After (2014)	Organization	Initiative/ Before repatriation	Initiative/ After (2013)
CSF-Services TÉFIÉ	School reception: Newly arrived CSF students and their families	No change	DSFM	School reception: Newly arrived DSFM students and their families	No change
La Boussole	Francophones and Francophiles (including French-speaking new comers)	No change	Pluri-elles	Employability services: Francophones 30 and older (including French-speaking new comers)	No change
AFSurrey	Francophones and Francophiles (including French-speaking new comers)	No change	WTC	Exploratory visits and assistance with administrative procedures: Prospective Francophone provincial nominees (internationally and temporary residents in MB)	No change
Repère Francophone	Francophones and Francophiles (including French-speaking new comers)	No longer exists	L'Amicale	Does not provide direct services	No change
CIIA	Immigrants, especially African immigrants (Anglophones and Francophones)	Burnaby/New Westminster/Tri-Cities service point	Archidiocèse	Refugees (private sponsorship) Anglophones and Francophones	No more applications

A number of findings can be addressed.

- The clienteles are defined too restrictively (e.g., eligible clientele according to CIC), or conversely, very inclusively, depending on the community organizations and the services provided.

Some organizations have not necessarily obtained contracts with CIC or the immigration ministry in their respective province, but may have a high proportion of immigrants among their clientele. Without necessarily delivering reception or settlement services as defined by governments, organizations that receive large number of immigrants consider they are developing special expertise with them.

- There is a type of division of labour among community organizations.

That division is in response to logics of consistency with the organization's mandate and expertise, but is also an attempt to cover all five objectives set out in the 2003 strategic framework. Community stakeholders in both provinces refer to it frequently. For example, "there are five immigration components, we're in the fifth" (Louis Allain, 25/07/2014). Or again: "normally, everyone should have their expertise in accordance with their mandate" (Interview 4, 14/06/2013). Depending on the different areas of integration (socio-economic, political, cultural, etc.) and the different stages of the continuum, organizations tend to specialize with a certain type of clientele.

- That division of labour results in specific clienteles, which also highlight tensions among community organizations. Community organizations compete with each other in terms of membership and numbers of clients served. It seems that a clear specialization of activities

fosters agreement among organizations. A perception of overlap can increase that competition.

In Manitoba, the division of services and clienteles among organizations has been identified, and there seems to be a relative consensus among FIN members. As it was explained:

during the course of this "Change 2008" process initiated by the SFM, all organizations agreed to learn to manage all files intelligently to ensure greater synergy and better success with OLMCs, official language minority communities. And it was at that point that we charted where there were, shall we say, opportunities for collaboration and also partnerships to forge among organizations, and we made sure to close gaps with some services. (Louis Allain, 25/07/2014)

In British Columbia, organizations are also recognized for a certain type of service and clientele. For example,

on the economic side, you have the SDE, you have the Éducacentre college, because it was economic, it touched on employability and entrepreneurship. So, all those who felt affected, or the people that provided employment services, like La Boussole, all those people were organized into that group... (Interview 34, 20/11/2014)

British Columbia is very different from Manitoba, however, as the reception and settlement capacity of Francophone organizations has only recently been recognized by CIC. Before the recentralization, French-speaking settlement officers employed by large Anglophone settlement agencies provided a service point in Francophone organizations. That period, which we will return to later, has been evaluated differently. Some organizations saw the situation positively, as it gave the organization renting its premises the opportunity to recruit new members and publicize its services. Others, however, saw the situation as ambiguous, in terms of "sharing" clientele. For example, Anglophone agencies and Francophone organizations could not disclose their information for confidentiality purposes. However, that situation was deemed unfair by Francophone organizations, which asserted that it was their clients and their premises.

- The definition of eligible clientele changed following the repatriation of settlement services, which had a major impact on service delivery for the two communities.

Before the repatriation of services, non-permanent residents (temporary workers, international students or WHP participants) were deemed to be an eligible clientele in a number of provincially funded projects.

In British Columbia, for example, temporary workers were a target clientele:

we negotiated a small budget, which the province agreed with. We're working on it, through brochures for temporary workers, for example, on their access to the right to work, etc. We'll receive a little funding to effectively develop tools for them. (Interview 3, 6/08/2013)

Another example, from Manitoba, pertains to international students:

Before our change, we did a lot of work with the Université de Saint-Boniface to help international students. For two years now, with changes at the federal government level, we have been unable to help that population, unfortunately, unless they obtain permanent resident status. So as long as they have international student status, we can't help them. (...) We can't even provide them with a service here (...) you have to have

resident status, permanent resident status upon entering Canada or being in Canada to receive Accueil Francophone services. So that's a change that's taken place in the past two years. Otherwise, before, we could help them. (Bintou Sacko, 28/07/2014)

Now when international students or temporary workers contact service delivery organizations funded by CIC, those organizations have to refer that clientele. That change is not appreciated by some service delivery organizations. As specified:

There's no question that they're not eligible. But at the same time, as Francophones, as members of the community, we know that it's our future, if we know they're facing a number of problems, we spend a little time with them, to steer them in the right direction, etc. Because we know as well that it's the community's future in a small way. That's what will strengthen our vitality. (Interview 10, 6/08/2013)

5.4. Organizational Structure and Community Governance

5.4.1. Before Repatriation

Manitoba

The creation of Accueil francophone in 2003 by SFM was the result of effective coordination among major community organizations and strong support from the province. SFM negotiated with the province, which agreed to fund Accueil through the Canada-Manitoba Agreement, from its creation to the repatriation of services to CIC.

From the outset, the province granted Accueil - and by extension the Francophone community - settlement capacities and the legitimacy to provide direct services to French-speaking newcomers. The ties between the SFM and Accueil are still very strong today. Accueil is a creature of the SFM, its funding comes from the SFM, and Accueil staff report to the SFM. However, the two organizations' stakeholders emphasize their independence from one another: the offices are located outside the SFM and the SFM plays no role in the day-to-day management of Accueil.

Accueil quite quickly enjoyed legitimacy within Francophone community organizations. Although some tension was mentioned at first between Accueil and some organizations (regarding Accueil's role with respect to political representation or service delivery), community governance in connection with immigration seems to have become relatively consensual over time, even though a leadership role was not formally recognized for Accueil, as explained:

We built a structure of trust. (...) Accueil is recognized as the centre of the Francophone immigration strategy, but it is more by... it's not formal. It's informal. No vote was held on that. (Interview 16, 25/07/2014)

While Accueil's leadership is recognized, the specialties and clienteles of other community organizations are also clearly established, and each community organization is responsible for making its own grant applications.

Relations with Anglophone organizations are quite limited in the Manitoban context. We previously mentioned the partnerships with Manitoba START, which refers its French-speaking clients to Accueil. Reciprocally, Accueil accompanies its clients to Manitoba START.²⁸ Apart from those

²⁸ In addition to language resources, the agency gives orientation classes and provides job search assistance and professional development programs.

arrangements, no other form of partnership with Anglophone settlement agencies was mentioned in our interviews.

British Columbia

It took longer for BC to put in place a separate structure with an exclusive mandate for immigrant reception; the AFAI was established in 2008. As was the case with Accueil francophone, the spokes-organization for the Francophone community - the FFCB - negotiated with the province. As in Manitoba, the reception agency's staff are employees of the spokes-organization. However, the AFAI differs from Accueil francophone in a number of aspects. As noted above, the major difference is that the AFAI does not provide settlement services, only reception services (information and guidance only, e.g. referral to Francophone community organizations). Moreover, while Accueil francophone was a "lone ranger" with respect to settlement, the AFAI is in fact a consortium of several community organizations.²⁹

Because the AFAI is not recognized to deliver settlement services, it collaborates with Anglophone service delivery organizations, whose employees are formally recognized as settlement officers (including MOSAIC and SUCCESS).

At first, French-speaking settlement officers who served French-speaking newcomers did not work on the premises of community Francophone organizations, but rather within their own Anglophone organizations. Subsequently, those settlement officers worked on the premises of community Francophone organizations, although they were still employees of the Anglophone service delivery organizations (see Figure B1, Appendix B).

That situation created discord among community organizations and within the consortium. The FFCB received some criticism, leading to a climate of mistrust. Compared with Manitoba, relations with Anglophone organizations are much more extensive in British Columbia. That is naturally attributable to the specific situation we described. But it is also visible, in that the BC Steering Committee and the FIN includes Anglophone partners, which is not the case with the Réseau de concertation et d'intégration du Manitoba. Those relations are not only more extensive, but also much more conflictual, on two levels. First, Francophone communities are not recognized as capable of delivering settlement services, and second, Anglophone agencies and Francophone organizations share resources and clientele.

5.4.2. After Repatriation

Manitoba

The repatriation of settlement services did not in itself change community governance substantially. As indicated in the community maps (see Figure B3 and B4), only the funding mechanism is different (direct federal funding rather than indirect funding through the province). However, that mechanism should not be underestimated, as it brings with it work habits and relations, which as noted above in the case of Manitoba, were characterized by extensive trust among stakeholders (provincial government and community organizations). While it did not fundamentally alter the financial resources, repatriation did change an entire work culture, and may adversely affect services. For example, changing the criteria for eligible clients, and the physical and technological distance, have been highlighted as disadvantages compared with the old model. That assessment is somewhat

²⁹ FFCB, Conseil scolaire francophone, Conseil jeunesse francophone de la Colombie-Britannique, Collège Éducentre, La Boussole, Société Inform'elles.

reminiscent of the changes experienced by BC community organizations with the introduction of the "New Era" by the provincial government in 2001.

British Columbia

The recentralization of integration services by the federal government has had a significant impact on community governance. In response to the CIC tender call in 2013, a number of community organizations joined forces to provide settlement services.³⁰ After the response to the tender call was approved by CIC, substantial disagreement between the FFCB and other associations led to the breakdown of the agreement among partners, and a vote on a motion at the General Assembly in June 2014 to discuss the FFCB's mandate and its relations with its members. The main point of contention involved the legitimacy of the FFCB, as a spokes-organization, to deliver direct services to French-speaking newcomers.

The AFAI was dissolved after the recentralization of services, and FFCB now employs three settlement counsellors, who work in various service points to serve a geographic base: FFCB for the Vancouver region, Collège Éducacentre³¹ for Victoria, and CIAI for Burnaby/New Westminster/Tri-Cities. The Surrey region, which was to be an area served by the agreement, was "lost." That region is now served by the Educacentre college and DIVERSEcity, settlement officers employed by the Francophone organization and by the Anglophone organization providing settlement services. Table 6 summarizes those forms of cooperation.

While BC stakeholders are now discussing strategic planning on immigration, it is clear that service recentralization has had a major, and probably lasting, impact on community governance.

³⁰ La Boussole, the Société francophone de Victoria, the Société francophone de Maillardville, l'Association francophone de Surrey, and the Centre of Integration for African Immigrants.

³¹ The Collège Éducacentre was not associated with the initial application.

Table 6 : Francophone/Anglophone Collaboration on Settlement Services

British Columbia							Manitoba	
Before Repatriation			After Repatriation (2014)				Before Repatriation	After Repatriation (2013)
Organizations		Description of relationship	Organizations		Description de la relation		Agreement between Accueil francophone and Manitoba START	Agreement between Accueil francophone and Manitoba START
Francophone	Anglophone	Employé d'expression française d'une agence anglophone présent dans l'organisme francophone	Francophone	Anglophone	French-speaking employee of a Francophone agency present in the Anglophone organization	French-speaking employee of an Anglophone agency present in the Francophone organization		
Éducacentre	MOSAIC	x	Éducacentre	DIVERSECity	x	x		
Société francophone de Maillardville	SUCCESS	x						
Ass. Francophone Surrey	SUCCESS	x						
La Boussole	MOSAIC	x						

Conclusion

Consideration of otherness within Francophone communities has evolved over time, with a transition from a very homogeneous national representation of French Canada to a much more fragmented community, the provinces appearing as a new reference space starting in the 1960s. The awareness of ethnocultural diversification resulting from international immigration in the 1990s changed the shape of those new spaces and considerably altered representations of self and Other, as Francophone communities discovered otherness within their midst. Thinking of minorities within a minority profoundly changed the community order, and it was in that context that immigration asserted itself - not without tensions - as a factor of revitalization.

Francophone immigration in OLMCs is governed by different legislative and political frameworks: multiculturalism, immigration and official languages. Very different problems are encountered which are nevertheless interrelated. For the federal government, that framework is characterized essentially by the *Official Languages Act* (1969), the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982), the *la Multiculturalism Act* (1988), and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (2002). That legal framework forms the basis of a set of strategic plans adopted by the federal government to deal directly with the challenge of immigration in OLMCs (the most recent being the *Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages*) and targets for French-speaking immigrants (4.4%).

Communities and the federal government have thus decided on strategies and specific actions following a continuum that sets out the main stages for successfully integrating immigrants into minority Francophone communities. Practices and services have been put in place for attracting, receiving and integrating immigrants, within the framework of political regulation characterized by forms of shared governance. While the issues associated with that continuum are similar in many respects to the integration of immigrants in general within Canadian society, the specific challenges of minority Francophone immigration should not be underestimated, especially the phenomenon of multiple minoritizations.

In addition, within this context of similar constraints for the provinces, a distinct political and legal framework is in place within each province. Both provinces have adopted specific legislation on multiculturalism: the *Manitoba Multiculturalism Act* (1992) and the *Multiculturalism Act* (1993) in British Columbia. They have also signed a series of agreements with the federal government on immigration and integration (starting in 1996 for Manitoba and in 1998 for British Columbia). Those agreements were terminated by the federal government in 2012, but the provinces still continue to select immigrants through the Provincial Nominee Program. With respect to official languages and Francophone immigration, provincial legislation differs significantly. Only Manitoba has a *French Language Services Policy* and a target for Francophone immigration (7%).

Francophone immigration is a recent immigration in both provinces (starting in 1996), and is growing, with French-speaking immigrants making up an increasing proportion of OLMC populations (especially in British Columbia, at 25%, compared with 5% in Manitoba, according to 2006 Statistics Canada data).

The number of French-speaking immigrants admitted in both provinces has evolved over the past ten years. It is not surprising that British Columbia receives more French-speaking immigrants than Manitoba in absolute numbers. More surprising, however, is that between 2006 and 2011, the province received a larger percentage of French-speaking immigrants than Manitoba, even though BC has no Francophone immigration target. Manitoba is struggling to reach its target of 7%, the highest immigration rate being 3.8% in 2012. However, since 2010, the number of French-speaking

immigrants in British Columbia has dropped continuously, while it is on the rise in Manitoba. In addition to the number and proportion of immigration, there are also major differences with respect to immigration classes, with Manitoba receiving a greater percentage of refugees, for example (over one quarter of Francophone immigration in 2013).

The forms of community governance are specific to each province, and shape and are shaped by-- recruitment, reception and integration strategies. Those strategies not only influence the type of services provided to Francophone immigrants, but also have an impact on service delivery organizations, and ultimately restructure the forms of community governance.

Manitoba deemed Francophone immigration to be a public action field sooner than British Columbia. In the early 2000s, the Société franco-manitobaine (SFM) and all Manitoban Francophone organizations agreed on a community plan, *Agrandir notre espace francophone*. As a province that does not "naturally" attract a lot of immigrants, Manitoba focussed on attraction and recruitment strategies for Francophone immigrants in partnership with community organizations. In contrast, as an immigrant attraction pool, it has taken British Columbia longer to view Francophone immigration as a specific issue, with its first action plan coming only in the mid-2000s. Without undertaking community consultation as Manitoba did, British Columbia has endorsed the priorities set out in CIC's *Strategic Framework* in 2003, without developing its own strategic vision.

Those differences in strategy are reflected in the service offer. With respect to promoting and recruiting international immigrants, the provinces use similar tools (Destination Canada, purchasing advertising in foreign magazines, Francophone Significant Benefit). However, Manitoba's proactive attitude can be seen in a number of specific practices: recruitment in Francophone countries starting in the late 1990s, exploratory visits in Manitoba, recruitment of international students, and refugee sponsorship agreements.

Reception and settlement strategies are very different. In Manitoba, the Accueil francophone has been a single window for French-speaking newcomers since 2003, and has provided settlement services from the outset. In British Columbia, the establishment of the Agence francophone pour la réception et l'intégration des immigrants (AFAI) in 2008 filled a void with respect to reception of French-speaking newcomers, but it has never provided settlement services, which are delivered by Francophones or bilingual employees within large Anglophone majority organizations (MOSAIC, SUCCESS, DIVERSEcity, ISSBC, etc.).

Before the recentralization of services, the two provinces developed very distinct types of community governance for immigration (cooperation mechanisms, resources and organizational structures). Before repatriation in 2013 and 2014, Manitoba developed a "community-based" type of governance, while British Columbia opted for a "market-based" type of governance (Leo and August, 2009; Leo and Enns 2009). Relations between the provinces and community groups were deeply affected by those strategies. While Manitoba

built an impressively successful system of immigration and settlement, carefully tailored to meet the requirements of disparate Manitoba communities, not along any particular line of governance theory but on the well-established political and administrative arts of close consultation and co-operation with stakeholders, thoughtful design of a provincial nominee system of immigration, attentive monitoring, and flexible adaptation to lessons learned (Leo and August, 2009: 494),

the government of British Columbia

in its fervour to impose a new ideological direction, placed serious obstacles in the path of a famously effective network of community organizations. The government of British Columbia operated on the premise that the introduction of private market-like incentives into the process of governance offered the right answer to the considerable problems the province faces in achieving the integration of daunting numbers of immigrants, most of whom settle in the lower mainland. (Leo and Enns, 2009 : 96)

Francophone organizations are, by definition, affected by those reforms, but the status as official language minorities reinforces the impact of those two form of governance. While in Manitoba, cooperation among elected officials, public servants and Francophone community stakeholders is not only effective, but also very cordial, cooperation between the province and Francophone organizations in British Columbia is minimal and marked by a lack of mutual trust. In that context, the recentralization of settlement services by CIC was perceived as more of a risk by Franco-Manitobans, but was seen as an opportunity by the BC Francophone community.

That being said, the impact of service recentralization is limited for the time being with respect to service delivery in Manitoba. A more disputed impact can be seen with respect to clientele. In British Columbia, the impact of recentralization is more positive with respect to service delivery, mixed with respect to clientele, and very challenging with respect to community governance.

Finally, like the federal and provincial governments, official language minority communities in Manitoba and en British Columbia see immigration as a resource (demographic, linguistic, and economic). In the same way that immigration is a nation- and province-building tool for governments, Francophone immigration plays a key role with respect to community development. However, stakeholders have not always anticipated how immigration has increased competition among stakeholders, all of them trying to gain the best advantage. In that way, immigrants have been the source of considerable tensions and intergovernmental and community restructuring.

Minority Francophone communities should be seen as spaces within which the borders are being redefined. The interest in analyzing those small spaces lies in the concentration and updating of key divisions in Canada with respect to linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity, interactions among bilingualism, multiculturalism and federalism as citizenship issues within a context of neoliberal governance.

Recommendations

Finally, we hereby include a list of recommendations for CIC.

Recommendation 1: Research

CIC should encourage research on such underdeveloped themes in the literature as:

- intersectoral approaches to integrating immigrants into OLMCs and the phenomenon of multiple minoritizations;
- public policy and immigration governance in OLMCs;
- the role of municipalities, which are completely absent in FINs and yet play a driving role in LIPs;
- harmonization of statistics on French-speaking newcomers to Canada and the provinces; production of data on international students, temporary workers and WHP participants; the comparative processing of data by Statistics Canada, CIC and provincial ministries;
- the widespread, free dissemination of those comparative data.

Recommendation 2: Selection and Recruitment

- Facilitate community stakeholders' participation in international recruitment activities so as to promote pre-arrival personalized follow-up (exploratory visits used by Manitoba could be seen as a best practice).
- Incorporate a specific mechanism into the *Express Entry* system to prioritize recruitment and fast-track selection of French-speaking newcomers.

Recommendation 3: Service continuum

- Rethink the service continuum and service offer so that they better reflect migration circularity, especially the transition from temporary to permanent immigration, and all pre-arrival reception and settlement initiatives.
- Prioritize planning and funding of projects fostering a longer-term vision.
- Schedule tender calls so as to better align strategic planning, service delivery, and evaluation.

Recommendation 4: Clienteles

- Using a service continuum that better reflects migration circularity and provides a broader vision of migration temporalities, eligible clienteles should not be limited to permanent residents. In a context where the federal government wants to develop OLMCs' reception capacities, funding projects to better serve a temporary clientele (international students, temporary workers and WHP participants) would facilitate their permanent immigration. Expanding the eligible clientele could be seen as an exception for OLMCs, so as to achieve the government's Francophone immigration target.

Recommendation 5: Organizational Structure

- Relations of trust are essential for the success of shared governance structures, and are even more important in small communities with increased competition and a limited number of stakeholders. Bad working relations affect service delivery. Initiatives to bring community stakeholders closer together with one another and with government stakeholders should be encouraged, to enhance the success of Francophone immigration projects.

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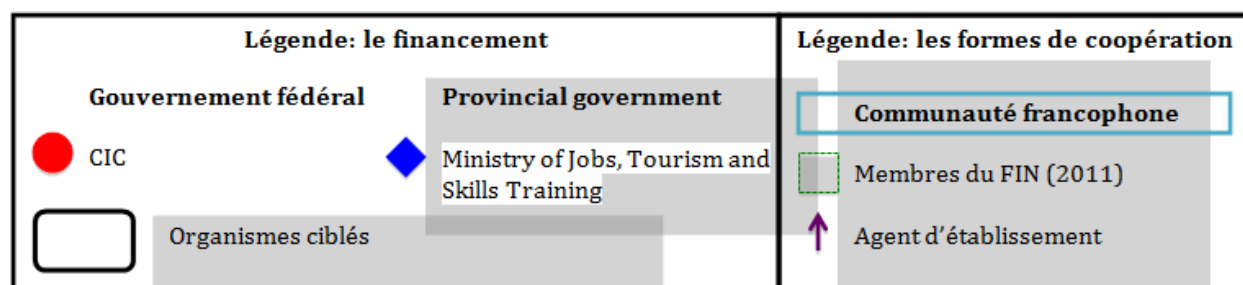
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Appendix B: Community Maps

Figure B1: British Columbia before Repatriation



BC before Repatriation

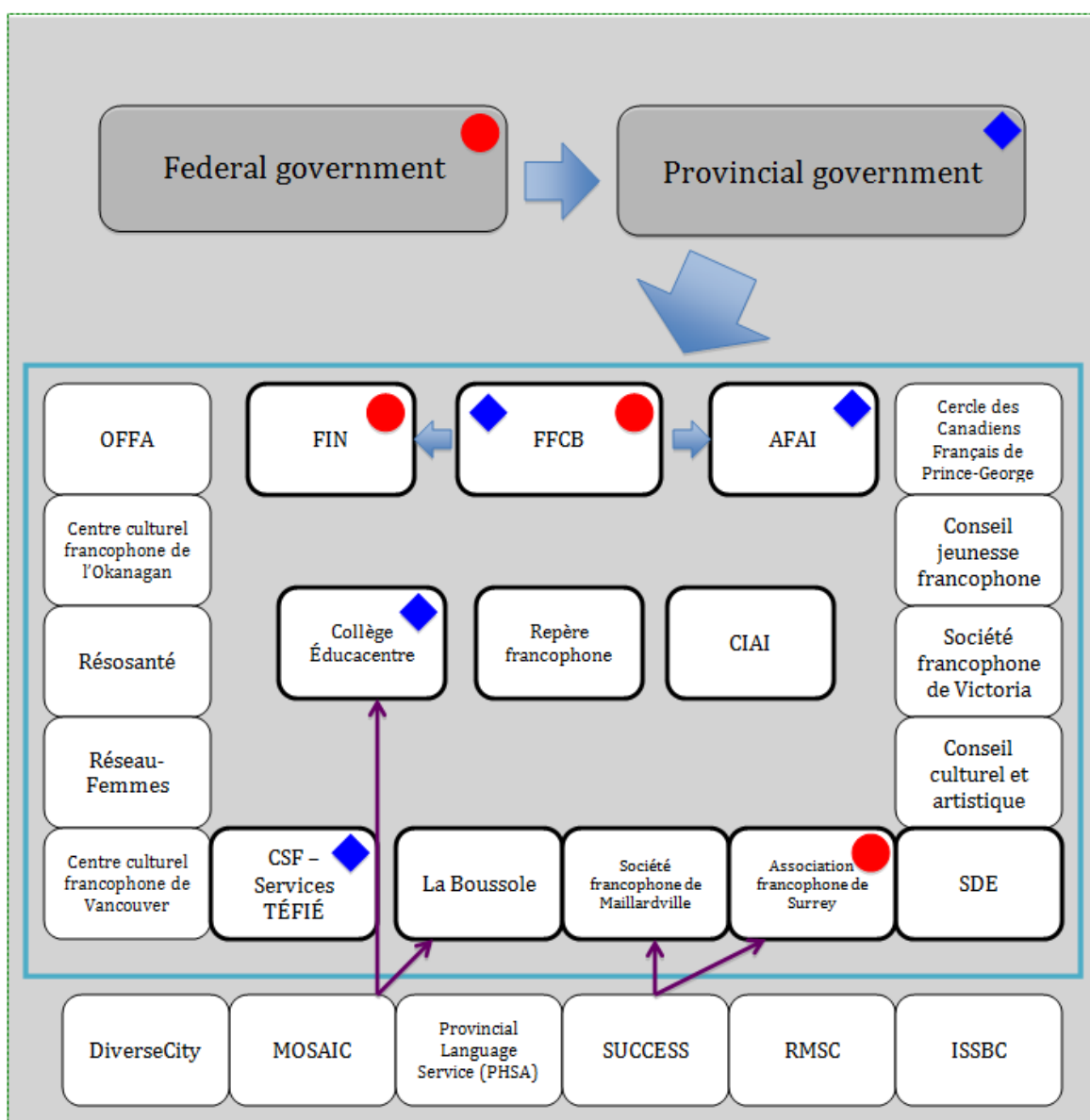
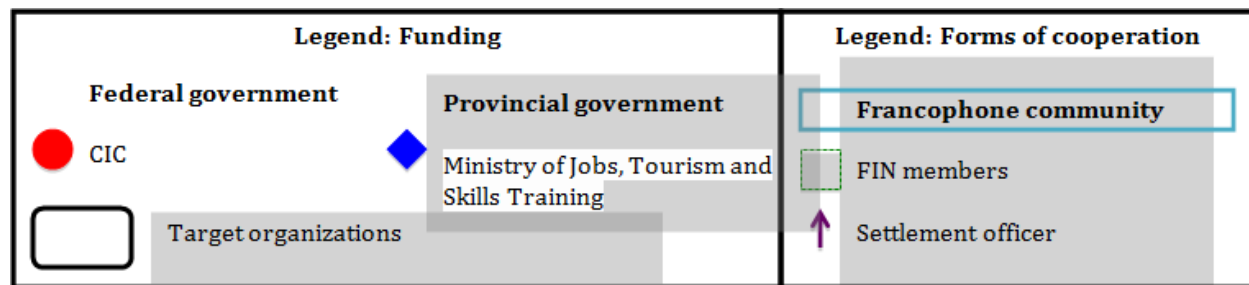


Figure B2: British Columbia after Repatriation (2014)



BC after Repatriation (2014)

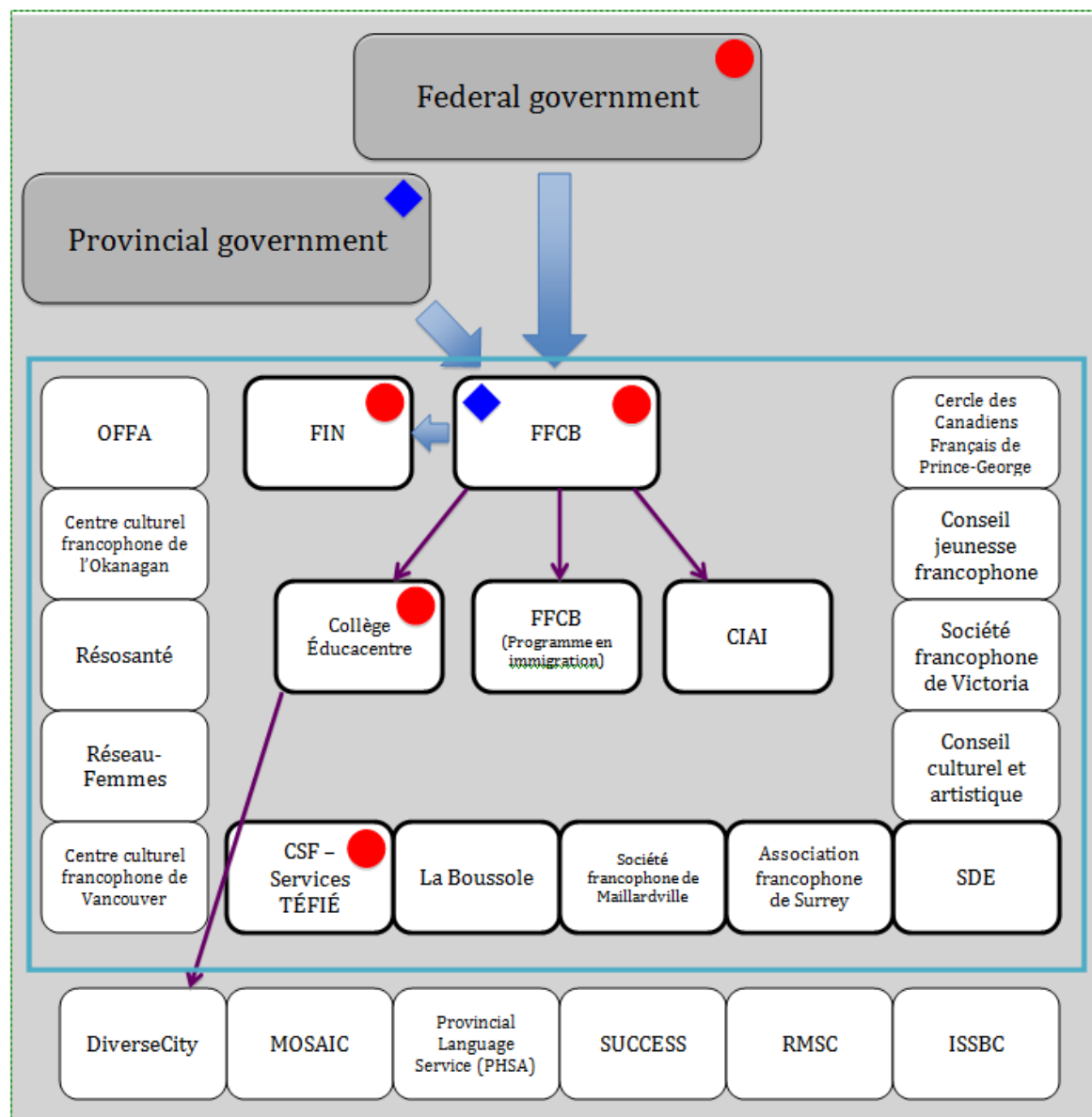


Figure B3: Manitoba before Repatriation

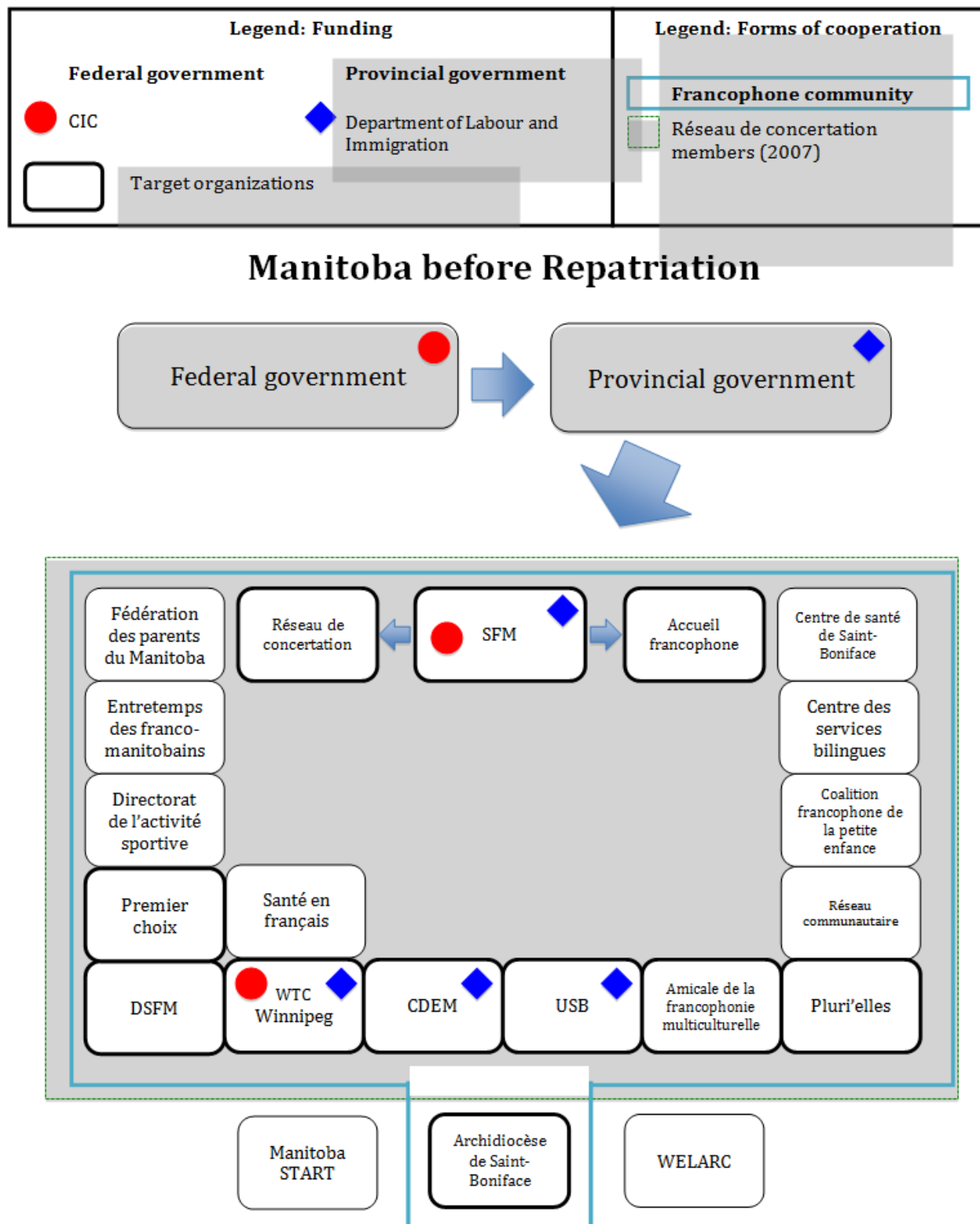
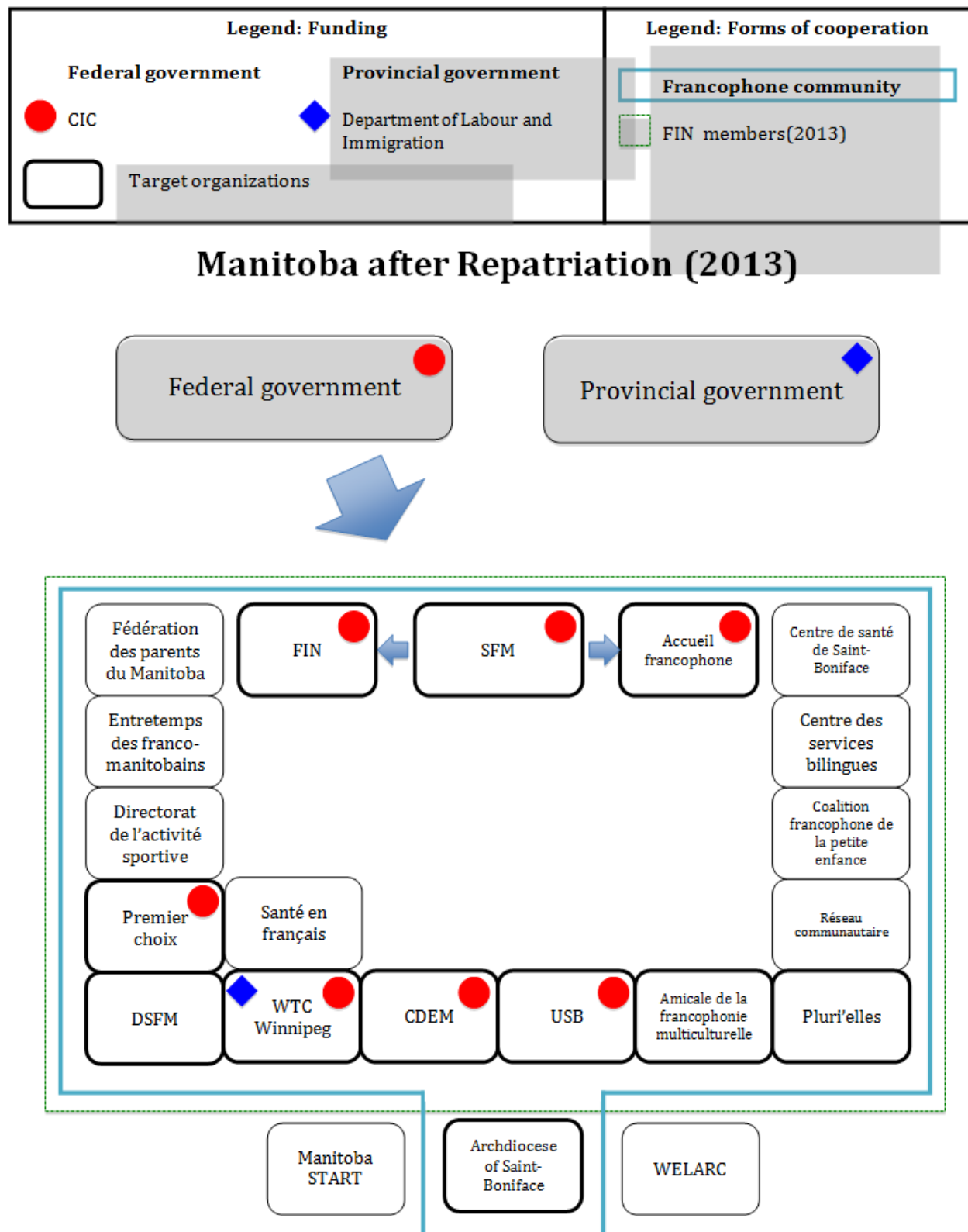


Figure B4: Manitoba after Repatriation (2013)



Appendix C: List of Organizations Interviewed and Number of Persons per Organization

Our study has a comparative dimension, both geographically and over time. A number of stakeholders have been involved in a variety of organizations throughout their careers and personal activities. In accordance with our ethics protocol at SFU and our anonymity and confidentiality requirements, interviewees are not named, unless they have authorized us to do so, as indicated after the quotation.

British Columbia

Agence francophone pour l'accueil des immigrants (AFAI) – 2
Association francophone de Surrey (AFS) – 1
British Columbia Francophone Affairs Program
Citizenship and Immigration Canada - Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee (CIC-FMC Steering Committee) – 1
Collège Éducacentre – 2
Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA) – 1
Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique (FFCB) – 5
La Boussole – 3
Multicultural Advisory Council of BC – 1
Office of Francophone and Francophile Affairs (OFFA) – 1
Réseau en immigration francophone de la Colombie-Britannique (RIFCB) – 1
Société francophone de Maillardville – 1

Manitoba

Accueil francophone – 1
Amicale de la francophonie multiculturelle du Manitoba – 2
Archdiocese of Saint-Boniface – 1
Citizenship and Immigration Canada - Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee (CIC-FMC Steering Committee) – 1
Conseil de développement économique des municipalités bilingues du Manitoba (CDEM) – 3
District scolaire franco-manitobain (DSFM) – 1
Manitoba Department of Labour and Immigration – 2
Manitoba Francophone Affairs Secretariat – 2
Manitoba Immigration Council – 1
National Community Table on Francophone Immigration – 1
Pluri-elles – 1
Réseau en immigration francophone du Manitoba (FIN du Manitoba) – 1
Société franco-manitobaine (SFM) – 3
Université de Saint-Boniface (USB) – 3
World Trade Center Winnipeg – 1

Appendix D: Liste des personnes interviewées³²

- Interview 1, Former director, Francophone community organization, BC, 12/06/2013.
Interview 2, Provincial official, BC, 12/06/2013.
Interview 3, Employee, Francophone community organization, BC, 13/06/2013.
Interview 4, Former chair, Francophone community organization, BC, 14/06/2013.
Interview 5, Employee, Francophone community organization, BC, 17/06/2013.
Interview 6, Former director, Francophone community organization, BC, 18/06/2013.
Interview 7, Employee, Francophone community organization, BC, 29/07/2013.
Interview 8, Management, college, BC, 29/07/2013.
Interview 9, Employee, college, BC, 29/07/2013.
Interview 10, Employee, Francophone community organization, BC, 6/08/2013.
Interview 11, Management, Post-secondary institution, BC, 8/08/2013.
Interview 12, Yasmina Boubezari Kotevski, Coordinator, Réseau en immigration francophone du Manitoba, MB, 16/07/2014
Interview 13, provincial official, MB, 16/07/2014
Interview 14, Alain Laberge, CEO, Division scolaire franco-manitobaine, MB, 24/07/2014
Interview 15, Management, Post-secondary institution, MB, 24/07/2014
Interview 16, Director, Francophone community organization, MB, 25/07/2014
Interview 17, Mohamed Doumbia, Business Immigration Advisor, CDEM, MB, 25/07/2014
Interview 18, Louis Allain, CEO, CDEM, MB, 25/07/2014
Interview 19, provincial official, MB, 27/07/2014
Interview 20, Bintou Sacko, Manager, Accueil francophone, MB, 28/07/2014
Interview 21, Board, Francophone community organization, MB, 28/07/2014
Interview 22, provincial official, MB, 28/07/2014
Interview 23, Brigitte Léger, Immigration Program Coordinator, WTC Winnipeg, MB, 29/07/2014
Interview 24, Ibrahima Diallo, Chair, Table nationale de concertation communautaire en immigration francophone, MB, 30/07/2014.
Interview 25, Employee, CDEM, MB, 20/08/2014
Interview 26, Employee, religious institution, MB, 22/08/2014
Interview 27, Mona Audet, CEO, Pluri-elles, MB, 22/08/2014
Interview 28, Guy Jourdain, Director, Legal Translation Service, provincial government, MB, 29/08/2014
Interview 29, Former director, Francophone community organization, BC, 7/11/2014.
Interview 30, Yvon Laberge, CEO, Collège Éducacentre, BC, 13/11/2014.
Interview 31, Tanniar Leba, CEO, La Boussole, BC, 13/11/2014.
Interview 32, Johanne Dumas, CEO, La Société Francophone de Maillardville, BC, 13/11/2014.
Interview 33, Board, Francophone community organization, BC, 20/11/2014.
Interview 34, Employee, Francophone community organization, BC, 20/11/2014.

³² La forme masculine des titres professionnels désigne ici aussi bien les femmes que les hommes.