RÉSEAU du NORD | Soutien à l'immigration **FRANCOPHONE**

STUDY REPORT

INVENTORY OF DISCRIMINATION IN SUDBURY

SUDBURY

PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE OF BLACK FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRANTS

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Contents

Highlights

- **The perception of discrimination and its experience vary depending on the age, gender, number of years of residence in Sudbury, the immigration status and language skills of the participants.**

- **According to the number of answers collected relating to the perception of discrimination in Sudbury, participants would be discriminated against on average in three sectors. However, there appears to be a deficiency in the care of discriminated people.**

- **In some sectors, there is a gap between the perception and experience of discrimination in Sudbury.**

- **More than half of the participants feel included in the local francophone community. Depending on language skills, the inclusion rate of bilingual immigrants in the welcoming community is higher.**

- **Although welcoming newcomers is considered the initial stage of the integration process, it seems that it does not give rise to a feeling of inclusion in the local francophone community.**

- **Several participants feel little included in the anglophone community. Immigrants experience a linguistic insecurity. Lack of mastery of the English language hinders their integration into the said community and causes glottophobia.**

- **Participants deplore the false promotion of Canadian linguistic identity and affirm an asymmetry of bilingualism.**

- **Participants' feeling of inclusion in the local francophone community diminishes during the first ten years of residence in Sudbury.**

- **As of fifteen years in Sudbury, the participants seem to adapt to the linguistic reality and feel more included in the anglophone community.**

- **According to this study, the integration of immigrants is a bilateral process, that is to say, it requires efforts on the part of both local and immigrant francophone communities.**

- **Interprovincial and intraprovincial migrations demonstrate that neither mastery of the French language nor professional qualifications set immigrants on the path to the Canadian francophone labor market.**

- **Migration to Sudbury is a rational choice. And the relationship of francophone immigrants with the city is instrumental.**

- **A cultural distancing from the ethnic community is necessary to get closer to the culture of the local community. The lack of interaction between francophone communities leads, on the one hand, to the genesis of prejudices and, on the other hand, to the perpetuation of stereotypes.**

- **Cultural and identity protectionism risks to, on the one hand, hinder the development of immigrants' sense of belonging to Ontario's francophone community. On the other hand, it leads to the dissemination and division of the francophone community.**

- **The demographic profile of the francophone culture in Sudbury and the recency of the phenomenon of francophone immigration determines the degree of social cohesion.**

- **Economic integration does not imply professional inclusion. Participants highlighted the phenomenon of nepotism in the education sector and declared being subject to triple minorization.**

- **Deskilling is recurrent among participants. This situation manifests itself in the return to studies and/or a reorientation of the field of studies. This leads, mainly, to the professional reconversion of immigrants.**

- **The intellectual and professional qualifications of immigrants do not seem to favor their economic integration. There is a gap between the political discourse – which focuses on the immigration of highly qualified and experienced workers – and lived reality.**

Introduction

In Canada, the immigration landscape is starting to change. According to Statistics Canada, we are recording an increase in immigrants from non-European countries. 13.4% of immigrants who arrived in Canada in 2016 were born in Africa, which makes this geographical area the second largest continent for immigration. The 2016 census indicates that 22.3% of the Canadian population are visible minorities. This population is continuously growing and will reach a rate of between 31.2% and 35.9% of the Canadian population in 2036. This population is mainly made up of South Asians, Chinese and Blacks. The Black population is the third largest group, accounting for 15.6% of the entire visible minority population[1].

Across Canada, the government has undertaken the initiative to make francophone minority communities attractive and welcoming communities for francophone immigrants. A national target of 4.4% francophone immigrants outside Quebec has been established by the federal government. This action makes it possible, on the one hand, to maintain the linguistic vitality of francophone minority communities, and on the other hand, to preserve the key aspects of Canadian society, namely, linguistic duality and cultural diversity.

In Northern Ontario and since 2020, the city of Greater Sudbury is one of the 14 communities selected in Canada by the Welcoming Francophone Communities initiative. This pilot project works for an inclusive community which, in concrete terms, ensures successful integration and lasting establishment of francophone newcomers in the francophone community and Sudbury society. A

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[1] Statistics Canada, Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity: Highlights from the 2016 Census, 2017, p. 4.

welcoming and inclusive francophone community should demonstrate social cohesion "to allow different groups of people to get along well[2]".

According to the Human Rights Commission, "in Ontario, everyone has the right to equal treatment, without any harassment or discrimination on the basis of race, in the areas of life in society such as employment, services, property and facilities, housing, contracts, as well as membership in a trade union or professional association[3]". Ethnocultural metamorphosis must be taken into account to ensure socio-community and economic integration and especially the retention of francophone immigrants in minority communities.

The objective of this study is to consult Black francophone immigrants in Sudbury to detect the extent of the discrimination they face. The data presented in this report would, on the one hand, allow a better understanding of its contingent and its various manifestations in Sudbury[4]. On the other hand, they would catalyze interest in pursuing the fight against discrimination. Based on this report, a community consultation will be held in Sudbury. This event will demonstrate the community's recognition of discrimination as a reality. Various stakeholders in the city of Sudbury – community and provincial organizations, ethnocultural associations, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), etc. – will be invited to examine the various actions to be undertaken and identify promising practices to react to discrimination.

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[2] Jon Bannister and Anthony O'Sullivan, "Civility, Community Cohesion and Antisocial Behavior: Policy and Social Harmony", Journal of Social Policy, vol. 42, No. 1, 2013, p. 96.

[3] Ontario Human Rights Commission, "Racism and Racial Discrimination Policy and Guidelines," 2005, p. 4 Policy and Guidelines on Racism and Racial Discrimination | Ontario Human Rights Commission (ohrc.on.ca)

[4] We recognize the complexity of defining the idea of discrimination. We would like to emphasize that this study focuses on the vision of francophone Black immigrants of discrimination, that is, on their perceptions and their experiences in Sudbury. (Danièle Lochak, "The notion of discrimination", Confluences Méditerranée, vol. 1, n° 48, 2004, p.13-23).

Chapter 1: research design

The "Fight against Discrimination in Sudbury" research project began in February 2021 and ended in August 2021. A working group was created to conduct this study. Seven ethnocultural and student associations were part of this project. As a first step, *Réseau du Nord* created a questionnaire. This data collection tool was presented to the working group to ensure that it meets the needs of racialized communities settled in Sudbury. As a second step, the associations shared the questionnaire with the members of their respective communities. After this step was completed, *Réseau du Nord* developed an interview grid. Ethnocultural and student associations contributed to the recruitment interview participants.

Overall, the research took place in two steps. First, a questionnaire was administered to Black francophone immigrants (quantitative research). Second, individual interviews were conducted with a certain number of the black community settled in Sudbury (qualitative research). The quantitative approach allowed us to collect data on the general perceptions of discrimination in Sudbury, to determine the rate of inclusion of black immigrants in the francophone and anglophone communities, to understand the experience of discrimination (experienced or of which the immigrant was a witness) and to study their variation according to the different variables. The qualitative study complemented the quantitative one. The identification of recurrences, based on the textual data collected[5], made it possible to identify certain factors which develops discrimination, and which constitute its presage.

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[5] The duration of all the interviews is 40 hours and 51 minutes. Their transcription resulted in a corpus of textual data that spans 302 pages.

1. **Quantitative data collection**

This first step was about providing a quantitative overview of the discriminatory reality of seeable minority immigrants in the city of Sudbury. Ethnocultural associations shared the questionnaire with the members of their communities. Non-profit community organizations and student associations have, respectively, communicated it to their members. This questionnaire was therefore developed to collect the perceptions of immigrants from racialized communities, particularly those who have been victims of discrimination.

Participants answered 69 questions divided into six sections: socio-demographic issues, general perceptions of discrimination in the City of Sudbury, intersectional perceptions[6], experiences of inclusion in local francophone and anglophone communities, experiences of discrimination and anti-discrimination strategies.

To gain insight into the discrimination of visible minority immigrants in the City of Sudbury, we retained 11 variables, namely: sex, age, immigrant status, status relating to work or education, type of position, sector of position, entrepreneurial activity, highest level of education, country of graduation, language skills and years of residence in the City of Greater Sudbury.

1. **1. Descriptive analysis**

1.1.1. Distribution of participants by countries of origin.

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[6] Intersectional studies consider two or more overlapping forms of discrimination that the victim "may simultaneously be the target of, creating additional barriers or biases that prevent that person or group from being treated fairly" [Ontario Ministry of Education, Equity and Inclusive Education in Ontario Schools. Guidelines for Policy Development and Implementation, 2014, p. 98, [Equity and Inclusive Education in Ontario Schools – Guidelines for Policy Development and Implementation, 2014 (ctfassets.net)].

After checking the answers collected, the data was filtered. We discarded 34 answers to the survey (duplicates were eliminated). We retained 173 participants, from 17 francophone immigrant communities. The table below shows the distribution of our study of population by countries of origin.

Tab.1. Distribution of participants by to countries of origin

Countries	Number
Côte d'Ivoire	65
Congo	31
Haiti	20
Senegal	11
Chad	9
Burundi	7
Togo	6
Burkina Faso	6
Guinea	4
Benin	4
Rwanda	3
Mauritania	2
Madagascar	1
Djibouti	1
Mali	1
Cameroon	1
Kenya	1
TOTAL	173

1. **1.2. Distribution of participants by gender**

Of the 173 respondents to the questionnaire, 52% identify as women, 48% identify as men.

Tab.2. Distribution of participants according to their gender

Sex	N	%
Woman	83	52
Man	90	48
TOTAL	173	100

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1. **1.3. Distribution of participants according to their age**

35% of the population in this study are 25 and under. 49% of respondents belong to the age category between 26 and 45 years old. Only 16% of participants are 46 and over.

Tab.3. Distribution of participants by age

Age (years)	N	%
Less than 25	61	35
[25-45]	84	49
46 and above[7]	28	16
TOTAL	173	100

1. **1.4. Distribution of participants according to their immigration status**

According to participants' answers to the questionnaire, our sample includes Permanent Residents (40%), Temporary Residents (34%), Citizens (24%) and Refugees (2%).

Tab. 4. Distribution of participants according to their immigration status

Immigration status	N	%
Permanent Residents	69	40
Temporary Residents	59	34
Citizens	41	24
Refugees	4	2
TOTAL	173	100

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[7] Only one study participant was in the 64+ category. To facilitate the calculation, we merged the two categories [45-64] and 65 years old and beyond.

1. **1.5. Distribution of participants according to their highest level of education and the place where it was obtained.**

Three-quarters of the participants have a post-secondary education: 42% have obtained an undergraduate university degree, 16% have completed graduate studies (master's degree or PhD) and 17% have a college diploma. According to the data collected, 51% of respondents obtained their highest degree in Canada.

Tab.5. Distribution of participants according to their highest level of education

Highest level of education	N	%
1st cycle university diploma (bachelor's degree)	72	42
Diploma of college studies	43	25
High school diploma	30	17
Graduate university diploma (master's degree/PhD)	28	16
TOTAL	173	100

Tab.6. Distribution of participants according to the place where it was obtained.

Place where the highest diploma was obtained	N	%
In Canada	89	51
Elsewhere	84	49
TOTAL	173	100

As shown in Table 7, more college diplomas are obtained in Canada. There is no significant difference between the places of graduation of immigrants with undergraduate or higher university education. This shows, first, that Canada attracts intellectual skills. Secondly, Canada also trains skills.

Tab.7. Crosstab: highest level of education * place of graduation

			Diploma of college studies	High school diploma	Bachelor's degree	Master or PhD's degree	Total
Diploma obtained in Canada	No	N	3	34	34	13	84
		% in Canada	3,6%	40,5%	40,5%	15,5%	100.0%
	Yes	N	27	9	38	15	89
		% in Canada	30,3%	10,1%	42,7%	16,9%	100.0%
TOTAL		N	30	43	72	28	173
		% in Canada	17	25	42	16	100.0%

1.1.6. Distribution of participants according to their number of years of residences in Sudbury

48% of respondents are newcomers, that is, they have five years or less of residence in Sudbury. 40% have lived in Sudbury for between 6 and 10 years. Those over 11 years constitute 10% of the population studied.

Tab.8. Distribution of participants according to their number of residences in Sudbury

Number of years of residence in Sudbury	N	%
Less than 1 year	11	6
Between 1 year and 5 years	73	42
Between 6 and 10 years	70	40
Between 11 and 15 years	6	3
Between 16 and 20 years	7	4
Over 20 years	6	3
TOTAL	173	100

1.1.7. Distribution of participants according to their language skills

In terms of language knowledge, almost half of the sample identifies as francophone with basic knowledge of English. About 42% speak both languages.

Tab.9. Distribution of participants according to their language skills

Linguistic knowledge	N	%
Francophone with basic knowledge of English	85	49
Bilingual (both official languages)	72	42
Francophone Unilingual	16	9
TOTAL	173	100

1.1.8. Distribution of Participants by Work or Education Status

Most participants are full-time workers (35%). 24% are full-time students. 23% are full-time students working part-time.

Tab.10. Distribution of Participants according to their Work or Education Status

Status of work or education	N	%
Full time worker	61	35 %
Part-time worker	20	12 %
Self-employed	1	1 %
Full time student	41	24 %
Part-time student	3	2 %
Full-time student Part-time worker	40	23 %
Part-time student Part-time worker	5	3 %
Part-time student Full-time worker	1	1 %

With pension	1	1 %
TOTAL	**173**	**100**

1.1.9. Distribution of participants according to their professional sector

54% of the sample answered the question about the professional sector. Most participants enter employment in education, law and social, community and government services (32%) and sales and service (30%). For these professional categories, 73% have a temporary job[8]. It should be noted that 5% of respondents engage in entrepreneurial activities[9].

Tab.11. Distribution of participants according to their professional sector

	N	%
Business, finance and administration	7	8
Arts, culture, sports and leisure	2	2
Education, law and social services, community and government services	30	32
Management	2	2
Trades, transport, machinery and related fields	9	10
Health	14	15
Natural and applied sciences and related fields	1	1
Sales and service	28	30
TOTAL	**93**	**100**

2. Qualitative data collection

Through ethnocultural associations, 30 immigrants from visible minorities who settled in Sudbury participated in semi-structured interviews. Although an interview grid, made up of open

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[8] 37% of participants have answered the question on the type of work (temporary or permanent).
[9] 24% of respondents answered the question about entrepreneurial activities.

questions, was previously created, other questions emerged from the discussions between the interviewees and the interviewer and were then asked. This has made it possible to collect more data to better understand the issue of discrimination and to address other concomitant issues, such as the promotion of francophone immigration outside Quebec, the welcoming of immigrants, their integration into official language minority communities, etc.

The sample is composed of 19 women and 11 men. The average age is 36.3 years[10]. The participants came from seven countries, namely: Côte d'Ivoire, Haiti, Congo, Rwanda, Senegal, Guinea and Benin (see Table 12). Randomly, the distribution of participants according to their linguistic knowledge is equal (see Table 13).

Tab.12. Distribution of participants according to their country of origin

Country of origin	N	%
Côte d'Ivoire	12	40
Haiti	6	20
Congo	7	23
Rwanda	2	7
Senegal	1	3
Guinea	1	3
Benin	1	3
TOTAL	30	100

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[10] Minimum age = 21 years old and maximum age = 52 years old.

Tab.13. Distribution of participants according to their language skills

Linguistic knowledge	N	%
Unilingual francophone	10	33
Francophone with basic knowledge of English	10	33
Bilingual	10	33
TOTAL	30	100

Most participants in the qualitative study have obtained Canadian citizenship. 33% are permanent residents (see Table 14). More than half of the interviewees are workers and are, at the same time, enrolled in post-secondary institutions (see Table 15).

Tab.14. Distribution of participants according to their immigration status

Immigration status	N	%
Citizens	13	43
Permanent residents	10	33
Temporary residents	7	23
TOTAL	30	100

Tab.15. Distribution of Participants according to their Education and work Status

Education and work status	N	%
Workers and students	16	53
Workers	9	30
Students	4	13
Looking for a job	1	3
TOTAL	30	100

Most of the participants in this study have graduated from a post-secondary institution. 40% have obtained a college diploma and 33% have an undergraduate university degree (see Table 16). These diplomas, which constitute the highest level of education for 67% of our participants, were obtained in a Canadian post-secondary institution (see Table 17).

Tab.16. Distribution of participants by highest level of education

Highest level of education	N	%
High school diploma	4	13
Diploma of College studies	12	40
1st cycle university diploma (bachelor's degree)	10	33
Graduate university diploma (master's degree/PhD)	4	13
TOTAL	30	100

Tab.17. Distribution of participants by place of highest degree

Place the highest diploma was obtained	N	%
In Canada	20	67
Outside of Canada	10	33
TOTAL	30	100

It should be noted that the average number of years of residence of participants in Canada is 9.23 years. However, the average number of years of residence in Sudbury is 5.9 years. Sudbury is the first destination city for only 37% of the population in this study. Indeed, most participants resided either in the province of Quebec (Montreal, Quebec City or Sherbrooke) or in cities in the province of Ontario (Toronto, Welland or Ottawa) before settling in Sudbury[11]. The participants, for whom Quebec was their first destination, declare having obtained permanent residence status through the Quebec immigration system.

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[11] The average number of years the participants have resided in cities in the province of Quebec or in other cities in the province of Ontario is 5.26 years.

Chapter 2: Quantitative Analysis

1. **Perception of discrimination in Sudbury**

> *In fact, discrimination and racism is not something that is declared out loud. Me, I would rather say that it is something that is felt. This is something that is felt. And then, it's often difficult to explain […] because they do it in a subtle way, I'll say it like that, in a subtle way, but you feel, you feel that something has been refused to you or that you can't have something […] no matter how hard you try. (Permanent resident, three years of residence in Sudbury)*

Although the degree of their perception of discrimination differs, 80% affirm that it exists in Sudbury. While 17% of the surveyed population believe that discrimination is very widespread in Sudbury, almost equal rates perceive discrimination as not very widespread (32%) and widespread (31%).

Tab.18. General perception of discrimination in Sudbury

	N	%
Not widespread	15	9
Not widespread a lot	56	32
Widespread	53	31
Very widespread	30	17
I do not know	19	11
TOTAL	173	100

In what follows, we will cross-reference some socio-demographic variables with the general perception of discrimination in Sudbury. Firstly, this exercise will make it possible to observe the variation in the perception of discrimination according to the number of years of residence in Sudbury, gender, age, immigration status and language skills[12]. Secondly, this cross-referencing will allow us to detect a potential gap between perceived discrimination and the one experienced.

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[12] This variable refers to knowledge of both official languages, that is, French and English.

1.1. Perception of discrimination according to the number of years of residence in Sudbury

The degree of perceived discrimination depends on the number of years of residence in Sudbury.

Discrimination is perceived by:

- 45% of participants having less than one year of residence in Sudbury.

- 77% of participants having between 1 and 5 years of residence in Sudbury.

- 93% of participants having between 6 and 10 years of residence in Sudbury.

- 83% of participants having between 11 and 15 years of residence in Sudbury.

- 57% of participants having 16 and 20 years of residence in Sudbury.

- 66% of participants having more than 20 years of residence in Sudbury.

The majority of participants in each of these categories perceive discrimination as not widespread in Sudbury. Only a high rate of participants with several years of residence between 6 years and 10 years perceive discrimination as widespread (44%).

Given that 51% of the participants in this study graduated in Canada, this period would be the time of immigrants' access into the job market and other areas of public life. Discrimination appears to be more perceived as socio-economic integration progresses. In addition, the latter would allow newcomers to gradually become aware of their rights and duties and, consequently, to recognize discriminatory behavior.

> At the very beginning, when you settle here, sometimes it can even be difficult to realize that you have been discriminated because we don't know the system. We don't know our rights. And that means that it can prevent us from accessing certain privileges, just because no one told us about it and that means that we don't have access to these privileges which are intended for everyone, but because we don't know about it, because someone didn't give us all the information properly. You're missing out. So, for me, it is mainly this kind of discrimination that I faced […] not having access to certain information […] knowing my rights, knowing if I have the right to something. If I ask for it, they don't give it to me. (Citizen, seven years of residence in Sudbury)

1.2. Perception of discrimination according to the gender

84% of women who answered the questionnaire believe that discrimination exists in Sudbury: 29% perceive discrimination as not very widespread, 36% of women believe that it is widespread and 19% believe that discrimination is very widespread in Sudbury.

77% of men who answered the survey believe that discrimination exists in Sudbury: 36% perceive discrimination as not very widespread, 26% of men believe that it is widespread and 16% believe that discrimination is very widespread in Sudbury.

The rates of estimation of the existence of discrimination and the degree of its perception vary according to gender. For the various degrees (not widespread; widespread; very widespread), the response rate of women is higher than that of men. Discrimination therefore seems to be "a particular experience due to the confluence of the reasons involved[13]".

1.3. Perception of discrimination according to the age

According to statistical analyses, discrimination in Sudbury is perceived by:

- **73% of participants under 25 years old.**
- **61% who are 46 years old and over.**
- **92% of those aged between 25 and 45 years old.**

Depending on its degree of perception, discrimination is:

- **very widespread for: 21% of those aged between 25 and 45 years old, 11% aged under 25 years old and 18% of those aged 46 years old and over.**

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[13] Ontario Human Rights Commission, Intersectional Analysis to Discrimination. Addressing Human Rights Complaints Based on Multiple Grounds, Reference Paper, 2001, p. 3.

- **widespread for: 36% of those aged between 25 to 45 years old, 31% under 25 years old and 14% of those aged 46 years old and over.**

- **not very widespread for: 35% of those aged between 25 and 45 years old, 31% under 25 years old and 29% of those aged 46 years old and over.**

1.4. Perception of discrimination based on immigration status.

The perception of discrimination in Sudbury varies depending on immigration status. It is perceived by 90% of permanent residents, 75% of temporary residents and 76% of citizens.

According to the degrees of perception of our participants, discrimination is:

- **very widespread for: 19% of permanent residents, 12% of temporary residents and 24% of citizens.**

- **widespread for: 36% of permanent residents, 25% of temporary residents and 29% of citizens.**

- **not very widespread for: by 35% of permanent residents, 37% of temporary residents and 22% of citizens.**

It should be noted that most permanent residents are aged between 25 and 45 years old (81%). In addition, 58% of participants with this immigration status have between six and ten years of residence in Sudbury.

1.5. Perception of discrimination according to language skills

Discrimination in Sudbury is perceived by:

- **84% of francophone participants with basic knowledge of English.**

- **78% of bilingual participants.**

- **69% of participants who only speak French.**

According to the degrees of perception of our participants, discrimination is:

- very widespread for: 16% of francophone participants with basic knowledge of English, 15% of bilinguals and 31% of unilingual francophone participants.

- widespread for: 33% of francophone participants with basic knowledge of English, 31% of bilinguals and 19% of unilingual francophone participants.

- not very widespread for: 35% of francophone participants with basic knowledge of English, 32% of bilinguals and 19% of unilingual francophone participants.

According to the statistics, we do not record any difference in the three categories of perception of discrimination between francophone immigrants with basic knowledge of English and those who define themselves as bilingual. However, we find a gap between the levels of perception of discrimination for unilingual respondents. A high rate of this category who speak only French perceives discrimination as being very widespread. It should be noted that 42% of francophone who have basic knowledge of English and 43% of bilingual participants have between six and ten years of residence in Sudbury.

1.6. Perception of discrimination according to professional sectors

Discrimination against francophone immigrants from the visible minority appears in a multitude of sectors such as education, employment, health care, etc. 68% of the racialized minority studied believe that there is discrimination in the employability sector. 38% specify that there is discrimination in access to leadership positions. Discrimination is also pronounced in housing (40%), education (37%) and care (30%). According to the number of answers relating to the perception of discrimination in Sudbury, immigrants would be discriminated on average in 2.9 sectors.

Tab.19. General perception of discrimination in Sudbury by sector

Sector in which the racialized minority feels they perceive discrimination	N	%[14]
Access to Health care	52	30
Access to public services	34	20
Access to private services	24	14
Education	64	37
Employability	117	68
Access to leadership positions	65	38
Justice	32	19
Access to housing	69	40
Access to recreational activities	19	11
Access of organizations from diverse backgrounds to funding	29	17
I do not know	1	1
No answer	27	16
TOTAL	533	

2. Experience of discrimination in Sudbury

More than half of the study participants experienced discrimination. In fact, 57% of participants say they have experienced discrimination in Sudbury. It should be reminded that 17% of respondents perceive discrimination as "very widespread" and that there is no difference between the degrees of perception of discrimination as "not very widespread" (32%) and "widespread" (31%).

Tab.20. Distribution of Participants according to their Exposure to Discrimination in Sudbury

	N	%
Yes	99	57

[14] Percentage calculated in comparison with the total number of the sample (N=173).

No	74	43
TOTAL	**173**	**100**

2.1. Experience of discrimination by sector

According to the data collected, discriminatory acts seem to be more experienced in the employment (58%) and education (46%) sectors. Depending on the level of education, discrimination is more experienced in post-secondary institutions (38%) and in elementary schools (33%). 19% and 10% were discriminated, respectively, in secondary schools and daycares.

28% say they have experienced discrimination in the housing sector. 88% of these respondents experienced it as tenants.

Discrimination is also experienced in sectors of access to healthcare services (24%). These facts were more reported at the hospital (36%). 34% and 30% experienced discrimination, respectively, in community facilities and clinics.

A comparison between the rates of experienced and perceived discrimination shows that,

- Depending on the sector, there is a gap between the general perceptions of discrimination in Sudbury and the experiences of discrimination reported by the population of our study. In many sectors, discrimination is more perceived than experienced.
- Discrimination is more experienced in the sectors of education and access to private services.

Tab.21. Discrimination experienced in Sudbury according to the sector.

Sector in which the racialized minority feels they are being discriminated against	% experienced	% (perceived)
Access to Health care	24	30
Access to public services	21	20
Access to private services	19	14

Education	46	37
Employability	58	68
Access to leadership positions	18	38
Justice	9	19
Access to housing	28	40
Access to recreational activities	6	11
Access of organizations from diverse backgrounds to funding	12	17

2.2. Experience of discrimination according to the gender

More than half of the women and men who participated in the study reported having experienced discrimination in Sudbury. However, women are more discriminated than men (63% for women and 52% for men). The results of the gender discrimination experiment corroborate those of the perceived discrimination. Although both perceived and experienced discrimination in Sudbury, immigrant women from visible minorities are more affected by discrimination than immigrant men from visible minorities.

When considering the "employment and education status" variable, we find that a high rate of women (73%) and men (81%) are in the labor market, respectively, as full-time workers (35%; 27%), as full-time students and part-time workers (45%; 30%) or as part-time workers (12%; 6%). It also appears that, in the atypical employment sector[15], women from racialized groups are more discriminated than men[16].

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[15] According to the typology of Spalter-Roth and Hartmann (1998), the characteristics of atypical work: part-time full-year employment, full-time or part-time part-year employment. (Roberta. M. Spalter-Roth and Heidi Hartmann, "Gauging the Consequences for Gender Relations, Pay Equity, and the Public Purse", in Kathleen Barker and Kathleen Christensen, (eds.), *Contingent Work*, Ithaca, ILR Press, 1988, 69-125.)
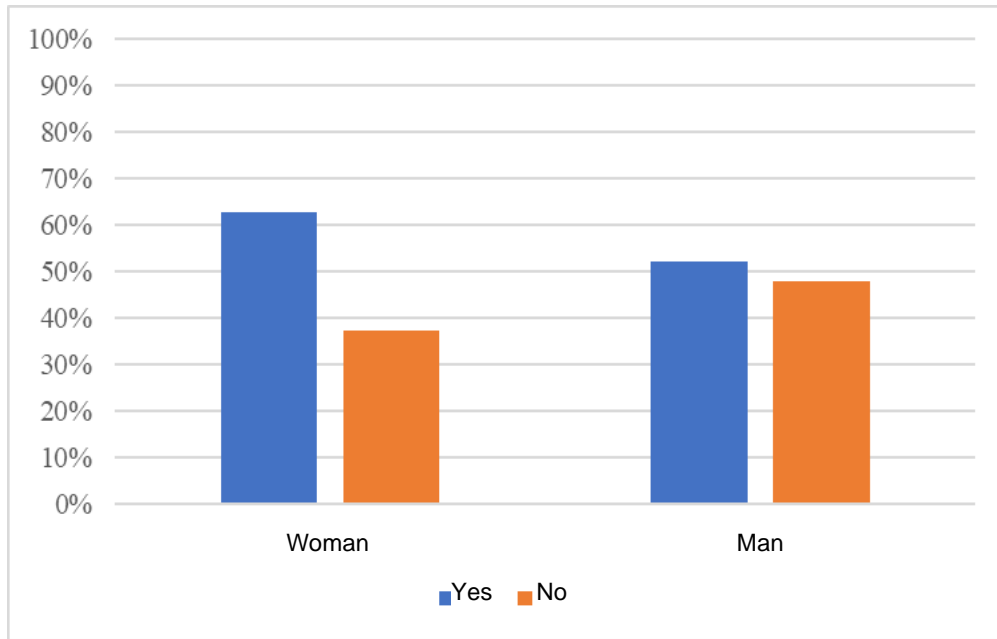[16] 57% of women from minority and racialized groups work part-time.

Fig.1. Variation in exposure to discriminatory acts in Sudbury by gender

2.3. Experience of discrimination according to the age

Like when it is perceived, discrimination is more experienced by participants who are between 25 and 45 years old. 67% of immigrants in this age group report having been discriminated. Half of immigrants aged 46 and over have experienced discrimination. 48% of those under 25 also report having suffered discriminatory acts.

Crossing socio-demographic variables (age versus work and education status) shows that most of the participants aged between 25 and 45 are full-time workers (45%) or full-time students who work part-time (24%). Three quarters who are 46 and over work full time. More than half of those under 25 are full-time students (56%). And 31% of this age group study full-time and work part-time. Thus, the experience of francophone immigrants from the visible minority who have accessed the labor market confirms the existence of discrimination in the employability sector.
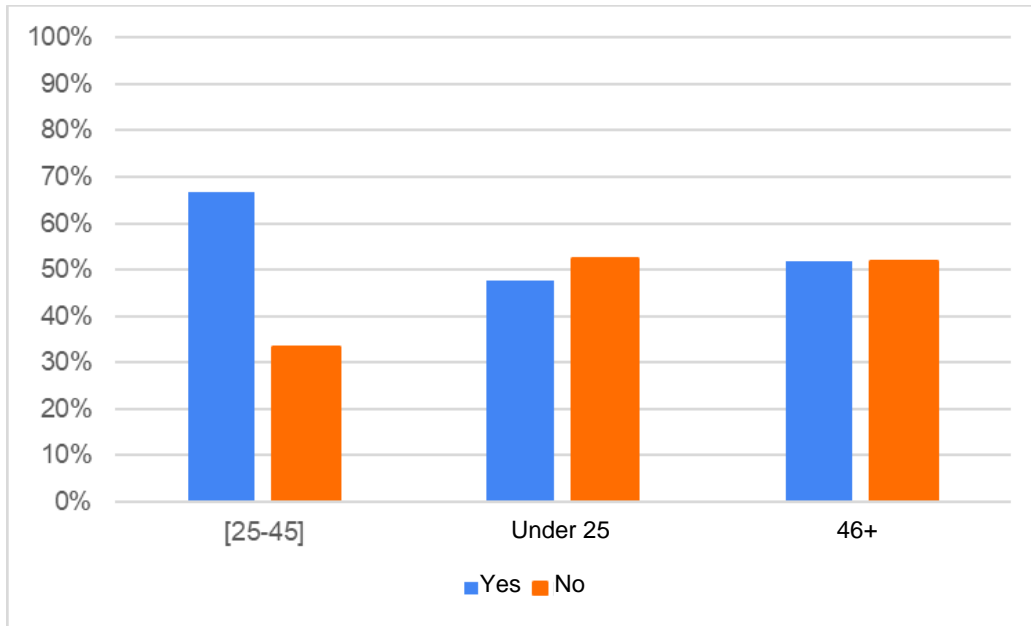
Fig.2. Variation in exposure to discriminatory acts in Sudbury by age

2.4. Experience of discrimination based on immigration status.

Similar trends to the one perceived seem to be observed in terms of experienced discrimination. Permanent residents (68%), immigrants with Canadian citizenship (63%) and immigrants with refugee status (75%)[17] are more affected by discrimination.

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[17] We recorded the participation of four immigrants with refugee status.
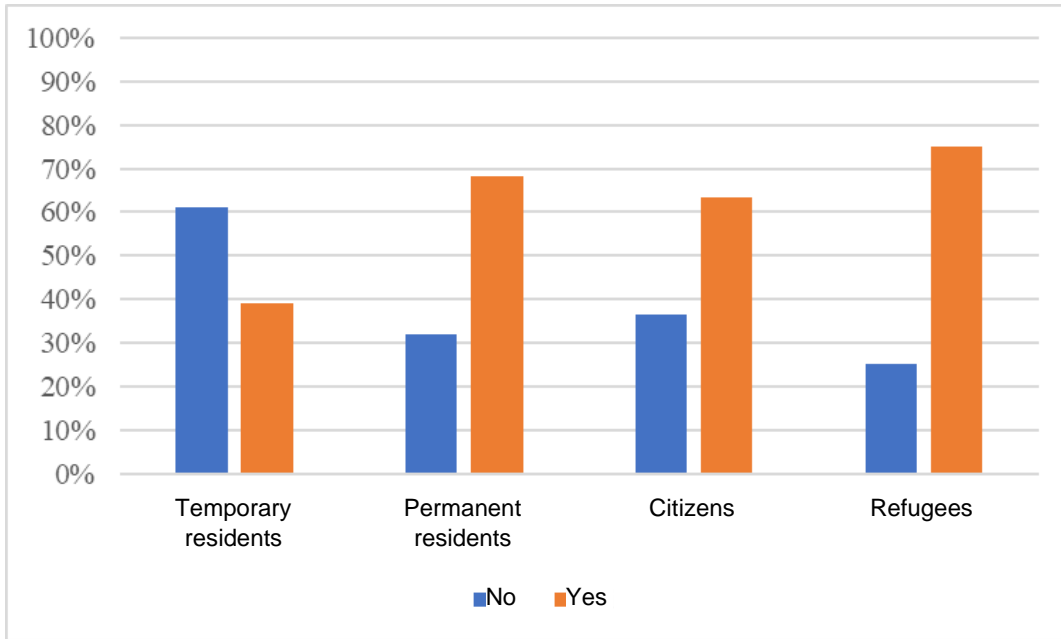
Fig.3. Variation in exposure to discriminatory acts in Sudbury by immigration status

2.5. Experience of discrimination according to the highest level of education

Immigrants with a post-secondary diploma (79%) experienced more discrimination than those with a secondary studies diploma (21%). According to the data collected, 61% of immigrants with a higher education level have experienced discrimination. 60% of respondents with undergraduate college or university degrees mentioned having also experienced it. It should be noted that more than half of the participants in this study obtained their diploma in Canada. Obviously, the experience of discrimination would depend less on the country where the diploma was obtained. Whether their highest level of education was here in Canada or elsewhere, participants in this study report experiencing discrimination.
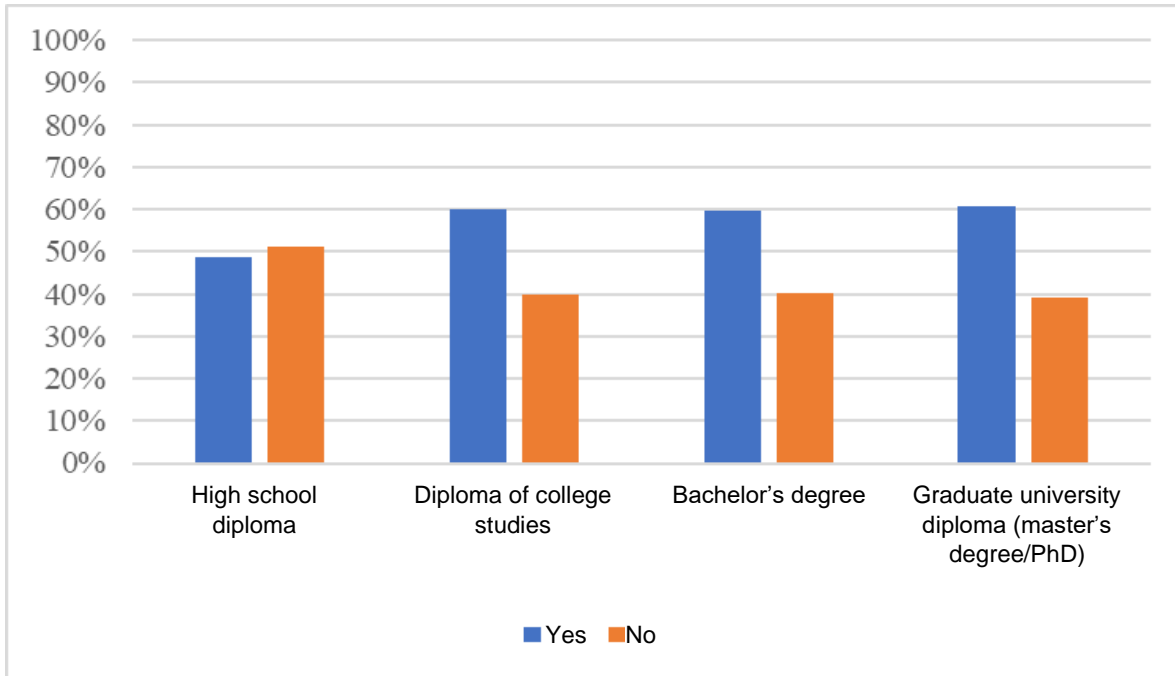
Fig.4. Variation in exposure to discriminatory acts in Sudbury by highest level of education

2.6. Experience of discrimination based on linguistic knowledge

The gap between immigrants who declared having experienced discrimination (65%) and those who denied being victims (35%) is more notable in the bilingual category. More immigrants who identified as francophone with basic knowledge of English experienced discrimination. However, the gap between those who have experienced it (53%) and those who have not (47%) is small. As for unilingual francophone ones, the rate of those who have been victims (44%) is lower than those who say they are not discriminated against in Sudbury (56%). This shows that neither the ability to speak the French language nor that of the two official languages of Canada protects black immigrants from discrimination in a francophone minority community.
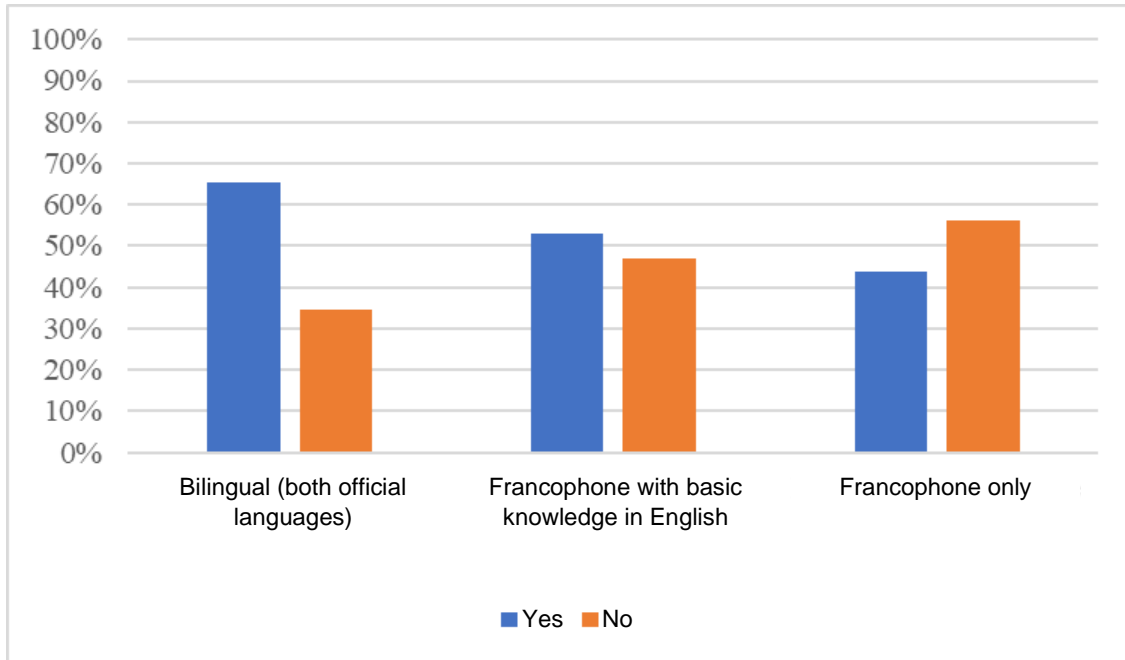
Fig.5. Variation in exposure to discriminatory acts in Sudbury by language knowledge

2.7. Experience of discrimination by number of years of residence in Sudbury

Discrimination against francophone black immigrants appears throughout their life cycle. Its magnitude varies according to the number of years of residence in Sudbury. It seems less intense for participants who have been in Sudbury for less than one year and those who have been there for over 11 years. However, more than half of immigrants who have between one and five years of residency experienced discrimination (51%). Discrimination is even more experienced by those who have between 6 and 10 years in Sudbury (74%).
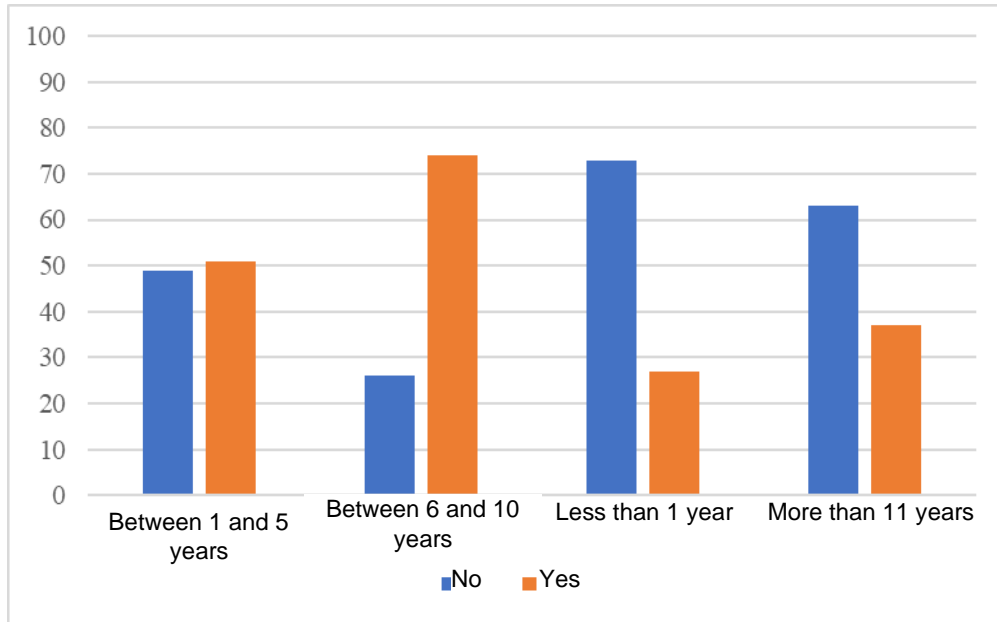
Fig.6. Change in exposure to discriminatory acts in Sudbury by number of years of residence in Sudbury

3. **Support of the discriminated**

Only 59% of the study population answered the question about support for victims of discrimination in Sudbury. 93% of those who answered this question say that no action was taken after experiencing this injustice. Immigrants from racialized communities who have experienced discrimination do not seem to be supported. There appears to be a deficiency in the support of people who have been discriminated. This would affect the sense of belonging of these newcomers to Sudbury and, therefore, their retention in the region.
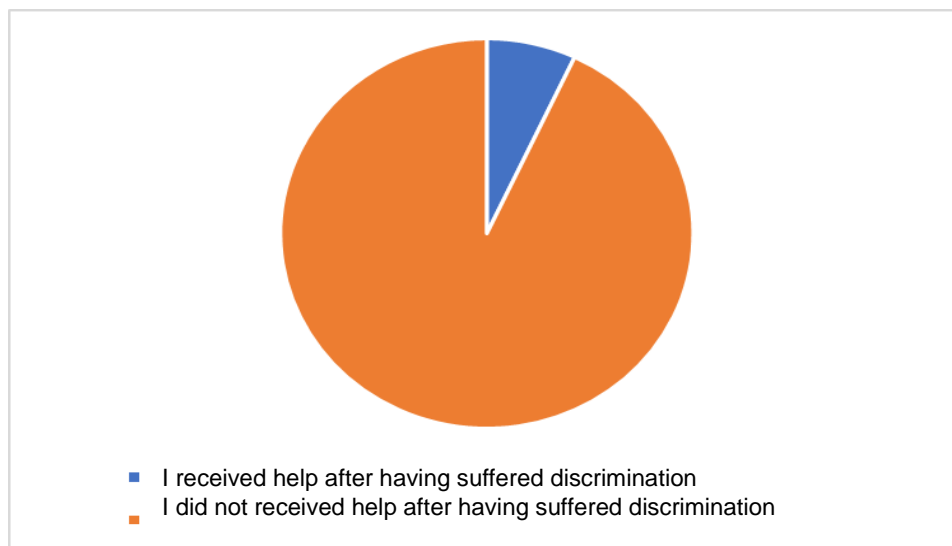
Fig.7. Support for immigrants who have experienced discrimination.

4. The Fight against Discrimination in Sudbury

The fight against discrimination does not seem to have begun for many of the participants in this study[18]. 64% believe that no action has been taken to counter this phenomenon of exclusion and distinction based on skin color. 25% of the sample say that some organizations have already taken action to fight discrimination. Our participants mentioned 13 organizations in Sudbury that have taken concrete measures to fight discrimination.

Tab. 22. Perception of actions taken to combat discrimination in Sudbury

Have actions to fight discrimination been taken in Sudbury?	N	%
No	107	64
Yes	60	36
TOTAL	167	100

Tab. 23. Organizations that have taken action to fight discrimination in Sudbury

Organizations that have taken certain actions to combat discrimination	Number
Laurentian University African Caribbean Students Association	1
Université Laurentienne	6
YMCA	1
Association des Ivoiriens du Grand Sudbury	2
Centre de Santé Communautaire du Grand Sudbury	7
Black Lives Matter - Sudbury	14
Réseau de soutien à l'immigration Francophone du Nord de l'Ontario	2
Uluntu Lungisa Usawa	2
Contact Interculturel Francophone de Sudbury	2
Collège Boréal	3
Conseil Scolaire Public du Grand Nord de l'Ontario	2
Santé publique	1
Association francophone	1
TOTAL	44

5. Immigrants' sense of inclusion in Sudbury

5.1. Feeling of inclusion in the local francophone community

More than half of the sample claims to be included in this community. 30% of participants feel little included in the local francophone community. This shows that the francophone community in Sudbury is inclusive.

Tab.24. Inclusion in the local francophone community

		N	%
I feel included in the local francophone community	**Yes**	95	55
	A little	52	30
	No	19	11
	No answer	7	4
	TOTAL	**173**	**100**

In what follows, we will cross-reference the data describing our participants' sense of inclusion in the local francophone community with the "language knowledge" variable and the "number of years of residence in Sudbury" variable to observe its change.

Despite the difference in their language skills, most of our participants feel included in the local francophone community:

- **62.3% of our participants who master both official languages feel included in the local francophone community.**

- **56% of francophone immigrants with basic knowledge of English feel included in the Sudbury francophone community.**

- **And 44% of unilingual francophone feel included.**

Tab.25. Variation in the feeling of inclusion in the local francophone community according to the language skills of the respondents[19]

			What are your language skills?			
			Bilingual (both official languages)	Francophone with basic knowledge in English	Francophone only	TOTAL
I feel included and respected in the francophone community	No	N	8	8	3	19
		% in What are your language skills?	11,6%	9,9%	18,8%	11,4%
	Yes	N	43	45	7	95
		% in What are your language skills?	62,3%	55,6%	43,8%	57,2%
		% du total	25,9%	27,1%	4,2%	57,2%
	A little	N	18	28	6	52
		% in What are your language skills?	26,1%	34,6%	37,5%	31,3%
TOTAL		N	69	81	16	166
		% in What are your language skills?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

According to the comments collected[20], working in a francophone environment enhance the development of a feeling of inclusion in the local francophone community. In addition, access to services in French is a favorable factor for integration into the local francophone community. Institutional completeness is essential to the vitality of the local francophone community, but also to the interaction between francophones. It takes part in the sustainability of national linguistic minorities and those coming from immigration[21]. As the Divisional Court[22] confirms: "institutions are essential to the survival of cultural communities. They are much more than service functions. They are linguistic and cultural environments that provide people with the means to assert and express their cultural identity[23]. »

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[19] Participants who did not provide a response were removed from the statistical calculation. (N no answer = 7)

[20] Open-ended questions were asked of the participants in the quantitative study in order to collect their opinions and/or give them the opportunity to share their experience of inclusion in the English speaking and francophone communities.

[21] Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 70, no. 2, 1964, p. 193-205.

[22] Cour divisionnaire | Cour supérieure de justice (ontariocourts.ca)

[23] Montfort judgment, Ontario Divisional Court, 2001.

In addition to these exogenous factors, some immigrants relate their feeling of inclusion in the local francophone community to their dispositional characteristics, that is, to their ways of being[24]. Indeed, some participants say they are willing to reach out to other. They are inclined to act this way in the presence of Franco-Ontarians[25]. Likewise, adopting an active approach[26] within the francophone community supports the triggering of the feeling of inclusion. Some participants report about the sharing in community-organized activities and civic commitment (volunteering) developing their sense of inclusion in the host community.

Three factors foster the feeling of inclusion of francophone black immigrants in the francophone minority community. They experience their social lives[27] through access: to services in French, to the labor market and to socio-community life.

Likewise, we note that the feeling of inclusion of the population of this study depends on the number of years of residence and evolves according to the period of settlement in Sudbury. Figure 9 shows that during the first year of residence, the majority of newcomers feel included in the local francophone community (73%). This feeling of inclusion begins to diminish and, from a residence period of between one and five years, newcomers feel less included or even not included. This common feeling of inclusion reaches its peak in a residency period ranging from six to ten years. While the feeling of exclusion goes up until the number of years of settlement between eleven and 15 years.

According to the statistical results, discrimination is more perceived and more experienced in the period from six to ten years. Discrimination therefore hinders the inclusion of the immigrant

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[24] Bernard Lahire, *Portraits sociologiques. Dispositions et variations individuelles*, Paris, Nathan, 2002, p. 19.
[25] Emmanuel Bourdieu, Savoir-faire: contribution à une théorie dispositionnelle de l'action, Paris, Seuil, 1998, p. 8.
[26] Gérard Moreau, « L'intégration des immigrés et l'école. Deux avis du Haut Conseil à l'intégration », *Hommes & migrations*, 2011, p. 48-58.
[27] Brenier and Laflamme define sociality as follows: "the manifestation […] of its relational necessity, that is to say of its need for relationships in order to live and, *in the individual*, as the manifestation of the integration of values and practices of their specific society". Christine Bernier and Simon Laflamme, Ê*tre un être social*, Montreal, Guérin, 1994, p. 16.

population in the local francophone community. From the period of eleven to 15 years, the feeling of exclusion fades and we visualize the resumption of the intensification of the feeling of inclusion. The inclusion of the immigrant population occurs over time. This is a process that takes "a long term of around ten years or half a generation[28]".
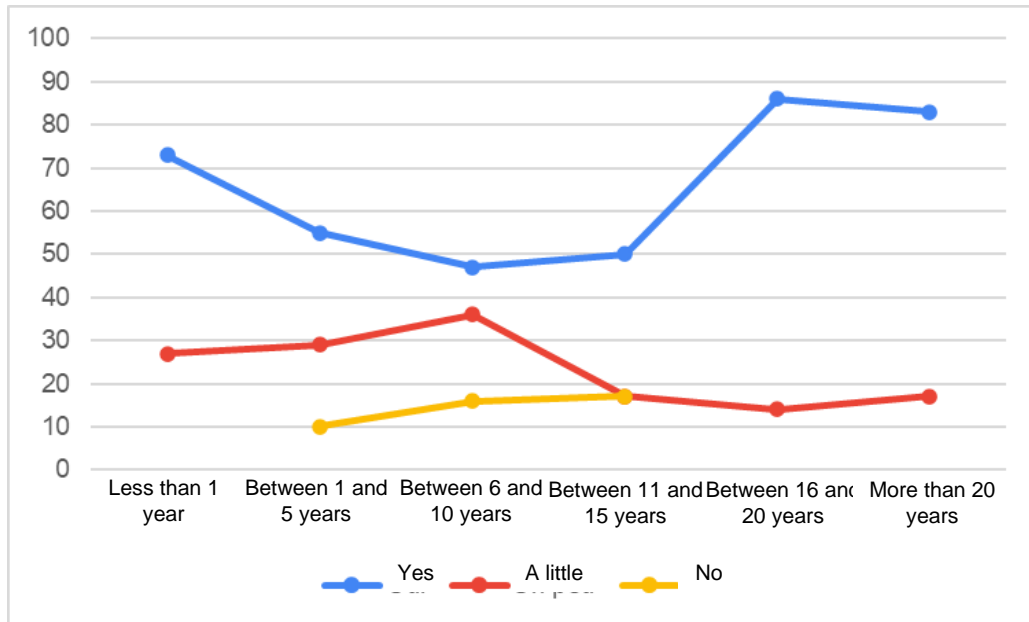

Fig.9. Evolution of the feeling of inclusion in the local francophone community according to the number of years of residence in Sudbury

Although welcoming newcomers into an official language minority community is considered the initial stage of the integration process[29], it seems that it does not quickly give rise to a feeling of inclusion in the local francophone community. The evolution of the feeling of inclusion which emerges from this study remobilizes the process of disorganization-reorganization defined by Robert E. Park. As part of this process, Park distinguishes four stages:

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[28] Gérard Moreau, *Ibid.*
[29] Immigration and official language minority communities. Review of research over the past five years, according to the point of views of communities, government institutions and researchers, *Universalia*, 2011

1) *Rivalry*[30]: This is a cycle in which "interaction [is] without social contact". Relationships are reduced to impersonal and instrumental interactions.

2) *Conflict*[31]: refers to the awareness of the interests of ethnic groups and the rivalries that oppose them. Relationships are formal. Minorities begin their entry into the public sphere.

3) *Adaptation*[32]: represents a state of coexistence between local francophone ones and immigrants. It echoes the extension of the rivalry, now controlled, but also the mutual efforts to guarantee a state of balance and ensure the safety of the members of the ethnic groups[33]. Relationships are built on a form of interdependence.

4) *Assimilation*[34]: there is a crossing of shared values that they made their own. The antagonism between immigrants and locals is diminishing. Relationships become interpersonal and intimate.

According to American sociology, reaching this stage demonstrates a decline in discrimination and inequality in the host society[35]. However, in the context of francophone minority communities, the process of assimilation remains unachievable. On the one hand, in Canada, ethnic relations follow the multicultural model. As opposed to assimilationist policy, this tends to preserve

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[30] "Rivalry is the process that organizes society. It determines the geographical distribution of society and the distribution of work. The division of work, as well as the vast economic interdependence between individuals and groups of individuals which is such a characteristic of the modern life, are products of rivalry. Furthermore, the moral and political order that imposes itself on this competitive organization is the product of conflict, adaptation and assimilation" (Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921, p. 508)

[31] "As a general rule, it can be said that rivalry determines the position of an individual in the community; the conflict assigns him a place in society" (*Ibid*., p. 574)

[32] "Adaptation can be considered, like a religious conversion, as a kind of mutation" (*Ibid*., p. 510)

[33] Local francophone ones and immigrants share a sense of belonging to a minority community.

[34] "There is interpenetration and fusion, during which individuals acquire the memory, feelings and attitudes of the other and, by sharing their experience and their history, become integrated into a common cultural life" (Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *op.cit*., p.735)

[35] Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Live. The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins, New York, Oxford University Press, 1964.

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the cultural integrity and the authenticity of the way of life of ethnocultural groups. On the other hand, assimilation requires social, economic and political power. Due to a lack of institutional control, the Francophone minority communities exclaim more on the process of integration or on the model of social cohesion[36]. In these minority contexts, these two concepts would highlight the efforts made to guarantee living together.

5.2. Sense of inclusion in the local anglophone community

Contrary to the results concerning the feeling of inclusion in the local francophone community, the difference between the rates of the degree of inclusion in the anglophone community seems small. We record a large proportion of participants who feel little included in the anglophone community (31%). In addition, 26% of francophone immigrants say they feel excluded from the anglophone community. Although 42% of participants identify as bilingual and 49% claim to have basic knowledge of English, only 23% of respondents feel included in the local anglophone community. A comparison between the feeling of inclusion in the two communities shows that francophone immigrants feel more included in the local francophone community.

Tab.26. Inclusion in the local anglophone community

		N	%
I feel included in the local anglophone community	Yes	40	23
	A little	54	31
	No	45	26
	No answer	34	20
TOTAL		173	100

The inability to speak the English language hinders the integration of immigrants into the anglophone community. According to Table 26, unilingual immigrants confirm that they do not feel included in the anglophone community in Sudbury. Linguistic tinkering allows francophone ones with basic knowledge of English to feel little included in the Anglophone community (52%). Proficiency in the language of the majority is favorable to the inclusion of francophone immigrants in the anglophone community (54%). This confirms the role of language in the integration of immigrants and the development of a sense of inclusion in the community.

In their comments, some participants from this ethnocultural minority attribute this feeling of exclusion to linguistic institutional incompleteness. In addition to this linguistic asymmetry[37], the bilingualism of certain Anglophones holding a position in an essential service is not receptive[38]. According to our immigrants, the inability to speak the English language is the main cause of this weak feeling of inclusion, or even exclusion from the anglophone community. This linguistic incompetence leads to abstention from participation in community activities. Immigrants report being judged and rejected because of the way they speak English. These judgments "often spread in the form of stereotypes, attitudes towards languages, accents[39]". This shows a distinction because of a difference and reveals an inequality of treatment. As accent is an attribute of a person or a group, this behavior is illegitimate and constitutes a form of linguistic xenophobia. Such a hierarchy of the English language according to subjective standards[40] causes glottophobia[41].

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[37] Leyla Sall et *al., ibid*.

[38] Receptive bilingualism is "being able to understand a language without necessarily being able to speak or write it". Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, "Linguistic (In)security at Work. Exploratory survey on official languages among federal government employees in Canada, study report, 2021, p. 4.

[39] Louis-Jean Calvet, *Pour une écologie des langues du monde*, Paris, Plon, 1999, p. 158.

[40] Although Bergeron noted "this ideological hegemony of standardized French" in French Ontario, our study revealed a form of stigmatization based on accent and which provokes a feeling of linguistic insecurity among francophone immigrants in a predominantly English-speaking. Christian Bergeron, "The Importance of Preserving Accent Diversity to Counter Linguistic Insecurity in French Ontario", *Alternative Francophone*, Vol. 2, no. 4, 2019, p. 92-107.

[41] Glottophobia "designates discrimination on the basis of language and includes the process of stigmatization that leads to this discrimination". Philippe Blanchet, "Glottophobia", *Language and Society*, Special Issue, p. 156, 2021.

Tab.27. Variation in the feeling of inclusion in the local anglophone community according to the language skills of the respondents[42]

			What are your language skills?			
			Bilingual (both official languages	Francophone with basic knowledge in English	Francophone only	TOTAL
I feel included and respected in the anglophone community	No	N	8	24	13	45
		% in What are your language skills?	14,0%	34,8%	100,0%	32,4%
	Yes	N	31	9	0	40
		% in What are your language skills?	54,4%	13,0%	0,0%	28,8%
	A little	N	18	36	0	54
		% in What are your language skills?	31,6%	52,2%	0,0%	38,8%
TOTAL		N	57	69	13	139
		% in What are your language skills?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Although 36% of participants who have lived in Sudbury for less than a year said they are included in the local anglophone community, inclusion declines over the first five years of settling in Sudbury. This feeling reaches a stationary level in the second half of the first ten years of residence (21%). This shows that over the first ten years of residence in Sudbury, these ethnocultural and linguistic minorities did not adapt to the majority linguistic context.

The regression of the feeling of inclusion is accompanied by the development of the feeling of exclusion from the anglophone community and of being little included in it. Exclusion and the feeling

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[42] Participants who did not provide a response were removed from the statistical calculation. (N $_{no answer}$ = 34)

of being little included increase during the first five years (respectively 26% and 29%). The feeling of exclusion fades from the tenth year of settlement in Sudbury. After this period, immigrants begin to feel little included. We also note a renewed rise in the feeling of inclusion in the language community in a majority situation. After fifteen years of being in Sudbury, francophone immigrants seem to adapt to the linguistic reality and feel more integrated.

The language barrier, reinforced by daily interactions in various spheres, hinders the socialization process. Exposure to the English language would contribute to the confirmation of this process after a period of being settled approaching the decade. In the medium or long term, the immigrant starts to get the language. The inclusion and integration of francophone immigrants into the anglophone community would therefore be inevitable. Like the evolution of the sense of inclusion in the francophone community, its development in the anglophone community is cyclical. Despite the number of years of residence in Sudbury, francophone immigrants from the visible minority seem to be more valued and respected by the local francophone community.
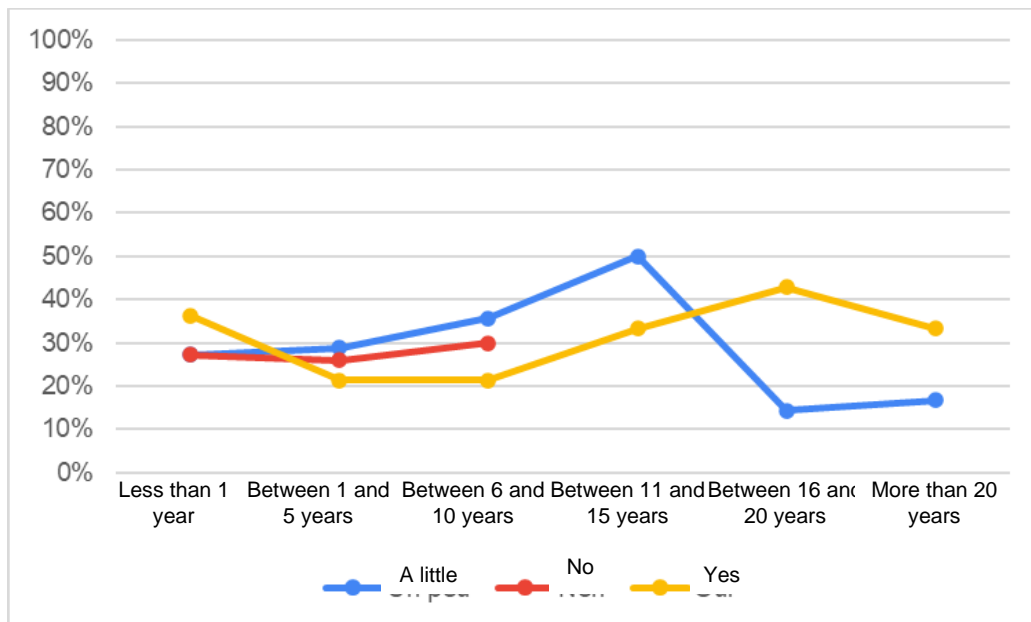

Fig.10. Variation in feelings of inclusion in the local anglophone community according to the number of years of residence in Sudbury

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Chapter 3: Qualitative Analysis

1. **Context: Settlement in Sudbury**

According to the data collected, Sudbury was the first destination for only 33% of the interviewees. Many participants in this study had begun their stay in Canada, either in the province of Quebec (Montreal, Quebec City and Sherbrooke) or in other Ontario cities (Toronto, Ottawa and Welland). According to the comments of participants who migrated to Sudbury, word of mouth is a technique to attract francophones to Northern Ontario. Members of ethnocultural associations and immigrant communities settled in Sudbury therefore play a significant role in developing the visibility of the City of Sudbury.

> And then, as I have my uncle who is in Ottawa, who is a teacher. He has been teaching in Ottawa since 2009. He told me: no, I know that you are capable of teaching. And then, I think that at that moment I had a friend who was in Toronto who told me that there are several teacher training courses in Ontario, it's in French. And then, right now in Ontario, Franco-Ontarians, in any case, they need francophone ones to teach in schools. (P.14)

> We did the CSQ for Quebec. When we arrived in Quebec, the level in relation to the job was difficult, and our diplomas were really undervalued. We experienced a lot of frustration. Considering everything we had done for a diploma back home; we were given college and secondary levels. Really, we found it a bit frustrating. And like me, I wanted to be in education. What Quebec asked me was to do a bachelor's degree first. And then I had to do four years. It was really painful for me again. I have my brother who told me: you get to Ontario, there is the same system that is over there. You have several cities where they do that. You choose. I had three or four cities that gave me this opportunity. There was Timmins, Windsor, Sudbury and then I think there was Ottawa, but Ottawa, it was not possible. So, when I applied for Sudbury, it worked. So, I got admitted in 2017. (P. 3)

We identify two main reasons for immigration or migration and settlement of immigrants in Sudbury:

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1) Live in an immersive environment to optimize their language skills and those of their descendants.

In this case, the parents "intentionally undertake a process of linguistic transfer to English with the purpose of […] preparing [their children] to enter the labor market more easily than themselves[43]".

> I want my daughters to be bilingual, perfectly bilingual, because I see today if I was bilingual, I would have a good job, a good position because when you go to get a job, if you you're perfectly bilingual, you don't even have a problem. So, what I'm going through, I wouldn't want my daughters to go through. I want them to be bilingual. (P.19)
>
> First of all, it's quite an opportunity to get an extra education for me personally, but also to be able to give the children a better opportunity than the one awaiting them in South Africa […] Canada has been the first choice, but I also had an opportunity for Australia and I preferred Canada because I think it's important that my children can speak both languages. (P.23)
>
> I settled in Sudbury to further my studies at Laurentian University since the university is already bilingual. I could improve, practice my English in a better way. Because before, I couldn't speak English easily, but thanks to Sudbury since it's a bilingual city. This helped me to practice my language better in English and to make better efforts in that language. (P.7)

2) Integrate a post-secondary institution in French. In this case, the participants immigrated or migrated to Sudbury to continue their post-secondary education or to re-enter it to accommodate the needs of the Canadian job market.

> Already with Laurentian university, which offers courses in French. […] And then, when we enrolled, we enrolled in a program in French. What I wanted to do was in French. There, it was really the best. And my husband could also study in French. He studied education in French. For me too, social work is in French. (P.13)

Interprovincial and intra-provincial migrations show that neither French language proficiency nor professional qualifications put immigrants on the path to the Canadian francophone labor market. So, migrating to Sudbury is a rational choice. And the relationship of francophone immigrants to the city is "instrumental [and] depending on the professional and residential opportunities available to them[44]".

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[43] Gertrude Mianda, « Genre, langue et race: l'expérience d'une triple marginalité dans l'intégration des immigrants francophones originaires de l'Afrique subsaharienne à Toronto, Canada », Francophonies d'Amérique, n° 46-47, 2018, p.43.

[44] Leyla Sall et *al, op.cit.*, p. 107.

From the above, we raise three questions that relate to: 1) the federal government's strategies in terms of promoting economic immigration in francophone communities and recruiting skilled immigrants, 2) settlement policies and inclusion of immigrants in their first host city and 3) the capacity of francophone minority communities in terms of integrating and retaining francophone immigrants.

> Quebec is considered a gateway for those who speak French. And at the same time, when francophone arrive in Quebec, they are also confronted with these questions of work, these questions of diplomas and all that, there are many things. But me, when I was there, I registered in the database of the Board of the Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan Montreal. I had given my Resume. During this time, I was working just like the students. I did odd jobs. I worked in warehouses. I worked for eight months in less than two warehouses. If I calculate the number of times done in these two warehouses, it was a total of eight months. [I] placed a Resume at the same time so that I could work as a journalist in magazines. But I rarely had the chance to have one. In March 2017, this is where I joined a French-speaking magazine, as a journalist editor. I was working full time. I liked what I was doing, but I wasn't satisfied with what followed because I told myself that I didn't have a career profile. I had no career plan. I was paid $13 an hour. So, I found it to be like unfair work. It was not easy, but at the same time, I like what I was doing, but I said that I was not going to continue like this and at least, it was like to have experience in the sector. (P.14)

> Initially, I wanted to try the job market in Quebec, I did handle work. And then the time has come to start my studies in CEGEP. And then I got the information that here in Sudbury, we offer an education program in French and then it took two years. What changed my choice a bit is what is called housing, which was affordable, and that played a role in my choice. That's how I came. For housing, it took me a year to get a place. And unfortunately, once in Sudbury, I was told that I could not enroll in the faculty of education, so I registered in another faculty. So, to conclude, the choice that brought me to Sudbury was studies. I thought I would quickly graduate from university to get a job. (P.9)

> It will also depend on the opportunities because people will not just come here, because it is Sudbury. They will be coming here for a reason. They will come here, for studies. They will come here to work. They will come for a particular interest. (P.15)

2. **Socio-community integration**

The interview participants agree that the integration of immigrants is a bilateral process, in other words, it requires efforts on the part of both local and immigrant francophone communities. It is important here to underline the role played by collective actors (namely: local cultural and community organizations, post-secondary institutions, ethnocultural associations, etc.), in terms of managing migratory flows and cultural and racial diversity. These organizations must work together

to lay the foundations of a cohesive community to "allow different groups of people to get along well[45]". These organizations must adopt an approach that makes it possible to establish a symbiosis between minorities, while taking into account diversity as a "common good[46]".

> It just requires work on all sides, awareness on all sides: on the side of immigrants [and] on the side of the welcoming community. (P.15)
>
> The immigrant community has no choice of living in the Franco-Ontarian community. I have already made an effort. I am talking about myself. I think efforts have to be made on both sides. Franco-Ontarians must understand that there is an advantage to having these francophone ones in the battle, because we are all asking for the same things: access to services in French. And having us in this battle is also a plus. And the rest of us too, we must understand that Franco-Ontarians have a history, that they have experienced discrimination that has resulted in them getting out of where they were. They are a little reluctant to bring others, from elsewhere, into what they have had. It's going to happen slowly. Everyone must take a small step. (P.16)
>
> It must come from both sides because it's fine to say I want to introduce myself. But if the person to whom I am introducing myself is not open to receiving someone different from them. It's a losing battle and it's on this point that organizations like yours shouldn't be limited to just talking to immigrants, but also to educate residents than, no, now we've moved to a stage where we opened our borders to other people who are not necessarily like us, but who have skills to offer and it is up to us to show them that we are receptive to what they know. And so, there is a discussion that must go both ways. (P.23)

Really, structural efforts are needed to make francophone communities more welcoming and inclusive. However, these actions remain insufficient. The testimonies of the interviewees corroborate the comments collected in the quantitative study and show that it is essential for immigrants to demonstrate extroversion and be willing to approach the local francophone community. The immigrant population must deal with a socio-cultural blockage that inhibits its full integration.

> It's not always easy, at an advanced age, to make a new group of friends. It also depends on the personality, which is fine with me. I am very extroverted and that is the difference with my wife. She is introverted. It is difficult for her to open, but me, no matter where I am at, I easily blend into the crowd. (P.2)
>
> The immigrant expects the local one to take the initiative to get to know him and to be integrated. This is due in most cases to a cultural blockage, an internalized education that is in perfect contrast with the culture and education of the host community. (p.28)
>
> We need to talk. You must network. You must ask for information. I had arrived in Toronto. I only know the school. Now with the networking, I was beginning to know that there is the Centre francophone. That's how I started to fit in. Because if I didn't speak up, no one would know if I

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[45] Jon Bannister and Anthony O'Sullivan, "Civility, Community Cohesion and Antisocial Behavior: Policy and Social Harmony", *Journal of Social Policy*, vol. 42, No. 1, 2013, p. 96.

[46] Jean-Pierre Saez, "Vitalité de la diversité culturelle et mondialisation. Entretien avec Edgar Morin", *Observatoire des politiques culturelles*, vol. 1, n°33, 2008, p. 4.

needed help. If I'm needing help. But that's because I'm asking for the information. I am open to everyone. I am ready to help people. But if you stay in a corner, no one comes to haggle you. (P.8)

Additionally, some immigrants established in Sudbury "are not ready to socialize[47]" with the local community. Community – and economic – integration cannot be achieved by immigrants reclusive in their own community. The emphasis here is on the role of ethnocultural and student associations in social organization. These play a real role in attracting immigrants, but also in welcoming and establishing them. This solidarity in the community must not, under any circumstances, be accompanied by an immigration-break with the host community. The seclusion of ethnic groups leads to the sterilization of cultures. Several participants say it was necessary for them to distance themselves from their ethnic community in order to become closer to the local community. The words of this immigrant show that integration into the host community is also a choice: "I moved away from my community a little precisely to open up to others".

> On my side, I have no problem being in the local communities. In general, I like interacting with people, but I don't feel as comfortable as I can be with my own community. You can interact well without being judged, that's why we are freer with my community. (P.7)
>
> When I started networking, I met a lot of people. So those people who welcomed me to Sudbury helped me. In fact, I felt like family because they are Haitians.
>
> It requires a lot of work on the immigrants' side, in the sense that integration is a big problem. I speak in terms of Africans who seek reassurance in their community, even when they are outside their continent. They will tend to associate more with other black or African brothers than with Canadians. And that, to me, has always been the antithesis of everything integration should be.
>
> It takes ongoing discussion. Forums are needed. I was saying that to […] when they tried to organize forums. Initially, they wanted to organize forums where the audience remains African. I said: This is getting us nowhere. We must succeed in bringing Africans and Canadians together. And you have discussions or where you get information for yourself. There are stories that we know and that we can tell Canadians. And that's how we're going to get to know each other. Not necessarily by staying focused on our communities. It is true that there is security, we feel good there. The person understands my situation, but for me, that's not integration. Integration is with the established population. In fact, I'm even starting to try to make friends with the Natives because for me, it's still one of the aspects that I haven't explored before. […] I want to go to the reserves. I want to see how they live on the reserves. That's my goal.

Indeed, the lack of interaction between the various francophone communities leads, on the one hand, to the creation of prejudices against the francophone community of Sudbury. As shown by

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[47] Leyla Sall et *al., op. cit*., p. 88.

the words of one interviewee, "It is difficult perhaps at the cultural level. In Africa, wow! It's not hard to make friends there, because as soon as you go out there. We are interested in you even if you are not interested in the lives of others. Here it is much more individual. That's it, it's a much more individualized society. People stay at home. There's not a lot of interaction." The immigrant population, as a cultural community, perceives the host community according to its own standards. On the other hand, the lack of interaction limits openness to ethnocultural diversity. The host community continues to maintain pejorative stereotypes regarding the racialized immigrant minority. These preconceived ideas denote, on the one hand, attitudes of ignorance. On the other hand, they give rise to microaggressions. The verbalization of these preconceptions can generate a feeling of marginalization and exclusion. This influences the quality of relations between local francophone minorities and racialized immigrants.

> There is one who is still nice. He told me, "do you want me to talk honestly to you?", I say yes. He said: Africa is a lot of a lot of instability, a lot of dirt. I'm sorry, but I see a lot of mess. And also on the street, it is not clean. So really, there was nothing at all positive about what he said. It's a lot of laziness, lazy people. You don't work much. So, there was nothing positive. And there, it is because he really wanted to be frank. I don't know, I don't know, but we talked about colonization, that's what I know, that's all. But I know that they still have their own little idea and have made up their minds about it. (P.13)

> In my class, I had to interact with some white people […] when I asked them: what do you know about Africa? No. They do not know Africa. They never went to Africa; they don't know it. […] So already, I tell myself that when you don't know a culture, when you haven't met people, you can't have such precise judgments. But when they have a way of thinking, it was as if they knew Africa and they have traveled Africa far and wide. But this is not true. So, there is ignorance. But history has also distorted things. History has given a certain perception of things. And it is this history that is taught. This is how they don't have the reality of what Africa is. They do not have the reality of African culture. They don't have the reality of us. No, it's too different. When there is ignorance, it matters a lot. (P.13)

> People think that at home, in Côte d'Ivoire or in Africa. There are no houses yet. Do you live at home in the woods? Is that how you ask the question? How do you live at home? In the woods? I say home, it's not in the woods. With us, it's the same as with you. At home, there is no snow, that's all. At home, there is the sun. But everything you have here, there is the same at home, but these are people who don't go out, who don't cultivate, they don't do things to themselves that are done elsewhere. (P.22)

> Some can think that black people are thieves. They do not have money. So when there's a black person in a store, we're not going to give him enough attention because we know that he probably doesn't even have any money. If he looks at this expensive item, he may be looking to steal it. There are those kinds of things. There are things we often hear. Native people are alcoholics. So, with these stereotypes, we will think that they are all alcoholics. (P.15)

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If the urban space occupied by francophone immigrants, in the city of Greater Sudbury, does not present an area distribution[48], there is, however, a form of segregation in the internal spaces of university and college structures. According to the comments of the participants[49], the classrooms are mixed, but there is no interaction between the students. The racialized nature of these spatial sides marks a form of ethnocultural segregation. On the one hand, this logic reveals that this student has an external existence[50]. This form of social existence of the student demonstrates discrimination and exclusion of racialized minorities. On the other hand, it turns out that these postsecondary institutions, as agents of socialization, do not seem well equipped to ensure the inclusion of international students.

> Black would sit in a game, then white would be in a game. It was like that. I'm sorry but that's the reality. We were all separated. There were blacks and whites. There wasn't even a teacher saying anything. (p.26)

> There were works where the teachers chose the people. If, for example, in this group I am put with the Canadians, there is not really any interaction, it is as if I don't belong. Me, I do my part. After the presentation, there were no meetings. But with the Africans, we will meet on Monday. Then, if I give my opinion, they will accept your opinion. We accept. It's like we're going to value people's opinions. Then with the others, it was completely different. I can't work with people like that. I'm sorry. Yes, I said OK, I'm doing my part, then we're going to present the work. (p.26)

> The class was divided into two. We can see the blacks and the whites […]. And the teacher told us: I don't want to teach in a black and white class. I want to teach in a universal class, in a mixed class, because in fact I didn't want to stay here anymore because if I stay here longer the white people will judge, if I stay here longer the black people will judge, so I am going to rearrange the classroom. And after this exercise, I want everyone to stay that way. So, everyone stays that way, mixed up (P. 8)

> In fact, it is not the teachers who choose. The teachers give us free choice. Me, it happened to me. Once I was in a classroom. There was a team work to be done, but there were people beside me. Instead of making the group together, they went looking for other people to make the group. And I stayed. I said: no problem, I can do the homework on my own. I don't need to be in a group. I told the teacher that, but I don't need to be in a group. I can do the homework on my own. But in fact, she was there. She saw what happened. It's completely normal that I don't want to be in a group. So, they all went to get other people to do the work. I had friends who were from Toronto. We were together in college. So, when they noticed that I wasn't on a team, that's when my other colleagues joined the ranks, and we teamed up. (P.1)

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[48] Annie Koffi and Moustapha Soumahoro, "Geographical trajectory and occupation of the urban space of Greater Sudbury by Francophone immigrants", Laurentian University, Proceedings of the 21st day, Science and Knowledge at the frontiers of knowledge, 2015.

[49] 66% of participants in the qualitative study are students.

[50] A group exists socially in exteriority "when the people who are part of the collective do not know that they constitute a group or any set, but that other groups think so". Christine Bernier and Simon Laflamme, *op.cit.*, p. 217.

We, who are at university. You can't have a workgroup with white people, it's not possible. As soon as you come, they say no it's okay, it's okay. So, if you're in the minority in the classroom and it's some homework for five people and you're only two, then you're working in pairs, but you're not working with them. Unless they impose you on their group and even then, they will openly show you that they don't want to work with you because they will never work with you. They won't even tell you do this, do that. When you put a lot of effort into doing a job, they just reject your work. They tell you: we did this. It's good. But your work will not be included in general work. And that is everyday life. (P.13)

The main idea that emerges from the comments of the participants is the urgency of agreeing to actions that consolidate the capacity of the francophone community with regard to social cohesion. However, it seems that certain positions can hinder the creation of a cohesive francophone community. Based on the textual data, we discern two attitudes unfavorable to social cohesion:

1. The adoption of cultural[51] and identity protectionism endangers, on the one hand, the development of immigrants' sense of belonging to the Ontario Francophonie.

   On the other hand, it leads to the dissemination of the Francophonie for which the lack of interaction is supposed to account.

   We are not Franco-Ontarian enough to be integrated into their francophone world. So, yes, we are francophone ones, but it takes almost a miracle to be able to integrate into this northern Ontario francophone world. I'm not saying it's impossible. It happens, but in northern Ontario, it's complicated. […] Franco-Ontarians have suffered a lot of harm. And what little they have; they want to keep it for themselves. And that is understandable. OK, but welcoming immigrants, yes, integrating gradually. That's what I observed. For my son, this is something that I also want to pass on to him. So that he understands that you live here. There are natives who fought for what they got. And you have to understand. There is a limit. If you are allowed access it. You will accede and be happy to have been there. And don't try to break up, but you can still hope for something. (P.16)

   It gives the impression that there is a francophone community and a Franco-Ontarian community. It's astonishing! We are all surprised to see things turn out like this. But no, we cannot say that we have a variety of francophone ones. Once you are francophone, you must be from the Franco-Ontarian community, but by wanting to do it like that, it gives the impression that the francophone community, which is the black minority, who is there and then the Franco-Ontarian who is the minority in the North. So, here are two tendencies that can't communicate, to unite to understand that we have the same fight. How did we get to that point? it is because we have learned that there is a Franco-Ontarian community which is a minority, which needs strength. Then we are francophone ones. We can bring our strength. But when we arrive, this community says that you need to have certain skills before you are accepted. (P.14)

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[51] *Ibid*.

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2. **According to declarations of immigrants, some Franco-Ontarians are not proud of their linguistic identity. Consequently, their bilingualism becomes a privilege, even a strategy to deal with linguistic insecurity. However, this cultural capital is detrimental to unilingual Francophone immigrants or those with basic knowledge of English. Linguistic juggling is an obstacle to social cohesion.**

> **We have the impression that they themselves feel embarrassed or they are francophones disguised as English speakers. We do not know. I noticed in some places there that the few people who speak French even avoid French. I even speak very slowly when I speak French because I know it can be a challenge for someone who lives in an English-speaking environment. So, I make the effort to speak slowly so that I can be served, and I continue my way. But I have the impression. That's my impression that francophone in Sudbury, they don't feel proud to be francophone. I have the impression that they hide themselves, that they hide the fact that they are French speaking, whereas the fact of speaking French and English at the same time is an asset. I don't sense any encouragement from this francophone community for francophone ones to use the French language. (P.1)**

> **Locals don't want to team up with immigrants. Unless it's a written work where we need the ability of immigrants to formulate sentences in French, do the correction. So maybe they'll consider that. (P.6)**

> **And sometimes, our associate teacher plus the special education technician, when they don't want us to understand, they speak in English. They continue in English. (P.4)**

Basically, two realities that limit social cohesion must be taken into consideration, namely: the demographic profile of the Francophonie in Sudbury and the recency of the phenomenon of francophone immigration. Respectively, this is an aging community whose attitudes towards immigration are likely to be detrimental to diversity[52]. In addition, it has only been a few decades since francophone communities in a minority situation began to claim their part of francophone immigrants. As a result, the phenomenon of immigration, in the Francophone minority community, and in this case, in Sudbury, is recent. The local francophone community begins to learn about immigration and is therefore exposed to diversity. It should be noted that the perception of cohesion is higher in diverse communities[53].

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[52] Patrick Sturgis et al., "Ethnic diversity, segregation and the social cohesion of neighborhoods in London", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 37, n° 8, 2014, p. 1286-1309.

[53] Kitty Lymperopoulou, "Immigration and Ethnic Diversity in England and Wales Examined Through an Area Classification Framework", *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, vol. 21, 2019, p. 829-846.

This participant completely agrees.

> It's only in attitudes, people who are more exposed to immigration, so they are not going to see you as an alien. There is this habit that their child can go to school with a child from another culture, from another race who can be friends because you have neighbors who are also different. It's been years and years. So, this matter of being exposed makes a big difference because we don't have a choice, we don't have a choice, we go to the stores, we find black people working there, we find Asians working there. We go to school, we find them. Exactly, it is multicultural. We don't have that choice. But when it is in a region that is where there is a concentration of a single community. It can be difficult, it can be difficult, just by the look, the attitudes. And yeah, whether it's for the people watching and the person being watched and feeling that the person didn't fit. (P.15)

She adds:

> It doesn't always happen, but it depends on the places, it also depends on the age category. Sometimes, there are like specialized stores where there are perhaps slightly older people who have been a little less exposed to diversity. Then there, maybe, they see you as black. All they think is danger. So, there you can even see the fear in such a way that it can make you uncomfortable. You go out without asking. You say I will buy elsewhere. (P.15)

It is also essential to consider the historical context of the francophone minority community. Beyond its observable organization, its minority situation, understanding its socio-historical dynamics and the common experience lived by Franco-Ontarians determines the integration of racialized francophone immigrants. According to the testimonies of two participants who have been living in Sudbury for more than ten years, newcomers must be made aware of the challenges of this community, of the history and of the francophone culture in a minority situation. At the same time, the Sudbury francophone community must review its ethnic boundaries[54] between its members and those of immigrant communities and rethink its perception of the newcomer as otherness[55]. Only economic mobility does not lead to exposure to diverse immigrant cultures. The circulation of ideas, cultural and artistic objects, accents, etc. is inherent in the redefinition of collective identities.

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[54] According to Linda Cardinal and Jean Lapointe, borders "correspond above all to a continuous process of germination of collective representations, drawing its sources from the history of the group and reinterpreted on a regular basis by the members of the group. In other words, the ethnic boundary is determined by a certain type of interaction between the members of a group gathered around symbols and representations chosen and regulated by them. Also, the existence of ethnic borders depends on coordinated action by members of the community within cultural, social or political associations".

[55] Nicole Gallant et Chedly Belkhodja, "Production d'un discours sur l'immigration et la diversité par les organismes francophones et acadiens au Canada", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 37, n° 3, 2005, p. 34-58.

[Understanding history] is very important because it talks about that in the Ontario francophone community, otherwise it will be difficult to grasp certain issues that are being discussed. If we don't understand well, we can still be in it, but it becomes important to understand the issues because everything revolves around that, the evolution of the francophone community in Ontario, history. So, it helps to understand the evolution of what is happening. (P.15)

[The immigrant] will be embittered if he does not understand what he is going through in this community. Understanding the history of these people helps to understand why certain blockages occur. So that's how I also understood that it's because of their experience, unconsciously, that this happens, but they are nice people. We cannot say that they are all racist or discriminatory, etc. It's wrong! But there are obstacles that are experienced by Franco-Ontarians. (P.9)

I think francophone ones have an interest in knowing that it's the same fight. We are a minority and this minority, we can have value, we can have strength. We can have a voice if we understand that we are different within our minority, we have a diversity within our minority that we can promote. The black minority in Sudbury, they try to accept themselves while knowing that inside us, we are different. In Sudbury, there are Cameroonians. We don't totally have the same culture as the Ivorians, but we are francophone, it's the language that brings us together, the language that makes us brothers and sisters. It's not just skin color. So, that's what happens when Ivorians make celebrations, they will see Cameroonians. (P.14)

Me, I teach that, when I do my internships, before finishing, I always put something from home back in Africa. A dance video, outfits to say: this is how we live. The traditional outfit, the hair, everything cultural about home. We did it even when we were at Laurentian University, it was like that. We had presented everything, everything that we have of culture at home, as we presented it to our friends so that they could see how beautiful it is as much as in this place. So that's it. When I was somewhere and I wore an outfit from home, people said: oh it is beautiful! (P.22)

3. **The relationship to the English language: from linguistic insecurity to linguistic instrumentality**

For lack of linguistic capital in English, participants experience linguistic insecurity. This results from the comparison of the way they speak, in this case, their accent, with that of English speakers, which is therefore assumed to be legitimate[56]. Our participants believe that they do not have a "good English" and that they have a rather small vocabulary to maintain a dialogue. On the side of linguistic practices, we identify the representations of local speakers who "determine judgments about languages and the ways of speaking to them, judgments that often spread in the form of stereotypes; attitudes towards languages, accents, that is to say, in fact towards speakers who

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[56] Louis-Jean Calvet, *Pour une écologie des langues du monde*, Paris, Plon, 1999, p. 160.

are discriminated against by stereotypes[57]". As LeBlanc states and as the experience of certain immigrants testifies to it, "the linguistic insecurity resulting from representations constitutes a major obstacle to speaking out[58]".

> The integration into anglophone society has not yet been done. It's not been done yet because of the language barrier. If you want to integrate well, you must be able to speak the language, take part in activities, etc… Even simple volunteering is done in English. Well, that's because I can't frankly carry on a conversation in English from start to finish. I can understand, but how I respond to them and then how can I respond effectively. Often there are difficulties. That's when it's complicated. (P.13)

> There is judgment based on the color of the skin, which is associated with not speaking English. Not only do you have that skin color that is wrongly associated with uneducated people. To this will be added the fact that we do not speak English, because I got to tell you that not speaking English for some is being uneducated. Yes, so you have both of those faults, but for some it doesn't stop there. When you are black you are someone who lives in the trees. […] I can try to practice my English to try to correct and perfect my English. That's to my advantage. But when I get to very sensitive areas which are like bank level, hospital level, pharmacy level, in my opinion... These are not good places where you can try to practice because the slightest mistake can cost you a lot. (P.9)

Immigrants deplore the false promotion of linguistic identity in Canada and affirm the asymmetry of bilingualism. One participant described the gap between the received image and the reality: "I was shocked not to have the bilingualism I was expecting. I had a perception of it, but the reality was quite different". Although they do not feel uncomfortable using the English language, our participants emphasize the efforts made by francophone ones, mainly in terms of services. Faced with this linguistic institutional incompleteness, francophone immigrants experience statuary linguistic insecurity[59]. From then on, they develop a pragmatic, even instrumental relationship to the English language. This relationship is expressed either by trying out the language or by the choice to follow the path of anglicization. Obviously, this does not reduce the feeling of linguistic insecurity, but would help "to maintain this dominance[60]".

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[57] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[58] Mathieu LeBlanc, "Le français, langue minoritaire, en milieu de travail : des représentations linguistiques à l'insécurité linguistique", *Nouvelles perspectives en sciences sociales*, vol. 6, n° 1, 2010, p. 58.

[59] The linguistic minority experiences statuary insecurity when "the social discourse, the dominant ideology makes the speaker believe that the language he speaks has less value than other linguistic forms present, that he uses". Louis-Jean Calvet, *Pour une écologie des langues du monde*, Paris, Éditions Plon, 1999, p. 172.

[60] Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques*, Paris, Fayard, 1982, p. 1982.

There are people who tell you straight away I don't speak French and that's it. They make no effort. Even at the hospital, the lady told me but it's up to me to make the effort to express myself in English. I was a little frustrated that day, but I think I found another person to take care of me. (P.27)

It created a lot of frustration, and it made me feel uncomfortable. Because when you come to even get information, it's not easy. Because I assure you that anglophone ones don't try to be able to speak even say hello in French. francophone ones make the effort to be able to express themselves in English, but anglophone ones do not make the effort to be able to say things in French. So, it's still a barrier. Language is still a big barrier. That's why I take English classes. But over time, we try to adapt, we try to train to get up to speed. That said, we put ourselves in the mold to be at the same level. It's not that I'm going to become an English speaker, but today I can go somewhere and express myself. I go to Walmart I say whatever I need there. And then the basic expressions, I can have them to express my need. (P.22)

I can't really say that I integrated into the anglophone community, there are things, services where you have no choice but to go in English. […] go to the cinema, go to the mall. Then there, you have no choice to be able to scramble. […] You need to go to the mall. You need to learn a few words to ask questions of what you want to know. The minimum of what you need to understand. (P.15)

Already, when I had just arrived, I was afraid to speak English, so sometimes I can just come and listen and then leave. But it's thanks to my anglophone friends who really helped me to be able to overcome my fears and to be able to speak. Because what I noticed, there are more services in English than in French. So, if I don't know how to speak English. It will be very difficult for you to get these services and so I had to speak English well, to learn so that I can obtain the services I want to have. I was afraid, for example, of being judged or of being frowned upon, as I don't speak English well. And it's normal, I was afraid of being judged. (P.7)

4. **Disenchantment of the economic sector: from integration to inclusion**

For people who want to settle there if it is to live and work, I would not recommend Sudbury to them, but for studies yes, I would say that my experience at Laurentian was 50/50. […] I can recommend Sudbury only in this context, but not for work. No, because I know that here again, it's a real problem and it's a fight that we haven't won. (P.13)

According to the comments of our participants, access to the job market seems complex. The professional experience of francophone immigrants marks an asymmetrical bilingualism in favor of English. Language is a barrier to the socioeconomic integration of immigrants. In addition, it hinders the development of the experiences acquired by the immigrant in his country of origin. francophone immigrants from the racialized community established in Sudbury experience difficulties in obtaining employment that matches their qualifications and skills.

The working language that is used the most here is English. But it is really difficult. I didn't understand anything because here people were talking fast fast fast. I didn't understand some

words. I started to understand a little, a little despite my English, which I learned in secondary school in my country. (P.23)

Even the English language can be a barrier, because often we call ourselves francophones. We are among francophones, but if you try to see in the majority of jobs, it also requires a level of English. So, at the very beginning for an immigrant who is unilingual French speaker, it can become a barrier, even sometimes in positions in French. (P.15)

These difficulties are even bigger in the francophone job market. The employment pool, particularly in the education sector, in Sudbury, seems small. Considering the comments of francophone immigrants from the visible minority, graduates of the Faculty of Education at Laurentian University are victims of discrimination in terms of recruitment in Sudbury and professional mobility. Discrimination seems to be based on physical factors (skin color) and cultural ones (last name). The resulting impacts are: the use of atypical jobs and the exodus of francophone immigrants.

It wasn't easy at the start. Already Sudbury is small. Most racialized students who came here, after graduation, they left city. Because if it's to work in shopping centers or daycares, you can do it elsewhere too. And there, there are even more opportunities because it's bigger, because they're more used to it. So that's it. Job opportunities were very, very limited. (P.15)

I felt a lot of systemic racism especially at the school level, but also at the very level of employment when I left. Many, when they go out, they cannot find employment, even at the teaching level, it is difficult. Laurentian University has been training teachers for a long time, but you can count at your fingertips the teachers who are recruited here in Sudbury. They do substitute work, but they are not hired. Same for social work, same for nurses, same for everything. Black people are difficult to integrate here in Sudbury. They have work elsewhere, much further north, because maybe they don't want to go there themselves. But not in Sudbury, it's difficult. […] They don't explain it. There are no reasons they are going to give you. But if you get on the substitute list, my God, you get harassed every morning. They need substitutes, which means they need teachers. But we won't hire you, that's it. We don't tell you why, but we know why. Because for my husband, for the same promotion, his white friends who wanted to stay in Sudbury were hired and others did not want to stay in Sudbury, and they were hired wherever they wanted. Some wanted to go to Toronto, others to Winnipeg. So, they were hired where they wanted to be hired. But here, in Sudbury, those who wanted to stay, they stayed. But it's been like this for a long time, we don't hire black people here. (P.13)

For work, there is also the name of the person. His last name is also detrimental, I think. Me, it took me three years before I found a job and it took me five years before I got my tenure, so some of my colleagues have already moved up the ranks in their careers. They don't understand why I'm still here. […] To feel truly welcomed, you need to have a job and work to feel truly fulfilled. For my part, it was really complicated despite the level of education I had. That's it, so we have to fight. Yes, we are very well. Best of anything I've seen in Canada in my experience. Integration is difficult. Do we take full advantage of our skills and abilities, even though we were trained here by their parents or their grandparents? No, not a hundred percent. So, integration is not at the same level as native children. So, if ***** was Robert Tremblay, with the same skills, the same knowledge, it would have been a whole different story. (P.16)

It's deplorable that people come to train in a region like Sudbury in the North and then finally they can't fit in here. They are forced to go elsewhere. So, you train people for other provinces or

for other cities, but not to stay here. People come to settle here. They are happy to be here. As I said, me at the beginning, I was happy thank God that I was not kept in Ottawa. I was happy at the beginning because I found a francophone community above all, it's a community that is very rich, that is alive. I'm happy to be here and when I finish my training, I want to find job. But if I finish and I don't have a job and there in the Ottawa area, where I have a job. (P.14)

We can clearly see that the face of our schools here in Sudbury is changing. The children, more and more, are children of immigrant origin, but they are not given role models in the classrooms. I understand that we cannot fill all the classrooms with teachers with an immigrant background, but at least show it. I would say 90% of those people end up in Toronto, in the big cities, if not in other provinces and in super remote areas. (P.16)

In addition, participants highlighted the phenomenon of nepotism in the education sector. Considering the textual data collected, this form of favoritism, although it limits equal access to the job market, denotes a protectionism of this sector against these newcomers. By comparing this result with that of the quantitative study, the stage of rivalry between the two francophone communities begins. The job market, it should be emphasized, gets systems connected, but also individuals. The economic sector, in this case that of education, requires de-ethnicization[61]. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt policies of equal access to the labor market. This action will put immigrants on the path to economic and community integration[62]. In general, the suppression of discrimination in the economic sector contributes to the fight against discrimination outside the labor market. It should be noted that the difficulties experienced by the racialized minority in accessing the francophone job market show their difficulty in including themselves in the local francophone community.

I know that a lot of people think that we are still a danger anyway […]. I know for me and for people in my community who have come here, I would say 90% have gone back to school or everyone I know from my community, all black people, they are really in school and not directly going to work at Walmart or I don't know at Food Basic or McDonalds. So already, the fact of taking the path of studies already shows that we want to orient ourselves, to integrate in a certain way, that's it, it already clearly shows that. They can feel this danger because there were even courses where we were for the majority and I know that more and more, Canadians, in general, do not go very, very far in their studies. We see that too and therefore already, we can sense that they can feel threatened because if we, we take the path of studies. At some point, we will be forced to integrate into positions since we will have studied, and these diplomas also speak for themselves. So, at this level, they may feel threatened to see these people take the place of their children or these people will have the same positions as them, so, there are already a lot of questions that can come up also at this level. (P.13)

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[61] Leyla Sall et *al., op. cit.*
[62] Gertrude Mianda, *op.cit.*

That's not what Francophonie is in Canada. Franco-Ontarians are more accepting of Quebecers than even black francophone ones. It's sad. If we try to break the barrier limitations. And that we understand that we are people, we did not come here to steal positions. Moreover, we know that black people have been in Canada for a long time. (P.14)

We know that so and so did this and that. Such one we have favored. We are told, for example, that we should not approach the schools to ask them that we want to go back for this and that. But people who are not like us, they do, who have their parents, who have their aunts, who have their uncles here, are already teachers. They go to these schools as many times as they want. They are even there to choose their class by coming to give names to the university. We say when I go to such a school, and I go to such a level because his parent is there. […] There are no jobs in Sudbury. There are no jobs for teachers, the jobs that are here are for the children of people who are already teachers. If we give you a job here, it's just replacement work. You can't have a job. 80% of people who come to train here go elsewhere. For what? Because there is no job. (P.22)

Generally, places are more for people who are natives of the city! And you will see that it is the immigrant who we will send very far. And that's what made my whole class pretty much all blacks out of Ontario. We may have had positions here, but it was too restrictive. On the contrary, we left Sudbury. And then, when you asked a teacher for a reference, he refused even though you noted the person well. I don't know but if you gave me a good mark why don't you want to be my referent. (p.29)

I find that the opening was there. Among people who were aware or exposed to people who are different from them. Whereas if it was, for example, people who were less exposed to immigration, there was a certain reluctance. And then. And it was that he too could be like a threat. If one person, two people, that's fine, but there, when it starts to be a lot, it's in a position, in jobs. People started to see it as people coming to take our places. So, it all depended on how people are exposed to immigration, to diversity. And the awareness they have and what areas they work in. (P.15)

Schools are not immune to discrimination and racism. The inclusion of teaching staff from the black immigrant community seems flawed. By examining the challenges, in this case, the socio-cultural and linguistic discontinuities of francophone immigrants in a minority setting in Manitoba, Piquemal and Bolivar confirm that "school environments very often become spaces of cultural discontinuities where diverse identities, values and relational dynamics[63], clashes and overlap, negotiate with each other, usually not smoothly".

The trainees and teachers interviewed explain the difficulty of being accepted and respected in schools. According to the testimonies of the participants, these institutions are marked by a classification as a minority[64] according to the color of the skin and the accent. Economic integration

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[63] Nathalie Piquemal et Bathélémy Bolivar, « Discontinuités culturelles et linguistiques: Portraits d'immigrants francophones en milieu minoritaire », *Migration & Integration*, vol. 10, 2009, p.246.

[64] In this context, we opt for the concept of undermining since we focus on the qualitative aspect of the discrimination suffered by our participants. This choice was made based on the study by Philippe Blanchet (2005). By adopting complex thinking to model the dynamic minoritarisation majoritarisation, Blanchet identifies the two poles of this

does not necessarily lead the inclusion of immigrant visible minority teachers. The practice of institutionalized cultural capital[65] – degrees – does not guarantee the acceptance of embodied cultural capital[66] – for example, the accent. Overall, racialized francophone immigrants are subject to triple minoritization[67]. In a linguistic context in a minority situation, a minorization based on accent risks leading to formal[68] and identity[69] linguistic insecurities. Our participants say they face difficulties when practicing the profession of teacher and face microaggressions from students. Such behaviors stipulate that discrimination is a social fact. It is transmitted from one generation to another. The testimonies of a participant who is a teacher testify to this: "What parents do, children, they try to copy from parents, try to copy from friends. It is from what they have experienced, from what they have learned, they will forge a mentality for tomorrow."

This cultural misunderstanding indicates that racialized francophone immigrants are in a situation of exclusion. Thus, the experiences, lived by our participants, invite us to think about the work carried out, for example, in terms of education and awareness of parents, and by extension, on the disposition of educational institutions to welcome and integrate children and francophone immigrant teachers from the visible minority.

> But me, personally, I experienced it at my first student internship, where little girls who weren't like me didn't want me to approach them and who said to themselves that we had a smell that wasn't their smell. So that creates frustration. You are in training, but you do not necessarily speak out. At one point I even had to tell a little girl the next time that I come closer to you to

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process, namely the minus-max pole which refers to the qualitative aspect and that of minoritization majoritization which echoes quantification. (Philippe Blanchet, "Minorations, minorizations, minorities: an attempt to theorize a complex process", *Cahiers de sociolinguistique*, vol. 1, n° 10, 2005, p. 17-47).

[65] Pierre Bourdieu, "The forms of capital'', dans John Richardson, Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education, Greenwood Press, New York, 1986, 241-258.

[66] *Ibid*.

[67] The study population belongs to the visible minority. Aware of their linguistic affiliation, they are part of the linguistic minority. The difference in accent also leads to a third minoritization within the local French-speaking community. Gertrude Mianda, *op.cit*., p. 32.

[68] L'insécurisation formelle est ressentie, quand « le discours de l'autre, la correction sociale, le feedback, font comprendre au locuteur qu'il "parle mal". Ce qui est très courant et facile à observer ». Louis-Jean Calvet, *op.cit*.

[69] According to Calvet, we experience identity insecurity when "the group, the community makes the speaker feel that he does not speak the same form as his peers, that he is not recognized as one of their own because of this whether he speaks or how he speaks. *Ibid*.

explain an exercise to you and you close your nostrils supposedly because I smell, I will report your teacher, or I'll kick you out. But we experience it every day. That's how kids are. But hey, they're kids, it's okay. That's it, when you come to her, she says she's not interested, so you don't force a child who says he doesn't need your help. But you are two interns. And if it is the other one who is on the same side as her. She easily agrees to get help. But if I'm the one going, she won't accept help. (P.22)

A child who tells you why you are going to teach me? Why are you going to replace Madame so and so? You cannot teach. You are black. You cannot teach. But, a child does not know that he is telling you very serious things. This child, where do you think he learned that? Did he read it in a book? I do not think so. I was really surprised at the information that children have about black people. I don't know if they have any other information about Indians or other races that are discriminatory. I endured a lot. (P.9)

The majority of people, like me moreover, they went to do internships in schools where the students have English names and not French names. We always have difficulty pronouncing the names of students who have English names and not French names, it's difficult to pronounce their names because we are not used to being in that environment. Every day when we arrive, there is always a problem. No, it's not that, it's like that. Even when the teacher pronounces, you do not understand her pronunciation well. So, you repeat. No that's not it. When I was doing my internship, my first internship, there was a student who tended to complain when I said his name. The teacher told him that your name is said in French, because it's not that we don't pronounce it well. But the name, we say it in French. However, they want English pronunciation. The associate teacher told the student no. He says your name in French. So, it stops there because you are in a francophone school. So let him call you in French. He didn't destroy your name. No, he didn't skin it. No, but that's its pronunciation in French. Whereas to the other teacher, he never said that. I am not used. So, is this Franco-Ontarian culture? Pronouncing an Anglophone name in English? Is that part of it? I don't know because I use the French pronunciation. (P.14)

Our associate teacher told us that the biggest challenge is with the parents. The school board does not see that as a problem, it is the parents who decide, so if the parents are not able to accept the fact that there is change. But change always has these effects, you must be able to adapt because we, as teachers, try to adapt. Why don't the parents agree? Why parents do not want to understand. The question remains, but it's because he's a black man. […] Most of the parents confided in our teacher because our teacher. They said it didn't work with him. And if it continues like this. They can even withdraw their children. […] Because the Black came, it didn't work. The White came, it worked, so with the Black, it doesn't work. This image will be tinted in the children's heads. Now it will be in the minds of children and parents are not aware of it. And the kids, they're going to grow up with that without them telling their parents and others. They'll keep that in mind. (P.14)

5. **Professional deskilling**

According to the interviews conducted, it appears that most of the participants seem to have difficulty promoting their skills and experiences acquired in their country of birth, on the local job market. Their level of intellectual and professional qualifications does not seem to favor their economic integration. In the context of this study, deskilling is recurrent among racialized immigrants. This phenomenon is increased because diplomas obtained abroad are not recognized. The results of the

qualitative study corroborate those of the quantitative study. Indeed, and according to 58% of the participants, immigrants who hold an international diploma of higher education seem to experience discrimination. Although these participants held a diploma and had professional experience in their country of origin, the non-recognition of international diplomas (72%) and foreign professional experience (28%) led them to a situation of professional deskilling.

> For me, it's not normal to go back to school, but the system forces us to go back to school. We don't force you. They don't tell you: listen, if you don't go back to school, you won't become a police officer. No. But the system forces you to redo the studies. It's a bit like that. (P.9)

> We come with intellectual qualifications, very good intellectual qualifications and we get here what we give you as an assessment of diplomas, it doesn't even have a level of first class for you. That is really a big problem for me. And that is my biggest shock. It was so much bigger shock, whatever you did back home, if you get here, you must have a bit of something here to balance it out. We balance because people won't give you everything. You must do this, and you have to do that, that's it. So, our diplomas, we did them. But it must be redone. (p.22)

> There is a professor who went around the table to look at the diplomas of each one. And when he's finished going around the class. He said: But it's not possible, but why do you have all these diplomas and you come back to do a bachelor's degree in education. (p.29)

> Regarding the diplomas, already, it is difficult here to recognize the diplomas. What usually happens is that you are recognized for certain courses. Your diploma is downgraded, or you are recognized for certain credits, and you continue, but your training is not highlighted. No at all. (P.13)

The socio-demographic data relating to this sample highlight two elements in common. These are, in fact, immigrants 1) with parental status and 2) belonging to an age category between 25 and 45 years old[70]. These immigrants are atypical workers who, consequently, benefit from less advantageous working conditions. This situation of professional deskilling is manifested by the return to studies and/or a reorientation of the field of studies. This would mainly lead to the professional retraining of immigrants. It appears that neither French language proficiency nor international work experience facilitate the economic integration of francophone immigrants. 57%[71] of our interviewees have decided, in fact, to go back to school to obtain a Canadian diploma and ensure eventual access to the labor market.

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[70] Four participants who returned to school are over 45 (three are 46 and one immigrant is 48).
[71] 40% work and study at the same time. And 10% are students.

When I was back in my country, I was a nurse. When I arrived, I changed. Considering the language, here. As I don't want to go back to Quebec, so I changed, I say I prefer to work in places where French is spoken to work better and be comfortable. So, that's why I did special education to be able to work in francophone school boards. (P. 19)

As I told my children, us adults, at 45, we go to school, we drop you off. We all go to school in the morning and in the evening. All of us are studying while we are supposed to accompany you to study. We too are studying. So, when you see it's not easy, but well. It's a choice. You have to take it on. (P.22)

I came and then I started looking for a job. My first job was in a mining laboratory and then I didn't last too long. I think after three months I left and went back to school and then after, while I was working, I went to school and that's where I looked for a job just in a fast-food restaurant (P. 23).

First in my country, I worked, I worked for nearly nine years. I was a customer advisor in a bank that even had its representatives here. After nine years of career, I had promotions, it's true, but it can hope to attract companies, it's not easy so we started thinking about children. You have to think not only about your future, but also about the future of the children. (P.27)

In addition to the false linguistic promotion, the promotion of economic immigration in the francophone communities in minority situation compromises the economic integration of this human capital. In this participant's experience, skilled immigrants experience an occupational and financial mobility that is going downward. The gap between the political discourse on the immigration of highly skilled and experienced workers and the reality experienced is clear and alarming. Here, we raise the question of the capacity of government-funded settlement services to facilitate the economic integration of francophone immigrants and to provide them with strategies (employment program, retraining, connection programs, etc.) to counter misinformation and deskilling.

By leaving home, to come here, it is not so that I could go to school for another two years, to be 45 years old, to have this or that, to come to work, knowing that I have already worked 13 years in my country. For me, when I came, I was told that we recruit candidates who are qualified. People who are qualified in certain fields. And when we come, it is this qualification that we had. You can't practice it. We are forced to reconvert to other things. We have friends who are doctors, who came and who are now Uber drivers. We have friends who work, who do that. Really, it's all about the lack of freedom.... We were misinformed. Yes, at least, at least at 35 percent. Everything we were told there is not correct. It was fake. I was told that I come as qualified. That's why I applied as a skilled worker. Being a skilled worker, I come in, and I'm going to get a job for 11-dollar an hour while my kids are home alone. In the morning, I must take them to school before leaving, before doing this and that. I really didn't expect that. It's not easy, it really hasn't been easy. I don't want to tell you all the difficulties I had, but. When I say it, this is the journey to get there, nothing is easy, but nothing will be easy.

Conclusion

Obviously, the immigration system in Canada makes it possible to recruit skills and a qualified workforce, but the interprovincial and intra-provincial migrations of francophone immigrants call into question its efficiency. This study raises issues of integration and inclusion of black francophones immigrants in the City of Sudbury. Indeed, and to improve the capacity of the welcoming francophone community, we are interested in quantitative and qualitative data, collected in 2021, which reflect the perception of francophone Black immigrants of discrimination in Sudbury and their discriminatory experiences in various sectors.

Although there is a gap between perceived and experienced discrimination, the population consulted as part of this study confirms the existence of this phenomenon in Sudbury. The cross-checking of variables carried out as part of the quantitative step puts members of the francophone and anglophone communities, but also community organizations and educational institutions on the path to fight discrimination. This is more perceived and experienced by black immigrants who:

- have several years of residence between 6 and 10 years.

- are female.

- are aged between 25 and 45 years old.

- have permanent residence.

- are respectively, francophone ones with basic knowledge of English and Bilinguals[72].

Given the qualitative analysis, we consider that the welcoming and integration measures for Black immigrants in Sudbury do not necessarily lead to their inclusion in the community. The promotion of francophone immigration in francophone communities in Northern Ontario to attract francophone immigrants is essential. On the other hand, raising awareness and educating the local community in Northern Ontario about cultural diversity seems to be a priority. The study also

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[72] According to the results of this study, discrimination is perceived more by francophone participants with basic knowledge of English. On the other hand, it is more experienced by bilingual participants.

highlights the efforts of the immigrant community to regionalize francophone immigration. Ethnocultural associations and post-secondary institutions should coordinate with local organizations to implement attraction and integration strategies that correspond to the capacity and needs of the city.

According to this study, there are several manifestations of discrimination in Sudbury, and which are more important in the sector of employability, in this case, in the field of education. Certain characteristics of the host community (political vulnerability, demolinguistic portrait of the francophone population, linguistic insecurity, institutional incompleteness, identity discourse, etc.) seem to have an impact on socioeconomic integration and inclusion of visible minority immigrants. On the other hand, and even if the study shows that these are a process, the fight against discrimination in Sudbury requires the establishment of a program that responds to the priorities in the various sectors and the establishment of a dialogue to demystify the boundaries between cultures.

The recommendations

Considering the results of this study, a community consultation was held on November 8th, 2022, as part of the community forum organized by the Welcoming Francophone Communities initiative. All the actions that follow stem from a collective discussion around the highlights identified in the context of this study and actions suggested by the participants in this study.

It should be noted that most actions are about the socio-community and economic integration of francophone immigrants, as well as their inclusion in Sudbury society. Taken together, these actions are preventive, that is, they prepare Sudbury to build an inclusive society and strengthen the capacity of the welcoming francophone community. They also allow the retention of francophone immigrants in the region.

Although the recommendations are categorized according to the various actors involved, in whatever way, in the immigration sector, collaboration is always required, even favorable to join the targets of the various organizations to the immigration project of the francophone newcomers in Sudbury. To support all stakeholders in putting these actions into practice according to their priorities, *Réseau du Nord* will have to: 1) ensure that these action recommendations are part of the strategic plans of its members, its partners, but also employers and government authorities, 2) update its action plan according to the recommendations and 3) take into account certain recommendations (medium and long term) in the preparation for IRCC CFP.

Tab.28. Recommendations for actions for the retention of Francophone immigrants and the fight against discrimination and racism in Sudbury

Actors	Actions	Order of priority		
		Short term	Medium term	Long term
To the IRCC:	**In collaboration with *Réseau du Nord*, rethink strategies for promoting francophone immigration to properly reflect the characteristics of an official language minority community and redefine the reality of bilingualism in Canada.**			√
	In collaboration with service providers, give ethnocultural associations a place in the francophone integration process to structure their efforts to attract francophone newcomers and direct them to services funded by IRCC[73].		√	
To the provincial government:	**In collaboration with organizations working with francophone minority communities and francophone immigration, invite the orders of the profession around the table to examine the diploma recognition procedure.**			√
	In collaboration with IRCC, consult the official language minority community to find out their needs, particularly in terms of workforce.		√	
To post-secondary institutions [74]	**Promote college programs and their career opportunities in Northern Ontario.**			
	Equip post-secondary institution staff to optimize interactions between local and international students.		√	
	Implement intercultural workshops to train local students in diversity and raise their awareness of the need for cultural mixing.	√		
	In collaboration with student associations, adopt a twining system between local students and	√		

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[73] In preparation for the IRCC 2024 call for proposals.

[74] Although we have used a generic term, we would like to remind you that the role of the various post-secondary institutions in Canada (Universities, Colleges and Institutes) is not the same.

	international students to facilitate their integration into the community (linguistic - learning English - and cultural integration)			
	Welcome phase: develop partnerships with various community stakeholders: 1) with settlement service providers to refer international students to community-provided services. 2) with employability and entrepreneurship service providers to inform international students about the local labor market (Develop information sessions).		√	
	Integration phase: develop partnerships with various community stakeholders: 1) with arts and cultural organizations to optimize the cultural integration of international students (volunteering, board of directors, festivals, book fairs, etc.) 2) with employability and entrepreneurship service providers to: on the one hand, connect graduates and employers; and on the other hand, to ensure their support.		√	
To Employability Service Providers and the City of Greater Sudbury:	Set up a bank of employers who offer positions requiring French or both official languages.	√		
	Implement sessions to inform employers of the existing services to facilitate the recruitment of employees with an immigrant background.	√		
	Implement sessions to inform employers of existing services offered to immigrants to facilitate their integration.	√		
	In partnership with IRCC and provincial organizations, develop promotional campaigns that correspond to the reality and economic needs of the city.		√	
	Raise awareness in the private sector to the importance of recruiting immigrant employees[75].	√		

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[75] For example, working with the Fédération des gens d'affaires francophones.

	Organize networking and information events on skills and experiences acquired outside of Canada[76].	√		
To francophone school boards[77]:	Conceive intercultural skills training for managers and teaching staff to avoid potential microaggressions.	√		
	Set up anti-glottophobia campaigns aimed at students.	√		
	Conceive workshops to raise awareness of cultural diversity for parents.	√		
	Raise awareness among school staff and students of the impact of discriminatory and racist behavior on the lives of Black francophone immigrants.	√		
	In partnership with the Ontario Ministry of Education, review the curriculum to provide inclusive education.			√
	In partnership with the Ontario Ministry of Education, integrate courses on Black History in Canada into the curriculum.			√
To employers:	Periodically provide intercultural skills training to managers and human resources staff.		√	
	Make recruiters aware of the importance of diversity and the skills of francophone immigrants.	√		
	Take steps to combat discrimination to ensure that francophone/Bilingual Black immigrants can obtain a position and be included on the team.		√	
To the city of Greater Sudbury:	Implement anti-discrimination campaigns by mobilizing key community actors to raise awareness among all members of society.	√		
	In partnership with service providers and ethnocultural associations, organize conferences bringing together stakeholders from various sectors to discuss discrimination and racism with the black immigrant community.	√		
	Create a team of multi-sectoral professionals (legal, psychological, social work, etc.) to support black immigrants who have suffered discrimination.		√	

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[76] For example, collaborating with the Chamber of Commerce
[77] In collaboration with settlement workers in schools.

	In collaboration with service providers and ethnocultural organizations, develop an action plan to combat discrimination.		√		
	In collaboration with service providers and ethnocultural organizations, develop training materials documenting effective strategies to educate service providers and society at large on the welcoming, integration and inclusion of Black francophone immigrants.		√		
To service providers:	Organize and offer training workshops on the rights and duties of various residency statuses to immigrants and the host community.	√			
	Develop twinning programs to: 1) facilitate the integration of newcomers, 2) expose the host community to cultural diversity, 3) improve the English skills of newcomers and 4) overcome linguistic insecurity among francophone ones[78].		√		
	In collaboration with cultural organizations in Sudbury, organize inclusive events to create links between the local and immigrant francophone communities.	√			
	Raise awareness among immigrants about civic engagement and membership in administrative councils.	√			
	Create an interactive platform that presents certain situations of discrimination.			√	
	Develop emergency services to listen to immigrants who have suffered discrimination and/or racism.		√		
To ethnocultural associations:	Work in collaboration with service providers to ensure the right information is shared within their community.	√			
	Keep service providers informed of the arrival of newcomers so that they follow the francophone integration path.	√			
	Work with the black immigrant community to develop culturally and artistically inclusive	√			

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[78] For example, collaborate with the Federation of Francophone Seniors and Retirees of Ontario.

To cultural organizations:	programming and organize unifying francophone events.			
	In collaboration with *Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO) du grand Sudbury*, develop local initiatives to raise community awareness of the Franco-Ontarian identity and foster pride in being francophone.	√		
To the Welcoming Francophone Community project	In collaboration with *ACFO du grand Sudbury* and the City of Sudbury, reactivate the Hello/Bonjour campaign to facilitate the socio-community integration of francophone newcomers.	√		
	In collaboration with *ACFO du grand Sudbury* and *Réseau du Nord*, create an interactive map of all services offered in French.		√	
	In collaboration with arts and cultural organizations, create a cultural kit and offer it to newcomers to introduce them to the art and culture of the region.	√		
To the various actors:	Organize a series of community forums to ensure the efficiency of the francophone integration path: exchange information on needs, assess existing services and resolve conflicting program requests.	√		
	In collaboration with the Human Rights Commission, organize events to demystify discriminatory and racist behavior and protect against micro-aggressions[79].	√		
	Ensure there is an ongoing process for collecting and sharing data on newcomers.		√	
	Include actions to fight discrimination and racism in each organization's strategic plan.	√		
	Ensure that the Black immigrant community is represented on the administrative boards of various organizations.	√		

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[79] A conceptual education seems to be necessary, even urgent for the host and immigrant communities.

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Appendix A: Regional and Local Operational Plans 2022-2023

In addition to the IRCC guidelines, *Réseau du Nord* carries out its activities, based on two internally designed plans: a first regional operational plan, validated by the supervisory committee[80] and a second local action plan implemented following a community consultation, which took place in May 2021, and validated by the local committee[81]. Through consultation, coordination and mobilization of partners, *Réseau du Nord* aims to promote the attraction, welcoming, settlement and successful socio-economic integration of francophone newcomers. Below, the regional and local operational actions that are in accordance with this research project "Fight against discrimination in Sudbury".

Tab.29. Regional and local operational actions to mobilize partners, promote francophone immigration and the socioeconomic integration of immigrants and newcomers.

Area of actions 1: Cooperation, coordination, mobilization	
Regional operational actions	Implement and start to implement the activities listed in the Greater Sudbury Local Action Plan.
	Continue to respond to the sporadic and contextual needs of partners and members by setting up working groups.
Local actions	Organize community discussions on a regular basis to identify common strategies.
	Set up a working group bringing together service providers to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the francophone integration process in Sudbury.
Area of intervention 2: Continuum and coordination of services – identification of immigrants' needs	
	In partnership with researchers and research institutes, carry out studies aimed at identifying gaps in the francophone integration process.

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[80] The supervisory committee is the coordinating body of *Réseau du Nord* in connection with IRCC's strategic planning and areas of intervention. It ensures that the activities of the Network are representative of the needs identified by the local committees. It facilitates the planning, organization and implementation of Network activities related to French speaking immigration. It is also a table for consultation and collaboration.

[81] The local committees are tables that make it possible to consult, coordinate and mobilize the community around the implementation of the local action plan. Local committees monitor French speaking immigration to northern communities.

Regional operational actions	**Consult directly with immigrant organizations, newcomers, including leaders of ethnocultural communities, to identify gaps in the francophone integration process.**
	Consult settlement service providers to identify gaps in the francophone integration process
	Update the service map by adding a section on needs and have it shared with all members and partners
	Creation of new kits for newcomers based on the mapping and creation of infographics (paper and virtual format) of the francophone integration process to share with partners
	From the map of needs, work with partners to put in place solutions aimed at resolving identified gaps
	Support and help organizations from diverse backgrounds to take their place, identify their role in the francophone integration process and obtain funding
	Prepare the ground to obtain and strengthen specialized employability services for francophone newcomers during the next IRCC CFP
Local actions	**Collaborate with ethnocultural associations to identify the needs of newcomers and improve existing services.**
	Facilitate newcomers' access to information concerning their rights and duties.
	Guide and support newcomers in their decision to study at the college or university level.
	Mobilize and raise awareness among partners and the municipality about the matter of housing.
	Mobilize and raise awareness among partners and the municipality about the matter of health.
	Mobilize and make the partners and the municipality aware about the matter of employment.
	Mobilize and make the partners and the municipality aware about the matter of education.
	Mobilize and make the partners and the municipality aware about the question of offering services in French.
Area of intervention 3: Promotion of the community and recruitment of immigrants	
	Implement, in collaboration with the LIPs, a regional strategy to promote Northern Ontario

Regional operational actions	Work with employers, municipalities, post-secondary institutions to set a francophone immigrant recruitment and settlement strategies to ensure unity between their targets, the capacity of community partners and the needs of newcomers
	Collaborate in efforts to regionalize francophone immigration to Northern Ontario, rural areas and small francophone communities
	Participate in job meetings in major cities bringing together many francophone newcomers such as Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, etc.
	Implement efforts to promote the francophone culture using inspirational messages on bilingualism and the success stories of immigrants who have succeeded in northern communities.
	Work with diversity organizations to deliver presentations on existing services to newcomers
Local actions	Leverage anti-discrimination and systemic racism strategies that are in place as an asset to promote the City of Greater Sudbury.
	Create promotional events to highlight the various opportunities that exist in the North and in the City of Greater Sudbury
	Organize virtual events with ethnocultural organizations, recruitment agencies and/or national employment services in source countries.
	Highlight promising areas in the City of Greater Sudbury during recruitment campaigns.
	Produce promotional tools to highlight the opening of premises in our recruitment efforts.
	Organize a campaign to showcase newcomers by producing videos and writing press articles to give immigration a face.
	Work with post-secondary institutions to prepare the community to welcome international students and to link community needs with those of international students.
Area of intervention 4: Economic integration/autonomy	
Regional operational actions	Meet employers in the field 1 on 1 to make them aware of the advantages of hiring francophone newcomers and of promoting the French language in their workplace and on the job offers they post.
	Searching for job offers designated bilingual or French is an asset and sending them to partners.

	Use the Employer Commitment Assessment Tool to improve our efforts to engage them in francophone immigration
	Set up partnerships and collaborations with economic actors aimed at ensuring the sharing of information that reaches employers in the region.
	Organize activities with service provider partners aimed at raising awareness among employers
	Establish a system to recognize employers who recruit newcomers
	Support the development and offer of language training in French and English for economic immigrants throughout the territory
	Set up collaborations between partners to promote skilled trades
	Raise awareness among government actors and professional orders in order to promote the equivalence of diplomas from francophone countries
	Promote and support the development of mentoring programs throughout Northern Ontario
	Support and equip employability services according to the specific needs they share with us
	Establish collaborations aimed at encouraging entrepreneurship among francophone newcomers
Local actions	Create synergies between the various service providers to ensure the socio-economic integration of newcomers.
	Establish a strategic plan for economic integration among Greater Sudbury's economic partners.
	Implement training that create experiences (immersive) to help immigrants develop certain skills and gain Canadian experience.
	Create an economic twinning program with someone in the same profession.
	Make newcomers aware of the linguistic reality of the job market and encourage them to take language training (collaboration between *Collège Boréal* and ethnocultural associations).
	Promote language training to help immigrants successfully access the labor market.
	Raise employers' awareness of economic diversity and the recruitment of francophone skills from immigration

	Facilitate the networking of newcomers to promote their recruitment and placement.
	Work with post-secondary institutions and local employers to retain francophone international students in the North.
	Implement the connector program in the City of Greater Sudbury to jointly help international job seekers and employers to respectively build a professional network and recruit qualified francophone skills.
	Promote economic opportunities, including entrepreneurship and trades to newcomers.
	Develop the micro-certification offer to facilitate access to employment for francophone graduating students and meet the needs of the labor market.
	Encourage diversity in the employment sector by providing training and creating equity positions to combat racism and discrimination.
	Implement a tool for evaluating the rate of inclusion, diversity and equity in organizations.
AREA 5: Social, cultural and community integration/inclusion	
Regional operational actions	Explore housing initiatives for newcomers
	Carry out and encourage partners to organize inclusion activities during the SNIF, Black History Month, Month of the francophone culture, etc.
	Equip CLIF members and partners to work towards achieving the criteria of a CFA
	Using survey data on racism and discrimination to set up targeted anti-racism and discrimination initiatives
	Encourage partners and newcomers to co-organize activities together
	Promote and work with CLIFs for the implementation of community twinning programs
	Support the development and offer of language training in French and English for economic immigrants throughout the territory
	Encourage immigrants to get involved in Franco-Ontarian activities, organizations and community life (participation, volunteering, CA, etc.)
	Support diverse groups and community leaders in structuring their organizations and organizing activities

Local actions	Develop strategies to fight discrimination and systemic racism.
	Produce tools to raise awareness of diversity among the local population.
	Set up multicultural activities for children and young people.
	Encourage school boards to create cultural events in partnership with ethnocultural organizations to cultivate a feeling of openness to diversity.
	Encourage cultural organizations to create and promote diversified socio-cultural events.
	Develop cultural activities in collaboration with newcomers and ethnocultural organizations.
	Encourage newcomers to get involved in cultural activities to promote their inclusion in the host community.
	Set up groups for sharing and exchanging on Canadian culture and history to create a meaningful relationship with Indigenous communities and to involve newcomers in the reconciliation process.
	Create a socio-cultural pairing program between newcomers and an already established immigrant and/or local person.
	Encourage volunteering with francophone newcomers to enhance their skills and facilitate networking.
	Encourage francophone newcomers to volunteer in Anglophone organizations in order to learn English.
	Encourage stakeholders to integrate newcomers into their Boards to develop a sense of belonging to the host community.
	Mobilize older Franco-Ontarians to familiarize newcomers with local traditions (Franco-Ontarian Day, Saint-Jean, etc.)

Appendix B: IRCC-funded guidelines[82]

Through IRCC funding, *Réseau du Nord* carries out eight core activities and three additional activities. This project intersects with four of them.

(Activity 2) Conduct research, consultations and/or assessments of the needs of francophone newcomers as well as the gaps and assets of francophone communities. This activity may include:

- **Conduct data analyzes on demographics and trends, produce a mapping or mapping of available services, hold consultations with newcomers and community stakeholders, or other relevant research activities.**

(Activity 3) Raise awareness among RIF members and the community as a whole about the needs of francophone newcomers as well as the shortcomings and strengths of francophone communities in terms of reception, settlement and integration/inclusion. This may include:

- **Participate in local, regional or national networks, committees and councils (including LIPs, umbrella organizations, provincial committee, National School Board, policy and program co-planning process, etc.) in order to raise awareness among stakeholders of the needs of francophone newcomers in the community, to share expertise and influence decisions and priorities on behalf of the RIF;**

- **Organize presentations, group discussions, community commitment activities, etc. to make an audience aware of the difficulties experienced by francophone newcomers;**

- **Hold a public forum or an annual meeting to raise awareness of the work of the RIFs, mobilize local stakeholders to achieve the targeted objectives, report on the community's achievements and decide on the way forward;**

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[82] Guidelines for Francophone Immigration Networks (RIF) Activities, November 2019 https://drive.google.com/file/d/14h89K8fJ6KC9pM48n8i3kN7_u0bUQW0w/view

(Activity 4) Actively maintain local or sector working groups and/or committees. These working groups should be formed based on priorities and needs identified through research and consultation. This includes:

- Support for the implementation of a welcoming francophone community (mobilization of actors, awareness and sharing of expertise, support for the community advisory council, support for the community plan, liaison with stakeholders).

(Activity 7) Share the results obtained. To achieve this, RIF staff undertake the following activities:

- Report to IRCC and RIF members on the implementation of the activities carried out and how they support the expected results in the action plan. The evaluation and performance measurement reports make it possible to assess the progress of the RIF according to the objectives and indicators established. Examples of progress indicators should be established in advance.
- As part of the implementation of the Welcoming Francophone Communities initiative, the RIF reports on the progress of the initiative.

Appendix C: Glossary

Ally[83]

These are people who fight against a form of oppression without directly suffering the consequences. For example, feminist men, heterosexuals who work against homophobia or white people who mobilize against racism. Since they are often less marginalized than those whose interests they defend, allies are often listened to more by the majority. On the other hand, we must be careful, because this privilege can have a perverse effect and then draw attention to the person who is an ally rather than to the cause, and/or to highlight his point of view rather than that of the people affected.

Assimilation[84]

Complete acceptance, by an individual or a group, of the culture, values and patterns of behavior of a group of different nationality, religion or language to the point of abandoning their own culture of origin. It may be voluntary or forced.

Intercultural communications[85]

Exchanges between two parties whose cultural, ethnic or linguistic origin are different.

Culture[86]

Traditions which characterize a group of individuals having the same historical, religious, linguistic, ethnic or social traditions, and which transfer, reinforces and modifies these ideas, values and beliefs, from one generation to another. This results in a set of expectations about the behavior displayed in relatively similar contexts.

Discrimination[87]

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[83] https://amnistie.ca/lexique-pour-lantiraciste
[84] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22897-assimilation
[85] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22905-communications-interculturelles
[86] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22908-culture
[87] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22909-discrimination

Refusal to recognize the rights and freedoms of a person or a group on the basis of personal characteristics and membership of a given group, about the education, housing, health, employment and access to the products, services and facilities offered. [It is a] behavior resulting from the distinction made between people because of their differences, without consideration of personal merit, and which results in unequal treatment (For example, difference in treatment occuring because of the race, nationality, religion or ethnic origin).

Racial discrimination[88]

Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, skin color, descent or national or ethnic origin, which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, in conditions of equality, human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social and cultural fields or in any other field of public life.

Systemic discrimination[89]

Institutionalization of discrimination through policies and practices, leading, intentionally or not, to discrimination against many minority groups. This type of discrimination occurs in companies and organizations where policies, practices and procedures (e.g., systems of employment - working conditions, hiring practices, procedures for granting promotions, etc.) exclude some members of so-called "racialized" groups or are obstacles they face. Systemic discrimination also are a produce of certain laws and government regulations. (This type of discrimination falls under the "institutional racism")

Diversity[90]

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[88] Article 1 of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination https://www.ohchr.org/fr/treaty-bodies/cerd
[89] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22912-discrimination-systemique
[90] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22913-diversite

The Presence of a wide range of human qualities and characteristics within a group, organization or society. An expression used to describe anything that differentiates people from each other and increasingly used in Canada to describe workplace programs which purpose is to reduce discrimination and promote equal opportunity for all groups. Diversity can take on various aspects, such as ethnicity, culture, language, race, religion and socio-economic status, to name only a few.

Internalized dominance[91]

Total adoption of an alliance of superiority and power and the resulting social interaction.

Anti-racism education[92]

An approach to promote the identification of practices, policies, attitudes and behaviors underlying racism and to change these in order to eradicate racism in all its forms.

Inclusive education[93]

An education based on the principles of acceptance and inclusion of all students. Students see themselves reflected in their curriculum, their physical surroundings, and the larger context, in which diversity is honored and all individuals are respected.

Multiracial/multicultural education[94]

General expression used to describe a structured set of educational activities and programs aimed at ensuring and improving understanding and respect for cultural differences. This expression most often implies the inclusion of racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, national, international and political differences, and the values of the various groups in a pluralistic society.

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[91] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22914-dominance-interiorisee
[92] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22916-education-antiraciste
[93] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/27160-education-inclusive
[94] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22917-education-multiraciale-multiculturelle

Equity[95]

A condition or state of fair, inclusive and respectful treatment of all persons. Equity does not mean treating people the same, without taking into account individual differences.

Employment equity[96]

A term that refers to the program established for the purpose of eliminating barriers to equal chances of employment for reasons unrelated to skills by identifying and eliminating discriminatory practices, policies and measures, correcting the effects of past discrimination and ensuring fair representation of designated groups.

Ethnicity[97]

Set of beliefs, behaviors and traditions that unite a group with elements of common cultural heritage, including language, history, place of origin, religion and ethnic or cultural origin. By ethnic diversity, we mean the presence of several ethnic groups within a society or a country and the plurality of these groups.

Ethnocentrism[98]
Tendency to perceive others by taking as a reference model one's own group and its traditions; tendency to favor one's social group, country and customs.

Professional requirement in good faith[99]

Prerequisite in the workplace directly related to the demands of a specific job that employers can consider when making decisions about hiring and retaining employees.

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[95] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/27155-equite
[96] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22919-equite-demploi
[97] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22920-ethnicite
[98] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22921-ethnocentrisme
[99] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/27151-exigence-professionnelle-de-bonne-foi

Cultural group[100]

A group of people with the same beliefs, standards of behavior, values, language, ways of thinking and perceiving the world.

Minority group[101]

A term referring to a group of people who are either outnumbered in a society, or who have little or no power of social, economic, political access to it. Minority rights are protected by the Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, human rights laws and codes, and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Minorities.

Inclusive language[102]

Non-discriminatory language that is anti-racist, respectful of people with disabilities, avoids ageism and stereotypes towards groups of people.

Majority[103]

A term that refers to the group in a given society which is either the most numerous, or which occupies a superior social rank or which controls other groups by its social, economic, cultural, political, military or religious power.

Marginalization[104]

Used in reference to race and culture, a term that describes the fact that people who do not belong to the dominant group face obstacles that prevent them from participating fully and equitably in the life of the Company. Also describes being left behind or being socially silenced.

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[100] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22925-groupe-culturel
[101] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22928-groupe-minoritaire
[102] https://www.amnesty.ch/fr/sur-amnesty/langage-inclusif/langage-inclusif#:~:text=Un%20langage%20inclusif%20c'est,envers%20des%20groupes%20de%20personnes.
[103] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22950-majorite
[104] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22951-marginalisation

Microaggression[105]

Brief daily communications that send denigrating messages and that have the effect of excluding certain people because of their belonging to certain groups (such as racialized people, women and LGBT).

Visible minority[106]

Visible minorities include people, other than Aboriginal people, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color.

Immigration[107]

From the point of view of the country of arrival, the action of traveling to a country other than that of one's nationality or habitual residence, so that the country of destination effectively becomes the new country of permanent residence.

Negative impact[108]

Numerical impact, often not planned, of employment practices that disproportionately exclude designated groups. Indicator of possible systemic discrimination, it is not a discriminatory measure.

Inclusion[109]

The extent to which various members of a group (society/organization) feel valued and respected.

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[105] Derald Wing Sue, *Microagressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*, Hoboken, Wiley, 2010, p. 24.

[106] Employment Equity Act, 2022, p. 2. https://lois-laws.justice.gc.ca/PDF/E-5.401.pdf

[107] https://www.iom.int/fr/termes-cles-de-la-migration#:~:text=Migrant%20%E2%80%93%20Terme%20g%C3%A9n%C3%A9rique%20non%20d%C3%A9fini,soit%20dans%20un%20autre%20pays%2C

[108] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22934-impact-negatif

[109] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/27159-inclusion

Linguistic insecurity[110]

It can be described as the feeling of unease, discomfort or anxiety felt when using or trying to use their first language or a second language due to various factors: environment, perceptions, interpersonal relationships, organization and cultural and social perspective. It may have a negative effect on the person's confidence or fluency in using a certain language, for example, the speaker may feel that if he is speaking in a given language, he may disturb others or getting apart from established norms and principles. Linguistic insecurity can also have other negative repercussions by discouraging the use of a language, with the risk of an erosion of the ability to use it, a loss of confidence in the ability to use the language and even a loss of sense of freedom to use it, including in the workplace.

Integration[111]

A two-way process of mutual adaptation between migrants and the society in which they live, whereby migrants are incorporated into the social, economic, cultural, and political life of the host community. It means a set of common responsibilities for migrants and communities and encompasses other related aspects such as social inclusion and social cohesion.

Intersectionality[112]

Intersectionality is a tool designed to analyze how different social hierarchies fit together and reinforce each other. Intersectionality is about considering all aspects of an individual's identity when discussing the person's experiences of discrimination and oppression. For example, taking into

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[110] Jack Jedwab and Julie Peronne, "Literature review on first and second linguistic insecurity", study report by Jedwab Inc., for the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2018. Quoted in Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, "Linguistic (In)security in work. Exploratory survey on official languages among federal government employees in Canada, Study report, 2021, p. 1.

[111] https://www.iom.int/fr/termes-cles-de-la-migration#:~:text=Migrant%20%E2%80%93%20Terme%20g%C3%A9n%C3%A9rique%20non%20d%C3%A9fini,soit%20dans%20un%20autre%20pays%2C

[112] https://amnistie.ca/lexique-pour-lantiraciste

account that Indigenous women experience sexism and racism, and that as a result their life experiences are different from those of Indigenous men, or from those of white women. Intersectionality allows us a better understanding of how systems of oppression and discrimination (racist and sexist in this case) get added and complement each other.

Obstacle[113]

Obvious or subtle obstacle; term used in the equity field to describe a systemic barrier to equity in employment and advancement. Must be suppressed to promote equality.

Pluralism[114]

A system that accepts and values a certain level of plurality in cultures, languages, in ethnic, religious or other matters. Policies on multiculturalism and race relations, human rights codes and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms are part of the promotion of such pluralism.

Prejudice[115]

Opinion, preference, bias, or inclination, often conceived without reasonable justification, that affects an individual's or group's ability to evaluate a given situation objectively and accurately. A reasonable apprehension of bias exists when an individual or group assumes a situation and therefore cannot assess it fairly because of bias.

Privilege[116]

Enjoyment of the freedoms, rights, advantages, access or possibilities enjoyed by certain people because of they are part of a given group or their social situation.

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[113] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22957-obstacle
[114] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22963-pluralisme
[115] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22965-prejuge
[116] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22968-privilege

White privilege[117]

Invisible but systematic advantages enjoyed by so-called "white" people only because they are "white".

Racial profiling[118]

Any action taken for reasons of safety, security or public protection that is based on stereotypes based on race, skin color, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, place of origin or a combination of these information rather than on a reasonable suspicion, for the purpose of isolating a person for particular examination or treatment.

Equal Access Program[119]

Set of policies, guidelines and measures aimed at eliminating discriminatory practices and ensuring access and full participation of designated groups in employment, education, housing and health services, as well as in assets and facilities available to the general population.

Racism[120]

An expression applied to any individual action or institutional practice whereby people are treated differently because of the color of their skin or their ethnic origin. This distinction is often used to justify discrimination.

Racist[121]

A term defining any individual, institution, or organization whose beliefs or actions suggest (intentionally or unintentionally) that certain races have negative or inferior characteristics. Term

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[117] https://liguedesdroits.ca/lexique/privilege-blanc/

[118] Ontario Human Rights Commission, "Too High a Price: The Human Costs of Racial Profiling," Inquiry Report, 2003, p. 7.

[119] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22970-programme-degalite-dacces

[120] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22975-racisme

[121] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22980-raciste

also qualifying racial discrimination associated with policies, practices or procedures implemented by an institution, company or organization which, although applying to everyone and appearing fair, result in the exclusion or prevent the advancement of marginalized groups, thereby perpetuating racism.

Cultural racism[122]

A form of racism (i.e. a structurally unequal practice) that relies on cultural differences rather than biological markers of racial superiority or inferiority. Cultural differences can be real, imagined or constructed. Culture, rather than biology, has become a popular, political, and scientific explanatory framework for understanding and rationalizing the unequal status and treatment of diverse racial groups. Racialized groups are not burdened or blessed by their genetic characteristics but by their cultural characteristics.

Individual racism[123]

Prejudices, attitudes and individual actions, conscious or not, towards another individual because of his being part of a group or the color of their skin and which have the consequences of depriving them of certain rights in terms of, for example, employment and housing.

Systemic racism[124]

The whole societal structure made up of institutions, laws and policies that maintain a system of inequalities that privileges and oppresses different groups in society according to the "race" assigned to them. These inequalities confer privilege on white people and undermine the rights of black, racialized and indigenous people.

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[122] Carol C. Mukhopadhyay et Peter Chua, «Cultural Racism », in John Hartwell Moore (dir.). *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Gale, 2008, p. 377
[123] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22978-racisme-individuel
[124] https://amnistie.ca/campagnes/racisme-systemique

This process is not always intentional, and it does not necessarily mean that agency staff are individually racist. On the contrary, the notion of systemic racism implies that even if no one is consciously racist in an institution, it can still reproduce inequalities of power according to "race", and oppress black, racialized and indigenous people.

Race relations[125]

A term referring to interactions between people of different ethnic backgrounds in an interracial context. In practice as well as in theory, this term implies harmonious relations. The two essential elements of positive race relations are the elimination of racial intolerance resulting from harmful behaviors, and the suppression of racial disadvantage resulting from systemic racism.

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[125] https://www.crrf-fcrr.ca/fr/bibliotheque/glossaire-fr-fr-1/item/22982-relations-raciales