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Conference Report Diversity and Francophonie

Vancouver, November 25 to 27, 2005

Canada 

DIVERSITY AND FRANCOPHONIE

CONFERENCE REPORT DEPARTMENT OF CANADIAN HERITAGE VANCOUVER – NOVEMBER 25, 26 AND 27, 2005

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1. PREAMBLE

In the spring of 2005, the Official Languages Support Programs Branch (OLSPB) of Canadian Heritage began organizing a conference on racial and cultural diversity for Francophones within Canada.

The idea was to bring together French-speaking Aboriginal communities, ethnic communities and racial minority communities so they could share their thoughts about the future of the Canadian Francophonie.

The project immediately generated enthusiasm, and numerous people worked hand in hand to ensure the success of this meeting. Upstream work was done before the conference to ensure the relevance and interest of the discussions. Two preparatory round tables were held in May 2005, three discussion papers were written, an on-line discussion forum was set up, and a series of twelve television portraits were produced to present the diversity of Francophone communities throughout the country. The documentary *Une langue aux mille visages : la diversité au Canada* was also produced and broadcast on television after the conference.

The conference took place in November 2005, at the Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design, in Vancouver, on the traditional territory of the Squamish Nation. This document reports on the important dialogue on the alterity and future of the Canadian Francophonie that took place during this gathering. The keywords of this meeting were knowledge, recognition and respect.

The Diversity and Francophonie conference brought about outstanding communication. It allowed people to reach out to one another and establish a dialogue based on respect for differences. Beyond indifference or tolerance, beyond welcoming, inclusion or integration strategies, diversity remains first and foremost a question of mutual transformation when coming in contact with one another.

France Trépanier
Conference Manager

2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Department of Canadian Heritage hosted the Diversity and Francophonie Conference in Vancouver on November 25, 26 and 27, 2005. The event brought together representatives from Aboriginal communities, Francophone minority communities and Francophone communities from Quebec, as well as racial and ethnocultural minority communities.

The conference had the following objectives:

- discuss alterity in the Canadian Francophonie, i.e. the presence of “the other”
- encourage the recognition of racial and cultural diversity within the Canadian Francophonie
- think about the future of cultures in this new Francophone environment
- increase the awareness by Francophones about racial and ethnocultural diversity realities
- identify the major issues related to this diversity and propose an agenda for action.

The discussions were organized around three major themes:

- Aboriginal cultures in the Canadian Francophonie
- evolving traditional communities
- racial and ethnocultural diversity in the Canadian Francophonie

Each theme was the subject of a discussion of ideas between a facilitator and three guests in a plenary session. These discussions were followed by discussion workshops with all of the participants.

Aboriginal Cultures

There are 11 Aboriginal nations in Canada in which French is spoken. Just as they are characterized by great linguistic, cultural, social and economic diversity, their connection to the French language and the Francophonie is also quite diversified.

Four major issues were examined during the first session of the conference:

- preservation and promotion of heritage languages and cultures within the Francophone space in Canada
- recognition and promotion of the Aboriginal presence in the Canadian and international Francophonie
- teaching and awareness of Aboriginal cultures within the Francophonie
- Aboriginal youth, heritage cultures and contemporary practices

For many participants, the discussion and the workshops represented the first opportunity to talk with Francophone Aboriginals about issues of interest to them. The workshops therefore made it possible to better understand the issues Aboriginal peoples are confronted with today, to come together to think about the place of Aboriginals in the Canadian Francophonie, and to develop actions for the future. The following is a summary of the ideas brought forward:

- For First Nations, Inuit and Métis nations, the preservation and enhancement of Aboriginal languages and cultures are a priority.

- History, geography, politics and demography make the relationship of Aboriginal peoples to the Canadian Francophonie a complex matter. Aboriginal cultures are often ignored and their place within Canadian Francophonie remains ambiguous. Many Aboriginal nations do not consider themselves as living in a Francophone space. They wish to live according to their Aboriginal identity.
- There is a need to review the colonial history and to better understand and teach the contribution of Aboriginal nations with respect to the Francophonie. It is also essential to review the notion of two founding peoples, which denies the contribution and presence of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.
- French must be a welcoming language. To accomplish this, the presence of mother languages other than French must not be perceived as a threat. On the contrary, it is an asset for the Francophonie.
- The institutions of the Francophonie can play increasing roles in the recognition, preservation and promotion of Aboriginal languages and cultures. Roles must be perceived in a context of solidarity. The creation of a Francophone Aboriginal space represents a great challenge since it implies a common will and openness to compromise.
- It would be beneficial to develop Aboriginal culture awareness and promotion programs for rooted Francophones and newcomers, especially in schools.
- It is essential to increase and support opportunities for meetings, discussion and alliances between Aboriginal communities and other Francophone communities.
- Canada could develop practical initiatives to promote Aboriginal peoples who use French. The contribution of Aboriginal peoples could prove to be original and useful as part of the numerous issues addressed by the international Francophone community.

Evolving Communities

Over the past decades, demographic changes and immigration have had a considerable impact on the social structure of the Francophonie in Canada and on the relationship between the various cultures it comprises. For some rooted communities, this gives rise to challenges relating to building an identity, preserving cultural heritage, Francophone immigrant reception structures, and survival of the language and the communities.

Again, four issues were discussed by participants in the second session:

- who is a Francophone? a constantly evolving definition
- challenges faced by Francophone minority communities: identity, citizenship, rights
- intercultural education in Francophone school systems
- Francophone immigration: issues within host communities

Discussion favoured an exploration of the issues and challenges that face linguistic minority communities. Here are the main highlights:

- The definition of Francophone is both complex and crucial since it is associated with rights, duties, responsibilities and benefits. The mother tongue of many Francophone immigrants is not French, and as such they are not considered as eligible for education in French.
- Approximately one third of the country's Francophone population is not considered as such by Statistics Canada.¹ This situation has major financial impacts on Francophone minority communities.
- Some rooted communities feel they have fought for a long time to obtain rights and services and now have to give up their acquired rights to immigrants. Some Francophone minority communities are quite open to this new Francophonie, while others are preoccupied with the survival of their institutions and resist welcoming a culturally and racially diversified Francophonie.
- Notions of equality and equity are also essential to the success of reception and integration efforts. This equity could be measured by, among other things, the presence of immigrants within the teaching staff, the staff of Francophone institutions and organizations, and their boards of directors. This representation by visible minorities will facilitate dialogue between cultures.
- There is work to be done in order to educate rooted communities and make them aware of diversity. Intercultural education must be integrated into the school systems in minority environments to facilitate dialogue.
- The leaders of the Canadian Francophonie must take part in this important dialogue on alterity.

¹ Note from the Department of Canadian Heritage:

This statement is inaccurate. Canadian Francophones are recognized as such by Statistics Canada, within the first official language spoken criterion. Statistics on first official language spoken are derived from responses to questions on knowledge of official languages, mother tongue, and language most often spoken at home questions, answered in the Census. The use of this criterion allows, for example, for recognition of an immigrant whose mother tongue is other than French or English but who speaks French at home, as a Francophone.

It should be noted that the first official language spoken criterion is used for provision of federal services in both official languages across the country, as defined in the *Official Languages (Communications with and Services to the Public) Regulations*.

In addition, the amounts allocated by the Department of Canadian Heritage to organizations representing Francophone minority-language communities are not granted according to the size of the communities but are based on the evaluation of the needs of each community.

Cultural Diversity in the Canadian Francophonie

The racial minority and ethnocultural communities are willing to participate fully and actively in the Francophonie in Canada. They would like to have a greater presence in the institutions of the Francophonie in Canada and in the organizations of minority-language Francophone communities. They want to help promote the French fact and make the most of the potential for the achievement and openness of cultural diversity.

The situation calls for the development of a new vision firmly rooted in the values of respect and acceptance of differences as primary values. It also gives rise to such issues as citizenship, rights and the political destiny of the Francophonie.

The following themes were explored during the third session:

- assimilation, integration, inclusion: what is “the” model to achieve equity?
- diversity and interculturality: openness towards, respect and recognition of the contribution of different cultures
- Francophone youth in Canada: diversity and hybridity
- integrative approach, strategies and mechanisms
- ethnocultural and racial diversity awareness initiatives

The discussion and workshops focused on the complexity of issues related to cultural diversity in the Canadian Francophonie. Discussions dealt mainly with the obstacles to be overcome and with options for an open and diversified Francophonie. Following is a summary of ideas raised by participants:

- The future of the Francophonie cannot be discussed without the difficulties inherent in integrating multiple cultures and identities. Inevitably, the discussion also raises the issue of citizenship.
- The theoretical tools developed during the past decades seem, in many ways, outdated with respect to today’s realities. These analysis tools must be renewed and our realities need to be reviewed in a different way.
- Some sociological determinations go beyond the Francophone fact. There are very strong prejudice systems, discrimination and exclusion issues, sometimes violent, in the Canadian Francophonie. Various factors at the root of these phenomena must be identified.
- Racial minority communities are under-represented within Francophone institutions. There is systemic discrimination that must be recognized and accounted for. The presence of racial minority individuals in Francophone institutions and associations is fundamental to the creation of an open and diversified Francophonie.
- Immigrants should be among the first to take action in the area of diversity since they have a living experience of colonization and decolonization that can be beneficial to the Canadian experience. There is also a multilingual element in the Canadian Francophonie that is widely underexploited.

- We are not dealing with assimilation or integration, but rather with transformation when establishing contact with one another, with one another's culture. Reasoning based on sharing and self-appropriation of histories as well as welcoming cultures must be developed. This brings about the notion of intercultural, which favours exchanges and cross-cultures.

Throughout the conference, participants formulated action proposals, which are presented in Chapter 9 of this report.

3. INTRODUCTION

During the past decade, the Department of Canadian Heritage has taken an interest in the issue of diversity in Canada. Through meetings, consultations and studies, the department has tried to better understand the issues related, in particular, to increasing immigration and the globalization of commercial and cultural areas.

During this period, the Official Languages Support Programs Branch (OLSPB) became concerned with the impacts of demographic changes taking place within Francophone minority communities. These changes are brought about, in different degrees, by the drop in the birthrate among rooted communities, migration of youth, and an increase in immigration from Africa, the Caribbean and the Maghreb.

In 2005, with the idea of having access to communities' expertise, the OLSPB organized a conference that would bring together some one hundred participants from Aboriginal communities, Francophone minority communities and Francophone communities from Quebec, as well as racial and ethnocultural minority communities. A multidisciplinary approach was adopted to favour sharing of expertise in sociology, culture, education, sociolinguistics and demography.

The objective of this conference was to discuss the alterity of the Canadian Francophonie, and more specifically the future of cultures within the Francophone space in Canada. To do so, it seemed essential to better understand its history, which is closely linked to the history of Aboriginal nations.

In an effort to acknowledge the presence of Aboriginal nations in the Canadian Francophonie, a first round table was organized in Odanak, Quebec, in advance of the conference. Twelve representatives of Amerindian, Inuit and Métis nations worked together to identify the major issues and discussion focuses of the November conference.

A second round table, bringing together representatives of racial and ethnocultural minority communities, was set up to define challenges and major discussion themes.

Three discussion documents were also prepared as food for thought. The texts by Guy Sioui-Durand, Gratien Allaire and Milton Tanaka shed both a critical and a stimulating light on the history and future of the diverse communities that make up the Canadian Francophonie. Their documents are annexed to this report.

Thanks to the collaboration of TV5 Canada-Quebec, twelve television vignettes and the documentary "*Une langue aux mille visages : la diversité au Canada*" were produced and broadcast. They reveal the diversity within the Francophonie and propose an analysis of challenges related to this diversity.

Finally, an on-line discussion group was initiated on Culturescope.ca to allow a great number of people to take part in the conversation and share information on the issue of diversity in the Canadian Francophonie.

The conference was held at the Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design, on Granville Island, Vancouver, in November 2005. The agenda for the meeting, as well as the biographies of the presenters and the list of participants, can be found in the annex.

This report is being published in order to share the ideas discussed during the conference and to pursue, with a broader public, the important reflection on the future of the Canadian Francophonie.

4. WELCOMING REMARKS

The welcoming remarks were made in the afternoon of November 25 by Mr. Ibrahima Diallo, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Science and Business Administration of the *Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface*, in Manitoba. Mr. Diallo is a member of the *Société franco-manitobaine* and founding member of the *Amicale de la francophonie multiculturelle du Manitoba*. Originally from Senegal, Mr. Diallo has lived in Canada for more than twenty-one years.

"I belong to what is known as the visible minority. I must tell you that before coming to Canada, I had never thought of myself as a visible minority. I lived in Senegal where 100 percent of the population is African. But here, careful, you have to put yourself in an iron collar. You are part of the visible minority. But I am also part of the invisible minority, that is, Francophones outside the province of Quebec or rooted Francophones as one might say. I am not a Christian, I am a Muslim. That is another minority," he adds.

Mr. Diallo considers that there is now a window of opportunity for the blossoming of cultural diversity for the greater benefit of our country, in particular with the recent passage of the UNESCO convention on cultural diversity.

Mr. Diallo proposes to contextualize the results of the round table held in Vancouver in May 2005, when the main lines of alterity in the Canadian Francophonie were identified and, more specifically, the future of cultures in this Francophone space. This future is linked to a common and shared history, in particular with the Aboriginal nations. "It is important to stress here the link with the First Nations, the first inhabitants of this country who helped Europeans settle and flourish," says Mr. Diallo. The round table helped not only to identify the major issues related to the diversity of the Canadian Francophonie, but also to define thematic orientations and formulate research needs.

Mr. Diallo explains that, in Canada, the Francophonie was originally organized by the first settlers. Its history is rich and diversified. It has undergone profound transformations over the past decades. The role of the Church, the Quiet Revolution, the welfare state, Quebec nationalism, institutional bilingualism and the *Official Languages Act* are elements that have contributed to the development of the Francophonie. Things evolve and, today, with the recent flow of immigration, the Francophonie must once again redefine itself. And this is not an easy task.

On the demographic level, the geographic distribution of Francophones is quite asymmetrical. In fact, 85 percent of Francophones live in Quebec, which makes this province a major force to contend with. Mr. Diallo states that the present context is favourable. The great majority of Francophone immigrants settle in Quebec. Only five percent of these immigrants will live in a minority environment. He considers it difficult to ensure development with such low numbers. In this context, collaboration with Quebec is necessary for the Francophonie to make sense, here in North America. One must build on elements such as solidarity and associative movements.

"We speak here of Francophonie and Francophones. But, what is a Francophone?" asks Mr. Diallo. Is this a person whose mother tongue is French as defined by Statistics Canada? In this context, many people who are fluent in French cannot be part of the Francophonie.

"Newcomers, besides increasing the communities confronted with the drop in the birthrate, also bring something to the community. But they need support. What can we do to help them participate as first-class citizens?" he asks.

In every province, the classroom is beginning to change. The schoolyard is no longer the same because it offers diversity. For example, at the *Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface*, 14 percent of the students have foreign student visas.

Anglophones have set things up so as to promote the welcoming of new immigrants. On the Francophone side, people are fighting for their rights. Now, they have almost all the rights, but not many people to exercise these rights. We need to think about this.

“People expect us, expect you to change things, each one at his or her own pace, because it means throwing off our habits. But the present context allows us to open up. No one is being asked to give up his soul. To that effect, let me remind you of this African proverb that says that no matter how long a tree trunk stays in the water, it will never become a crocodile. Therefore, each person can keep his or her identity, and in the same pond, everyone has a place”, says Mr. Diallo.

He concludes his remarks by recalling the words of St-Exupéry who once said: “If you are different from me, far from causing me prejudice, you enrich me.”

5. ABORIGINAL CULTURES

In Canada, there are 11 Aboriginal nations where French is spoken. They are mainly located in Quebec, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Ontario, Nunavut, and Newfoundland and Labrador.

These Aboriginal nations are made up of Inuit, Métis and ten First Nations. The First Nations include Abenaki, Algonquin, Attikamek, Cree, Huron-Wendat, Innu, Malecite, Mohawk, Naskapi, and the Micmac people. The Inuit, stemming from a different wave of settlement, form a distinct ethnic group. The same applies to Métis, descendants of Cree, Ojibwa or Saulteau women and Québécois, French, Scottish or English men.

There is great diversity within the Aboriginal nations, including linguistic, cultural, social and economic diversity. From one community to another, the vitality of ancestral cultures and languages varies, as does their connection to the French language and the Francophonie.

5.1 Summary of discussions of ideas in plenary

The discussion was facilitated by Mr. Luc Lainé of the Huron Wendat Nation and President of Orihwa, Wendake. His guests were Mr. Roméo Saganash of the Cree Nation and Director of Quebec Relations for the Grand Council of the Crees, Ms. France Lemay of the Métis Nation, St-Boniface, and Ms. Ghizlane Laghzaoui, lecturer and researcher at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver.

The following is a summary of ideas brought forth by the presenters.

When one speaks of Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian Francophonie, one cannot do so without taking a quick look at the past. Over the last 500 years, the majority of Aboriginal languages have disappeared in the Americas, to be replaced by either Spanish, English or French. In Canada, there are presently about fifty Aboriginal languages, the vast majority of which are threatened in the very short term. Linguists forecast that only the Inuit, Cree and Ojibwa languages will be able to survive, owing to the greater number of speakers.

“The issue of Aboriginal peoples as related to the Canadian Francophonie is complex because of its history, geography, politics and demography. It is an issue that can become quite emotional, particularly when one speaks of the predominance of Aboriginal languages as opposed to the French language.

For some individuals or First Nations, the Francophonie may represent a road characterized by considerable misunderstanding and disputes. For others, the Francophonie may represent stories of mutual help and support. For others still, it may represent a worthwhile vehicle, a powerful common denominator for coming together and further asserting oneself in Canada and perhaps even worldwide,” says Luc Lainé.

Many Aboriginal nations do not consider that they live in a Francophone space. They wish to live their Aboriginal identity. It is noted that Aboriginals are the only peoples mentioned in the Canadian Constitution. They occupy a distinct place within Canadian society. The presenters agree that the issue of Aboriginal language survival must be addressed in a distinct manner, whether it be in the French-speaking or English-speaking context.

“In Canada, despite all of the assaults that were allowed against Aboriginal cultures and languages, many of them still survive. We could accomplish a great deal if we reversed the situation and implemented measures to ensure the preservation and revitalization of Aboriginal cultures. Young Aboriginals feel the need to cling to their roots, their language. Sometimes, they speak of their culture and traditions with nostalgia. This is partly due to the fact that a majority have never known a traditional lifestyle,” explains Roméo Saganash.

One of the problems often identified by Aboriginal peoples to explain major social problems is the loss of identity and self-esteem. Language and ancestral values could undoubtedly help to preserve and maintain this self-esteem. The preservation of one’s language begins with children, with the family. This is true whether for an Aboriginal language or for French.

However, it is important to determine how to include and preserve mother tongues so as not to get away from who we are, to include them and to ensure their survival in an open Francophonie.

“My grandmother was Louis Riel’s sister and she spoke Cree fluently. In my family, we are all of Cree descent. But because we were educated by French-Canadians, we began to love the French language, we tried to speak it well and continued our education in French. We have become French-Canadians of Indian descent,” explains France Lemay.

We cannot know where we are going if we do not know where we come from. This issue is relevant for Aboriginals, and it is also relevant for immigrants whose mother tongue is neither French nor English and who live within the Canadian Francophonie.

“There are two problems concerning Aboriginal cultures within the Francophone space. There is a problem of knowledge and one of recognition. Some people live side by side and do not see each other or choose not to see each other. Communication is denied.

If we want to recognize ourselves within the Francophonie, it must recognize us. It cannot be a one-way street. The Francophonie must recognize this specific and particular character. For the time being, this recognition is relatively narrow. We must therefore expand the concept. The French language must be a welcoming language,” insists Ghizlane Laghzaoui.

In his document entitled “Portaged Languages”, Guy Sioui-Durand maintains that Francophone institutions must play a larger role in the preservation and promotion of Aboriginal cultures. The presenters think this role must be seen in a context of solidarity, taking into account one another’s experiences.

The basic principle of any action must be the recognition of the Aboriginal fact in Canada. From there, we can innovate in all directions. To achieve this, it is useful to challenge the administrative barriers that contribute to creating distances between communities: bilingualism, official languages, Aboriginal affairs, multiculturalism.

The creation of a Canadian Francophone Aboriginal space represents a great challenge. We can, however, draw our inspiration from the recognition of an international Aboriginal Francophonie through the *Draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples*.

The presenters believe that the implementation of this Francophone Aboriginal space represents a challenge because there must be both parties must have willingness and an openness to compromise. Cross-cultural blending must take place, and the exchange must be two-way.

Presenters agree that we must take advantage of the context of globalization we are presently experiencing to bring together Aboriginal identity and the Francophonie, and develop solidarities by empowering one another. The presence of Aboriginal nations confers a unique character on the Canadian Francophonie.

The Aboriginals of Canada can also learn from the African experience since decolonization. However, one must recognize that modes of transmission and learning of languages and cultures are not the same.

This discussion ends by acknowledging the contribution of newcomers to the Aboriginal issue in Canada. When there are Aboriginal demands, immigrants are often the first to express their solidarity. With a considerable increase in immigration during the coming years, an increase the number of awareness initiatives for newcomers is suggested.

The words knowledge, recognition, identity, affirmation and respect summarize the spirit of this discussion.

Master of Ceremonies Alanis Obomsawin concludes the discussion with the following words.

“There is work for everyone. Instead of seeing mother tongues other than French as a problem, we must see them as a blessing for the country. Languages are instruments to learn how to live. French must be a welcoming language. It must be curious about Aboriginal languages, which are deeply rooted in this land. These ancestral languages taught us nature, animals and survival. In the same way, French must be curious about immigrant languages, which are rich with history, culture and experience.

How many generations have stopped teaching their language to their children because they were beaten up and told that it was wrong to speak Indian? Throughout my youth, I was told I was ugly. So, for a long time, I believed I was a very ugly person. When I became an adolescent, the same people who had told me I was ugly, now began telling me I was beautiful and started courting me.

What we are told repeatedly, we look at ourselves in the mirror and we believe. We believe what we are told and not what we see in the mirror. When we are called ‘damn ugly squaw’, we do not reply that this is false. We believe it. The mirror is our parents, our children, those who look at us. If we are told ugly things generation after generation, we end up believing this. Instead of defending ourselves against the enemy, we beat our sister. It is very difficult to understand, and it takes so long that we become invisible.

I am speaking to you in French and I am happy to speak French, but I want this language to respect me. We all have something to give. We are all born with a gift. Each child comes into this world with something beautiful and good. Others destroy this. We must let people give what they have and take from others. Together, we must recognize our values and that it is worthwhile to listen to each other, look at each other, and find each other beautiful.”

5.2 Report of discussion workshops

For many participants, these discussion workshops constituted a first opportunity to talk to Aboriginals about issues that concern them. Therefore, the workshops will have afforded a better understanding of the issues that Aboriginal peoples face today, a chance to reflect

together on how Aboriginals fit into the Canadian Francophonie, and a means of formulating new courses of action for the future. Following is a summary of the views put forth:

- For the First Nations, the Inuit and the Métis, the preservation and revitalization of Aboriginal languages and cultures is a priority.
- Aboriginal cultures are often unsung and their place within the Canadian Francophonie remains ambiguous.
- There is guilt and shame among non-Aboriginals related to the past and present treatment inflicted upon Canadian Aboriginals.
- It is necessary to review the colonial history of the French culture and language in Canada. There is a need to better understand and teach the contribution of Aboriginal nations in the construction of the Francophonie.
- We must review the notion of two founding peoples, which denies the contribution and presence of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.
- It is important to recognize, support and promote Aboriginal cultures within the Canadian and international Francophonie.
- French must be a welcoming language. The presence of mother tongues other than French must not be perceived as a threat. On the contrary, it is an asset for the Francophonie.
- Francophone institutions can play a bigger part in the preservation and promotion of Aboriginal languages and cultures. We must see this role in a context of solidarity.
- It would be beneficial to develop Aboriginal culture awareness and promotion programs for rooted Francophones and newcomers, especially in the schools.
- It is essential to increase and support opportunities for meetings, discussion and alliances between Aboriginal communities and other Francophone communities.

6. EVOLVING ROLE OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES

Over the past decades, demographic and immigration changes have considerably altered the social structure of the Canadian Francophonie and the connection between the various cultures. Consequently, some rooted Francophone communities have been faced with issues related to identity construction, preservation of cultural heritage, structures for welcoming Francophone immigrants, linguistic and community survival.

6.1 Summary of discussions of ideas in plenary

The discussion entitled “Evolving Role of Traditional Communities” was facilitated by Mr. Pierre Rivard, Director General of the *Centre culturel francophone de Vancouver*. His guests were Ms. Diane Bazin, community development managers at the *Société Franco-Manitobaine* in Saint-Boniface, Ms. Diane Côté, Director of Community and Government Liaison, *Fédération des Communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada*, Ottawa, and Mr. Pierre Dadjo, Director General of the *Conseil économique et social d'Ottawa Carleton*.

The following is a summary of ideas brought forth by the presenters.

Mr. Rivard begins the discussion by stating that in Canada, we have gone from cultural survival nationalism to identity nationalism. Cultural survival nationalism is the one we came to know with the writings of Lionel Groulx. We then moved towards an identity nationalism better adapted to the context of globalization in which we live nowadays.

Talk of nationalism and identity raises universal issues that are at the core of current events not only in Canada, but throughout the world. We are referring here to the series of riots that took place in France, provoked by young people often from immigrant communities. Beyond the economic difficulties and social inequities lies the fact that these young people say they are not French, they are not recognized as French citizens. There is a problem with integrating different identities in an entirely Francophone society. Similar phenomena have been observed in other European countries such as the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium.

“Therefore, in this world, there is great turmoil around the themes of identity and integration of different identities within a society. This brings about shock waves that have increasing impact, that are increasingly visible, as well as increasingly violent. We would tend to think that Canada is shielded against these phenomena, but not really, since we can observe similar violent phenomena among visible minority communities in Toronto. We live in a world marked by a drift of cultures. We can now find all cultures on every continent. Where do we stand with regard to these great culture and identity upheavals? It is becoming more and more difficult to define the identity of a people,” maintains Mr. Rivard.

To face this challenge, should we seek elements of convergence between the different cultures? Should we promote a vaguer and more chaotic global world identity? Or should we promote diversity of cultures, as is the case with biodiversity?

How is this reality experienced within minority Francophone communities which, unlike Quebecers, do not have a state or a government to address the immigration challenges? Some minority communities are being faced for the first time with the arrival of people whose languages and cultures are very different.

Communities sometimes severely judge their efforts to integrate immigrants. Although we recognize the lack of knowledge and expertise, we must take into account the fact that these communities have no government, therefore no taxation power that could improve the conditions for receiving newcomers. Minority communities have institutions and infrastructures that are largely supported by the federal government. Nevertheless, resources remain limited and insufficient to meet the challenge of demographic changes and integration.

“During the past five years, important work has been done to amend federal immigration policies in order to favour Francophone immigration in minority communities. A steering committee for Francophone immigration was created. One of the first steps taken jointly with the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was to do a field survey to check the reception capacities of communities, which were almost non-existent at the time,” explains Diane Côté.

The Action Plan for Official Languages has invested \$9 million over a period of five years in Francophone immigration. However, most of these funds went to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration to increase its ability to deal with case files in French. Since then, awareness work has been done with many other federal departments and certain pilot projects, financed by Citizenship and Immigration, have been set up, including the reception centres in Ottawa, Edmonton and Calgary. Funds are granted to Francophone organizations to help them give their communities adequate reception structures.

In many communities, we hesitate to speak of integration. Is it really integrating immigrants or is it rather helping these people develop a feeling of belonging to these minority communities? Perhaps, the challenge lies more in reception than in integration.

“In Manitoba, the *Société franco-manitobaine* (SFM) commissioned a study to determine the challenges facing the Francophone community. We realized that the transmission of French was in danger. We determined that among Francophone families, 83 percent of the children speak French, whereas among exogamous families, only 18 percent of the children know French,” noted Diane Bazin.

With this evidence, the SFM has implemented a strategic project with a 50-year time horizon. An action plan was developed to support Francophone families, exogamous families and newcomers. Special attention is given in the plan to the issue of immigrant reception. The community has started an awareness campaign entitled “*Bien parmi nous*” (well among us) and organized a series of workshops on various aspects of immigration. These initiatives have essentially focused on Manitoba’s rooted Francophones.

According to Ms. Bazin, the concept of Francophonie must be broadened. We must encourage immigrants to take their rightful place. We must give them the opportunity to do so in order to enrich the Canadian and international Francophone cultures. At the cultural level, we must recognize that there is not only one Francophone culture. The Francophonie is, and must become, multicultural.

“To broaden the concept of Francophonie, we must review the notion of who is a Francophone,” says Pierre Dadjo. For him, the fundamental problem remains an existential issue. For people whose mother tongue is other than French but who decide to live in French and educate their children in French, the question of determining who is a Francophone remains. Who is rightfully a Francophone in Canada?

“I was one of the two people who took action against the federal government for recognition of the Francophone identity of people whose mother tongue is not French. We did this because we

believe that we are Francophones and we believe we are not recognized as such. French is not my mother tongue, but I understand French better than Fon, my mother tongue. If because I am Fon, this means I am not Francophone, there is something wrong somewhere. For immigrants to take their rightful place, we must recognize them as legitimate Francophones,” explains Pierre Dadjo.

He adds that in Canada, anyone who is not Francophone is considered Anglophone or Allophone. The government determines the grants for minority Francophone communities according to the total number identified by Statistics Canada. In fact, a large number of Francophone immigrants are not part of these statistics since their mother tongue is a language other than French. It is therefore to everyone’s advantage that the numbers reflect the reality of those who speak French in Canada.²

For whom and why do Francophone communities in Canada want Francophone immigration? Have the immigrants who are already in Canada been able to integrate into the Francophonie? According to Mr. Dadjo, immigration within Francophone communities is not a new reality, but it is a reality we are beginning to understand. Nevertheless, some people who have lived and have fought for their rights for many decades still remain marginal.

In conclusion, the presenters discuss the indicators for successful integration and identity shift. They talk about the performance indicators that will, in the future, make it possible to determine whether or not minority Francophone communities have met the challenge of the changes taking place within them.

The restitution of history appears as an essential element to this success. People must be able to recognize themselves in Canada’s history. The idea of two founding peoples must be revised so as to incorporate the contribution of all the peoples who have participated in building of this country, beginning with the Aboriginal peoples. There are also parts of history that are totally unknown. For example, people like Mathieu Da Costa or Olivier Lejeune were pioneers in the history of the French colony, but their names do not appear in the history textbooks.

The notions of equality and equity are also essential to the success of reception and integration efforts. This equity could, for example, be measured by the presence of immigrants within the teaching staff, the staff of Francophone institutions and organizations, and their boards of directors. This representation by visible minorities will facilitate dialogue between cultures.

Furthermore, the terminology will have to be reviewed. For example, we must correct the use of the term Allophone to designate Francophones whose mother tongue is not French. We will also be able to measure success when we stop fragmenting the various Francophone communities.

“This process will take some time. Recognizing one another in words and respecting each other is one thing. Respecting that person in everyday life is another thing. This will give extraordinary results, but we must start by wanting it and working on it every day,” concludes Diane Côté.

Values are often immaterial. What we give is important. But the way we give it is much more important.

Master of Ceremonies Alanis Obomsawin concludes this second discussion with the following comments.

² See footnote 1 from the Department of Canadian Heritage on page 4

“We must not always wait for governments to allow ourselves to exist, because we might wait a very long time. Some people fight for a language or languages, but the responsibility of change lies with us all. There are some laws that help newcomers, that recognize them and give them a place. The great law that must exist is that each individual opens his heart enough to receive and love the other. We cannot stop the universal energy. It is impossible.

It all begins with children. If parents teach their children to love one another, to respect one another no matter what their colour, we will move towards a future that makes sense.

Hospitality is much more important than laws. If I see you arriving in my country, I am curious to know where you come from. I want to know what you are bringing with you, instead of making you feel impoverished, like someone who has nothing to give and only comes to disturb me.

For me, it is quite simple. What does your heart hold? Can you love the other person? Can you give a place to another child who is not part of your family? Can you greet another person of a totally different race than yours and love and recognize that person as a human being who has things to say and the right to live? Because life is sacred.”

6.2 Report of discussion workshops

Once again, the participants came together in workshops to discuss the issues and challenges that linguistic minority communities must face. Here are the main elements of these discussions:

- The definition of Francophone is both complex and crucial since it is associated with rights, duties, responsibilities and benefits. Many Francophone immigrants' mother tongues are not French and as such they are not considered as eligible for education in French.
- Approximately one third of the country's Francophone population is not considered as such by Statistics Canada. This situation has major financial impacts on Francophone minority communities.³
- Some rooted communities consider they have fought for a long time to obtain rights and services and feel they now have to give up their acquired rights to immigrants.
- Some Francophone minority communities are opening up to this new Francophonie, while others are preoccupied with the survival of their institutions and resist welcoming a culturally and racially diversified Francophonie.
- Should the Francophone community develop common or parallel institutions to counter the lack of representativeness of visible minorities within existing institutions?
- There is work to be done in order to educate rooted communities and make them aware of diversity. Intercultural education must be integrated into the school systems in minority environments to facilitate dialogue.
- Theoretically, the Canadian Francophonie should be equitable and diversified. This represents a major challenge for the Francophone minority associative sector.

³ See footnote 1 from the Department of Canadian Heritage on page 4

- The leaders of the Canadian Francophone must take part in this important dialogue on alterity.

7. CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE CANADIAN FRANCOPHONIE

The Canadian Francophonie has been evolving. Youth outflow from some minority communities, declining birthrates in rooted communities, and Francophone immigration have caused demographic changes.

There is a desire among ethnocultural and racial minority communities to actively and fully participate in any and all activities of the Canadian Francophonie. They want to be able to take a greater part in Canadian Francophonie institutions as well as Francophone minority community organizations and associations. They would like to participate in promoting the French fact while making the most of the potential for development and openness brought about by cultural diversity.

The situation calls for the development of a new vision firmly rooted in the values of respect and acceptance of differences in others. It also gives rise to such issues as citizenship, rights and the political destiny of the Francophonie.

7.1 Summary of discussions of ideas in plenary

The discussion was facilitated by Ms. Zab Maboungou, choreographer and director of the Nyata-Nyata Dance Company, Montreal. Her guests were Mr. Mourad Ali-Khodja, Full Professor, Sociology Department, Member of the *Groupe de recherche interdisciplinaire sur les cultures en contact*, Université de Moncton, Moncton; Mr. Guy Matte, Director General of the Dialogue Foundation, Ottawa; and Ms. Dulari Prithipaul, Vice-President of the *Association multiculturelle francophone de l'Alberta*, Edmonton.

Ms. Maboungou starts the discussion by proposing to rethink things differently based on ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss's 1983 book *Le regard éloigné*, in which the author evokes the idea of distance to re-establish balance, a balance that seemed to have been reached between men and nature, and among men. Ms. Maboungou proposes to use this notion of distance as a means to understand cultural diversity – distance as related to one's own culture or as what one perceives as one's own culture, and distance as related to the culture of others or what one perceives as the culture of others. By doing this, it may be possible to review the modalities that underscore cultural diversity, which seems to have accelerated at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The issues of this diversity have long been the subject of debate. On the table, we have multicultural, transcultural, intercultural or cultural hybrid options, all these being terms for attempts to understand this idea of cultural diversity. The problems are both new and old, since they have often been addressed in other places, contexts and times.

Nevertheless, the theoretical tools developed during the past decades seem in many ways too outdated to understand the realities we are confronted with today, and to analyze the phenomena of diversity as they are presently experienced. There is a need to renew the analytical tools, a need to think differently about our realities.

“The linguistic fact is affirmative. It is a cultural fact. But it also excludes. Who says what? In which context? Who excludes? What is the legitimacy behind the linguistic fact? Or the illegitimacy? Who has the right to speak? Who does not have that right? Who has the right to be accepted in the community of human beings because he or she speaks the right language or does not speak it? How do we decide all this?” asks Zab Maboungou.

One cannot discuss the future of the Francophonie without talking about the difficulties inherent in integrating multiple cultures and identities. And when we speak of identity, inevitably, the discussion also brings forth the issue of citizenship. The notions of citizenship and identity are intimately related, whether it be opposite or complementary.

The presenters consider that, in the discussion about cultural diversity, asking the right questions is more important than finding the answers. In fact, they feel they must look at the issues at stake differently in order to find new, innovative ways, and they must deconstruct the categories used to think out these phenomena.

One of these issues concerns the terminology used to speak of diversity. There are problems with the categories we assign to immigrants. Many people do not want to be defined as belonging to racial or ethnocultural communities. This position does not indicate a refusal to identify with an ethnic community, but rather reflects a desire to confirm one's citizenship within the Canadian political space.

Milton Tanaka's text clearly demonstrates the problems with labelling individuals and communities. The use of expressions like visible minorities, immigrants, ethnocultural communities, racial minorities is, for some people, dehumanizing. Various terms have also been used to describe the challenges of immigration. We have spoken of assimilation, integration, inclusion.

"The term I prefer is integration. If we think a country like ours must assimilate people, this means deep down that the organization must eat and digest. It takes what it likes and rejects the rest. Therefore, much of what is brought here is neither retained nor valued. Whereas when we speak of integration, we speak of an organization that makes room and undergoes change upon contact with the other, an organization that accepts change. The phenomenon of cultural integration of those who have chosen this country must be guaranteed," states Guy Matte.

The discussion then focuses on the issue of the diversity of racial minority communities. The facilitator notes that there is not just one definition of the immigrant. There are different categories of immigrants, different paths. The question of social classes and historical contexts must also be considered. Immigrants arrive with their particular histories that refer to distinct geopolitical territories. This racial, cultural and religious diversity can sometimes create tensions and rivalries between communities.

"Immigrants are not new Francophones. We arrive here with a Francophone heritage that dates back many generations, with a history, a culture, a literature, with an identity. To avoid the fragmentation of communities, we must defend the rights of individuals, not only for ourselves, but also for others", states Dulari Prithipaul. When facing integration difficulties, some Francophone immigrants prefer turning to the Anglophone world, where they find anonymity.

With Francophones in a minority environment, the problem arises in political terms. The federal government assigns, per capita, resources for education, health, social and community services. If we do not identify as Francophones, this money goes into Anglophone anonymity. "Does this reality, that says that Francophones must be counted, mean that we want to integrate into our community each person who enters the country, with all the difficulties that represents?" asks Guy Matte. He also notes that close to one third of Francophones in Canada do not have French as a mother tongue. Statistically, these people are not counted as Francophones.⁴

⁴ See footnote 1 from the Department of Canadian Heritage on page 4

We must contemplate policies to promote the Francophone fact on other than a strictly accounting, statistical and quantitative basis . In fact, in this task of defence and promotion, it would be beneficial to invert the skill connection and to focus on the expertise that immigrants have. We often perceive the immigrant as a person who has nothing and must find a way to survive. We neglect the contribution of newcomers.

Immigrants should be among the first to intervene in the area of diversity since they have the lived experience and the expertise on these issues. Francophone immigrants have experienced colonization and decolonization and this can be beneficial to the Canadian experience. Furthermore, many Francophone immigrants speak many languages. There is a multilingual element in the Canadian Francophonie that is widely underexploited.

The presenters agree that we must break the stereotypes that represent newcomers as poor immigrants who speak French almost by accident. We must allow immigrants to take action in a concrete way in Francophone institutions and on the public scene. In this regard, the representation issue remains crucial.

“Immigrants arrive with their histories, their different heritage, linguistic practices, beliefs and customs that relate to their multiple identities. That is why some sociological determinations go beyond the Francophone fact, to say nothing of entrenched systems of prejudice, logics of discrimination and exclusion, sometimes violent, directed at immigrants. The various factors at the root of these phenomena need to be identified. The space into which we fit is determined not only by an origin, but rather by a series of factors,” recalls Mr. Ali-Khodja.

We must create links between the different immigrant cultures and the host culture. For Mr. Ali-Khodja, the fundamental issue seems to be the value of hospitality. Immigrants are also emigrants and they arrive with a culture. We must develop reciprocal logics of sharing and appropriation of histories and culture – of those who emigrate and of those who welcome them. It is therefore the immigrants’ role to make the host culture its own and to understand its qualities. This being said, the same hospitality rules demand that the host cultures make the immigrant cultures their own. This brings us to the notion of interculture, which favours appropriation, exchange and cross-culture.

The citizen space which is ours must not be the calculated sum of our individual particularities. We must go beyond that. We must create a culture that will be enriched in other ways and that will enrich the host culture.

Master of Ceremonies Alanis Obomsawin speaks to thank the presenters and conclude the discussion.

“I was born a minority; I am Abénakis. After 300 years of wars and epidemics, my people were decimated. When the Whites first arrived, there were about 50,000 Abénakis. After the American Revolution, 1000 were left. At that time, there was a meeting during which the leaders said to those who identified themselves as Abénakis: now, we must disperse throughout the land. We will not see each other for many generations. Each one of you must try to keep something of our traditions and way of life. Try to remember something. One day, in the future, our descendants will meet again, and it all those gifts that you will carry in your memory that will allow you to still live as Abénakis.

I think that what is happening here is similar. Let us try to hang on to something, a gift. And when we will see each other again, we will have an alliance.”

7.2 Report of discussion workshops

- Whether for Aboriginals or immigrants, approaches to integration and inclusion in the Francophonie must be guided by respect, recognition of differences and resource sharing.
- The definition of who is a Francophone must be broadened to include Francophone immigrants whose mother tongue is not French.
- Racial minority communities are under-represented within Francophone institutions. There is systemic discrimination that must be recognized and accounted for.
- The presence of racial minority individuals within Francophone institutions and associations is fundamental to the creation of an open and diversified Francophonie.
- Newcomers want to fully exercise their citizenship and contribute actively to the Francophonie. They have much to offer.
- Francophone immigrants must be better informed about the linguistic realities they will face, especially if they decide to live in a linguistic minority context. Too often, we still present Canada as a bilingual country, when in fact it is difficult to live solely in French outside of Quebec.
- Anglophone communities are more open to immigrants. This situation could be due, in part, to the fact they have better structural capacities than do Francophone minority communities receiving immigrants.
- The terms visible minorities, ethnocultural minorities, racial minorities, culturally diversified communities or cultural communities are used to speak of immigrants. We must be careful because these words can become ghettos. They contain concepts that impact identity formation.
- It is a matter of urgency to stop fragmenting communities and to focus on what we have to share.
- A majority of young Francophones experience cultural diversity on a daily basis. These young people have a different analysis of identity issues. We must focus on the new generations of Francophones who have a different way of understanding the possibilities and issues related to diversity.

8. CLOSING ADDRESS

Mrs. Aïda Kaouk, a curator at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, makes the closing address of the conference.

“People often ask me if I am Amerindian, if I am South American, if I come from the Middle East, or Portugal, or Italy, or Quebec. And I find that pretty cool. I could be from anywhere,” she says.

Today, with massive movements of individuals and populations throughout the planet, we must account for the cross-culture phenomenon, which is as ancient as human societies themselves and affects not only immigrants, but each individual to different degrees. There is no culture, and therefore no cultural identity, that is not the outcome of mixtures and crossings: the result of openness to others.

Mrs. Kaouk gives an account and a quick reflection on cross-culture, a notion too often minimized in this era of many claims to identity, global homogeneity and globalization. In her view, cross-culture refers not to the simple interlocking of various elements, as in the concept of multiculturalism, nor to a homogeneous reshaping, as in the melting pot model, but rather to an encounter in the strong sense of the word -- an encounter as an ongoing confrontation that not only links us to one another, but also transforms us.

To favour this type of encounter where people are not forced to self-denial but where each person can grow and develop, it becomes necessary, today more than ever, to widen the scope of the way we see others and ourselves. We are different because of our ethnic and other origins, but we are the same by virtue of our human condition and the richness of our cultural background.

“My testimony is based on our encounter, on your thoughts, but also on my work, my personal history and the experience of people I have been close to,” explains Mrs. Kaouk.

This account is based on the issue of the specific and the universal, together, and not one without the other. At a time when ethnic and religious affiliations are being exploited for political purposes with sometimes disastrous effects, at a time when social discourse raises identity issues, it is important to consider that cultural identities in the modern world are both multiple and complex. Cross-culture is a reality of our times.

Today, between Beirut, Montreal, Paris, Algiers, Port-au-Prince, Vancouver, Cairo, Toronto, Colombo or Trinidad, creative and promising identities are being built, identities we must develop, energize and preserve.

“Isn’t that the message that our writers and artists are conveying to us? Isn’t that the message that many of you have formulated during the past three days?” asks Mrs. Kaouk as she concludes.

9. MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND ACTION PROPOSALS

During all of the discussions, the participants set out a course of action. Following are the main proposals and comments:

- establish a national follow-up committee, composed of leaders from Aboriginal, rooted, racial and ethnocultural communities, in order to develop a plan of action on Francophone diversity
- create a Francophone Aboriginal network throughout Canada to bring together dynamic forces, work to create a Francophone Aboriginal space, and foster the recognition and promotion of Aboriginal cultures and languages
- design an Aboriginal culture recognition and promotion program within the Canadian Francophonie, especially in the schools
- bring Francophone associative and institutional decision-makers as well as managers in the departments concerned to act on racial and cultural diversity in the Canadian Francophonie
- organize a series of regional meetings to continue reflection on specific regional issues and to foster the creation of solidary alliances and initiatives
- set up racial and cultural diversity recognition and awareness initiatives within linguistic minority communities, especially in the schools
- establish Aboriginal and racial minority member representation objectives within Francophone institutions, boards of directors, schools and government departments
- create a Web site on diversity in the Francophonie in order to publish the results of the conference, and to favour information sharing, resource networking and awareness on diversity issues and possibilities
- organize and support activities aimed at pursuing a dialogue and intercultural exchanges, and at reinforcing solidarities between the various Francophone communities
- support community, academic and government research projects aimed at improving documentation of the evolving Canadian Francophone reality: statistics, demography, linguistic and cultural identities, citizenship and rights
- index the various integration mechanisms, approaches and strategies developed in host communities, including the province of Quebec; highlight examples of successful integration

Julie Bergeron: On behalf of the first inhabitants, to all those who have been here for a few hundred years and to those who have arrived in recent years or weeks, I wish to welcome people from all horizons to this sacred land. Touch it with all of the love and sensitivity it has offered us for thousands of years.

Seloua Nour: This weekend has been an extraordinary experience for me. I laughed, I cried, I got angry, I closed up and opened up, I even danced and sang. I went through every emotion, and that can only be done here in Canada. I feel quite privileged to live in this country which allows me, although I am a newcomer, to make my voice heard. I am deeply thankful for this. Many immigrants choose Canada for this reason, because it meets our aspirations.

Réginald Vollant: *Ishpetenitamu, Ishpetenitamun*, this is a traditional Innu value. I have learned from my elders, through their contact, through the discussions I have had the privilege of having with them. One of the values that allows me to be here with you, that has had a great impact on me, and was transmitted to me by the elders, is respect, simply, Respect. Respect in your heart, respect for what you are, respect of others.

Vicki Tanguay: Some words touched me, some words made me angry, words like “real French” and “Allophone.” French is not a threat, it is a cry from the heart. I am a rooted Quebec Francophone, one of those who were not exposed to other cultures until recently. For me, seeing another culture meant I had to take a plane and go there.

Malubungi Mueni: This past weekend, I heard ideas about alliances. I heard the words knowledge, recognition, reception. I also heard that in the Francophonie, we must have incremental strategies. We must develop alliances, joint projects for a forced change. We ourselves must force governments to change through joint projects.

Milton Tanaka: The word respect often came up during the workshops. The word recognition, the word resources, and cultures to share. The question of who is a Francophone came up in most of the workshops. One participant suggested this definition: “A Francophone is a person who speaks French, regardless of his or her origins or cultural, racial, religious or ideological affiliations.”

Marie Bourgeois: During this conference, we spent a lot of time thinking and listening to various analyses related to sociology and philosophy, but during these three days of reflection we wanted to act. Something concrete needs to come out of this. We must work together to continue improving not only our linguistic communities as a whole, but also Canadian society as a whole. Let us continue to be proud Canadians by improving what we give to the first residents of this country as well as to those who have just arrived.

Bintou Sacko: I am going back to Manitoba today with a full load. I was very impressed to meet Mrs. Alanis Obomsawin. She is a blessing not only for Aboriginals, but for the whole country. I wish to thank her for inspiring me during this forum. We are committed to the Francophonie. We must find an alliance that will be based on respect, knowledge and recognition of one another, so as to better live together and build our future. And the future lies with our children and what we will give them.

Ibrahima Diallo: Some say that Franco-Manitobans love their language so much that they do not speak it, the better to safeguard it. I was very happy to be here and see everyone sharing the same ideals. But here we are preaching to the choir. I would have liked to see the others, the hard core as we say, the leaders of Francophone communities, those responsible for

Francophone organizations. I hope that this meeting is but the first step and that other stakeholders will join in the discussion.

Ghyzlane Laghzaoui: I consider myself lucky to be here in Canada because, elsewhere, I could not have done this, that is, speak about myself, speak about others, and be part of this struggle. As an immigrant arriving in Canada, I enjoy so many advantages that Aboriginal peoples have difficulty obtaining. When we fight for equity, we must do it in all directions.

Frantz Voltaire: What I have been privileged to experience here is an encounter that is not only personal. This is one of the few occasions in Canada where Aboriginals, French-Canadians, Quebecers, immigrants of all origins and from different periods of immigration have come together to talk about the future. We must continue. These meetings help us get to know and understand each other better.

Lucie Basile: It has been my privilege to be with you and among you. We often request the participation and collaboration of Aboriginals. People expect a lot from us. They expect us to express ourselves culturally, but you must let us take a breath of fresh air before we can embark with you on this journey down the river. You know, after all these years during which we were told to be silent, to refrain from making ourselves known, to simply live and breathe, you must now give us time to catch our breath. Afterwards, we will be able to work, communicate and live together in this beautiful country.

“Portaged” Languages

Aboriginal cultural territorialities in the Francophone space of Kanata

Diversity and Francophonie

Vancouver, November 2005

Guy Sioui Durand

Note: The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Government of Canada.

“Portaged” Languages

Aboriginal cultural territorialities in the Francophone space of Kanata

“A future? That is very much the case for most of the languages of the founding peoples, i.e., the languages of the “Savages,” as they were called by those erroneously known today as the founding peoples—the French and the English. We know that from 1534 onward, in the name of God and kings, they systematically sought to deculturate the so-called Savages... But it is not too late to correct past mistakes. Why not, then, through a massive catch-up effort, work together in close collaboration ...”

For Myra CREE, ambassador of our living words. ⁱ

Together on the Great Turtle

This paper describes and discusses the history, current situation, problems, and future of Aboriginal languages in the Francophone regions of *Kanata*ⁱⁱ (Canada). It is divided into three parts:

- 1) “An eagle’s eye view,” a brief prehistoric and historic overview
- 2) Portrait of the current Aboriginal demolinguistic situation in the Francophone regions, especially *Gépèg*ⁱⁱⁱ (Quebec)
- 3) The importance of art and culture—or what I call *portaged languages*—in this century

1

An eagle’s eye view

Migrations, contacts, reductions

The prehistoric period: AmerAsia

Over the course of 50,000 years (B.C.), Aboriginals peopled the Americas long enough to develop thousands of millennial languages. The period saw the rise of populations ranging from semi-nomadic bands to the vast multiethnic empires of the *Inca*, *Maya*, and *Aztecs* with their millions of subjects. Some 8,000 years ago, the first families of hunter-gatherers began settling in the American Northeast, the forerunners of a second wave of migration originating south of the Great Lakes and along the Atlantic Coast. Then, around 2,000 B.C., the Inuit of the Arctic appeared. From this wave, three Aboriginal demolinguistic families emerged—the *Algonquin*, *Eskaleut*, and *Iroquois*.

Historic period: *Kanata*

The year 1492 marked the beginning of five centuries of cohabitation between Aboriginal and European languages in the Americas. From Tierra del Fuego to the North Pole, between 600 and 2,000 languages/dialects were spoken by some 15 million Aboriginals. The central point to remember is that the number of Aboriginal languages has steadily decreased since the arrival of the Europeans. The history of the Aboriginal languages of *Kanata* obeys this overall pattern. The key development in the Francophone space outside of *Gépèg* was the birth of the Prairie *Métis* nation and its unique language, *Michif*.

Gépèg

Beginning in 1534, Aboriginal interaction with French and English newcomers in the continental Northeast transformed language issues into a question of survival for First Nations identities. Initial contact enabled the French to survive and settle. This was followed by a period of joint learning and mutual interchange during which the fur trade and other forms of exchange were conducted on a nation-to-nation basis. However, the ravages of disease and the rivalries pitting the *Wendat* (Hurons) and their Algonquin and French allies against the *Kanien'kehaka* (Iroquois) and their Dutch allies paved the way for British conquest and settlement. The demographic and linguistic situation of the Aboriginal peoples changed dramatically over the period beginning with the early alliances (from the *Baie Sainte-Catherine Alliance* of 1603 to the *Great Peace of Montreal* in 1701) and extending through to the era of the *Seven-Fires Confederation* in the St. Lawrence River Valley (1660-1860), during which the reserve system was introduced.

The First Nations were decimated during this period. Beginning in the 19th century, Aboriginals were subjected to what sociologist Jean-Jacques Simard has accurately called "the ideology of reduction," in the name of both so-called protective segregation and so-called liberating assimilation.^{iv} The "Savages," as they were called, were "domiciled" on reserves where the repression of their beliefs and languages was aided and abetted by the substitution of English or French in education until 1970. The devastating effects (and the extent of survival) are there for all to see now, early in the 21st century.

It was not until the mid-1970s that new treaties were concluded on a nation-to-nation basis: the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* in 1975, the *Peace of the Brave* in 2002, and the *Essipit Treaty* in 2005.

2

Nitassinan

The contemporary sociolinguistic situation

A hemispheric issue: *America and Kanata*

Indigenous rights and survival movements in South America, Central America, and the United States have met with varying degrees of success. Of the six hundred Aboriginal languages still spoken in the Americas today, over half are endangered. It is generally agreed that the number of Aboriginals fluent in their ancestral tongues in *Kanata* is in steady decline: of the 170-odd native languages spoken upon the arrival of the Europeans, only 50 remain. As for Aboriginal communities located near the Francophone communities of *Kanata*, *Gépèg* excluded, it is the *Métis* who deserve a closer look.

The Métis and Michif

The Prairies gave rise to the saga of an authentic *Métis* nation. The use of the capital “M” acknowledges the historical development and the survival of the *Métis* people, who are today made up of the descendants:

- of the children of Cree women and French traders; French-Canadian *coureurs des bois* and Cree *Ojibwa*, *Chipewyan* and *Saulteaux* women from west of the Great Lakes; and
- in the North, French-speaking *Métis* or *Dene* women and English or Scottish merchants from the Hudson Bay Company.

In the first half of the 19th century, intercultural exchanges and marriages between Aboriginals and fur traders significantly transformed the economic and social fabric, based on the buffalo hunt on the southern Manitoba plains. This transformation signalled the emergence of a new culture that borrowed elements from all of its parts to create a unique new language: *Michif*. The *Métis* settlements along the Assiniboine and Red rivers in Manitoba were the first manifestations of a French presence on the Canadian Prairies.

In the past fifteen years, we have seen a strong resurgence of the *Métis* identity.^v Three key dates deserve mention: 1982, 1992, and 2003. In 1982, the *Constitutional Act of 1982* that followed the patriation of the Canadian constitution expressly recognized the ancestral and treaty rights of the *Métis* as one of Canada’s Aboriginal peoples. On March 10, 1992, the Parliament of Canada adopted a resolution recognizing Louis Riel as the founder of the province of Manitoba. And on September 9, 2003, the Supreme Court issued the *Powley* decision,^{vi} which set definitions and criteria for determining the existence and recognition of other *Métis* communities across the country.

An Internet search quickly reveals some fifteen sites representing self-proclaimed *Métis* communities. In Francophone regions, these include the Coalition of the new Métis community of Eastern Canada, which encompasses Rivière-Bleue, the New Brunswick Métis Community, and the Domaine du Roy and Seigneurie de Mingan Métis community.^{vii}

Michif, the usual language of communication in olden times, is still spoken by a small number of people. Of the 14,725 *Métis* aged 15 and over in 1991, 10,340 spoke *Cree*, 2,295 *Ojibwa*, 645 an *Athapaskan* language, 400 *Chipewyan*, and 840 *Michif*, primarily in the Franco-Manitoban community of St. Laurent, which has a population of 1,200. Here, in the largest Francophone *Métis* community in Canada, *Michif* is spoken in the *Métis* sense of “speaking French.”

Michif is a mixed language derived from French and Cree. Originally, speakers were bilingual and could speak both languages. The oldest *Métis* association in Saint-Boniface, the Union nationale métisse Saint-Joseph (1887), defended the “French *Michif* language.” Recently, in the aftermath of the 2003 *Powley* decision, the union has worked to build alliances with *Métis* communities organizing in Eastern Canada. However, the most significant institutional development could well be the establishment the Canada Research Chair on Métis Identity at Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface, the only French-language university west of Ontario, where many students are of *Métis* origin. This partially explains why the *Métis* generation of 18-to-25-year-olds is more assertive in its demands than its predecessors, with respect to not only cultural identity, but land claims as well.

Gépèg

French-Canadians were not the only ones to have undergone a “quiet revolution” starting in the late 1950s. The same can be said for North America’s indigenous peoples. In *Gépèg*, there was literally a “revival” of political and social consciousness with respect to inter-nation relations. Essentially, there was a metamorphosis in status from that of “*domiciled Indians*” to “*treaty Indians*.” There was a substantial resurgence in autonomist aspirations, which were expressed in a quest for new partnerships. Since 1975, this has led to a series of “modern” nation-to-nation treaties and a series of court judgments confirming the cogency of these claims and struggles.^{viii}

These treaties and judgments have progressively reshaped the landscape of geopolitical relationships with the *Inuit* of Nunavik and the ten First Nations. Consequently, the demolingistic and cultural space they occupy will be modified.

In 2004, *Gépèg* had a population of 7,509,928 people, which included 590,000 Anglophones concentrated in the Greater Montreal area and some 82,825 Aboriginals (72,770 Amerindians and 10,055 *Inuit*) accounting for 1% of the *Gépèg* population and 9% of the Aboriginal population of *Kanata*. Aboriginals are the fifth largest ethnic group in *Kanata* after the French, British, Italian, and Jewish communities. Two tables statistically describe the situation of the First Nations according to their linguistic family in terms of total population, population by reserve and village, community location, and ancestral language status in relation to English and French.

Table 1. Aboriginals and language use in Gépèg

Nation	Pop.	Language spoken at home	Second language	Third language	%
Innu	15,170	Innu	French		
Attikamekw	5,730	Attikamekw	French		
Abenaki	2,040	French	English	Abenaki	
Malecite	740	French	English		
Cree	14,280	Cree	English	French 10%	
Micmac	4,810	Micmac	English	French 10%	
Abitibiwinni	8,940	Algonquin	English	French 30%	
Naskapi	600	Naskapi	English		
Kanien'kehaka	11,155	Mohawk	English		
Wendat	2,900	French	English		
Inuit	9,915	Inuktitut	English	French	

Demolinguistic families: Algonquin; Iroquois; Eskaleut

Table 2. Francophones, Indians, Métis, and Inuit by province/territory in Kanata

Province/Territory	Total Pop.	Francophone	Indian	Métis	Francophone Métis	Inuit
Newfoundland and Labrador	539,050	2,440	7,040	5,480	50	4,265
Prince Edward Island	125,650	6,110	1,035	220	50	--
Nova Scotia	838,280	36,310	12,920	3,135	160	--
New Brunswick	720,000	242,000	11,490	4,290	1,015	--
Quebec	7,509,930	6,600,000	72,770	15,855	8,600	10,055
Ontario	8,119,830	533,965	131,560	48,345	6,610	--
Manitoba	839,765	47,560	90,345	56,795	5,110	--
Saskatchewan	827,355	19,515	83,745	43,695	1,265	--
Alberta	2,412,190	65,995	84,990	60,055	1,425	--
British Columbia	2,865,300	63,625	118,295	44,265	1,580	--
Northwest Territories	29,080	1,050	10,615	3,580	155	765
Yukon	24,450	1,115	5,600	535	45	
Nunavut	28,955	395	--	--	--	18,605

* 2001 census data, except for the column on Francophone Métis, which dates from 1996

The study of contemporary links (geographic, linguistic, cultural) between the Aboriginal nations in *Kanata's* Francophone cultural space is a world in itself. Its complexity is due to their micro-fragmentation within the vast territory of *Kanata*, but also to the existence of minority communities with marked cultural differences.

Drawing on the hypothesis that the distribution of French Canadian and *Métis* populations follows a similar pattern of territorial occupation, marked by proximity to First Nations outside of urban areas, we shall see in section three that Aboriginal-Francophone interaction has given rise to a specific cultural dynamic in certain areas.

Common issues

Four key dimensions characterize the demolinguistic situation facing the Aboriginal peoples of Gépèg. 1) The first is the ongoing use of ancestral tongues from the three main linguistic families. 2) Second, and most surprising, is the historical importance of English among nearly two-thirds of the Aboriginal population of Gépèg, a predominantly Francophone cultural space. 3) This trend is reinforced by the fragmented geographical dispersal of Aboriginals in small communities across the province, a situation inversely proportional to the concentration of Quebec Francophones, Anglophones, and Allophones in the cities of the St. Lawrence Valley and a handful of regional centres. This territorial distribution also shows that the vitality of Aboriginal languages is strongest in the North. 4) Finally, although Aboriginal languages are healthier in Gépèg than in the rest of the country, almost all of them are at risk.

(1) Presence of the three ancestral linguistic families

Eight of Gépèg's ten First Nations are from the grand Algonquin family. They account for most of the languages still spoken (six) and the largest number of speakers (65,000, or half of the Algonquin of *Kanata*). By order of importance, they are divided among the *Cree* in the nine *Cree* communities scattered across the northwest part of the province; the *Innu* in their eight communities on the North Shore as well as *Mastheuiatsh* at *Lac Piekukami* (Pointe-Bleue, Lac Saint-Jean); the *Abitibiwinni*, who live in ten reserves dotted throughout the vast Abitibi-Témiscamingue region; the *Micmac* in three communities along the Gaspé Peninsula; the *Attikamekw* in three reserves in the Upper Mauricie; and the *Naskapi*, who live on a reserve next door to the former mining town of Schefferville in the North Shore back country. However, *Abenaki* is dying out as a spoken language in the communities of *Odanak* and *Wôlinak* near Sorel and the *Malecite* of *Cacouna* no longer speak *Wolustuk* (Malecite).

The Iroquois family has its roots in the St. Lawrence Valley, where some 8,200 *Kanien'kehaka* (*Mohawks*) live in three communities: *Kahnawake* and *Kanesatake* near Montreal, and *Akwesasne* on the New York/Ontario border. Another 2,300 *Wendat* (Hurons) live in *Wendake* near Quebec City, their only reserve. Among the *Kanien'kehaka*, the dominant spoken language is English. *Mohawk* remains the second language, despite renewed efforts since 1990 to teach the language at school and in the communities. As for *Wendat*, which disappeared as a spoken language in 1900, attempts to revive it are under way. Technically speaking, the Iroquois linguistic family is endangered. Yet paradoxically, these communities are enjoying a period of unprecedented artistic creativity.

The Eskeleut family is represented by the *Inuktitut* language spoken by the 12,000 *Inuit* of *Nunavik*, who live in 14 isolated communities along the coast of James Bay and across the North. *Inuktitut* is still the language normally spoken at home and English is the common second language, although French is making inroads as a third language.

(2) "Speaking Aboriginal": Gépèg—a space for linguistic cohabitation dominated by English

Gépèg is the region of *Kanata* where Francophones are in the majority. But contrary to expectations, the majority of Aboriginals use English as either their second language or, among certain peoples, as the language they speak at home. In fact, fully 65% use English as their second or first language as opposed to 35% for French. This requires a redesign of the demolinguistic portrait using four interfaces:

Aboriginal language spoken at home/French as a second language: The *Innu* and *Attikamekw* are the two nations that use their ancestral languages of *Innu* and *Attikamekw* as their main language and French as a second language.

Aboriginal language spoken at home/English as a second language: Since 1990 the *Kanien'kehaka* have restored *Mohawk* to primary language status in their communities and they speak English as a second language. The *Naskapi*, despite their limited numbers, speak *Naskapi* and English.

Aboriginal language spoken at home/English as a second language and minority presence of French as a third language: The *Cree* speak their ancestral tongue in the nine *Cree* communities and use English as a second language. French has made inroads in *Waswanipi*, which is home to a mere 10% of the *Cree* population. The *Abitibiwinni* use *Algonquin* and English with the exception of three reserves where French is the second language (*Kitcisapik*, *Lac-Simon* and *Abitibiwinni-Pikogan*), but which represent less than 25% of the population. The *Micmac* of *Listuguj* and *Gesgapegiak* on the Gaspé Peninsula and along the Restigouche River speak *Micmac* and English as a second language, whereas the *Gespèg* community in Gaspé (10% of the population) now speaks only French. Although isolated from each other, the *Inuit* communities along Hudson Bay and Ungava Bay share *Inuktitut* as the dominant language and English as the predominant second language. However, French is now present as a third language in all the communities as a result of increased teaching of French in the past quarter century.

French spoken at home/Aboriginal language extinct or in imminent danger: It is a century past midnight for the *Wendat* of *Wendake* and the *Malecite* of *Cacouna* and *Withworth*, where ancestral languages are no longer spoken. Among the *Abenaki* of *Odanak* and *Wôlinak*, only the Elders keep the ancestral tongue alive, while French (and English in *Odanak*) have taken its place.

(3) Geographic distribution: inversion and fragmentation

Geography has always been important to understanding the unequal survival rates of Aboriginal languages. The first characteristic worth noting is the inverted patterns of territorial occupation for Aboriginals and Quebecers.

The vast majority of Quebecers (80%) live in a string of cities and towns extending the length of the St. Lawrence Valley to the Gaspé Peninsula (Gatineau, Montreal, Sorel, Trois-Rivières, Quebec City, Rimouski, Matane, Gaspé), with the Montreal region itself home to over half. Amidst these 6 million people lives a mere 20% of the province's Amerindian population (17,000) from five First Nations (*Kanien'kehaka*, *Abenaki*, *Wendat*, *Malecite*, and *Micmac*). Conversely, the remaining 20% of Quebecers who live in the more northerly regions—most of them in regional centres like Saguenay, Rouyn-Noranda, Amos, Val-d'Or, Chibougamau, Baie-Comeau, and Sept-Îles—share the rest of the province with 80% of the Aboriginal population: 66,000 *Inuit* and First Nations peoples (*Cree*, *Naskapi*, *Innu*, *Attikamekw*, *Abitibiwinni*) in 14 Northern villages and 44 small Amerindian communities! Geographically speaking, the greater the distances separating the areas inhabited by Quebecers and the Aboriginal communities, the less threatened and the more vibrant their languages. However, with the spread of majority language education (in French and English) and the arrival of French and English language mass media in Aboriginal households, geographical isolation is no longer a barrier. Everywhere, majority language education levels are on the rise.

The second geographic observation has to do with the fragmentation of Aboriginal populations into small communities ranging in size from several hundred to several thousand individuals, none of them large enough to qualify as a town. The majority of Aboriginals in *Gépèg* (61%) live in these small communities, unlike in the rest of *Kanata*, where half of the Aboriginal population lives in cities and towns.

Table 3. Territorial and demolinguistic portrait of the Aboriginal peoples of Gépèg

Gaspé Peninsula and St. Lawrence Valley

<i>Micmac</i>	Listuguj 3,060 , Gesgapegiak 1,120, Gespèg 480
<i>Malecite</i>	Cacouna, 710 Withworth 2
<i>Abenaki</i>	Odanak 1,750, Wôlinak 210
<i>Wendat</i>	Wendake 1,900
<i>Kanien'kehaka:</i>	Kahnawake 8,995, Kanesatake 1,960, Akwesasne 100

Northern Regions

Innu

Mastheuiatsh 4,620, *Essipit* 390, *Betsiamites* 3,200, *Uashat Mak-Mani-Uténam* 3,220, *Matimekush* 790, *Ekuanitshit* Mingan 470, *Natashquan* 835, *Unamen Shipu-la Romaine* 930, *Pakua Shipi* 275

Attikamekw

Manawan 1,970, Wemotaci 1,390, Obedjiwan 2,110

Abitibiwinni

Kitigan Zibi Anishnabeg 2,490, Rapid Lake 590, Kipawa-Eagle Village 640, Hunter's Point 250, Winneway 650, Timiskaming 1,530, Kitcisapik 360, Abitibiwinni-Pikogan 790, Lac-Simon 1360

Naskapi

Kawawachikamach 581

Cree

Waswanipi 1,535, *Oujé-Bougoumou* 696, *Mistissini* 3,477, *Nemaska* 560, *Waskaganish* 2,151, *Eastmain* 606, *Wemindji* 1,238, *Chisasibi* 3,354, *Whapmagoostui* 728

The Arctic

Inuit

Hudson Bay coast: *Kuujuarapik* 587, *Umiujaq* 388, *Inukjuak* 1,262, *Purvirmituq* 1,404, *Akulivik* 482, *Ivujivik* 259

Ungava Bay coast: *Salluit* 1,165, *Kangiqsujuaq* 550, *Quataq* 333, *Kangirsuk* 496, *Aupaluk* 152, *Tasiujaq* 237, *Kuujuaq* 1,624, *Kangiqsualujuaq* 694

Blue Aboriginal language/French interface; Red: Aboriginal language/English interface; Trilingual interface

As for the 20,000 (39%) Aboriginals living **outside of these communities**, most are in urban areas. They include a number of **Métis**—whom, as we saw earlier, are laying claim to certain areas such as Pohénégamook and Mingan—and **non-status Indians**. They use the language of the city, either **French** or **English** (in Montreal).

Urgent action needed

The problem is the same across the Hemisphere: **indigenous languages are in survival mode!** *Innu*, *Cree* and *Inuktitut* benefit from good demographic prospects, widespread use as majority languages in the home and community, cultural autonomy, and channels of transmission. Experts say these factors alone should ensure their survival, but only to the extent that the cultures behind the languages overcome the same linguistic, educational, and intergenerational communication challenges facing the endangered languages. In other words, all Aboriginal languages face serious problems.

A question of numbers

The first of these is related to the number and distribution of speakers of indigenous languages. Overall, these numbers are very low, a challenge accentuated by the geographic isolation and small size of the Amerindian communities, none of which can lay claim to town status (the largest, *Mastheuiatsh*, has 4,600 inhabitants and the smallest, *Aupaluk*, has 150).

The negative effects of “diglossia” and “code switching”

The relationship between mother tongue and the language spoken at home is a major indicator of linguistic vitality, because a language that is no longer spoken at home cannot be transmitted to the next generation.

On the one hand, many community elders no longer speak their mother tongue, let alone read it. Within a few decades, there will be no more unilingual speakers of Aboriginal languages in these communities, increasing the likelihood of linguistic transfer to the majority language.

On the other hand, in all communities where ancestral languages are still customarily transmitted within the family environment, generalized bilingualism has become the norm, and could lead to more rapid assimilation to the majority language.

Communication between young people, who have relearned their mother tongue at school, and their parents, who were prevented from speaking theirs, is increasingly difficult. Currently, the dominant languages are gaining ground and infiltrating the ancestral tongues. This is called “code switching,” and it is increasingly common among young parents and young children. Add the difficulties posed by the transgenerational divide between youth and elders, especially those who only speak their Aboriginal mother tongue, and the mechanisms of transmission deteriorate.

Furthermore, owing to inadequate support and initiative, many Aboriginal languages are unable to develop vocabulary fast enough to “name” changing social realities or support transition and innovation, further contributing to their abandonment and to assimilation through higher education and employment. This undermines the balance and opens the door for the majority language to infiltrate traditional spheres of Aboriginal language use.

Two objectives are necessary. The [first objective](#) is a crucial priority: to maintain those Aboriginal languages still in use. This means stepping up measures to fight the loss of Aboriginal language speakers among the *Inuit*, *Innu*, *Abitibiwinni*, *Mohawk*, *Cree*, and *Naskapi* by maintaining and increasing the number of existing speakers. The [second objective](#) would be to help revive vanished or vanishing languages among the *Wendat*, *Abenaki*, *Malecite*, and *Métis*.

The survival and revival of all Native languages, even those no longer spoken, is a key priority and an issue of general concern for individuals in the various communities, band councils, First Nations cultural policy, and provincial and federal authorities.

A shared political challenge

Obviously, it is Aboriginals themselves who must decide whether they wish to preserve their ancestral languages, and how to go about it. The State cannot step in and do it for them, but it does have a moral duty to help them preserve their linguistic heritage. Governments hold their share of responsibility for the degradation and decline in Aboriginal language use, for they failed to provide the support required to secure their preservation. Cultural survival—which depends on maintaining traditions and languages—is clearly a fundamental right, but one that must be recognized and supported by all governments.

Education is crucial if Aboriginal languages are to innovate and adjust so that they can reflect and give voice to today’s world. In the economy, the workplace, and political and intergovernmental relations, measures must also be taken to foster the adaptation and institutionalization of these languages.

These problems are shared by all of the First Nations involved because of their [economic, political, and intercultural](#) dimensions. The economic, social, and political situation of Aboriginal peoples is another major aspect of the problem, as it relates to issues of autonomy and societal viability. It has a direct impact on the linguistic future of First Nations communities, because Aboriginal languages will only be preserved to the extent that Aboriginal societies remain viable.

Reducing mutual ignorance

Cultural relations between the First Nations and other Canadians—Francophones, Anglophones and immigrant visible minorities alike—are a fundamental weakness. Aboriginals are strangers in their own land. We must encourage more dialogue in the interest of mutual understanding. We must foster opportunities for “intercultural interpreters and bridge-builders.” Here I would like to stress the enhanced role that the institutions of the Francophonie must play in revitalizing indigenous languages and cultures. Aboriginal artistic initiatives in Francophone communities are a promising example, and express a unique character, not only within the Canadian Francophonie, but also on the international stage. They are the subject of the last section of my paper.

3

Portaged Languages

Language, rhythm, sound, technology—new paths for communication

Far from denying living Aboriginal languages, it is their future within the Canadian Francophone space that we are questioning. What if we were to examine things from another angle? I think that in today’s world, identity (collective and personal) extends beyond language to affirm and express itself through what I call *portaged languages*. All indigenous cultures, as we know, are based on *orality*, a comprehensive and all-encompassing expression of mores, customs, and spiritual beliefs that reflect the original worldviews of Aboriginal peoples. Yet orality is more than a matter of spoken language. It also expresses itself through these portaged languages in the form of artistic creativity. It is a mode of expression that embeds Aboriginal identities within the Francophone and Anglophone spaces of *Gépèg* and *Kanata*, as well as the planet at large.

Contemporary art...

(1) in all its forms is a formidable vehicle for ethical, esthetic, and linguistic renewal that revitalizes individuals and groups and helps them adapt to each other and their contemporary world;

(2) is a remarkable zone of interchange, cooperation, invention, and cross-fertilization, signs not of assimilation, but rather of a creative breach in mutual ignorance between cultures. Contemporary art may even be the positive flipside to “code switching” and its negative effect on Aboriginal languages, for not only does art embody cross-cultural translation, borrowing, and influence, it also gives rise to new hybrids, pooled resources, and intercultural innovations in public sculpture, music, song, theatre, film, video, and cyber art;

(3) stands apart from traditional art—which seeks to preserve and perpetuate Aboriginal heritage from a historic perspective—by advocating creativity and renewal for young generations in every sector: architecture, design, music, visual arts, song, sound poetry, multimedia arts, video, and virtual reality.

New generations of Aboriginal artists and intellectuals are not only making a career in official art circles, but are injecting new life into their communities. Never before has there been such a blossoming of Aboriginal art and artists in native communities or on the stage and screen and in galleries, media, and publishing houses in the Francophone cultural space and worldwide. Art interventions, harangues, performances, and theatrics are among the living spaces where Aboriginal languages are “cultural bridge-builders.” These are models of pride that spur learning

and a desire to exhibit, transmit, and continue working with and through Aboriginal cultures. Here are a few examples:

- *Taima*, a duo made up of Abitibi-born guitarist and composer Alain Augest and *Inuit* singer, poet, and video maker Élisapie Isaac of *Nunavik*, has won over Aboriginal communities and festivals in *Gépèg* and Europe with their songs performed in Inuktitut, French, and English.
- And what of Florent Vollant, the *Innu* singer-songwriter from *Mani Uténam*, who after bringing us *Kashin* in the 1990s, now works to encourage young musicians in his community while continuing to record with Francophone artists? It is no accident that a lovely song about *wampum* necklaces sung in French on his latest album *Katak* was penned by Zachary Richard, a Cajun of Acadian descent.
- Watch for a new crop of “Aboriginal rappers”—their tuques have feathers!
- Over the past quarter century, playwright, actor, and writer Yves Sioui Durand has produced a compelling body of original work with ONDINNOK—the only professional Huron-Iroquois theatre company in *Gépèg*—conveying a vision of the Amerindian identity that is remarkable for the times. His work having been honoured with awards like the *Prix des Amériques* at the *Festival de Théâtre des Amériques* and performed internationally, he has above all transformed intercultural space by immersing himself in Aboriginal communities and Francophone cultural space with healing theatre that brings together Native and non-Native actors and with presentations at international performance art festivals, experimental theatre workshops, and training for young Aboriginal actors in collaboration with the National Theatre School of Canada.
- The public sculpture *L'attente du printemps* in Baie-Sainte-Catherine at the mouth of the Saguenay River opposite Tadoussac eloquently symbolizes the first contacts and early mutual acceptance between the Amerindians and the French. The work of *Innu* sculptor Christophe Fontaine of *Uashat/Sept-Îles* and Pierre Bourgault of Saint-Jean-Port-Joli, it was created and unveiled in 2003 for the 400th anniversary of the meeting between Anadabijou and Champlain, at which the first alliance and trade treaty between the First Nations (*Innu*, *Algonquin*, *Malecite*) and the French was concluded in 1603, five years prior to the founding of Quebec City. The work takes the form of stylized caribou antlers, the caribou being the *Innu* sacred animal. Cast in aluminum to reflect the sky and the river and adorned with stylized *Innu* floral motifs, the sculpture is like an agora where people can meet.
- The media art of Cyber PoW WoW showcases online works by Aboriginal and non-Native artists from across the continent, an initiative backed by Oboro, an artist-run centre in Montreal and involving Mohawk multimedia artist Skawennati Tricia Fragnito. Art interventions and physical (sculpture) and virtual sites (www.cyberpowwow.net) keep the Aboriginal spirit alive and flowing in both directions.

Outside of *Gépèg*, in Francophone Acadia, for example, the Atlantic Visual Arts Festival (FAVA) in Caraquet always makes room for the First Nations, even though the Micmac and Malecite of the Maritimes speak English as their second language. Francophones, *Innu*, and *Inuit* (only 10% of whom still speak their mother tongue) live side by side in small villages in Labrador. *Métis* communities in Northern Ontario have Franco-Ontarian neighbors. In 2005, the community of Larder Lake near the border with Témiscamingue held its *Festival autochtone francophone*. Cultural exchanges are organized between active Francophone communities in the Northwest Territories, the First Nations, and *Métis* communities, notably in Yellowknife. As for the Prairies and British Columbia, 29% of *Métis* live in major cities like Winnipeg (31,395), Edmonton (21,065), Vancouver (12,505), Calgary (10,575), and Saskatoon (8,305), all centres with large Indian and Francophone populations. Our earlier look at the *Métis* nation and the *Michif* language is an example of the relationship between the Francophone space in St. Boniface (Winnipeg) and the cultural survival of the Prairie *Métis*.

These are examples of *portaged languages*, which affirm Aboriginal culture and orality in the Francophone cultural space. Their influence is visible in the spoken and written language, but also in the “passageways” they create between cultures. Furthermore, the growing number of interfaces, ties, and relationships linking the cultural and artistic communities is testimony to how the Francophone artistic environment has welcomed and adapted to the “Aboriginal presence.” Collaborations and cross-fertilizations are the modern-day continuation of the historic process of “Amerindianization” of Canadian Francophone cultural spaces. By the same token, rhythm, sound, poetry, and literature provide choice material for Aboriginal languages and the French language—as well as possibilities for the future.

4

Let’s not conclude, but rather finish the debate

We Aboriginal peoples are people of words. So let us harangue, discuss, and debate until we have exhausted the issues I hope to have raised in this paper.

Guy Sioui Durand
Tsie8ei
8enho8en

For more information

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- Contemporary visual arts: “Amérindie, les ruses de Corbeau/Coyote/Carcajou”, special feature in *ESSE Arts+Opinions*, Spring/Summer 2002 (www.esse.ca)

- Orality, mythology, performance, story telling, and sound poetry: *HorizonZero* (Web magazine) No. 17, “Tell” (www.horizonzero.ca)

- Film, video, media arts: Zacharias Kunuk, *Atarnajuat–The Fast Runner*; René Labelle-Sioui, *Kanata*; Alanis O'bomsawin, *Kanesatake, 270 Years of Resistance*; the Kino-style videos of Wapikoni Mobile; Cyber Pow Wow (www.cyberpowwow.net);

- Music: Florent Vollant, *Katak*; Gilles C. Sioui, *Gilles C. Sioui and the Midnight Riders*; Nathalie Picard, *Yérihwenhawi Nisukwas (Messages du Vent)*; Taima, *Taima* (www.taimaproject.com)

Museums and cultural centres: Odanak Abenakis Museum, the Native Museum of Mastheuitash (Pointe-Bleue); Innu Shaputuan Museum in Uashat/Sept-Îles; Mohawk Cultural Centre (*Kanien'kehaka Onkwawen:na Raotitiohkwa*) in Kahnawake; First Nations Garden Pavilion at the Montreal Botanical Garden; Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau; Musée de la civilisation de Québec, *Encounter With the First Nations* permanent exhibition.

- The author: (www.siouidurand.org)

ⁱ Our translation. Excerpt from the text “L’avenir du Mohawk,” published in *Les langues autochtones au Québec*, Dossiers No. 35, Gouvernement du Québec, 1993. The voice of radio and television broadcaster Myra Cree, a voice resonant with intelligence, commitment, and a deep love for culture and language, fell silent on October 13, 2005. With her death, the *Kanien’kehaka*, the other First Nations, and all *Gépèg* and *Kanata* lost a fervent advocate of dialogue, culture, artists, and the spoken and written word. The daughter and granddaughter of Mohawk chiefs, she devoted herself to seeking recognition for the unique voices of First Nations artists and cultural ambassadors. Myra Cree was very active in the Aboriginal community.

ⁱⁱ Algonquin word from which the name Canada is derived.

ⁱⁱⁱ Micmac name from which the word Quebec is derived.

^{iv} Jean-Jacques Simard, *La réduction. L’autochtone inventé et les amérindiens d’aujourd’hui*, Septentrion, Québec, 2003.

^v In the 2001 census, about 30%, or 292,310 persons, identified themselves as *Métis*. Two thirds (210,000) of them live in the Prairies, with Alberta home to the largest number—66,055. The Alberta population accounts for 23% of Canada’s *Métis*, followed by Manitoba with 56,795 (19%), and Ontario with 48,345 (nearly 17%). The five Census Metropolitan Areas with the largest *Métis* populations in 2001 were Winnipeg (31,395), Edmonton (21,065), Vancouver (12,505), Calgary (10,575), and Saskatoon (8,305). Together, they accounted for 29% of the *Métis* population. These people self-identify as *Métis*, making a distinction between themselves and the First Nations, Indians, *Inuit* and non-Natives. There are a certain number of Northern villages where *Métis* make up the majority of the population, notably La Loche, Ile-à-la-Crosse, Pinehouse, and Buffalo Narrows in Saskatchewan. Thirteen percent of Canada’s *Métis* live in British Columbia, and 18% in Ontario and Québec. The Aboriginal population of Newfoundland and Labrador is divided more or less equally between *Métis*, Indians and *Inuit*. *Métis* are found in the Happy Valley–Goose Bay area and a number of Labrador villages are majority *Métis*.

^{vi} According to the judgment, “The term *Métis* in s. 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* does not encompass all individuals with mixed Indian and European heritage; rather, it refers to distinctive peoples who, in addition to their mixed ancestry, developed their own customs, and recognizable group identity separate from their Indian or Inuit and European forebears.” It notes that in order to support a site-specific Aboriginal rights claim, an identifiable *Métis* community with some degree of continuity and stability must be established. “A *Métis* community is a group of *Métis* with a distinctive collective identity, living together in the same geographical area and sharing a common way of life.” The judgment also clarifies the notion of ancestral rights: “*Métis* communities evolved and flourished prior to the entrenchment of European control, when the influence of European settlers and political institutions became pre-eminent. It is therefore necessary to focus on the period after a particular *Métis* community arose and before it came under the control of European laws and customs.”

^{vii} The Quebec government has just commissioned a study on this phenomenon in two of Quebec’s regions: Abitibi-Témiscamingue and Saguenay–Lac-Saint-Jean.

^{viii} Although the Indian Movement in the United States drew wider media coverage—from the occupation of the former prison of Alcatraz (1969) to the second battle of Wounded Knee and the imprisonment of Leonard Pelletier—Canada and Quebec underwent their own “red revolution,” which actually got its start well before its U.S. counterpart. In 1954–55, *Wendat* Jules Sioui of *Wendake* founded the League of North American Indian Nations, the precursor of what would eventually become the Assembly of First Nations. Sioui, who defended himself against sedition charges without a lawyer and won, enjoyed support from artists of the Automatist Movement (GAUVREAU, BORDUAS, RIOPELLE & co.). In 1963, Aboriginals won the right to vote, ending a long period of second-class citizenship, but remained under federal trusteeship by virtue of the *Indian Act* of 1867. At *Terre des Hommes* during *Expo 67* in Montreal, the Indians of Canada Pavilion marked the first time that Aboriginals of Canada and Quebec had presented First Nations reserve life and independent art in their own terms to the rest of the world. Nothing would be the same

again. A series of landmark events followed. In 1975, the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* between the Quebec government and the *Cree*, *Inuit* and *Naskapi* nations was a veritable treaty, a blueprint for society paving the way for a new era. Other key episodes were the incidents involving the *Micmac* on the Restigouche River in the 1980s, the recognition of Aboriginals, *Inuit* and *Métis* in the *Constitution Act, 1982* as a result of the patriation of the Constitution, and, in rapid succession in 1990, the “crises” in *Kanesatake* and *Kahnawake* (Oka Crisis), the *Sioui Decision*, and the *Nisga’a* treaty. These were the prelude to the *Érasmus-Dussault* Royal Commission in 1995–96, which was followed by *Inuit* autonomy in *Nunavut*, the affirmation of *Nunavik* as the new millennium dawned. The first celebration marking the 300th anniversary of the *Great Peace of Montreal 1701–2001* heralded the signing of the *Peace of the Brave* by the *Cree*, *Naskapi* and *Inuit* in 2002, as well as negotiations with the *Attikamekw*, *Algonquin* and *Innu*, including the recent *Essipit* draft agreement in 2005.

**Francophone visible minority and ethnocultural communities
in Canada**

Diversity and Francophonie

Vancouver, November 2005

Milton Tanaka

The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Government of Canada.

Foreword

- The purpose of this short document is to provide Canada’s Francophone visible minority and ethnocultural communities with discussion themes to define their current needs and develop future strategies to help them flourish and contribute to their host societies. It is not an extensive and in-depth analysis of the challenges and issues facing the communities it describes.
- In drafting this document, we used the *Employment Equity Act* definition of “visible minority” adopted by Statistics Canada: “Persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” The visible minority population includes the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean, and Pacific Islander.”¹ According to this definition, a white Brazilian or an Armenian immigrant to Canada would be part of an ethnocultural group and not a visible minority group, for example.
- The terms “ethnocultural” or “ethnic origin”² as defined by Statistics Canada and used by Canadian Heritage refer to ethnic or cultural groups to which an individual belongs by race, language, or religion at birth. Ethnocultural origin is tied to ancestral roots or antecedents, and should not be confused with the definition of visible minority or citizenship. The definition of ethnoculture encompasses visible minorities. For example, according to this definition, Canadians of Chinese origin belong to Canada’s visible minority and ethnocultural groups. But Canadians of Greek origin belong to an ethnocultural group, not to a visible minority.
- Since our goal was to identify Canada’s Francophone visible minority communities, for whom there are many more obstacles to integration, we used only one Eastern European ethnoculture—Romanians—as a reference. The immigration of French-speaking Western Europeans to Canada dates back a long time and would make another interesting topic of study.
- To identify the Francophone visible minority and ethnocultural communities in Canada, we used the concept of First Official Language Spoken (FOLS)³ together with the notion of ethnic origin. The Statistics Canada definition of Francophone, “a person whose mother tongue is French,”⁴ excludes a large number of Canadians who use French on a daily basis.

Note 1 We recommend the following in-depth studies as a companion to this document:

- *Official Languages and Immigration: Obstacles and Opportunities for Immigrants and Communities*. Carsten Quell, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.
- *Immigration and the Vitality of Canada’s Official Language Communities: Policy, Demography and Identity*. Jack Jedwab, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

¹ Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/>

² Idem

³ Floch, William, *Official Languages and Diversity in Canada*, Canadian Heritage, http://www.pch.gc.ca/pc-ch/pubs/diversity2003/floch_e.cfm

⁴ Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/>

Methodology

- The statistical information on Francophone visible minority and ethnocultural groups and their geographic distribution was compiled from data available under the “Ethnic Origin” section of the Statistics Canada 2001 Census⁵ and on the Web site of Quebec’s Ministère de l’Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC).⁶
- Since our goal was to identify Francophone visible minority and ethnocultural groups, we associated statistics on ethnic origin with those on French-speaking countries of origin, that is, countries where French is either the official language, an official language, or a language in common use.
- We opted for this method since the information available from Statistics Canada for “language spoken at home,” “language spoken at work,” and so on was not detailed enough to determine whether the communities targeted by this study were French-speaking, which is why we chose to apply the notion of FOLS (First Official Language Spoken).
- We realize that this is a relative approach, in the sense that it would be unwise to conclude that all immigrants from French-speaking countries are necessarily Francophones. For example, in the case of Vietnam, the first waves of political refugees and immigrants, who had a high level of education, were French-speaking. Subsequent waves of immigrants—mainly economic—included a certain number who did not speak French.
- Certain visible minority and ethnocultural groups, including a number of black Francophone groups from African countries such as Djibouti, Burkina Faso, Chad, and others are not included in the data available from Statistics Canada. Since we were unable to find any other way to identify and measure these communities, we omitted them from our study.
- This document focuses on Francophone visible minority groups from four distinct groups: Blacks from the French-speaking Caribbean, Blacks from French-speaking Africa, Arabs from Lebanon and the Maghreb, and French-speaking Indochinese. Canadians of Romanian origin, a white ethnocultural minority group, were also included in this study for reference purposes.

5 Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/>

6 Ministère de l’Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Québec, <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/transition/index.html>

The need for a new definition of the term “Francophone”

- Statistics Canada and the federal and provincial governments determine whether immigrants are Francophone, Anglophone, or Allophone based on their mother tongue. This poses a problem, particularly with Francophones, since the mother tongue of many new immigrants may be Creole, Arabic, Baoulé, or another language, yet they have been educated in French and now live and work in French. This restrictive definition of “Francophone” (the same applies, to a lesser extent, to the definition of “Anglophone”) completely ignores complex linguistic and ethnocultural factors that are intrinsic to today’s worldwide immigration movements.
- The concept of First Official Language Spoken (FOLS)⁷ used in a number of recent federal government documents is more comprehensive and statistically valid, since it encompasses knowledge of official languages, mother tongue, and language spoken at home.
- To obtain objective data on whether certain visible minority and ethnocultural groups in Canada are considered Francophone, ideally a statistical census should be taken of the languages spoken by immigrants by linking them to their ethnocultural origin. However, it appears that this kind of initiative would generate additional costs, according to the following quote from the Statistics Canada Web site:
 - *“The core language variables (most often used in classifying the population by linguistic skills) relate to mother tongue, language spoken at home and knowledge of official (and non-official) languages. From the point of view of linguistic studies it is desirable to collect information for all three but constraints of cost or respondent burden may limit inquiries to one. In such cases, the use of the mother tongue variable is preferable.”⁸*
- However, citing cost constraints and respondent burden as justification could mask the true picture of Canada’s evolving linguistic situation and remove the possibility of measuring the human and linguistic capital created by immigration. As Carsten Quell says in *Official Languages and Immigration*⁹, “... the number of Francophones from African and Caribbean countries would be severely underestimated if we only considered the mother tongue of immigrants. In the case of Morocco, Algeria, and Haiti, for example, there are very few people who speak French as their mother tongue but many who know French or even both official languages.
- The current definition of “Francophone” used by most government organizations in Canada does not allow us to measure major linguistic changes in the country. What is not measured cannot be known and what is not known is at risk of being overlooked before this ethnolinguistic wealth can even begin to help grow the human capital generated by immigration in Canada’s host societies.

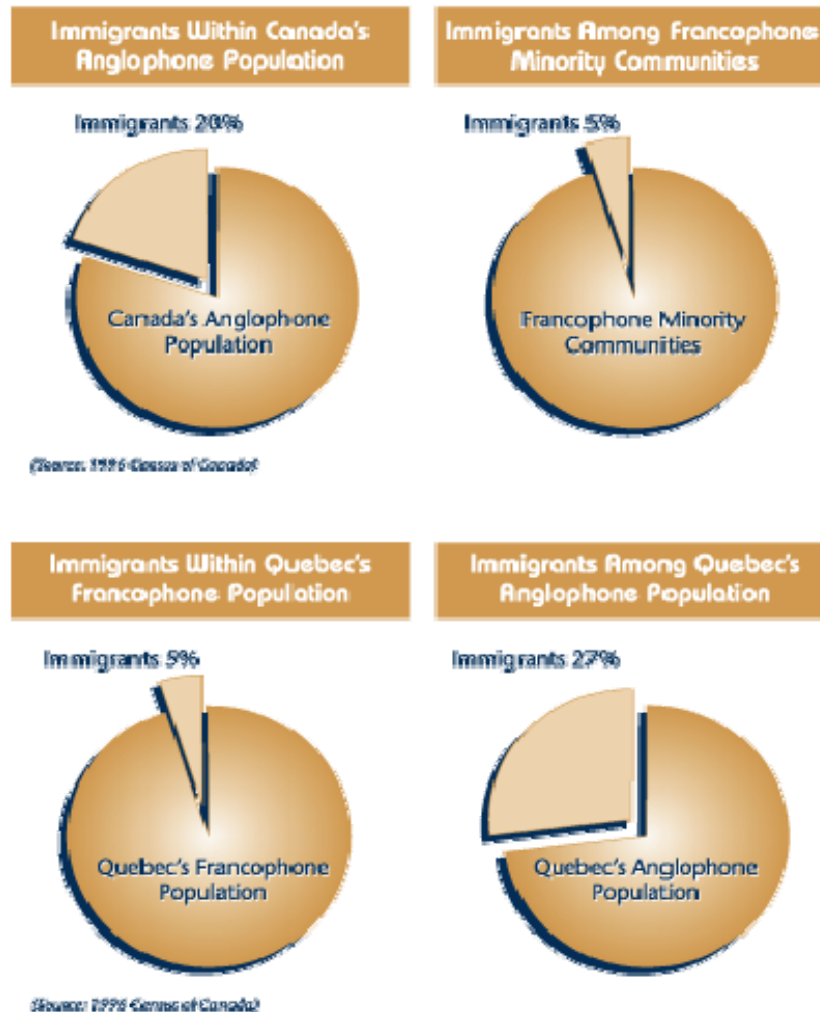
7 Floch, William, *Official Languages and Diversity in Canada*, Canadian Heritage, http://www.pch.gc.ca/pch/pubs/diversity2003/floch_e.cfm

8 Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/concepts/definitions/language.htm>

9 Quell, Carsten, *Official Languages and Immigration: Obstacles and Opportunities for Immigrants and Communities*. Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. http://www.ocol.gc.ca/html/stu_etu_imm_112002_e.php

Changing Francophone demographic situations in Canada and Quebec

- For centuries, Europe was the main source of French-speaking immigrants to the country. But by the 1990s, most Francophone immigrants arriving in Canada were not of European origin, and 75% of them belonged to visible minority groups. Despite these figures, Francophone minority communities in Canada and even in Quebec, which has its own Francophone immigrant recruitment policies, are attracting Francophone immigrants in numbers barely proportional to their demographic weight.



Source: Quell, Carsten. *Official Languages and Immigration: Obstacles and Opportunities for Immigrants and Communities*. Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.
http://www.ocol.gc.ca/html/stu_etu_imm_112002_e.php

Highlights of Francophone immigration to Canada (outside Quebec)

- According to 1996 statistics, individuals born outside Canada made up less than 5% of Francophone minority communities outside Quebec, despite the crying need for immigrants to prevent these aging minority communities (Acadians, Franco-Manitobans)¹⁰ from losing their demographic and economic vitality.
- Immigrants from Francophone visible minority and ethnocultural groups tend to settle mainly in Canada's large urban centres. This is also true for Anglophone and Allophone immigrants.
- Ontario, with its strong economy, has experienced exponential growth in the population of its visible minority and ethnocultural groups, especially from immigration. These immigrants face an additional challenge if they do not speak English. After Quebec, Ontario is the province that welcomes the greatest number of Francophone immigrants—primarily in the Toronto CMA¹¹ (Census Metropolitan Area).
- British Columbia (Vancouver CMA) is the second destination of choice (not including Quebec) for Francophone immigrants, while Alberta (Calgary and Edmonton CMAs) is home to the third largest community of Francophone immigrants.
- According to 1996 statistics, New Brunswick has the widest gap between Francophone residents (35%) and Francophone immigrants (1.2%).
- In Canada (not including Quebec), 98% of Francophone immigrants can also speak English. A small percentage of immigrants who settle outside Quebec continue to speak French only.
- Nearly 50% of Francophone immigrants who settle outside Quebec choose English as their language of daily use—a phenomenon known as linguistic transfer. One of the possible explanations for this is that, faced with a lack of French-language services and structures, many immigrants simply turn to English-language services and institutions.

Total number of Francophone immigrants who settled outside Quebec – 1999-2001 (includes immigrants who speak French and English)

	Newcomers to Canada (outside Quebec)	Francophone newcomers to Canada (outside Quebec)
1999	161,000	3,220 (2.0%)
2000	195,000	5,570 (2.9%)
2001	214,000	6,722 (3.1%)

Source: Quell, Carsten. *Official Languages and Immigration: Obstacles and Opportunities for Immigrants and Communities*. Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/archives/sstes/2002/obstacle/obstacle_e.htm

¹⁰ O'Keefe, Michael, *Francophone Minorities: Assimilation and Community Vitality*, Canadian Heritage, 2001, <http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/lo-ol/perspectives/english/assimil2/index.html>

¹¹ CMA – A census metropolitan area (CMA) or a census agglomeration (CA) is formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centred on a large urban area (known as the urban core). The census population count of the urban core is at least 10,000 to form a census agglomeration and at least 100,000 to form a census metropolitan area. To be included in the CMA or CA, other adjacent municipalities must have a high degree of integration with the central urban area, as measured by commuting flows derived from census place of work data. Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Reference/dict/geo009.htm>

Highlights of Francophone immigration to Quebec

- The Quebec government's passing of the Charter of the French Language known as Bill 101 in 1977 reinforced the use of French as the official language and required immigrants to send their children to French-language schools and institutions.
- Quebec experienced steady growth in the number of Francophone immigrants to the province as a result of its own overseas recruitment strategies¹² negotiated with the federal government and ratified by successive agreements from 1971 to 1978. In 1988, Ottawa transferred responsibility and funding to Quebec to manage its own immigrant reception and settlement programs. Between 1961 and 1970, Quebec welcomed 76% of Francophone immigrants to Canada. That figure rose to 85% from 1991 to 1996.
- Quebec's visible minority and ethnocultural Francophones are made up not only of immigrants from French-speaking countries, but also of descendants of immigrants from all countries who attended or are attending French-language schools in Quebec. These offspring of the first waves of immigrants are known as the Children of Bill 101 and are proof that this legal measure has helped contribute to the vitality of the French language among Quebecers of all origins.
- Quebec is the province that welcomes the greatest number of Francophone immigrants, primarily in the Montreal CMA.¹³ From 1968 to 1989, 180,000 Francophone immigrants, or 35% of all new immigrants to Canada, settled in the province. Between 1990 and 1999, 130,000 Francophone immigrants, or 37% of all Francophone immigrants, settled in Quebec. From 1996 to 1999, that number climbed to 70%.
- The number of immigrants to Canada who speak only French rose steadily between 1961 and 1996—an increase of 3% to 5%. This is largely due to the Government of Quebec's independent initiatives to recruit Francophone immigrants.

Total number of Francophone immigrants who settled in Quebec – 1999-2001 (includes immigrants who speak French and English)

	Total number of newcomers to Quebec	Francophone newcomers to Quebec
1999	29,100	12,500 (43%)
2000	32,500	14,700 (45%)
2001	37,600	17,600 (47%)

Source: Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Québec (MICC)
http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/pdf/Plan_immigration_2003.pdf

¹² Jedwab, Jack, *Immigration and the Vitality of Canada's Official Language Communities: Policy, Demography and Identity*, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages
http://www.ocol-clo.qc.ca/html/stu_etu_imm_022002_e.php

¹³ Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Québec
<http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/transition/index.html>

Visible minority and ethnocultural Francophones in Francophone minority communities in Canada (outside Quebec)

- Visible minority and ethnocultural Francophones newly arrived in Francophone minority communities in Canada find themselves in a situation of minority within a minority. In 1994, sociolinguist Monica Heller pointed out the difficulty of integrating visible minority and ethnocultural Francophones into Francophone minority communities outside Quebec, especially with regard to access to institutions. Heller's research describes the challenges involved in sharing services, specifically within the school system.¹⁴
- In *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity*,¹⁵ Monica Heller also highlights the pivotal role of French-language schools outside Quebec in the balance of power between various Francophone groups in a minority situation. In the case of a specific French-language school in Toronto, the teaching of the French language is not only a tool to unify the community and counterbalance assimilation into the English-language group, it is also a subliminal tool that stratifies minorities within minorities.
- In this French-language school in Toronto—a microcosm of the diversity of the contemporary Francophonie—the vernacular French of a number of French-language African immigrants and, ironically, of several “old stock” Quebecers, is strongly discouraged in favour of “international” French. This is an example of the sociolinguistic stratification mechanisms that lead to the creation of an elite Francophone minority within a minority.
- Access to public education by visible minority and ethnocultural Francophones in Francophone minority communities is a measure of the success (or failure) of relations between host communities and Canada's new Francophones from diverse backgrounds. The challenges are even greater given that host and immigrant communities often already have weak communication ties and use different processes to redefine their priorities and communities themselves.¹⁶
- The concept of two founding peoples, for example, appears to create an obstacle to open discussion and the integration of visible minority and ethnocultural Francophones in Francophone minority communities. Some “old stock” Francophones who automatically associate the French language with ethnic origin in justifying their claims against the Anglophone majority may resist the ethnocultural and linguistic changes brought about by new immigration movements.

¹⁴ Heller, Monica, *La sociolinguistique et l'éducation franco-ontarienne*. Sociologie et sociétés, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1994.

¹⁵ Heller, Monica, *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity. A Sociolinguistic Ethnography*. London–New York, Longman, 1998.

¹⁶ Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI), *Institutional Change: Building an inclusive OCASI network and enhancing the participation of African and Haitian Canadian Francophone Communities*, Report to Canadian Heritage, <http://www.ocasi.org/index.php?qid=749&catid=157>

Some of the difficulties faced by visible minority and ethnocultural Francophones in Canada and Quebec

- The first point to note is that statistical and qualitative information on visible minority and ethnocultural Francophones is sorely lacking. Social service and education needs cannot be evaluated or planned until these groups are measured by Canada's federal and provincial institutions. A vast, nationwide statistical and qualitative survey is a must.
- Visible minority and ethnocultural Francophones outside Quebec (and in Quebec in the high tech sector) must also become proficient in English if they hope to find employment.
- The structure and capacity of Francophone immigrant reception institutions outside Quebec appear to be inadequate.¹⁷ This impedes the growth and involvement of these groups in their host societies. Worse still, it leads to considerable loss of human capital given that immigration is not only about turning the demographic trend around, but also about investing in renewing the country's human resources and intellectual capital.
- One of the challenges facing immigrants across Canada is that the diplomas, work experience, and qualifications of many newcomers of ethnocultural origin are not recognized here. Canadian and Quebec companies often require "Canadian work experience," and this creates a Catch-22 situation for immigrants trying to get into the job market. It is patently obvious that immigrants cannot have prior work experience in Canada, particularly those who are newly arrived. The requirement for "Canadian work experience" is in reality one of the systemic and racial barriers that prevents the integration of immigrants into their host societies, especially those who belong to visible minority groups.
- In Canada and Quebec, many qualified immigrants from all ethnocultural backgrounds are forced to accept lower-paying jobs for which they are overqualified. This situation increases their frustration and destroys their sense of belonging and contribution to their host society.
- Even the most advanced research in the field seems to overlook the fact that Canada's minority Francophones are not the only ones who associate their language with their ethnocultural heritage. Francophone ethnocultural communities built on immigration also have a linguistic identity tied to the French language, even if French is not their mother tongue. In the case of Blacks from French-speaking Africa and Haiti, for example, the French language is an historic component of their ethnolinguistic identity.
- Conclusions such as "It is hard to justify support for the promotion of ethnic identification within the support for official languages"¹⁸ may stem from a traditional, dualistic reasoning based on the monolithic concept of Canada's two founding peoples. It is not a matter of promoting ethnic identity (that is what the Multiculturalism Program is for), but rather of fostering the vitality of Francophone ethnocultural communities through direct support for the creation and use of basic services such as education, immigrant reception centres, integration, and the monitoring of Francophone immigration to Canada.

¹⁷ Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI), *Institutional Change: Building an inclusive OCASI network and enhancing the participation of African and Haitian Canadian Francophone Communities*, Report to Canadian Heritage, <http://www.ocasi.org/index.php?qid=749&catid=157>

¹⁸ Jedwab, Jack, *Immigration and the Vitality of Canada's Official Language Communities: Policy, Demography and Identity*, p. 46, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/html/stu_etu_imm_022002_e.php

Brief overview of the communities

(**Note:** We examined the data provided by Statistics Canada for the distribution of communities in the provinces and the CMAs, where they tend to be concentrated. As a result, we did not compile data for Prince Edward Island, the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut.)

Communities from the French-speaking Caribbean

- Canada's Francophone Caribbean communities hail from Haiti and Martinique. In terms of numbers, Haitian immigration to Canada is the most significant, with 82,405 people counted in the 2001 Census.¹⁹ Individuals from Martinique numbered 605 in the same census. This population was relatively small before the 1960s owing to the discriminatory clauses in Canada's *Immigration Act* that prohibited non-European and non-White immigration.
- Haiti's successive, corrupt dictatorial regimes headed by "Papa Doc" Duvalier from 1957 to 1971 and "Baby Doc" Duvalier from 1971 to 1986 triggered waves of immigrants to Canada, especially to Quebec, because of the French language. From 1973 to 1996, Quebec was the destination of choice for Haitians, attracting 94% of all Haitian immigrants to Canada during that period. The first immigrants from Haiti, who arrived between 1960 and 1970, belonged for the most part to the Haitian elite.²⁰ Immigration for the purpose of family reunification rose considerably between 1972 and 1991, then stabilized toward the late 1990s. Among the entire Haitian community in Canada, about 40% were born in Canada and 60% outside the country. In terms of religion, 60% are Catholics and 30% are Protestants.

Geographic distribution

Caribbean origin	Canada	Newfound land and Labrador	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Haiti	82,405	10	85	130	74,465	6,530	105	40	460	575
Martinique	605	0	0	10	515	60	0	10	0	10

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census, total of single and multiple responses

- Most of Canada's Haitian community of 74,465 people has settled in Quebec—primarily in the Montreal CMA, where the community numbered 69,940 in the 2001 census. In Ontario, 6,530 people, mostly in the Toronto CMA, stated they were of Haitian origin.
- According to the 2001 Census, Montreal was also the destination of choice for 515 immigrants from Martinique, or 85% of the total community of 605 individuals in Canada.

Main challenges

- Despite the unquestionable contribution of the Haitian community to its host societies, the percentage of persons of Haitian origin living below the poverty line appeared to be among the highest in Canada in 2001. "According to figures from Statistics Canada and the City of Montreal, the two city boroughs with the greatest number of low-income residents were those made up mainly of people of Haitian origin."²¹ Despite the success of members of this community in the arts, literature, sciences, and politics, it is one of the poorest communities in Canada.

¹⁹ Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/Index.cfm>

²⁰ *Historica, The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://tceplus.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCESearch>

²¹ *La maison d'Haiti*, <http://www.mhaiti.org/communaute.htm>

Communities from French-speaking Africa

- Owing to Canada's *Immigration Act* of the time, as with the Black Caribbean populations, there was no significant immigration of Black Africans prior to the 1960s. This piece of legislation promoted racial selection policies and selectively encouraged White European immigration. Yet the Black presence in Canada dates back a long time—between 1783 and 1785, nearly 3,000 Black American Loyalists fleeing slavery in the United States settled in Nova Scotia.²² Their descendants still live in the province today.
- Most of the Black African immigrants to Canada come from the former British colonies. “South Africa, with its now-abolished socially oppressive apartheid regime, was the main source of African immigrants to Canada, followed by Tanzania, Ethiopia, Kenya, Ghana, Uganda, and Nigeria.”²³
- To help distinguish between the various distinct Black identities and ethnocultural realities, it is worth pointing out that the Black Anglophone Jamaican-Canadian community of 211,720 persons is almost as large as Canada's Black African community of 294,705 (all ethnocultures combined). The country's 82,405 people of Haitian origin make up the largest segment of Canada's French-speaking Black population.
- While immigration from French-speaking Black Africa began to grow as of the 1980s, the numbers are still relatively low compared to immigration from Africa's former British colonies. According to the Statistics Canada 2001 Census, 21,075 people from countries in French-speaking Africa²⁴ stated that they were of Black ethnic origin.
- Statistics Canada data from 2001 also shows that Canada's French-speaking Black African communities came from Burundi, Cameroon, Congo (Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa), Guinea, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Senegal, and Togo.
- The following African countries considered French-speaking by the international Francophonie are not included in the Statistics Canada data: Benin, Burkina Faso, Comoros, Djibouti, Gabon, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Niger, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, and Chad.

Geographic distribution

French-speaking African country of origin	Canada	Newfound land and Labrador	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Burundi	1,900	0	0	0	1,175	590	45	0	85	0
Cameroon	2,070	0	0	15	1,550	460	0	0	35	15
Congo	6,235	0	0	10	3,835	1,830	75	25	255	155
Guinea	1,120	0	0	0	915	115	0	10	50	20
Ivory Coast	1,120	0	0	15	955	110	0	0	15	15
Madagascar	780	0	0	0	600	85	0	0	55	40
Mali	815	0	0	0	680	70	40	0	10	15
Mauritius	2,720	0	0	20	1,380	880	40	45	80	225
Senegal	1,675	0	0	15	1,340	225	25	10	10	50
Togo	755	0	0	10	485	215	10	10	10	20
Zaire	1,885	0	0	0	1,330	485	0	10	35	15

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census, total of single and multiple responses

²² *Remembering Black Loyalists*, <http://museum.gov.ns.ca/blackloyalists/>

²³ *A Scattering of Seeds, The Creation of Canada*, <http://www.whitepinepictures.com/seeds/ii/20/history2.html>

²⁴ Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/Index.cfm>

Main challenges

- People from Black visible minorities are among those who suffer the most discrimination in Canada. The Statistics Canada report *Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a multicultural society (2003)* notes that 32%, or one third, of all Blacks in Canada, regardless of ethnocultural origin, experienced some form of racial discrimination or unfair treatment in the five years prior to the release of the report.²⁵ Immigrants from French-speaking Black Africa share the same challenges with integrating into and thriving in their host societies as those from the French-speaking Black Caribbean. In terms of the socioeconomic status of Black communities from French-speaking Africa in their host societies, we found no detailed information describing the situation.

Communities from Lebanon and the Maghreb

Lebanese Canadians

- Immigration to Canada from Lebanon began in 1882.²⁶ With the main waves of Lebanese immigration following WWII, and the economic crises of 1962, the number of people of Lebanese origin in Canada grew steadily. Lebanon's violent civil war in the 1970s also pushed many Lebanese to immigrate to Canada. Lebanese Canadians are spread across Canada, primarily in the main urban centres. Lebanese Canadians are now in their fourth generation, and have tended to integrate into their host societies and show initiative by setting up numerous businesses, often within their close or extended families, at least to begin with.

Maghrebi Canadians (Algerians, Moroccans, Tunisians)

(**Note:** We did not include Mauritania in this analysis given the lack of information available from Statistics Canada. Libya was also left out because it is not considered French-speaking.)

- Immigration from the Maghreb to Canada is a relatively new trend, with most of the immigrant population between the ages of 27 and 50.²⁷ The waves of immigration in the 1960s and 70s were made up mostly of independent immigrants, tradespeople, and professionals. They were followed by immigrants sponsored by their immediate families in Canada. In the 1970s and 80s, numerous Maghrebi university students decided to settle in Quebec after graduating.
- Since the 1980s, the economic crises, repression of individual liberties, and restrictive policies that have stifled countries in the Maghreb have led to a new wave of Maghrebi immigrants to Canada, and specifically to Quebec, given the predominance of French.

Geographic distribution

Lebanese Canadians

- Lebanese Canadians live all across the country, with the largest populations in major urban centres²⁸ in the provinces of Quebec, with 48,990 people (43,740 in the Montreal CMA); Ontario, with 59,155 people (19,410 in the Toronto CMA, 21,110 in the Ottawa-Hull CMA, and 6,990 in the Windsor CMA); Alberta, with 17,660 people (Calgary and Edmonton CMAs); and British Columbia, with 5,635 people (3,830 in the Vancouver CMA).

²⁵ <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-593-XIE/89-593-XIE2003001.pdf>

²⁶ Historica, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://tceplus.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCESearch>

²⁷ Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Québec, <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/>

²⁸ Idem

Lebanese origin	Newfound land Labrador	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
143,635	515	6,565	2,315	48,990	59,155	1,200	1,010	17,660	5,635

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census, total of single and multiple responses

Algerian Canadians

- Algerian immigration to Canada is a more recent trend, and picked up considerably after 1991, which marked the start of the Algerian civil war that, to this day, has pitted successive governments against various armed Islamic groups. Of the 15,500 people of Algerian origin living in Canada, 13,545 live in Quebec, primarily in the Montreal CMA (12,610 people).²⁹

Moroccan Canadians

- Of the 21,355 people in Canada who stated they were of Moroccan origin, 17,540 live in Quebec, including 16,130 in the Montreal CMA. Ontario is home to 2,970 people of Moroccan origin, including 2,140 in the Toronto CMA³⁰.

Tunisian Canadians

- Of the 4,325 immigrants of Tunisian origin who chose to settle in Quebec, 99% live in the Montreal CMA (4,320).³¹

Maghrebi origin	Canada	Newfound land Labrador	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Algerian	15,500	25	0	70	13,545	1,310	40	85	160	265
Moroccan	21,355	15	0	25	17,540	2,970	105	10	295	375
Tunisian	5,325	15	15	15	4,325	845	0	0	45	50

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census, total of single and multiple responses

Main challenges

- Immigrants of Lebanese origin and their descendants appear to be flourishing in Canada without any major problems, except for a few observations—which some researchers refer to as “acculturation”³²—concerning the speed of assimilation and loss of cultural identity.
- As for immigrants of Maghrebi origin, the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the oversimplified interpretation by the North American mass media of Algerians in particular triggered a resurgence of racial and political prejudices. In 2002, bending to pressure from Washington, Canada’s former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (Denis Coderre) and Quebec’s former Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities (Rémy Trudel) agreed to put a stay on applications by political refugees and immigrants from Algeria.³³ A number of Algerian nationals awaiting political refugee status in Canada were summarily deported to Algeria by the Chrétien government of the day.

²⁹ Ministère de l’Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Québec- MICC, <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/>

³⁰ Idem

³¹ Idem

³² *Historica, The Canadian Encyclopedia* <http://tceplus.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCESearch>

³³ Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/archives.asp>

Communities from French-speaking Indochina

- The first wave of Indochinese immigration consisted of some 6,500 Vietnamese political refugees who arrived in Canada after the defeat of the U.S. military in 1975 and the subsequent fall of the Thiệu regime.³⁴ Prior to that, in the 1960s, Quebec accepted some 1,200 immigrants from Laos and Cambodia. In 1978, there were about 10,000 Indochinese in Canada, mostly in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, and Calgary. This first wave of immigrants were highly educated and were, for the most part, professionals, ex-soldiers, and former bureaucrats loyal to the Thiệu regime.
- Starting in 1978, the exodus of “boat people” made up of Vietnamese and Vietnamese Chinese began arriving in Canada as refugees. They were joined by Laotians and Cambodians who had taken temporary refuge in Thailand waiting for sponsorship programs to be set up by private, religious, and community groups in Canada. At that point, the number of Indochinese immigrants climbed to 60,000, and many were sent to host communities far from the major urban centres. In the 1980s, Indochinese continued to immigrate to Canada as political refugees and designated-class immigrants. Consistent efforts by Canadians of Indochinese origin to sponsor their family members to immigrate to Canada resulted in an exponential increase in these communities in the 1990s. More than half the members of these groups are Buddhists, and about one quarter are Catholic.
- Since 1990, over 50% of Indochinese immigrants have settled in Ontario, with the remainder heading in roughly equal numbers to Quebec, British Columbia, and Alberta.

Geographic distribution

Indochinese origin	Canada	Newfound land Labrador	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Cambodian	20,430	0	10	15	9,405	6,740	440	245	1,975	1,600
Khmer	1,000	0	0	0	600	265	15	25	75	20
Laotian	16,950	10	0	15	5,180	6,805	1,375	635	1,465	1,460
Vietnamese	151,410	70	790	235	28,310	67,450	3,755	1,870	21,490	27,190
Hmong	595	0	0	0	15	485	0	0	25	65

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census, total of single and multiple responses

Main challenges

- Recently, many Indochinese have immigrated from Canada to the United States, owing to ties with the Indochinese diaspora in major American cities. Starting in 2000, with economic reforms and Vietnam’s recent opening up, there has been a small return flow of Vietnamese to their country of origin as investors.³⁵

³⁴ *Historica, The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://tceplus.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCESearch>

³⁵ *Idem*

Communities from Romania

- o French has traditionally been a second language in Romania.³⁶ Between 1921 and 1931, the first waves of Romanian immigrants settled in Montreal, Canada's largest French-speaking city. In 1931, Canada was home to 29,000 people of Romanian origin. Aside from Montreal, subsequent waves of immigrants settled mostly in Toronto, Hamilton, and Windsor, Ontario. According to the 2001 Census, the total population of Romanian origin in Canada numbered 131,830. The Toronto CMA is currently home to the largest Romanian community in the country, with 27,180 people. Most Romanians belong to the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Geographic distribution

Romanian origin Canada	Newfound land Labrador	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
131,830	115	815	350	19,455	56,415	3,950	10,290	20,235	19,910

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census, total of single and multiple responses

Main challenges

- o Compared to its visible minority communities, Canada's communities of Romanian origin appear to have integrated into their host societies without any major difficulties. We did not find any information on pressing or critical issues among Canada's Romanian communities.

Note 3: The figures on Canada's ethnocultural communities cited in this study are based on data from the Statistics Canada 2001 Census. In 2002, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) unveiled its strategic immigration plan *Towards Building a Canadian Francophonie of Tomorrow*³⁷ designed to boost the number of Francophone immigrants to Francophone minority communities. The plan aimed to:

- Improve the capacity of Francophone minority communities to receive Francophone newcomers and to strengthen their reception and settlement infrastructures
- Ensure the economic and social integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into Francophone minority communities in particular.
- Foster regionalization of Francophone immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver.

In 2003, Citizenship and Immigration Canada also declared that "more than 120,000 new Francophone immigrants have chosen to settle in Francophone and Acadian communities outside Quebec."³⁸

Given the anticipated results of these strategies, we suspect that the number of persons from Francophone ethnocultural communities has increased significantly since the last census in 2001. Detailed statistics will not be available until the 2006 Census. It is therefore necessary to measure this increase by a more precise methodology and a less restrictive definition of "Francophone" than that currently used by federal and provincial agencies.

³⁶ *Historica, The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://tceplus.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCESearch>

³⁷ CIC, *Towards Building a Canadian Francophonie of Tomorrow: Summary of Initiatives 2002–2006 to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/settlement/plan-minorities.asp>

³⁸ CIC, *Towards Building a Canadian Francophonie of Tomorrow: Summary of Initiatives 2002–2006 to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/settlement/plan-minorities.asp>

Conclusion

Canada is competing with a number of countries, including Australia and the United States, in its use of immigration policies to counterbalance demographic decline and to build and maintain an internationally competitive human capital. Immigrants are looking for better quality of life and more opportunities for personal growth than is available to them in their countries of origin. Canada attracts highly qualified immigrants, but statistics show that a significant percentage of them are either unemployed or employed in positions that do not allow them to contribute to Canadian society to their full potential.

It is fundamental that the considerable investments Canada makes to attract immigrants continue after the newcomers arrive in the country. While the French language is not a factor in countries such as Australia and the United States, Canada's French presence is a catalyst for cultural creativity and economic competitiveness in the face of English-language U.S. dominance on the world scene. When French-speaking immigrants are directed to Francophone minority communities, the lack or poor quality of reception and settlement services for newcomers can create an irreparable sense of isolation and frustration during the adaptation process. These services must be as good as or better than those available in majority communities.

The French language is a common denominator that can help Francophone immigrants flourish in a country—and in a language—that nurtures their sense of belonging. It can also help Francophone minority communities forge a sense of identity and strengthen their presence in Canada. The diversity of the French-speaking world calls for changes that, so long as they are seen as advantages rather than threats, will help create an open and contemporary Francophone society in Canada.

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The Canadian Francophonie, From Sea to Sea

Diversity and Francophonie

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Note: The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Government of Canada.

The Canadian Francophonie, From Sea to Sea

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Introduction

Names carry meaning. They designate and they distinguish. They speak of identity, whether individual or shared.

For over a century, the expression “French Canada” was used to designate the country’s entire French-speaking population. The majority of French-speaking Canadians were from Quebec or from Acadia, which is considered part of French Canada. But that did not prevent French Canadians from identifying with provinces and, from early in the 20th century, developing French-Canadian organizations at the provincial level, such as the *Association canadienne-française de l’Alberta* and the *Association canadienne-française d’éducation* in Ontario and Manitoba.

The many names we use today to designate French-speaking communities point in two opposing directions. One trend is centrifugal, with communities strongly voicing their provincial or territorial identity: Quebecer, Franco-Ontarian, Franco-Manitoban, Franco-Saskatchewanian, Franco-Albertan, Franco-British Columbian, Franco-Yukoner, Franco-People of the North, Franco-Newfoundlander. A second trend is centripetal, whereby they are seeking a common identity, like “French Canada,” but have been unable to develop it or agree on a term or expression: Canadian Francophonie, Francophone minority, or Francophone and Acadian communities. Acadia is distinctive, embodying a regional identity for the Acadians in three Atlantic provinces, but also crossing borders to include people of Acadian descent in other provinces and countries. This series of names clearly reflects the tension among Canada’s French-speaking population, as well as a history of being pulled between forces and factors that bring it together and others that drive it apart, like all of Canada.

All Francophones in Canada have things in common—their language, their history, or merely their shared citizenship. That is why the expression “the Canadian Francophonie” has been used here to designate all Francophones in Canada, regardless of where they are from or where they live. As such, it includes Quebec, Acadia, and the French-speaking communities in other provinces, who often identify collectively as the Canadian Francophonie.

The centripetal and centrifugal forces that play out in the Canadian Francophonie are the result of many factors, including 1) history, which requires a historical overview, 2) demography, which requires a review of numbers and locations, 3) politics, which requires a better understanding of Quebec’s role, 4) sociology, which suggests a look at the community sector, and 5) law, which entails a discussion of the legal and judicial foundation of the Canadian Francophonie.

Historical Overview

The French presence in North America dates back to the 16th century. Initially motivated by the unsuccessful quest for a water route westward to the East Indies and treasures like those of the Spanish colonies, France would find in cod fishing a reason to return and in the fur trade a reason to stay. The fur trade opened the door to missionary activity and farming. While the Quebec City trading post was established in 1608, it was not until the second half of the 17th century when the French crown took over the colony that the settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley and the Bay of Fundy became, for all intents and purposes, permanent. First present only in the St. Lawrence Valley and Port-Royal, the French soon moved on to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, as well as the Minas Basin and Beaubassin, at the top of the Bay of Fundy. Trade, especially in furs but also in other goods, kept ties strong between France and its colonies. Colonists laid down roots in France's first territory in North America.

Then came the Conquest, and everything changed. Great Britain deported the Acadians, scattering them among the English colonies, England, and France. It conquered the St. Lawrence Valley and set up its administration. It then allowed the Acadians to return, but denied them their old lands, which it had given to colonists from New England. The Acadians who returned settled on new land, which was not as good as the land they had before, but would become the new Acadia: the south shore of Chaleur Bay and the Northumberland Strait, the north and south of the Nova Scotia peninsula, and western Prince Edward Island. Over the century that followed, the Acadian population grew quietly stronger in these areas.

In the St. Lawrence Valley, the fur trade–farming split continued under British rule. The British controlled the larger business interests, including the fur trade, while local trade and farming was dominated by the “Canadians,” as Britain's “new subjects” had come to be known. Their diverging interests led to political strife. The “English,” who held the top political positions, particularly on the legislative and executive councils, sought ways of furthering trade with the Mother Country, which had increased since the arrival of the Loyalists in Upper Canada beginning in 1783, wheat farming in the Ontarian peninsula, and timber exports to England. The conflict, which had smouldered with the tensions between Great Britain and its former colonies that were now the United States, escalated in the early decades of the 19th century and came to a head in the 1837–1838 Rebellions, all against a backdrop of difficult economic times—Lower Canada was experiencing a farming crisis, along with a demographic boom.

Meanwhile, Canadian-Amerindian relations through the fur trade were generating a large French-speaking Métis population that settled at Red River, encouraged by the policies of the Hudson's Bay Company, which held a monopoly on trade in the Northwest. The Métis population grew quickly, but maintained its ties with the French in the St. Lawrence Valley through the missionaries and nuns who came from Quebec and France to share their faith with the Métis and Amerindians. They broke free of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly in the mid-19th century, and this further cemented their social cohesion.

The second half of the 19th century was marked by the exodus of “*Canadiens*” from Quebec, but also greater openness to the outside world and the advent of French Canada in a form that would persist until the 1960s. The defeat of the Patriots and the unification of Upper Canada and Lower Canada brought together the progressive forces of the former colonies, restored the French language, and spurred efforts to achieve responsible government. The end of British mercantilism forced the colonies to rejig trade. They first looked to the U.S. with the Reciprocity Treaty from 1854 to 1865, and then organized among themselves, creating a new entity in the form of Confederation in 1867.

There were too many “*Canadiens*” in the St. Lawrence Valley for the economy to support, so they spilled over into New England’s manufacturing cities. They colonized new areas within Quebec and in the other Canadian provinces. They crossed the Ottawa Valley to settle Eastern Ontario, and then headed toward the West in a great migratory leap. This population movement accelerated at the turn of the century, as the Prairies and British Columbia were rapidly settled. In the east, they crossed the Quebec border to join the Acadians along the upper reaches of the Saint John River and form the “Madawaska Republic.”

French Canada developed during these years and settled in clusters in all Canadian provinces. However, conditions were harsh. English Canada wanted Canada to be a British country and did everything in its power to make it so: an ideological campaign against “Papism” and the French language, termination of parliamentary bilingualism in the Prairies, and the end of linguistic duality in the school systems in New Brunswick, the Prairies, and Ontario. Even within the Catholic Church—one of the bastions of French Canada—the Irish and French Canadians fought about the creation of dioceses and appointing bishops. The Regulation 17 crisis in Ontario beginning in 1912 is a clear illustration of these two sides of a fight between English and French, and between Irish Catholics and French-Canadian Catholics.

Meanwhile, French Canada and Acadia created special interest groups to defend their interests and express their identity. In Quebec as well as in new settlements in Ontario and the West, Saint-Jean-Baptiste societies were formed. During the 1880s, Acadia set itself apart from French Canada with its own distinctive symbols (a national holiday, flag, national anthem) and a “national” association, the *Société l’Assomption*. In the early 20th century, Ontario and the three Prairie provinces each set up associations with the primary purpose of defending French-language education. The associations may have been provincially based, but they were still “national”: the *Association canadienne-française d’éducation* in Ontario and Manitoba, along with the *Association canadienne-française de l’Alberta* and the *Association catholique franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan*.

Other movements in the 1940s further strengthened cohesion in French Canada. The cooperative movement, more specifically the “*caisses populaires*,” expanded to Acadia, Ontario, and the Prairies in the 1940s and 1950s. The *Ordre de Jacques-Cartier* was founded in 1927, followed by the *Conseil de la vie française en Amérique* in 1937. Other Canada-wide organizations, such as the *Conseil canadien de la coopération* and the *Association canadienne d’éducation de langue française*, followed in the 1940s and 1950s. The many Saint-Jean-Baptiste societies took an active role in the funding campaigns by the *Conseil de la vie française* to back the Acadian daily *L’Évangéline* or French-language radio stations in the West.

French Canada had the support of the Catholic Church and its French-speaking clergy. Its institutions included parishes, which the clergy and French Canadians founded each time they settled in a new place, with the church as their regular meeting place. It also had *collèges classiques* and convents, private educational institutions that religious congregations set up very early in each province, and even each region. The men and women in the congregations and the clergy often traveled between institutions and between parishes promoting the clerical-nationalist ideology that characterized French Canada at the time. They saw to it that newspapers were published to promote this ideology through their choice of news and articles.

One might speak of an organic whole at this point in history, but Quebec and the rest of French Canada were already headed in different directions. While the latter remained rural and clerical-nationalist until the 1950s, the former was becoming increasingly urbanized, and its population,

more industrial. Quebec was also distancing itself from the clergy and traditional elite ideology, and communities were moving slowly but surely away from the dominant clerical-nationalist way of thinking.

The Quiet Revolution changed matters considerably. Deconfessionalization and the welfare state came not only to Quebec, but also to the rest of French Canada. The transformation affected all communities, to varying degrees and at different times. In Northern Ontario, CANO (*Coopérative artistique du Nouvel-Ontario*) breathed new life into Franco-Ontarian culture, inspired by the Quebec movement and North American counterculture. In Acadia, a strong political movement rose at the new Université de Moncton, cumulating in the establishment of the short-lived *Parti acadien*. The Quebec nationalist movement took in its own course, as defined primarily at the Estates General of French Canada conference in 1967. And yet, the Government of Quebec stepped up and systematized its support for national associations.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, also known as the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission, and the election of Pierre Elliot Trudeau and the Liberal Party were a turning point in relations between the federal government and the Canadian Francophonie. On the one hand, Quebec-Ottawa relations grew increasingly strained, despite multiple federal-provincial conferences intended to eliminate sources of conflict. On the other hand, the federal government was building closer ties to the Francophone communities it had recently strengthened with the *Official Languages Act* and policies and programs of the Department of the Secretary of State. It provided funding for existing organizations and established a cultural program to promote community development by creating and funding organizations and associations of all kinds.

French Canada underwent a metamorphosis, and the expression quickly went out of style. Quebec mostly went its own way, and tended to forget the rest of Canada. It would even look down on the rest of French Canada, which some called “still-warm corpses.” The rest of French Canada first called itself “*francophones hors Québec*,” then “Francophone and Acadian communities.” Canada’s French-speaking community was divided into three entities: Quebec, French-speaking Acadia, and Canadian French-speaking communities.

Historians attribute the fragmentation of French Canada to the Estates General of French Canada. As Quebec asserted itself, its French-Canadian nationalism turned into Quebec nationalism. In reaction, and particularly after the Saint-Jean-Baptiste societies drew inward, the *Ordre de Jacques-Cartier* was abolished and the *Conseil de la vie française en Amérique* withered, the other French-language communities began asserting themselves more at the provincial level. In 1976 they founded an umbrella organization, the *Fédération des francophones hors Québec*, which was renamed the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne* in 1991.

Historians consider this the end of French Canada—or at least the end of French Canada as it was before the 1960s. But it was more of a metamorphosis. The Quebec nationalist movement, the transformation of the Catholic Church after Vatican II, the separation of church and state, and the advent of the welfare state all helped make provincial identities stronger.

Demography and Locations

The vast majority of the 6.9 million Francophones in Canada live in Quebec (85.1% of Canadians with French as a mother tongue and 82% of Quebec's population). Next are Ontario and New Brunswick, with 7.8% and 3.5% of Canada's Francophones respectively. Excluding Quebec, Ontario's French-speaking population represents slightly more than half of the Canadian Francophonie (52.3%), but slightly less than 5% of the province's total population. Of all Canadian provinces other than Quebec, New Brunswick has the highest proportion of Francophones, at 33.6% of its total population. In all provinces other than Quebec and New Brunswick, less than 5% of the total population is French-speaking.

In Quebec, Francophones occupy all inhabited areas of the province. They live on both sides of the St. Lawrence, starting at the Gaspé Peninsula and the North Shore, with the concentration gradually rising the closer one gets to Montreal. The majority of Quebecers live in Montreal and the surrounding area, that is, on the islands themselves and on the south and north shores of the St. Lawrence River. The population extends along the Richelieu River, up the Saguenay, and to the south shore of Lac Saint-Jean. There are also clusters in isolated mining or forestry areas like Chibougamau and Rouyn-Noranda.

French Ontario has more than a half million residents with French as a mother tongue, generally living in three regions: the east, the northeast, and the central southwest. The greatest proportion of Franco-Ontarians live in the east, while a relatively equal share live in the other two regions. Eastern Ontario is closest to Quebec, stretching from the Quebec border in the east to Pembroke in the west, and includes the nation's capital. The Francophone population first went into forestry, then farming. It grew quickly during the second half of the 19th century.

Toronto, Canada's largest city, is located in the central southwest. The French-speaking population has grown rapidly in this area due to large-scale immigration from Francophone countries in Africa and Asia, as well as the influx of Quebecers attracted by the city's growth, working in the public and private sectors. This region also includes older communities, like the Windsor area, which have had French-speaking populations since the early the 18th century when Detroit was founded, and Penetanguishene, settled by French-speaking Canadian migrants after the War of 1812.

Northeastern Ontario has the highest proportion of Francophones in the province. A resource region, it has pockets of settled areas along Highway 17 from Mattawa to Wawa. Settlement also extends along Highway 11 further to the north, from North Bay to Long Lake. Mining towns like Sudbury and Timmins have a high proportion of French speakers. Forestry and pulp and paper cities like Hearst, Kapuskasing, Iroquois Falls, and Sturgeon Falls have a French-speaking majority. Farming areas like Sturgeon Falls, Hearst, and Sudbury have also attracted a considerable number of French Canadians, who worked both in farming and in forestry.

Population with French as a mother tongue, 2001 Census

	Total population N	Population with French as a mother tongue			Proportion of total Francophone population, minus Quebec %
		Population with French as a mother tongue N	Proportion of total population %	Proportion of Canadian Francophone population %	
Canada	29,639,030	6,864,615	23.2	100.00	
Quebec	7,125,580	5,844,070	82.0	85.13	
<i>Canadian Francophonie,</i>	<i>22,513,455</i>	<i>1,020,540</i>	<i>4.53</i>	<i>14.87</i>	<i>100.0</i>
<i>Ontario</i>	<i>11,285,550</i>	<i>533,965</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>7.78</i>	<i>52.32</i>
<i>Maritime Acadia</i>	<i>1,750,670</i>	<i>284,915</i>	<i>16.27</i>	<i>4.15</i>	<i>27.92</i>
Prince Edward Island	133,385	6,110	4.6	0.09	0.60
Nova Scotia	897,570	36,745	4.1	0.54	3.60
New Brunswick	719,715	242,060	33.6	3.53	23.72
<i>French-speaking Prairies</i>	<i>5,007,995</i>	<i>133,070</i>	<i>2.66</i>	<i>1.94</i>	<i>13.04</i>
Manitoba	1,103,695	47,560	4.3	0.69	4.66
Saskatchewan	963,150	19,515	2.0	0.28	1.91
Alberta	2,941,150	65,995	2.2	0.96	6.47
<i>Other French-speaking populations</i>	<i>4,469,240</i>	<i>68,590</i>	<i>1.53</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>6.72</i>
British Columbia	3,868,875	63,625	1.6	0.93	6.23
Yukon	28,520	975	3.4	0.01	0.10
Northwest Territories	37,100	1,050	2.8	0.02	0.10
Nunavut	26,670	425	1.6	0.01	0.04
Newfoundland and Labrador	508,075	2,515	0.5	0.04	0.25

Note: Populations and percentages are estimates based on a 20% sample. Populations are rounded to ± 5 .

Source: Statistics Canada, "Population by mother tongue, by provinces and territories (2001 Census)," *Canadian Statistics*, <http://www40.statcan.ca/l01/cst01/demo11a.htm>

Maritime Acadia, which includes New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, is home to 285,000 Francophones, or 27.9% of Canada's French-speaking population. Most live in New Brunswick. That province's 242,000 Francophones live in three regions. The southeast, south of the Northumberland Strait, lives off fishing and services. It includes the university city of Moncton at its centre and places like Bouctouche and Shediac. The northwest, along the upper reaches of the Saint John River, includes towns such as Edmunston, Grand Sault, and Saint-Quentin. This is an Acadian farming-forestry area. The northeast, along the south shore of Chaleur Bay, has a diversified economy and is known for the significant Acadian towns of Caraquet, Shippagan, and Bathurst. The population in the cities of Saint John and Fredericton, the provincial capital, has grown considerably in recent decades as Acadians have moved to the cities and newcomers have arrived to fill bilingual positions in the federal and provincial public service.

Nova Scotia is home to 37,000 Acadians. The majority live in the southwestern end of the peninsula, in the area of Pointe-de-l'Église, a community that dates back to the time when the Acadians returned. The next highest concentration is in the capital city area of Halifax-Dartmouth, which has benefited from the growth of the public service and the arrival of new bilingual public servants. Lastly, Cape Breton Island has Francophone communities on Ile Madame, in the Pomquet area in the south, and in Cheticamp in the northeast.

The Acadian population of Prince Edward Island is 6,000. Acadians live in the capital city of Charlottetown, but also on the west end of the island, in the Evangeline area in the south and the Tignish region to the north. Fishing, farming, and tourism are the main activities, as they are everywhere on the island.

Acadia is clearly fragmented. Its main strongholds are not the areas originally settled on the Bay of Fundy, and are far from the capital cities.

The French-speaking Prairies are equally fragmented. Their Francophone population is 133,000 and represents slightly less than 2% of the Canadian Francophonie outside Quebec. Historically, most lived in Manitoba, where Francophones still make up 4.3% of the total population. The boom in Alberta in recent decades has also attracted many French speakers from Quebec and Francophone countries, and this has made Alberta the Prairie province with the most Francophones, though they account for only 2.2% of its total population. Like in the Maritimes and elsewhere, the Prairie capitals have attracted Francophones for positions in the public service.

The majority of Franco-Manitobans live in St. Boniface, now a district of the city of Winnipeg, east of the Red River. The district offers university (*Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface*), school, government, and hospital services for Francophones. Besides St. Boniface, the historic home of the Métis and French Canadians in the West, nearly all other Franco-Manitobans live within a radius of a few dozen kilometres around the provincial capital.

Alberta's oil boom has also spurred the development of the French-speaking community, attracting many Francophone Quebecers and Acadians, as well as Francophones from other countries. Historically, the French-speaking population has lived in Edmonton proper and in surrounding agricultural communities like Beaumont, Morinville, and Legal, which serve increasingly as bedroom communities for the capital. The remaining Francophones are concentrated in the central east part of the province, around Saint Paul and Bonnyville, and in the northwest in the fertile Peace River area. Despite its ups and downs, the oil industry has helped existing cities expand (Edmonton and Calgary in particular) and new cities develop (Fort McMurray, Cold Lake). Francophones are part of this migratory movement, and are also the main source of bilingualization in certain sectors of the public service.

In Saskatchewan, much of the province's French-speaking population lives in the northern communities of St. Brieux, Zenon Park, Prince Albert, and Debden, which are still home to a large Métis population. They also live in the south, around Gravelbourg to the west and Willow Bunch in the centre. Lastly, a French-speaking population also lives in the capital city of Regina, with French radio, the *Institut français* (University of Regina), and the *Assemblée communautaire fransaskoise*.

The expression "outlying Francophonie" is used to designate Francophones who live in provinces and territories with few French speakers, either in percentage or numbers. The French-speaking community in British Columbia has increased, rising from 61,000 in 1996 to

64,000 in 2001. However, its percentage of the total population fell slightly, from 1.7% to 1.6%. The province's Francophones live in the city of Vancouver and the Fraser River Delta, which includes Maillardville, a community that dates back to the beginning of the 20th century. They are scattered around Vancouver Island, in places such as the provincial capital Victoria and Nanaimo, and in the Okanagan Valley in cities like Kelowna and Penticton.

The 2,500 Franco-Newfoundlanders are found primarily on the Port-au-Port Peninsula near Stephenville, on the southwestern side of the island, and in the capital city of St. John's, the military city of Goose Bay, Labrador, and the mining community of Labrador City. Lastly, the territorial capitals of Whitehorse, Yellowknife, and Iqaluit and a few towns like Dawson and Fort Smith are home to a few hundred Francophones, who make up between 1.6% and 3.4% of the total population.

There are Francophones in all provinces and territories, in varying numbers and proportions. The development of the federal public service, the increase in provincial French-language services, and economic growth have all contributed to the rising number of Francophones in the provinces and territories. School management and French-language education have improved their vitality.

2

Quebec's role

Quebec's role in Canada has been under debate since Confederation, at times more heated, as during the Conscription Crises (1918 and 1944). This debate stems in part from tension between the federal and provincial governments, as well as assertions of French-Canadian nationalism. Debate intensified in the 1960s: despite the campaigns by the *Conseil de la vie française* and the underground initiatives of the *Ordre de Jacques-Cartier*, French Canadians had a limited role in the federal public service and Crown corporations. The findings of the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission spurred Quebec's nationalist movement. Quebec unrest erupted into violence with the FLQ (Quebec Liberation Front). Separatist political parties arose and in 1968 merged into the *Parti Québécois*, which took power in 1976. Two referendums were held, one in 1980 and the other in 1995; the option of independence was defeated twice, the second time by a narrow margin (50.6%).

Ironically, this debate—which was supposed to lead to Quebec independence—greatly contributed to the advancement of French-language communities in the rest of Canada and to Canada's role on the international stage. The Quebec-Canada debate of the past four decades has made Canada very different in 2005 than in 1960 and has been a leading factor—if not the main factor—in its development through a series of actions and reactions. Through their positions, Quebecers and their government—Liberal, *Union Nationale*, or *Parti Québécois*—have forced the federal government to take steps to counter the rising separatist movement and to protect and promote Francophone minorities. While constitutional negotiations were unsuccessful, Quebec and Canada still moved the federal-provincial relationship forward, often painfully. A number of times, the Quebec government, in the interest of preserving its distinct character, prevented overcentralization of the Canadian government apparatus, sometimes without the support of the other provinces.

Quebec entered the international scene with the support of France starting in the 1960s. In doing so, it significantly changed Canada's international image by giving it a Quebec counterpart and leading the Canadian government to take on a French face. New Brunswick took the opportunity to develop its own international profile within the Francophonie, and Ontario now seeks a similar position. The Canadian Francophonie can only benefit, if merely through immigration that will strengthen its numbers. We must remember that Canada's policy on multiculturalism was implemented as a political counterweight to the policy on the Francophonie.

Because of this debate, Canada has achieved a level of tolerance that has the world powers trembling. Separatist parties have been elected at the provincial level (*Parti Québécois*) and even the federal level (*Bloc Québécois*). Other provinces also have separatist movements, though smaller in scope, and the First Nations are pursuing self-government. But Canada has put in place the tools to manage its complexity and dissidence, including consultative tours, flexible decision-making mechanisms, regular meetings between ministers and premiers, Supreme Court decisions, constitutional discussions, and so forth.

3

The associative network

The associative network is the greatest strength of the Canadian Francophonie as a whole. Established in the mid-19th century with the creation of the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, it gradually grew. It saw the beginnings of provincialization with the creation of "national" associations in the early 20th century. It thrived in French Canada with large associations such as the *Conseil de la vie française* and the *Conseil canadien de la coopération*. Outside of Quebec, the network provided an opportunity for annual gatherings and served as a development tool. It underwent considerable change in the 1960s with the end of the *Ordre de Jacques-Cartier*, the dwindling of the *Conseil de la vie française*, and the new focus on Quebec nationalism by the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, particularly the Montreal chapter. Provincial associations also changed, extending their mandate beyond education. All had financial difficulties, which the Quebec government remedied for a short time.

The Department of the Secretary of State used the association movement starting in the 1970s, developed it rapidly until the 1980s, and sought to strengthen it through cooperation and community development plans. With generous funding from the Department of the Secretary of State and each province, an impressive number of associations were formed for a variety of groups and purposes: youth, parents, women, education, theatre, seniors, and so forth. Pan-Canadian associations were also established, including the *Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française* (1974), the *Fédération culturelle canadienne-française* (1977), the *Commission nationale des parents francophones* (1979), the *Réseau national d'action éducation femme* (1983), the *Association des théâtres francophones du Canada* (1984), and the *Regroupement des universités de la francophonie hors Québec*. The largest of these national bodies—the *Fédération des francophones hors Québec*—was founded in 1976 and in 1991 became the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne*. Note the name change from "canadienne-française" to "francophone."

The associative movement is significant in three main ways. First, it is a tool for local, provincial, and national solidarity. Next, these groups have promoted the significance of French-language communities by highlighting their value as such, giving them a voice, and providing their members with an opportunity to take part in the many aspects of community development. The

social development work often done by outside agents in the early 1970s kicked off the movement, and the various associations took it from there. Lastly, the merging of these groups into pan-Canadian associations under the umbrella of the FFHQ (later FCFA) gave them the weight they needed to attract the attention of governments, particularly the federal government, and change the course of events. For example, the Federation played an increasingly important role in constitutional talks in 1980 and 1990, from the Meech Lake Accord to the Charlottetown Accord. Along this line of thought and action, the *Société Santé en français* was established to advocate for health services in French outside Quebec, and the *Consortium national de formation en santé* was organized to bring together universities and community colleges for the training of healthcare professionals.

A new democratization movement is giving impetus to provincial associations seeking greater legitimacy with the people they represent. The wind is blowing from the West. The *Société franco-manitobaine* undertook an extensive consultation process in preparing its cooperation and development plan. The *Association culturelle franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan* took one step further by becoming the *Assemblée communautaire fransaskoise*, with members elected by universal Francophone suffrage. Ontario is following the trend: after a number of years of “reconceptualization,” it is turning the *Association canadienne-française de l’Ontario* (ACFO) into the *Assemblée communautaire franco-ontarienne* (ACFO). A sign of the times...

4

The legal and judicial framework

The Canadian Francophonie is currently enjoying a favourable legal and judicial environment based on three cornerstones: the *Official Languages Act* of 1969, amended in 1988; the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* of 1982; and the Opinion of the Supreme Court of Canada in the Quebec Secession Reference (1998). To this we may add decisions on language law by the Supreme Court of Canada and other courts. This trend became so pronounced in the 1980s and 1990s that there was talk of the “judicialization” of Francophone communities.

The *Official Languages Act* of 1969 declared the equality of English and French at the federal level and set parameters for the availability of federal services in both official languages. It also created the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages and made it the federal watchdog for bilingualism. The Department of the Secretary of State was made responsible for maintaining the communities through its grant program and actively supported Francophone organizations and communities through its policies and financial resources. Amendments to the Act in extended responsibility for promoting and developing Francophone communities to all departments, and Canadian Heritage, the successor of the Department of the Secretary of State, was entrusted with coordinating their activities and initiatives. The Act is the basis for a number of programs in support of minority communities that departments such as Health Canada and Industry Canada have since established. It is also the foundation of the policies on bilingualism in the public service adopted by Treasury Board.

The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was adopted in 1982 during the constitutional patriation process. It reasserts Canadian bilingualism and broadens its scope. Section 23 expands the school system by establishing minority language educational rights, which “include, where the number of those children so warrants, the right to have them receive [...] instruction in minority language educational facilities provided out of public funds.” This part of Section 23 was

subsequently clarified by the Supreme Court of Canada to mean school management and provided a foundation for school system expansion and management by Francophones. In the *Mahé* and *Summerside* decisions, the Supreme Court clarified matters and strengthened Francophone educational rights. In all Canadian provinces, Francophones have French-language school boards and schools.

Last, the Opinion of the Supreme Court of Canada in the Quebec Secession Reference established the unwritten constitutional principle of the protection of official language minorities. It should be emphasized that the Quebec issue strengthened the legal position of Francophone and Acadian communities. This opinion was used as an argument in the *Montfort* case, which ended with a ruling by the Ontario Court of Appeal recognizing the right of the Ontario Francophone minority to maintain Montfort Hospital as a facility necessary to protect the community. It is highly likely that this argument will be used in other cases involving organizations within the Francophonie. However, we have yet to see how this decision will impact other areas, such as university education in Ontario.

The Supreme Court of Canada has played a major role in defining the language rights of the French-language minority. Before its historic ruling in the *Association Georges-et-Julia-Bugnet* case (1990) regarding school management, the Court had ruled bilingualism in Manitoba unconstitutional and, through successive rulings in the *Forest* case (1979) and then the *Bilodeau* case, had reinstated French as an official language in the province pursuant to the *Manitoba Act*, an Act of Parliament. In the *Beaulac* ruling (1999), it reaffirmed the defendant's right to a trial in French. Through its decisions, the Supreme Court has strongly supported the trend to protect minorities, and it even went a step further when at least one judge asserted the need for reparations to Francophone communities.

The federal government added a milestone in 2003 with the "Dion Plan," its *Action Plan for Official Languages*, also entitled *The Next Act: New Momentum for Canada's Linguistic Duality*. This plan discusses avenues for community development with regard to health, justice, immigration, early childhood, economic growth, and support for community life. It gives prominence to education at all levels. Lastly, it aims for "an exemplary public service" in terms of language. This plan reflects the federal government's renewed political will, in that it includes well-defined objectives and proposes specific actions. However, its implementation is subject to the uncertainties of Canadian politics.

Conclusion

This brief, rough sketch is aimed at giving a better idea of the commonalities of the Canadian Francophonie, from Quebec to Nunavut, as well as its diversity. While some ties have faded, we must not think this tells the whole story. Shared religion no longer has the force of attraction it long exerted, and the clergy is no longer the vehicle for cultural standardization it once was. Assimilation raises fears for the future. The nationalist ideology is no longer French-Canadian.

Beyond language are shared concerns regarding relations with the Canadian and North American majorities. Linguistic and cultural transfer affects all communities to some degree; it concerns them and turns them toward immigration. There is a stronger sense of affirmation, which Quebec and the other French-language communities share to varying degrees. There is a shared history, despite each generation's reconstruction of it. There is the culture spread by television and radio, although often in one direction only—from Quebec to the other

Francophone communities. There are education concerns, which unite the communities but set them apart from Quebec. There is the issue of nationalism, which divides Quebecers and makes them different from Acadians and other Canadian Francophones (the term “other” is bothersome, as is “outside” because it is not a name, because it is not distinctive). And there are regional differences in Gaspé, the Beauce, and Lac-Saint-Jean; in Rivière-la-Paix, northeastern Ontario, Saint-Boniface, the Acadian Peninsula, Gravelbourg-Ponteix, the Evangeline area, the Outaouais/Ottawa Valley, and Baie-Sainte-Marie.

These aspects coexist in the Canadian Francophonie and are a result of its development. They form the Canadian Francophonie with its similarities and differences, its complexity and tensions. From the mid-19th century to the 1960s, centripetal forces were stronger; since then, centrifugal forces have gained the upper hand. A rebound seems to be occurring, marked by Quebec’s outward-looking policy toward Francophone and Acadian communities and supported by the stronger ties that migration and population shifts are building between communities.

DIVERSITY AND FRANCOPHONIE

LIST OF PRESENTERS

Vancouver, November 2005

Mourad Ali-Khodja, Moncton

Professor, Department of Sociology, *Université de Moncton*

Professor Ali-Khodja has been teaching in the Department of Sociology, *Université de Moncton*, since 1977. Following his studies in Algeria and in France, he immigrated to Canada in 1976, settling in New Brunswick's Acadian region. He chaired the Department of Sociology from 1982 to 1985 and from 1997 to 2005 and is a member of the *Groupe de recherche interdisciplinaire sur les cultures en contact*.

In addition to pursuing his interest in the history of the humanities and social sciences and their underlying intercultural dynamics, he studies identities and the social construction of learning in minority situations – in fact, a number of his publications examine the relationship between Acadian identity and the social sciences. He is currently working on an anthology of texts in the humanities and social sciences dealing with contemporary Acadia.

Lucie Basile, Atikamekw Nation, Wemotaci

Representing the Atikamekw Nation to the Fédération des femmes autochtones du Québec

Diane Bazin, St-Boniface

Manager, Community Development, Société franco-manitobaine (SFM)

For nearly 13 years Ms. Bazin has managed the Réseau communautaire, a community network that has enhanced the vitality of some 30 rural Manitoba communities. Before joining the *Société franco-manitobaine*, Ms. Bazin worked in a seniors' residence and owned a family daycare for 10 years. Outside of work, she serves on a number of community committees and on her village council.

Mona Belleau, Quebec City

President, Association des Étudiant(e)s des Premières Nations de l'Université Laval

Mona Belleau's father was a Quebecer and her mother an Inuk. She was born in Iqaluit, Nunavut, and is currently studying towards a multidisciplinary bachelor's degree in Aboriginal studies, tourism development management and public communication at *Université Laval*. She is President of the *Association des Étudiant(e)s des Premières Nations de l'Université Laval*. During the past year, she spent six months in New Zealand, where she took a special interest in the revitalization of the Maori language.

Julie Bergeron, Toronto

Artistic Director, Kwazar Theatre

Ms. Bergeron was born in Montreal and now lives in Toronto. She is co-founder of the Kwazar Theatre, a multidisciplinary theatre devoting part of its production to an exploration of world rhythms and legends. In addition to being the company's artistic director, she also acts in several of its productions: *Les Lions Bleus* (Africa), *La Danse des 7 Voiles* (Middle East) and, in development, *Le Retour du Bison Blanc* (Aboriginal). For the last two years, she has been the Francophone coordinator for the Métis Arts Festival, a bilingual event held in Toronto. She is also a founding member of the Métis Artists' Collective. She co-produced the film *The Power of the Circle* and produced the film *The Road Back Home*, both documentaries examining restorative justice in Northern Ontario's Aboriginal communities.

Annette Boudreau, Moncton

Professor, Département d'études françaises, Université de Moncton

Annette Boudreau is a sociolinguist who has been teaching at the *Université de Moncton* since 1975. She completed her post-secondary studies in Moncton and then in France, obtaining a doctorate in language sciences from Université Paris-X in 1998. The subject of her thesis was language insecurity among Francophone teens in New Brunswick. For the last ten years, her research has focused on the role of language in identity construction among Francophones in a Canadian minority situation. She analyzes the relationship between linguistic practices and representations, identity construction and social structuring.

She has published several articles in Canadian and European journals and participates in a number of research groups: the Groupe de recherche internationale sur la francité transnationale, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and headed by the University of Toronto's Monica Heller, the Groupe de recherche interdisciplinaire sur Moncton (GRIM), the Groupe de recherche interdisciplinaire sur les cultures en contact (GRICC) of the Université de Moncton and the Atlantic Metropolis Centre, where she is responsible for the Culture, Language and Identity component.

Marie Bourgeois, Vancouver

Director, Maison de la Francophonie

Born in Montreal of Acadian and Irish ancestry, Marie Bourgeois has lived in British Columbia since 1974. She has over 30 years experience in the non-profit sector, including close to 25 years as a member of British Columbia's Francophone community, and has served on a number of boards. She was appointed to the *Ordre des francophones d'Amérique* by the Government of Quebec in 1998, awarded the *Napoléon Gareau Award* by the *Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique* in June 2004, and appointed to the Order of Canada in October 2004 for her contribution to Francophone community development.

Marie Bourgeois has been Executive Director of the *Société Maison de la Francophonie de Vancouver* since 1995 and was also one of its founding members. She has served on the board of the Canadian Unity Council since 1993, has served on the advisory committee for the TVA national network, and has been a member of the *Conseil scolaire francophone de la Colombie-Britannique* since 1997.

Guy Cormier, Edmonton

Executive Director, Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta

Mr. Cormier is an Acadian from the Acadian Peninsula and studied recreation and social services at the *Université de Moncton*. Mr. Cormier worked with a number of music groups as their agent and is a writer-composer and performer himself. At the Francophonie Summit held in Moncton in 1999, Mr. Cormier was in charge of technical crews. In 2003, Mr. Cormier decided to move to Edmonton, Alberta, and, upon arrival, participated in *Chant'Ouest* as a writer-composer and performer. Since 2003, Mr. Cormier has been working for *Francophonie jeunesse de l'Alberta*, first as its coordinator and for the last year as its Executive Director.

Diane Côté, Ottawa

Director, Liaison and Research, Fédération des Communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada

Originally from the Outaouais and trained as a teacher, Ms. Côté has participated in Francophone and Acadian community development for a number of years, a commitment dating back to her teen years. After moving to British Columbia in 1982, she soon developed an interest in the *Centre culturel français de l'Okanagan*, where she coordinated a number of projects. She subsequently served on its board for five years, including three as chair. Ms. Côté was elected vice-chair of the *Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique* (FFCB) board in 1992 and subsequently served as chair from 1995 to 1999.

Since returning to Ottawa in 1999, Ms. Côté has worked at the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada* (FCFA) as director of community and government Liaison. In this capacity, she is responsible for coordination between FCFA member associations and the national agencies responsible for development in the various sectors identified in the Action Plan for Official Languages. She is also responsible for liaising with government institutions and managing legal files and the immigration file.

Pierre Dadjo, Ottawa

Executive Director, Conseil économique et social d'Ottawa Carleton (CESOC)

Mr. Dadjo is a community worker from the Ottawa area. He holds post-master's qualifications from the University of Benin in West Africa (seven years of university studies). He was President of the *Association Communautaire des Africains francophones (ACAF)*, Vice-President of the *Association interculturelle franco-ontarienne (AIFO)*, member of the board of the *Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO Ottawa inc.)*, chair of the former labour committee of the *Union Provinciale des Minorités Raciales Ethnoculturelles Francophones (UP-MREF)* of Ontario, and Executive Director of the *Conseil économique et social d'Ottawa Carleton (CESOC)*. Under his leadership, CESOC has earned a number of distinctions, including organization of the year for 2002.

He has been responsible for a number of files dealing with the socio-economic integration of racial and ethnocultural Francophone minorities outside Quebec into the Francophonie, including immigration and recognition of the Francophone identity of Francophiles. Mr. Dadjo has over 15 years experience in the Francophonie and is active in promoting a multicultural, multiracial Francophone community in Quebec.

Ibrahima Diallo, Winnipeg

Dean, Faculty of Arts, Science and Business Administration, Collège universitaire de St-Boniface

Mr. Diallo was born in Senegal and holds a doctorate in veterinary medicine. He immigrated to Canada 20 years ago and is deeply committed to minority Francophone community life in Manitoba. Mr. Diallo served on the board of the *Société franco-manitobaine*, was a member of the Speakers Bureau of the City of Winnipeg (Race Relations Committee), and was a founding member of the *Amicale de la francophonie multiculturelle du Manitoba (AFMM)* in the mid-nineties. Since August 2000, he has been serving as Dean of the arts, science and administration faculty at the *Collège universitaire de St-Boniface*. Mr. Diallo is involved in activities to develop minority post-secondary education, whether with the *Consortium national de formation en santé (CNFS)* or the *Association universitaire de la francophonie canadienne*.

Gabriel Dufault, Métis Nation

President, Union nationale Métis de Saint-Joseph

Gabriel Dufault is a French-Canadian Métis, born and educated in St-Boniface. After a career of over 25 years in the cooperative movement (*caisses populaires*, credit unions and Desjardins Life Assurance), he launched his business in 1992, which specializes in community economic development, primarily in Aboriginal communities. He is also President of the *Union nationale métisse Saint-Joseph du Manitoba*, founded in 1887 in Manitoba, the oldest Métis organization in Canada. He recently wrote the preface to the new book by Ismène Toussaint – *Louis Riel : Journaux de guerre et de prison*.

Johanne Dumas, Coquitlam

Director, Société Maillardville-Uni

Born in Montreal, Johanne has lived in British Columbia for ten years and worked in the *Société Maillardville-Uni* for nine. Her involvement in British Columbia's Francophone community has enriched the community considerably. She has drawn on her experience at a number of levels, i.e., community-based, in economic, cultural and arts development, and through her involvement in a broad range of advisory committees and community groups. Her administrative and sales experience, combined with her passion for the Francophone cause, has contributed to the community's success.

Justine Gogoua, Toronto

Executive Director, Groupe des Arts Bassan

Originally from Ivory Coast, Ms. Gogoua moved to Canada a few years ago, giving us the benefit of her enormous artistic talent. As a singer, dancer and actor, she has captured the hearts of Canadians of all ages in performances by Groupe Bassan, where she is Executive Director.

Yolande Grisé, Surrey

Director, Office of Francophone and Francophile Affairs, Simon Fraser University

Born in Montreal, Yolande Grisé has been Director of the Office of Francophone and Francophile Affairs at Simon Fraser University since February 2005. Formerly a member of the *Département des lettres françaises*, University of Ottawa (1980-2004), she headed its *Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française* (1985-1997). A Latin scholar by training, she has published specialized works on the classics and French-Canadian literature, while maintaining her interest and involvement in culture and the arts. She has chaired the board of the Ontario Arts Council (1991-1994) and is a member of the Royal Society of Canada.

Jack Jedwab, Montreal

Executive Director, Association for Canadian Studies, Université du Québec à Montréal

Jack Jedwab was an active participant in the Quorum on Education, where he presented the position of various cultural communities on private schools and the place of religion in the school. Dr. Jedwab formerly served as Director of the Canadian Jewish Congress (Quebec Region). He holds a doctorate in Quebec history from Concordia University and currently teaches a course entitled "Canada's Official Language Minorities: History and Demography" at the McGill Canadian Studies Institute. His particular interests include demographic and linguistic issues, national identity, multiculturalism and diversity. His recent publications include *Immigration and the Vitality of Canada's Official Language Communities: Policy, Demography and Identity* (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2002), *A Stock-Taking of Recommendations in the Fight Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Other Manifestations of Intolerance in Canada, 1980-2000* (Canadian Secretariat for the United Nations World Conference against Racism, 2001), and *Ethnic Identification and Heritage Languages in Canada* (Université de Montréal, 2000).

Aïda Kaouk, Gatineau

Curator, Canadian Museum of Civilization

A curator at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and currently in charge of research on Canadian Women of African descent, Aïda Kaouk was responsible for the Museum's South-West Asia program from 1992 to 2002 and curated the exhibition "The Lands within Me." After obtaining a doctorate in the sociology of culture from the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*, Paris, she completed her studies at the University of California, Berkeley, winning several prestigious research grants, including Fulbright and Ford Foundation grants. She has worked in research environments in the Middle East, France, the United States and Canada. She devotes much of her work to issues related to immigration, miscegenation, social relationships and minority groups, as well as to arts and cultural practices.

Ghizlane Laghzaoui, Surrey

Professor, Simon Fraser University

Ghizlane Laghzaoui was born in Morocco and has been living in Canada since 2000. She studied comparative French literature and obtained her doctorate in African literature in 1992. She taught in and was head of a business college in Morocco before moving to British Columbia. She now teaches language and literature at Simon Fraser University. Her areas of research are writing and identity resistance in Amerindian literature in the French language, focusing in particular on Bernard Assiniwi. She is also involved in the Francophone immigrant community through *Ethno Femmes Francophones*, an organization working for recognition of diversity within the Francophonie.

Luc Laïné, Huron Wendat Nation

President, Orihwa

Mr. Laïné is President of Orihwa inc., an Aboriginal communications and consulting services firm with unique experience and understanding of the issues and perspectives of First Nations in Quebec and Canada. Mr. Laïné graduated in sociology from *Université Laval* and has earned a reputation for his knowledge and understanding of Aboriginal realities in Quebec and Canada. He is also the architect of the

Tshekuan awareness workshops, which raise awareness of Aboriginal issues for non-Aboriginals. Mr. Laïné acts as Co-President of the Confederacy of Nations for Assembly of First Nations of Canada National Chief, Phil Fontaine, and serves on a number of regional and national committees. Mr. Laïné was recently appointed Aboriginal Commissioner for the celebrations marking the 400th anniversary of Quebec.

France Lemay, Métis Nation

France Lemay has been asserting her Métis identity all her life. The grandniece of Louis Riel and sister of Augustine Abraham, Ms. Lemay has always lived in St-Boniface. She has been active within the Francophone community, serving on various non-profit agencies. Ms. Lemay has five children, thirteen grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren.

Janet Lumb, Montreal

Director, Festival Accès Asie

Born in Toronto, Ms. Lumb lived in Vancouver before settling in Montreal over 20 years ago. She has a bachelor's degree in sociology and Amerindian studies. For several years, she worked with autistic children, while embarking on a career as saxophonist and film music composer specializing in creating ethnic music. Since 1995, Ms. Lumb has been Artistic Director of the *Festival Accès Asie*, which seeks to promote intercultural exchange between Canadian and Asian artists. Her most important goal is to create a family atmosphere and community spirit within the Asian community.

Zab Mabougou, Montreal

Director and Choreographer, Compagnie Danse Nyata-Nyata

Ms. Mabougou is the artistic director of Nyata-Nyata, a dance company based in Montreal dedicated to contemporary African dance. Also a professor of philosophy, she writes on a variety of subjects devoted to the arts, culture and philosophy. The first African choreographer to be awarded grants by the Canada Council for the Arts and the *Conseil des Arts et des Lettres du Québec*, she has danced and taught in North America, Africa and Asia.

Guy Matte, Ottawa

Executive Director, Fondation Dialogue

Mr. Matte has a master's degree in education (psychopedagogy) from the University of Ottawa. He began his teaching career in French-language schools in Ottawa. At that time, he was active in the *Association des enseignantes et des enseignants franco-ontariens* (AEFO). Mr. Matte was President of the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada* from 1989 to 1992 and served as chair for both the *Festival franco-ontarien* and the IV Games of La Francophonie. In his work, he served for 10 years as Executive Director of the *Association des enseignantes et des enseignants franco-ontariens*, where he had ample opportunity to demonstrate his organizational skills.

Internationally, Mr. Matte is a member of the board of the *Comité syndical francophone de l'éducation et de la formation* (CSFEF), an organization composed of teachers' unions from member countries of the Francophonie. He directs cooperative projects in various countries of Francophone Africa. Mr. Matte was awarded the *Ordre des francophones d'Amérique* and the Queen Elizabeth II Golden Jubilee Medal.

Malubungi Mueni, Toronto

Executive Director, Réseau des chercheuses africaines

Of Angolan and Congolese (DRC) ancestry, Ms. Mueni has lived in Canada for 25 years. She has a doctorate in *Études françaises* from the *Université de Montréal* (specialization: anthropology and oral literature) and another in sociology of education from the University of Toronto (OISE). She is a researcher, consultant, part-time grandmother and storyteller in her spare time. Ms. Mueni has carried out a number of research projects on health, employability, violence as a product of immigration, intercultural education, and the histories of young Black Francophone immigrant women.

Jamal Nawri, Vancouver

Coordinator of Immigration, Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique

Born in Casablanca, Morocco, Mr. Nawri has lived in British Columbia with his wife and two children since August 2000. He previously worked as a financial administrator in Morocco's metallurgy industry. After arriving in British Columbia, he settled into the Francophone community, working as coordinator for the *Association francophone de Surrey*. Today, he coordinates the immigration file for the *Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique* (FFCB). He collaborated in June 2005 on a symposium entitled "L'Identité Francophone en Colombie-Britannique," organized by the *Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique*. He made a presentation on employability and immigration at the socio-economic forum organized by the *Société de développement économique de la Colombie-Britannique* (SDECB) in March 2005. He continues to pursue his long-standing interest in cultural diversity, both within British Columbia's Francophone community and worldwide.

Fo Niemi, Montreal

Executive Director, Centre for Research-Action on Race Relations

Born in 1960, Fo Niemi co-founded Montreal's Centre for Action-Research on Race Relations (CARRR) and served as Executive Director since 1983. Born in the Asia Pacific region, Mr. Niemi has a bachelor's degree in social work from McGill University in Montreal and serves as a race relations advisor for a number of organizations, including the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, the Montreal Urban Community's Advisory Committee on Cross-Cultural Relations, the RCMP, and Quebec's Treasury Board. In 1987, he was appointed chair of the *Société de transport de Montréal's* (STCUM) complaints review board, a position he occupied until 1990. The following year, he was named to the Human Rights Commission by the Government of Quebec, where he chaired the 1993 public consultations on discrimination and violence against gays and lesbians. Mr. Niemi is a member of the Board of Advisors of Concordia University's School for Community and Public Affairs.

Seloua Nour, Vancouver

Advisor to the Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique

Ms. Nour, founder of Towards Success Consulting, is a certified hypnotherapist (CHT), licensed neurolinguistics practitioner, certified energy psychotherapist, Reiki master, life trainer, motivational speaker and motivational worker. She helps others in their personal and professional growth, specializing in personal and professional development, life balance and communication. She has been facilitating groups, teaching and consulting privately since 1998.

Alanis Obomsawin, Nodanak Abenaki Nation

A renowned documentary filmmaker, Alanis Obomsawin began her career as a singer, writer and storyteller. Her films have received dozens of major international prizes. In 1983, she was named a Member of the Order of Canada and in 2001 she received the Governor General's Award in Visual and Media Arts. Alanis works for the National film Board (NFB), sings and visits schools, prisons and communities. She also creates etchings, which she occasionally exhibits.

Saïda Ouchaou-Ozarowski, Vancouver

Journalist and Independent Filmmaker

Born in France to Algerian parents, Ms. Ouchaou-Ozarowski became active in British Columbia's Francophone community immediately upon her arrival in Canada. A communications professional, she is also active in a number of organizations, including the newspaper *L'Express du Pacifique* and the *Alliance Française de Vancouver*. She co-founded the women's group *Ethno Femmes Francophones* in British Columbia. Ms. Ouchaou-Ozarowski is a keen documentary- and short-film-maker. With the assistance of *Parole citoyenne* and *Radio-Canada* (British Columbia), she produced a first documentary dealing with the challenges faced by female Francophone immigrants who are members of visible minorities: *Pluri'Elles, expressions féminines en mode francophone*. The documentary is available on the following website: <http://citoyen.onf.ca/onf/info?did=981>.

Dulari Prithipaul, Edmonton

Sociologist and Vice-president, *Association multiculturelle francophone de l'Alberta*

Dulari Prithipaul was born in Mauritius and has lived in Edmonton since 1969. She is trilingual and speaks French, Hindi and English. She has a master's degree in education and sociology from the University of Alberta, where she is currently completing her thesis for a doctorate in sociology. She has been serving as Coordinator of *New Neighbours* within the *Edmonton Immigrant Services Association* since 1995. She is a founding member and vice-president of the *Association multiculturelle francophone de l'Alberta*. She has also served on the board of the Northern Alberta Alliance on Race Relations (NAARR), the management committee of the *Service d'accueil et d'établissement d'Edmonton* and the *Alliance Française d'Edmonton* for over 22 years.

Pierre Rivard, Vancouver

Executive Director, Centre culturel francophone de Vancouver

Pierre Rivard was born in Rouyn-Noranda to a Francophone father and an Anglophone mother. In 1984, he graduated in political science from *Université Laval* in Quebec City. In 1987, he obtained his master's degree and went on to complete his coursework for a doctorate. After working in Montreal as a journalist and for a children's theatre company, he moved to British Columbia in 1992, where he took up the position of policy analyst with the *Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique*. In 1994, he became Director of the *Centre culturel francophone de Vancouver*, a position he still holds today. Mr. Rivard also served on the founding committee of the *Conseil culturel et artistique francophone de la Colombie-Britannique* – serving as its first treasurer –, the City of Vancouver's Advisory Committee on Cultural Diversity in 1998-1999, the board of the Vancouver-Whistler Bid Corporation for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in 1998-1999, the Corporation's Cultural Resources Committee in 2002-2003, the Ministerial Advisory Council on the Canada-British Columbia Agreement on the Promotion of Official Languages in 2001, and a number of juries including *Chant'Ouest* and the Western Canadian Music Awards.

Romeo Saganash, Cree Nation

Director of Quebec Relations, Grand Council of the Cree

Diom Romeo Saganash was Vice-Grand Chief of the Grand Council of the Cree of Eeyou Istchee (people's homeland) and Vice-President of the Cree Regional Authority from 1990 to 1993. Born in Northern Quebec near Lake Waswanipi in 1962, he studied at the *Université du Québec à Montréal* and received his law degree in May 1989. He has been involved in a number of organizations dealing with Cree and Aboriginal issues, including the Cree Nation Youth Council (of which he was founding president), Creeco Inc. and the James Bay Eeyou Corporation. He has also worked for the Cree Nation Council of Waswanipi, his native community. For over 20 years, including the period when he was Vice-Grand Chief, he represented the Cree people at a number of national and international conferences on environmental, constitutional, self-determination, international law and human rights.

Romeo Saganash is trilingual in Cree, English and French. He has worked in Waswanipi and Quebec City since 1993 as Director of Quebec Relations for the Grand Council of the Cree and as President of the Anashkamuun Institute, responsible for reviewing treaties between Aboriginal peoples and nation states.

Guy Sioui-Durand, Huron-Wendat

Sociologist and art critic

Born in Wendake, Québec, Mr. Sioui-Durand is a sociologist-critic (doctorate), curator and art critic focusing on current art and contemporary Amerindian art. His books include: *L'art comme alternative : Réseaux et pratiques d'art parallèle au Québec* (1997) and *Indianité : Jean-Paul Riopelle : L'art d'un trappeur supérieur* (2003). Co-founder of *Inter* and *Lieu, centre en art actuel*. He has collaborated on a number of periodicals, catalogues and events, in particular, conference-performances. In 2005, he was guest curator for the inaugural Touche project (Guy Blackburn) at Sagamie, *Centre national de recherche et diffusion en arts contemporains numériques*. He serves as Aboriginal consultant to the organizing committee for the celebration marking the 400th anniversary of Quebec City (1608-2008). (www.sioudurand.org)

Milton Tanaka, Montreal

Consultant on Racial Equity

Mr. Tanaka was cultural officer for the Japanese Pavilion of the Montreal Botanical Gardens and collaborated with Montreal's *Festival Accès Asie* for a number of years. He served on the *comité de l'interculturalisme en arts* for the City of Montreal's Culture Service, on the Canada Council's Advisory Committee for Racial Equality in the Arts, and on the Montreal Metropolitan Orchestra's Cultural Diversity Committee. As consultant for the Canada Council's Japan-Canada Fund, Milton Tanaka implemented a number of collaborative arts projects between Canada and Japan. He recently developed a strategic organizational diversity and equity plan for the National Film Board of Canada.

Léonie Tchatat, Toronto

Executive Director, Centre des jeunes francophones de Toronto

Originally from Cameroon, Ms. Tchatat is founder and Executive Director of the *Regroupement des jeunes filles francophones de Toronto*. She is also President of the *Groupe jeunesse francophone de Toronto* and President of Ontario Youth Against Racial Discrimination. Ms. Tchatat is Editor of the women's magazine *Taloua*, which focuses on young women belonging to ethnic and cultural minorities in the Toronto area.

Réginald Vollant, Innu Nation of Uashat/Mani-Utenam

Réginald Vollant speaks Innu and French fluently. For 12 years, he was Director of the NUTSHIMU-ATUSSEUN Training Centre, an organization whose mission is to ensure that traditional Innu culture is passed on to Innu youth in difficulty. A trainer, tour manager for the musical duo Kashtin and director of the Shaputuan Museum, Mr. Volant is currently focusing on audio-visual production activities.

Since 2003, Mr. Vollant has served as co-chair of the *Comité d'harmonisation entre les peuples (autochtones et non autochtones)*, a coalition of individuals from all of the North Shore communities that facilitates harmonious relations between peoples.

Frantz Voltaire, Montreal

President, Centre international de documentation et d'information haïtienne, caribéenne et afro-canadienne

Frantz Voltaire studied political science at the doctoral level after obtaining a master's degree in political science from the *Université du Québec à Montréal*. He has taught at the University of Chile, the National Autonomous University of Mexico, the State University of Haiti and the *Université de Montréal*. In 2001, he was appointed Director of the *Centre international de documentation et d'information haïtienne, caribéenne et afro-canadienne* (CIDIHCA). Mr. Voltaire has published a number of works, including *Problème de l'habitat en Haïti*, and has made a number of documentaries, including *Port-au-Prince, ma ville* (2000) Cora Coralina Prize, Brazil, *Les chemins de la mémoire* (2002) NFB Prize, *Le Pèlerinage Thomassin* (2004), and *Au nom du père...* (2005).

DIVERSITY AND FRANCOPHONIE

AGENDA

Vancouver, November 2005

DIVERSITY AND FRANCOPHONIE

November 25, 26 and 27, 2005, Vancouver

The Department of Canadian Heritage is hosting a conference that will bring together representatives of Aboriginal, racial and ethnocultural minority communities, rooted Francophone minority communities outside Quebec and Francophone communities in Quebec.

The objective of this conference is to discuss the alterity of the Canadian Francophonie, and more specifically the future of cultures within the Francophone space in Canada. The future is linked to the history and presence of Aboriginal cultures, the contribution of Francophone immigrant cultures, and the diversity of rooted communities.

This initiative will enhance the recognition of diversity within the Canadian Francophonie, increasing awareness of what is at stake regarding this racial and cultural diversity, especially with the numerous cultural perspectives present.

Discussions will be organized on the following three themes:

- Aboriginal cultures within the Canadian Francophonie
- Evolving role of traditional communities
- Racial and ethno-cultural diversity within the Canadian Francophonie

In addition, the conference will promote dialogue and active participation by each participant. Each theme will be the subject of a discussion of ideas between a facilitator and three guests. Discussion workshops will then follow.

It is also possible to participate in the dialogue by joining the on-line discussion group on cultural diversity in the Canadian Francophonie at www.culturescope.ca

AGENDA

Friday, November 25, 2005

- Noon – 2:00 p.m. Registration
*Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design
Theatre Foyer (South Building)
1399 Johnston Street, Granville Island
Vancouver*
- 2:00 p.m. Opening Ceremony
*in the presence of Mr. **Bob Baker** (ancestral name S7apluk) and the
Eagle Song Dancers/Spakwus Slolem from the Squamish Nation*
- 2:30 p.m. Welcoming Remarks
*Mr. **Paul Mathieu**, Associate Professor, Emily Carr Institute of Art and
Design
and
Mr. Hubert Lussier, Director General, Official Languages Support
Programs Branch, Department of Canadian Heritage*
- 3:00 p.m. Keynote Address
*Mr. **Ibrahima Diallo**
Dean, Faculty of Arts, Science and Business Administration, Collège
universitaire de Saint-Boniface*
- 3:30 p.m. Break
- 3:50 p.m. Presentation of Background Work :
Round tables, discussion papers and on-line discussion group on
www.culturescope.ca
*Ms. **Saïda Ouchaou**, moderator*
- 4:10 p.m. Presentation of Three Vignettes on Cultural Diversity in the
Canadian Francophonie produced for TV5
- 4:20 p.m. Presentation of the Proceedings of the Conference – Objectives,
Order of Business and Follow-Up
*Ms. **Alanis Obomsawin**, Master of Ceremonies and Discussion Leader*
- 5:00 p.m. Adjournment
- 8:00 p.m. Projection of the Following Films Produced by the National Film
Board of Canada:
*“Sigwan” by Alanis Obomsawin and
“Une école sans frontières” by Nadine Valcin*

Saturday, November 26, 2005

9:30 a.m. First discussion (Plenary in the Theatre)

ABORIGINAL CULTURES WITHIN THE CANADIAN FRANCOPHONIE

In Canada, there are 12 Aboriginal nations in which French is spoken. They are primarily located in Quebec, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Ontario, Nunavut, as well as Newfoundland and Labrador.

These Aboriginal nations are made up of Inuit, Métis and ten First Nations. The First Nations include Abenaki, Algonquin, Attikamek, Cree, Huron-Wendat, Innu, Malecite, Mohawk, Naskapi, and the Micmac people. The Inuit, stemming from a different wave of settlement, form a distinct group. The same applies to Métis, descendants of Cree, Ojibwa or Saulteau women and Quebecois, French, Scottish or English men.

There is great diversity within the Aboriginal nations, including linguistic, cultural, social and economic diversity. From one community to another, the vitality of ancestral cultures and languages varies, as does their connection to the French language and the Francophonie.

Facilitator:

*Mr. **Luc Lainé**, Huron Wendat Nation
President of Orihwa, Wendake*

Invited Participants:

*Mr. **Roméo Saganash**, Cree Nation
Director of Quebec Relations for the Grand Council of the Crees, Nemaska*

*Ms. **France Lemay**, Métis Nation
St-Boniface*

*Ms. **Ghizlane Laghzaoui**
Lecturer and researcher, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver*

10:40 a.m. Break

11:00 a.m. Workshops
6 workshops with about fifteen people

Themes:

- *preservation and promotion of heritage languages and cultures within the Francophone space in Canada*
- *recognition and promotion of the Aboriginal presence in the Canadian and international Francophonie*
- *teaching and awareness of Aboriginal cultures within the Francophonie*
- *Aboriginal youth, heritage cultures and contemporary practices*

Workshop Chairs:

Mr. **Gabriel Dufault**, Métis Nation
President of the Union nationale Métis de Saint-Joseph, Winnipeg

Mr. **Réginald Vollant**, Innu Nation
Film Producer, Malioténam

Ms. **Lucie Basile**, Atikamekw Nation, Wemotaci, Quebec

Ms. **Mona Belleau**, Inuit Nation
President of the Association des Étudiant(e)s des Premières Nations de l'Université Laval,
Quebec

Mr. **Guy Sioui-Durand**, Huron Wendat Nation
Sociologist and art critic, Quebec

Ms. **Julie Bergeron**, Huron Nation
Artistic Director, Kwazar Theatre and Francophone Coordinator of Métis Art Festival, Toronto

12:30 p.m. Lunch

2:00 p.m. Second discussion

EVOLVING ROLE OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES

For more than a century, the expression “French Canadian” was used to refer to the Canadian French-speaking population as a whole. Most French-speaking Canadians came from Quebec or Acadia, which was considered part of French Canada. This did not prevent French-Canadians from identifying with provinces and, from early in the 20th century, developing organizations at the provincial level.

Over the past decades, demographic changes and immigration have had a considerable impact on the social structure of the Francophonie in Canada and on the relationship between the various cultures it comprises. For some rooted communities, this gives rise to challenges relating to building an identity, preserving cultural heritage, Francophone immigrant reception structures, and survival of the language and the communities.

Facilitator:

Mr. **Pierre Rivard**, Director General
Centre culturel francophone, Vancouver

Invited Participants:

Ms. **Diane Bazin**, Administrator
Community Development, Société Franco-manitobaine, Saint-Boniface

Mr. **Pierre Dajjo**, President
Conseil économique et social d'Ottawa Carleton (CESOC), Ottawa

*Ms. **Diane Côté**, Director, Community and Government Liaison, Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne, Ottawa*

3:10 p.m. Break

3:30 p.m. Workshops

Themes:

- *who is a Francophone? a constantly evolving definition*
- *challenges faced by Francophone minority communities: identity, citizenship, rights*
- *intercultural education in Francophone school systems*
- *Francophone immigration: issues within host communities*

Workshop Chairs:

*Mr. **Guy Cormier**, Director General
Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta, Edmonton*

*Mrs. **Léonie Tchatat**, Director General
Centre des jeunes francophones de Toronto, Toronto*

*Mr. **Jack Jedwab**, Director General
Association for Canadian Studies, Montreal*

*Mr. **Jamal Nawri**, Coordinator, Immigration Services
Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-britannique, Vancouver*

*Mrs. **Annette Boudreau**, Sociolinguist and Associate Professor
Department of French, Université de Moncton, Moncton*

*Mrs. **Yolande Grisé**, Director
Office of Francophone and Francophile Affairs, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver*

5:00 p.m. Adjournment

8:00 p.m. Show by **Maalesh**
Group from Comoros, in connection with "Coup de cœur francophone", at Studio 16, Maison de la Francophonie, in collaboration with the Conseil francophone de la Chanson and the Centre cultural francophone de Vancouver

Sunday, November 27, 2005

9:30 a.m.

Third discussion

CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE CANADIAN FRANCOPHONIE

The Canadian Francophonie has been evolving. Youth outflow from some minority communities, declining birthrates in rooted communities, and Francophone immigration have caused demographic changes.

There is a desire among ethnocultural and racial minority communities to actively and fully participate in any and all activities of the Canadian Francophonie. They want to be able to play a greater part in Canadian Francophonie institutions as well as Francophone minority community organizations and associations. They would like to participate in promoting the French fact while making the most of the potential for development and openness brought about by cultural diversity.

The situation calls for the development of a new vision firmly rooted in the values of respect and acceptance of differences in others. It also gives rise to such issues as citizenship, rights and the political destiny of the Francophonie.

Facilitator:

*Ms. **Zab Maboungou**, Choreographer and Director
Nyata-Nyata Dance Company, Montreal*

Invited Participants:

*Mr. **Mourad Ali-Khodja**, Full Professor, Sociology Department, Member of the Groupe de recherche interdisciplinaire sur les cultures en contact, Université de Moncton, Moncton*

*Mr. **Guy Matte**, Director General
Dialogue Foundation, Ottawa*

*Ms. **Dulari Prithipaul**, Vice-President
Association multiculturelle francophone de l'Alberta, Edmonton*

10:40 a.m.

Break

11:00 a.m.

Workshops

Themes:

- *assimilation, integration, inclusion: what is "the" model to achieve equity?*
- *diversity and interculturality: openness towards, respect and recognition of the contribution of different cultures*
- *Francophone youth in Canada: diversity and hybridity*
- *integrative approach, strategies and mechanisms*
- *ethnocultural and racial diversity awareness initiatives*

Workshop Chairs:

*Mr. **Ibrahima Diallo**, Professor
Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface, Winnipeg*

*Mr. **Fo Niemi**, Director
Centre for Research-Action on Race Relations, Montreal*

*Mr. **Frantz Voltaire**, President
Centre international de documentation et d'information haïtienne, caribéenne et afro-canadienne*

*Ms. **Justine Gogoua**, President
Bassan Art Group, Toronto*

*Ms. **Saïda Ouchaou-Ozarowski**, Journalist/Reporter and Independent Filmmaker
Vancouver*

*Ms. **Janet Lumb**, Composer and Director of Festival Accès Asie
Montreal*

12:30 p.m. Lunch

2:00 p.m. Workshop Reports and Question Period
in *Plenary*

Rapporteurs:

*Mr. **Milton Tanaka**
Racial Equity Consultant, Montreal*

*Ms. **Bintou Sacko**, Coordinator
Accueil francophone, Saint-Boniface*

*Ms. **Malubungi Mueni**, Director General
Réseau des chercheuses africaines, Toronto*

*Ms. **Marie Bourgeois**, Director
Maison de la Francophonie, Vancouver*

*Ms. **Seloua Nour**, Counsellor
Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-britannique, Vancouver*

*Ms. **Joanne Dumas**, Director
Société Maillardville-Uni, Maillardville*

3:00 p.m. Presentation of Three Vignettes on Cultural Diversity in the
Canadian Francophonie produced by TV5

3:10 p.m. Closing Address
*Mrs. **Aïda Kaouk**, Ethnologist and Curator
Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau*

3:45 p.m. Closing Ceremony

4:00 p.m. Adjournment

**CONFERENCE – DIVERSITY AND FRANCOPHONIE
Vancouver, November 25, 26 and 27, 2005**

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Vancouver Coup de cœur francophone

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