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Immigration, Réfugiés
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Synthesis and Analysis of Research on Immigrants to Official Language Minority Communities in Canada

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**SYNTHESIS AND ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH
ON IMMIGRANTS TO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE
MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN CANADA**

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A Pathways to
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Immigration has served as a policy tool for the Canadian government to help meet demographic, economic, and other goals for over a century. There is a recent growing body of literature examining the ways in which immigration may enhance the vitality of official language minority communities (OLMCs) in particular, including Francophone minority communities (FMCs) which are French-speaking communities outside of the province of Quebec, as well as English-speaking communities in Quebec (ESCQs). In light of increasing policy and legislative emphasis on the issue of immigration and OLMCs, and the arrival of increasing numbers of immigrants settling in these communities, contributing to their increasing diversity, research addressing this topic has greatly expanded in recent years. This report presents a synthesis and analysis of research on immigrants to OLMCs in Canada that has been published since 2010.

The research question guiding this project was: “How can existing literature on OLMCs, including FMCs and ESCQs, inform current policies and practices, and the development of a knowledge framework for guiding future research priorities in this area?” A scoping review methodology was used to identify and select relevant studies, chart the data, and collate, summarize and report the results. Key themes identified include: definitional issues; selection, attraction and recruitment; settlement; integration; and retention. Several sub-themes were also identified.

A number of implications for policy and practice were derived from the themes identified in the literature. These implications relate to: definitional issues, the impact of new policies for selection and integration, welcoming communities, supports needed for the economic integration of Official Language Minority Immigrants (OLMIs), the provision of information to OLMIs, and settlement services. In addition to identifying these implications, we make a variety of recommendations for addressing them.

First, we recommend a consensual and widely used definition of OLMIs be developed for the purpose of identifying the needs and assets of these immigrants, and to assist with decisions about funding targeted settlement and integration services. We also recommend that when new selection and integration practices are being considered, a proactive approach be taken in investigating the potential implications of these changes for OLMIs so that concerns are allayed and positive outcomes are optimized. An issue that requires more attention and intervention is the lack of welcome at times faced by OLMIs from both the wider community and specifically within FMCs. Our third recommendation thus focuses on strategies for reducing discrimination, with the Réseau en immigration francophone playing a major role in FMCs. In Quebec it is suggested that further exploration of the role of ESCQs be considered as a welcoming and viable bridge to the larger Francophone society. Our fourth recommendation focuses on supporting the economic integration of OLMIs. To do so requires a multi-pronged approach including opportunities for language training in both official languages to optimize job prospects and, specifically for Francophone minority immigrants (FMIs), additional programs (e.g., mentorship programs) to improve employment outcomes. Our next recommendation deals with the lack of information available to

OLMIs, particularly in their official language of choice. This information would serve to ensure that OLMIs have realistic expectations about Canada, and would facilitate the ability to join OLMCs and access services in their preferred language. The provision of information in both official languages both pre- and post-arrival is a relatively low cost and effective means of improving the settlement and integration of OLMIs. Settlement services are also needed for this purpose and specifically in immigrants' official language of choice. To do so efficiently, we recommend the provision of pre-arrival services in both official languages, and the use of itinerant services and new social media. Additional recommendations for settlement services specifically for FMCs relate to a need for provincial and municipal services in French and targeted services for French-speaking refugees. In addition, there is a need for performance measurement and evaluation tools for French settlement agencies, and a sharing of promising practices among them.

The report also lists research gaps and includes research suggestions. With respect to definitions of OLMCs and OLMIs, we recommend: a) determining the geographic configurations and counts of official language minorities; b) understanding how OLMIs perceive their belonging to various communities within the host society (e.g. ethnic, linguistic, religious); and c) using definitions for specific purposes. In relation to service needs and service provision in OLMCs, we recommend: a) conducting a national survey of OLMIs; b) using the iCARE database; and c) conducting qualitative research on service needs and service provision. In terms of the integration of OLMIs and the welcome-ability of OLMCs, we recommend: a) understanding the abilities of OLMCs to welcome and integrate immigrants; b) examining the levels and processes of immigrant integration; and c) exploring the relations among community characteristics, integration, and immigrant contributions. Finally, with regard to the impact of policies we suggest: a) using existing data to measure change brought about by policies; b) conducting qualitative analyses to examine impacts of policies on individuals; and c) adopting micro-simulation as a tool for measuring effects of policies.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

For over a century, immigration has served as a policy tool for the Canadian government to help meet demographic, economic and other goals. There is a recent, growing body of literature examining the ways in which immigration may enhance the vitality of official language minority communities (OLMCs) in particular, including Francophone minority communities (FMCs), which are French-speaking communities outside of the province of Quebec, as well as English-speaking communities in Quebec (ESCQs). For instance, the Government of Canada has released ‘Roadmaps’ to support the official languages, all of which emphasize the importance of immigration (Privy Council Office, 2003; Canadian Heritage, 2008, 2013).

Further policy initiatives have sought to attract and retain immigrants in linguistic minority contexts and several government documents address such initiatives. For instance, reports have been published by the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages (2003, 2011, 2014), the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (Jedwab, 2002; Quell, 2002; OCOL & OFLSC, 2015), the Ministerial Conference on the Canadian Francophonie (2006), and the Citizenship and Immigration Canada - Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee (2003, 2006). This list is certainly not exhaustive of the breadth of attention this topic has received in official government documents.

Common themes within these documents include strategies to meet the numerical targets set for immigration, while at the same time managing the resulting increased demographic diversity. While immigration is often considered together with other issues related to supporting the Canadian population more broadly, including education, health and justice, it has taken on increasing importance over time as reflected by aspects such as enhanced financial support. For instance, while the Roadmap released in 2003 accorded \$9 million to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), this was increased to \$20 million in 2008 and to \$149.50 million in 2013 (Privy Council Office, 2003; Canadian Heritage, 2008, 2013).

These initiatives have occurred alongside parallel changes recently made to Canada’s broader immigration and refugee systems through legislation. Although an examination of the implications of such changes for initiatives targeting OLMCs is beyond the scope of this report, others are beginning to examine these issues (Bisson & Brennan, 2013; OCOL, 2015; Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2014). Further compounding the existing complexity of Canada’s rapidly shifting immigration policy context are the geographic particularities of the country’s demographic distribution and its separate policies on bilingualism and multiculturalism (Huot, Dodson, & Laliberte Rudman, 2014). As the term *official language minority community* suggests, French and English speaking communities are not evenly weighted and distributed throughout the country. Although federal policies are enacted at a national scale, the experiences of those arriving to Canada are lived at a local scale. In addition, the Canada-Quebec Accord gives Quebec responsibility for choosing immigrants destined for Quebec and providing them with settlement services (Béchar, 2011). Hence, spatial and other considerations are essential for

understanding the settlement and integration of French and English speaking immigrants residing within different OLMCs.

In light of increasing policy and legislative emphasis on the issue of immigration and OLMCs, and the arrival of increasing numbers of immigrants settling in these communities contributing to their increasing diversity, research addressing this topic has greatly expanded across the country in recent years. This expansion prompted the need to review this growing body of literature in a systematic way. The specific goals of our project were to (1) review, analyze, and synthesize existing literature on FMCs and ESCQs in order to identify key themes, issues, and knowledge gaps for each; (2) conduct a comparative analysis of the themes, issues, and knowledge gaps identified for FMCs and ESCQs in order to identify common themes, issues, and gaps; and (3) identify the key implications of these analyses for policy and communities, and the priority directions for future research. Following a description of the methodological approach adopted and the main themes identified, policy implications, research gaps and recommendations for future research directions will be outlined in this report.

METHODOLOGY

We selected a scoping review methodology for this project (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005; Levac, Colquhoun & O'Brien, 2010). Scoping reviews are well suited for identifying current available evidence, mapping out gaps in existing literature and theory, and providing direction for future research. This methodological approach implements a range of approaches to summarize and describe key issues identified within the literature. Research questions guiding scoping reviews tend to be broader than those answered by more traditional systematic reviews that mainly synthesize evidence or aggregate findings from different studies. Instead, scoping reviews enable a preliminary assessment of potential size and scope of available literature, and do not attempt to formally critically appraise the quality of evidence. The aim is not to determine whether specific studies provide robust or generalizable findings. Instead, in following the methodological steps further described below, the charting accomplished during a scoping review identifies the nature and extent of the research evidence, characterizes the quantity and quality of the literature, and produces a narrative account of existing literature.

An additional strength of the scoping review design is its ability to efficiently identify trends and ideas emerging from a wide range of research and non-research materials (Rumrill, Fitzgerald, & Merchant, 2010). Levac et al. (2010) extended beyond Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) seminal framework to articulate that scoping reviews are especially relevant to address questions focused on relatively recent fields of research with emerging levels of evidence, such as that attending to immigration and OLMCs. As recommended by Arksey and O'Malley (2005), the current scoping review included the following five stages, each of which will be briefly described below:

1. Identifying the research question
2. Identifying relevant studies
3. Study selection
4. Charting the data
5. Collating, summarizing and reporting the results

Identifying the Research Question

The question guiding this scoping review was: "How can existing literature on OLMCs, including FMCs and ESCQs, inform current policies and practices, and the development of a knowledge framework for guiding future research priorities in this area?" The objective of our review was to review, analyze, and synthesize existing literature on FMCs and ESCQs in order to identify key themes, issues, and knowledge gaps for each. We additionally sought to conduct a comparative analysis of findings on FMCs and ESCQs and to identify implications for communities, future research and policy-making.

Identifying Relevant Studies

In order to identify relevant literature on this topic, a detailed and thorough search strategy was adopted. First, research and reports funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC; formerly Citizenship and Immigration Canada) were included in the synthesis. Those not already available on the Pathways to Prosperity website (<http://p2pcanada.ca/>) were sent to us directly by Research and Evaluation, IRCC. Second, additional documents available on the Pathways to Prosperity website were retrieved for possible inclusion within the synthesis.

Third, a database search was conducted through the Western University library system. The Social Sciences librarian was consulted in the process of developing the database search strategy, including the selection of key words outlined below. The terms were combined into search strings using Boolean operators to maximize the relevance of the results. For instance, the following search string was used for one of the searches: (Immigr* OR Refugee* OR “Asylum seeker*” OR Asylum-seeker*) AND (“Official language minority communit*” OR OLMC OR “Francophone minority communit*” OR FMC OR “English speaking communit*” OR ESCQ). Table 1 lists the databases that were searched, the search terms that were used, and the limitations that bounded the search. The reference sections of existing literature reviews were also scanned to obtain additional documents for inclusion.

Table 1: Databases searched and search terms and limits utilized

Databases searched	Search terms	Limits used
PsychINFO	Immigr*	Documents must be published in either English or French Documents must be published since 2010
Proquest (Education, Political Science, Sociology)	Refugee*	
Scopus	Asylum seeker*	
SocIndex	Asylum-seeker*	
CBCA Education	--	
CPI.Q	Official language minority communit* (OLMC)	
Canadian Public Policy Collection	Francophone minority communit* (FMC)	
Google Scholar	English speaking communit* (ESCQ)	
	First official language (FOL)	
	Francophone	
	Anglophone	
	French	
	English	

Fourth, a web-based search of the following sources for additional documents was conducted:

- Association for Canadian Studies
- Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities

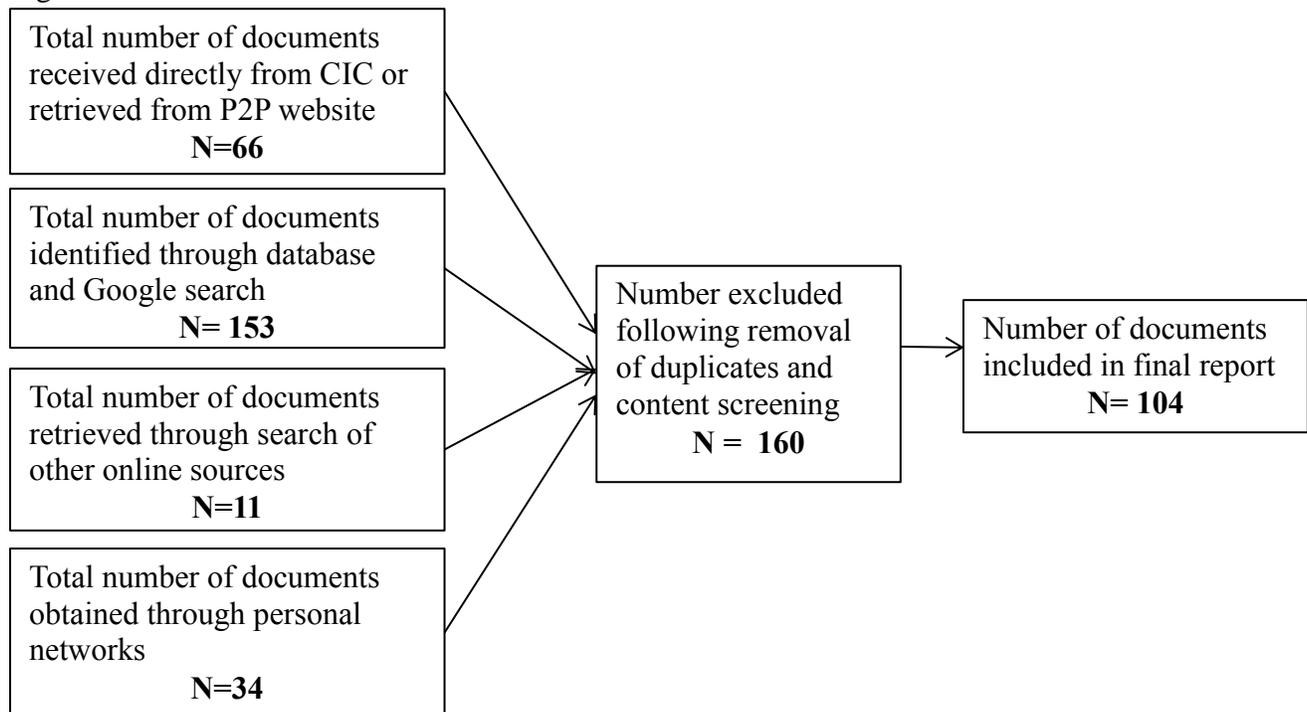
- Conference Board of Canada
- Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne
- Metropolis
- Statistics Canada

All relevant documents available from these sites were downloaded for possible inclusion in the synthesis.

Finally, a solicitation for relevant documents was sent to colleagues in the researchers' professional networks, including but not limited to the Pathways to Prosperity co-investigators and partners, as well as researchers who participated in the research priorities meeting co-hosted by CIC and AUFC (Association des universités de la francophonie canadienne; now named ACUFC - Association des collèges et universités de la francophonie canadienne).

Figure 1 indicates the number of documents that were retrieved from each stage of the search. How a determination of 'relevance' was reached is further outlined below in the section on study selection where inclusion and exclusion criteria are also listed.

Figure 1. Outline of Search Results



Study Selection

Once the search was completed according to the detailed steps outlined above, the initial step in study selection was to remove all duplicate documents. Documents were screened in three stages, as needed, according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria specified below. First, a title screen was conducted of all documents remaining in the master list following the removal of duplicates.

Those that clearly met the inclusion criteria were selected, those that were clearly not relevant to the topic or that met exclusion criteria were removed from the master list. Remaining citations whose relevance was unclear were subjected to a second stage abstract screening. Once again, based on the abstract screen, documents meeting the inclusion criteria were selected, and those that were clearly not relevant to the topic or that met exclusion criteria were removed from the master list. Remaining citations whose relevance was still unclear were subjected to a third stage full text screening. Similar to previous stages, documents meeting the inclusion criteria were selected and those remaining were removed from the master list. The three stage screening process was conducted by one researcher and then checked by a second researcher to ensure accuracy.

Inclusion criteria:

- focussing on Official Language Minority Immigrants and/or Communities
- peer reviewed journal articles
- previous literature reviews and integrations
- primary research pieces
- government documents
- books and book chapters
- dissertations
- grey literature documents deemed to present rigorous research
- published since 2010

Exclusion criteria:

- published before 2010
- published in languages other than English or French
- grey literature documents not deemed to present rigorous research

Charting the Data

Once all relevant studies were selected for inclusion within the synthesis, each document was reviewed in full and key information was extracted from each to populate the data charts that were created for this project. Headings included in the charts included: bibliographic reference; abstract; location; unit of analysis (population or community); research domain (economic, socio-cultural, political, etc.; attraction, migration, settlement, integration, retention, etc.; other); type of research (quantitative; qualitative); main findings and implications; gaps and future directions; and rating of relation to research topic. Two graduate research assistants conducted the charting process and the resulting charts were reviewed by the project leads.

Collating, Summarizing and Reporting the Results

Once the data charting process was complete, the initial step in collating, summarizing and reporting the results was to review the data charts to begin establishing potential themes. The two

graduate student research assistants who charted the data began this process by reviewing their respective charts and outlining potential themes independent of one another. They then met to compare and contrast their findings.

Following the development of initial themes, the data extracted from the documents were analyzed to identify quotes and findings exemplifying each theme (Popay et al., 2006). The project leads and research assistants then reviewed the initial themes and worked to iteratively modify descriptions of each theme and to add additional themes until agreement was reached on their comprehensiveness and inclusiveness. To validate the conclusions presented in this report, discussions were held among the three team leads and the research assistants. Working from the themes identified, the team was then able to identify existing gaps in the current body of literature on immigration and OLMCs, outline implications for communities and policies, as well as propose directions for future research stemming from the findings. A description of the main themes identified is presented next.

MAJOR THEMES IDENTIFIED IN THE LITERATURE

Immigration is considered vital to sustaining the growth and vitality of OLMCs in Canada. The recruitment of newcomers is particularly important in light of the aging population within these communities, coupled with the departure of many of their youth due to employment- and education-related pursuits. Several major themes arising from a review of existing literature are presented and discussed in relation to the facilitators, barriers, and challenges faced by newcomers settling in OLMCs.

Issues related to the Definitions of OLM communities and immigrants are presented first, followed by issues on Selection, attraction and recruitment; Settlement; Integration through Education and Integration in the Economic, Socio-cultural, and Political domains. The section ends with Retention, a theme seen as essential to the vitality of OLMCs. For each theme, issues common to FMCs and ESCQs are discussed, along with contrasts between FMCs and ESCQs.

The review brought out an unexpectedly large volume of work conducted since 2010, which includes journal articles, books, reports, and other documents from research on FMCs, ESCQs and OLMCs in general. In our aim to be exhaustive in our search for and inclusion of studies, our final report includes a broad range of works generated through funded and unfunded studies from a range of disciplines, paradigms, research designs and methodologies. A general appraisal of the body of work demonstrates a range in the rigour characterizing research in this area. Immigration and official bilingualism are contentious subjects in Canadian society, contributing not only to the volume of studies examining their intersection, but also to the noted political rhetoric and partisanship evident in interpreting and disseminating the findings. This has made our task of reviewing the research literature in this area particularly difficult as we attempted to pull out the research findings themselves. Not only is additional research needed to validate some of the claims put forth, but we recommend that future research in this area clearly state the positionality of the researchers within their reports of findings so that readers can take this into account when evaluating these works. In addition, as the focus of any particular study reflects not only the importance of the topic but also the individual researcher's interests, it is important to be cautious in assuming that a topic that has attracted a lot of research is more important than one that has attracted less research. This section is organized to encompass the broad stages of immigration – starting from definitional issues to settlement and integration, and culminating with retention. Using this lens in viewing the body of research helps detect gaps in knowledge and information on OLMCs.

Our review did not include a systematic critical appraisal of methodology of each study as the scoping review aimed mainly to address the breadth and depth of available research. Thus, in the presentation of the themes we focus on the research findings, and we include comments on the methodology only in case of a need to clarify or to put the findings in context.

Definitional Issues

One of the initial challenges in conducting research on immigration to OLMCs is the lack of clear definitions that exist for both the communities themselves, as well as for immigrants joining them. There is little cohesion in use of terms or measures to assess who is considered a Francophone or Anglophone immigrant across Canada (Fourot, Marriott, & Williams, 2014). In a report by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages and Office of the French Language Services Commissioner of Ontario (OCOL & OFLSC, 2014), it is emphasized that the lack of clear definitions impacts service provision as the size of populations cannot be accurately assessed. The Commissioners stress the need to account for people whose mother tongue is not an official language but who nonetheless use one in daily interactions, and further that it is necessary to consider what official language newcomers prefer to be served in by federal institutions (OCOL & OFLSC, 2014). In light of such considerations, emphasis has been placed upon the importance of adopting an inclusive definition of Francophones and Anglophones within OLMCs. For instance, it is noted that an inclusive definition that recognizes differences in linguistic behaviours and characteristics among immigrants is important, since how immigrant populations were defined impacted strategies adopted to support their settlement and integration (Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2010). The Standing Committee also recommends moving away from a definition based exclusively on mother tongue toward an acknowledgement of people's ability to communicate in an official language, which they argue is not only more inclusive but can also strengthen a sense of belonging (Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2010).

This is echoed by in the report by the Commissioners (OCOL & OFLSC, 2014) who cite Ontario's inclusive definition of Francophone as recognizing the diversity of French-speakers as well as reinforcing a sense of belonging for immigrants. Likewise, Landry (2014) explains how calls to use more inclusive definitions for 'who can be included' have been driven in part by increasing heterogeneity of populations in OLMCs, as well as growing populations of allophones within them. This shift is noteworthy, as earlier publications cited tensions that existed prior to this change. For instance, a publication by Metropolis (2009) critiqued that the mother tongue definition used by the Government Ontario at that time no longer reflected the changes and diversity of the contemporary Franco-Ontarian community. While definitional issues are common to both OLMCs, their varied implications for FMCs and ESCQs in particular will be further discussed next. As noted in the preamble, the discussion of definitional issues and other themes is not exhaustive of the potential issues and possibilities that exist, but is rather a reflection of those that have been addressed in the recently published literature.

FMCs

With respect to FMCs, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages and Office of the French Language Services Commissioner of Ontario (2014) note that there is no consistent definition of Francophones, nor of Francophone immigrants. Indeed, Citizenship and Immigration

Canada (2015) recently identified the need to define the Francophone minority context and its institutional readiness and completeness as a key priority. The lack of consistency that exists is addressed by additional authors who have noted differences, such as Brennan (2014) who explained that the portrait of the Francophonie in British Columbia varies greatly depending on whether criterion for membership is based on mother tongue or first official language spoken (FOLS), particularly in relation to immigrant populations as French is not always their native language. Belkhodja, Traisnel and Wade (2012) also point to the range of criteria that may be adopted for distinguishing particular communities, including geographical, sociodemographic and linguistic practices, organizational capacity, and subjective vitality.

Fourot's (in press) work suggests that this lack of consistency may be partly attributable to the diversity of FMCs thorough Canada. In exploring notions of identity, she remarks that FMCs are situated between notions of nation and ethnicity. Regional identity differences, such as between Acadians and Franco-Ontarians, may be compounded by differences between native French speakers and 'others' that may prevent immigrants from identifying with the established Francophone community. Further work by Fourot, Marriott and Williams (2014) outlines the lack of cohesion in the terms and measures that are used to assess who 'is' a Francophone immigrant in different parts of the country. They specifically compare the implications of the different definitions used in British Columbia (i.e., mother tongue) and Manitoba (i.e., knowledge of French).

ESCQs

Definitional issues also pose particular challenges for ESCQs. For example, the Government of Quebec's use of mother tongue to define the size of Anglophone communities is described as being limiting and too exclusive (Jedwab, 2008). Jedwab (2008) argues that it fails to consider diversity where individuals may have dual identities, may have learned English as First Official Language Spoken (FOLS), or where English may have become an individual's home language (i.e., the one they have chosen to adopt). Consequently, the numbers of Anglophones are decreased and the numbers of allophones increased, which can prevent newcomers from receiving a unique status that an Anglophone minority label could offer. He suggests that the discrepancies in definitions limit how the federal government is able to act in supporting minority communities. The restricted definition of "Anglophone" can also impact immigration selection, integration, and education, where community size and estimates of "Anglophone" immigrants influence the types of settlement services that can be funded, provided and accessed (Jedwab, 2008).

Similar to the call in literature on FMCs, a revision to the definition of "Anglophone" is stressed (Bourhis, 2012; Zanazanian & O'Donnell, 2012). In particular, Liboy (2012) argues that in its current state, the definition creates friction and contention with the broader majority Francophone community as they may be less inclusive toward English-speaking habitants. Regardless of linguistic background, Bourhis (2012) explains that immigrants are not included as English-speaking Quebecers based on the provincial definition. More inclusive conceptions may provide a

better representation of the diverse nature of Anglophone communities and immigrants to ESCQs, as well as increase the proportion of English-speaking immigrants who may fit within an Anglophone identity.

Selection, Attraction, and Recruitment

Selection, attraction, and recruitment of French-speaking immigrants are important areas of focus for research on FMCs given the drive to attract immigrants who will contribute to the linguistic vitality of FMCs. As will be discussed, this includes research on the impact of recruitment strategies such as Destination Canada, the provision of sufficient and accurate information to French-speaking immigrants prior to their arrival in Canada, and the possible impact of new selection procedures. These topics have not been central to the research on ESCQs, however.

FMCs

The selection and recruitment of Francophone immigrants and their attraction to FMCs are important foci of research and discussion in the literature. Bisson and Brennan (2013) present an analysis of changes to the immigration system since 2006 and make predictions about the possible consequences for FMCs based on document analyses. They suggest that with the advent of the Express Entry system, it is important to ensure the presence in the pool of eligible applicants of prospective French-speaking immigrants wanting to settle outside of Quebec. Their perspective is that this is an opportunity for FMCs to attract new immigrants through promoting their provinces and communities to potential French-speaking immigrants, and through setting up employer consortiums to facilitate the selection of French-speaking immigrants. This increases the importance of Destination Canada and pre-departure information to French-speaking immigrants. Nonetheless, CIC (2012) suggests that there can be a disconnect between promotion and recruitment activities, including Destination Canada, and the selection and long-term settlement of French-speaking newcomers in FMCs, so that better links must be developed. In addition, of considerable concern, CIC (2012) suggests that it is not possible to establish a direct causal link between Destination Canada and other promotional activities, on the one hand, and the number of French-speaking newcomers settling in FMCs, on the other. Bisson and Brennan (2013, p. 15) also suggest that the growing importance of the Canadian Experience Class and particularly its role in facilitating the transition of international students to permanent residents “opens the door for post-secondary institutions to play a role as engines of French-speaking immigration.” Overall, their position is that the recent changes to the immigration system in Canada offer opportunities for FMCs to increase recruitment of new immigrants.

Fourot, Marriott, and Williams (2014) conducted a comparative study of Manitoba and British Columbia FMC recruitment and attraction strategies, using a variety of qualitative methods. They report that Manitoba has deployed specific promotion, international outreach and recruitment efforts since the late 1990s, including travelling to various Francophone countries for recruitment, active recruitment of French-speaking international students, use of social media, and active

recruitment of Francophone immigrants through the Provincial Nominee program, which has a compulsory exploratory visit component for nominees with no pre-existing ties to the province. British Columbia, in contrast, has developed some international promotion and recruitment initiatives, but its strategies are not as proactive as Manitoba's.

The need to provide sufficient and accurate information to French-speaking immigrants pre-arrival is a recurring theme in the literature. The research conducted by CIC (2012, p. 22) indicated that “there are many misperceptions of Canada’s linguistic reality,” leading to French-speaking immigrants having expectations that are not met. In particular, the importance of learning English when settling in provinces other than Quebec does not seem to be conveyed sufficiently pre-arrival (see also Farmer & da Silva, 2012). Huot, Dodson, and Laliberte Rudman (2014) refer to this as “official versus lived bilingualism.” CIC (2010b) also suggests that French-speaking immigrants find it difficult to locate FMCs and French services, and to find information about them. As a result, French-speaking immigrants who come to Canada do not necessarily integrate into FMCs but instead integrate into the English-speaking community (da Silva, 2012). Based on research presented by the Social Research and Demonstration Corporation (2011), the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages (2014) has stressed the importance of ensuring that French-speaking immigrants are well-informed before they arrive in Canada to facilitate their integration into Canadian society, including the labour market.

ESCQs

In a study of the English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, Liboy (2012) suggests that the community is keenly aware of the need to attract and retain English-speaking immigrants to avoid further population decline. Liboy reports that there are a large number of young people leaving the region and suggests that attraction and retention of English-speaking immigrants is required to counteract these effects. Liboy further suggests that English-speaking Quebecers may generally wish to host new immigrants but believe that Quebec laws do not support the retention of these individuals in ESCQs.

Settlement

Upon arrival in Canada, immigrants’ first challenge is to settle successfully into their community of residence. For OLMIs, this may also include settling into an OLMC – a Francophone minority community outside of Quebec or an English-speaking community within Quebec. This section includes sub-themes relating to settlement services and provincial and municipal services; experiences of discrimination, particularly in FMCs; housing; and securing employment.

Settlement Services and Provincial and Municipal Services

Settlement services provide a range of supports for new immigrants to Canada, facilitating their settlement and integration. There is considerable evidence to suggest, however, that not all

immigrants access settlement services and that among those who do not, many did not know about, or did not know how to access, these services. In addition, for OLMIs, services in one's preferred official language are not always available. These issues seem to affect both French-speaking immigrants outside of Quebec and English-speaking immigrants in Quebec. In addition, immigrants may require access to a range of other services in their community, including provincial and municipal services, preferably delivered in their official language of choice. Once again, barriers in this respect seem to affect both French-speaking immigrants outside of Quebec and English-speaking immigrants in Quebec.

FMCs

Based on interviews with Francophone immigrants in the Atlantic region, Gallant (2010) noted that these immigrants are faced with a general absence of settlement services in French, those that do exist are not necessarily provided by Francophones, and, in the rare cases where such services do exist, there is a lack of information promoting these services. She suggests that this has downstream implications including a lack of knowledge of other French-language institutions and poor development of social networks in French, eventually resulting in the likelihood of French-speaking immigrants integrating into the Anglophone majority. By 2015 Gallant noted that though these problems still exist to some extent, Francophone minorities across Canada have recently launched a variety of organizations providing local services for French-speaking immigrants. This has allowed these communities to better integrate new French-speaking immigrants and to link them with Francophone activities, institutions, and social networks. Using document analysis and interviews of representatives of organizations in London, Ontario, Huot (2013) similarly emphasizes the importance of having Francophone organizations offer services to immigrants, rather than offering translated services through Anglophone organizations.

Belkhodja and colleagues (Belkhodja & Traisnel, 2014; Belkhodja, Traisnel, & Wade, 2012) emphasize the importance for French-speaking immigrants of having provincial and municipal services delivered in French. Despite this need, however, there is evidence that these services are often lacking. For example, in a study of French-speaking immigrants in Alberta, respondents indicated that there is limited information on services and limited availability of services in French, particularly health services, leading to limited access to these services (Gauvin, Pierce, & Gagné, 2010; see also Ngwakongnwi, 2010 for similar findings specifically in Calgary, Alberta). A study conducted in Sudbury also reports difficulties in accessing health care, with respondents indicating that being a Francophone immigrant limits access to health services, affects the quality of these services, and hinders support when encountering health problems (Hien & Lafontant, 2013).

ESCQs

Similar concerns about a lack of settlement services in one's preferred official language are also evident in Quebec. However, in this context, the focus tends toward the funding challenges experienced by Anglophone settlement service organizations. Using a community-based action

approach, Ravensbergen and Sjollem (2013) surveyed community groups across Quebec as to their activities and concerns. A central issue expressed by English-speaking groups was underfunding from the Government of Quebec, and their own lack of knowledge and understanding of the Government of Quebec's funding structure. The authors suggest that this is partly attributable to the fact that the reference guide for the funding program is available in French only. Similarly, Vatz Laaroussi, Mulatris, Lemay, Sarenac, and Urra-Rugama (2014) report that in Sherbrooke, there seem to be large disparities in the funding provided to Anglophone versus Francophone organizations, limiting their likelihood of forming partnerships. Vatz Laaroussi (n.d.) further indicates that particularly outside of Montreal, there may be limited services to serve and retain Anglophone immigrants. Jedwab (2002) suggests that Anglophone institutions and organizations could help to integrate and retain English-speaking immigrants in Quebec if they have the resources to do so, and Urtnowski, O'Donnell, Shragge, Robineau, and Forgues (2012) argue that ESCQ settlement activities could serve as a bridge linking newcomers to the larger society by first welcoming and then encouraging English-speaking immigrants to learn French and integrate into the French society.

The Experience of Discrimination

A sense of welcome and lack of discrimination contribute significantly to the settlement process, promoting a sense of belonging to OLMCs and to the larger community. As will be discussed, there is a sizable literature on the discrimination experienced by French-speaking immigrants, both from the larger society and from FMCs. This topic is not highlighted in the literature on ESCQs.

FMCs

Discrimination toward French-speaking immigrants, both from the larger community and from established members of FMCs, is a recurring issue in the literature. Focusing on African Francophone immigrants in Alberta and Ontario, Madibbo (2010) documents concerns expressed by these immigrants about hostility experienced on the basis of race and racial stereotyping, as well as the experience of discrimination in the labour market. Weerasinghe et al. (in press) obtained evidence of similar concerns among African Francophone immigrants in Moncton, New Brunswick. Focusing on Francophone immigrants in the IT sector in Manitoba, Martin (2010-2011) also finds that discrimination, in this case based on culture and poor English language ability, is seen as hindering the progress of Francophone immigrants in the IT sector.

The evidence for discrimination toward French-speaking immigrants by members of FMCs is perhaps even more striking in its prevalence in the literature. In addition to discrimination in general, Madibbo (2010) discusses African immigrants' perceptions of racism and racialization within FMCs. These immigrants feel alienated from and a lack of belonging to FMCs, which are considered to be defined by "being white, Catholic, Quebecois or French-Canadian" (p. 89). That is, there is a sense that a Francophone identity is based on a homogenous racial, religious, and cultural definition of what it means to be a "legitimate" Francophone. Gallant (2010, 2011) finds

evidence that there are wide regional variations in the welcome afforded to culturally diverse French-speaking immigrants to FMCs, with Acadian communities particularly closed to these immigrants (see also Violette, 2014) . As suggested by CIC (2010), FMCs need to be more culturally open in order to integrate French-speaking immigrants from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds, thus contributing to linguistic vitality.

Housing

One of the first tasks faced by new immigrants to Canada is obtaining suitable housing. Discrimination by landlords can provide a barrier to successfully securing housing. The evidence suggests, however, that this discrimination may be more likely to be based on race or ethnicity, *per se*, rather than language.

Alper, Ba, Ka, and Sacko (2012) conducted interviews with new French-African immigrants to Winnipeg. They found that most report settling in non-French districts due to issues of affordability and discrimination from landlords. Of interest, however, though language may have contributed somewhat to this discrimination, it seems that race and number of children may have been more salient determinants. In addition, lack of employment and credit history were often used as seemingly legitimate reasons for not renting to these new immigrants.

Lemoine (2010) similarly examined the housing experiences of new immigrants – in this case focusing on Toronto and comparing the housing experiences of Congolese immigrants and immigrants from France. While the Congolese immigrants reported that they experienced a bit of discrimination, the French immigrants reported that they did not experience discrimination. Further, the Congolese immigrants attributed the discrimination mainly to level and source of income, family size, and race. Thus, it seems that language may play a relatively minor role in this context.

Obtaining a Job

Another crucial activity that may be seen as part of the settlement process is obtaining a job. Barriers to being successful in this regard face all immigrants, with OLMIs expressing concerns that are very similar to those expressed by immigrants in general – discrimination (as discussed earlier) and lack of recognition of professional credentials – as well as a particular challenge specific to OLMIs resulting from lack of knowledge of the majority language for the region. Recognizing the training and experiences of immigrants is crucial not only because it avoids poverty and loss of talent, but also because it may increase the chances of provinces meeting their demand for skilled labour, benefiting from the expertise of immigrants, and increasing the development of new, diversified and competitive markets (Madibbo, 2014).

FMCs

Bisson and Ahouansou (2011) used a multi-method approach to examine the situation of FMCs in Eastern Ontario. Participants in this study reported that employers often doubt their competence and experience, and hesitate to hire them. Martin (2010-2011) and Madibbo (2010) suggest that there is discrimination against French-speaking immigrants in the labour market, with this discrimination variously based on race (e.g., for African French-speaking immigrants), culture, and poor English language ability. Indeed, in his study of the IT sector in Manitoba, Martin found that many employers admitted that if they were unable to hire bilingual job candidates, they would likely hire a unilingual Anglophone rather than a unilingual Francophone.

ESCQs

Similar barriers are reported by English-speaking immigrants in Quebec. For example, in a study of Anglophone women in Quebec, Chouakri (2015) reported that the women seemed to be faced with linguistic and socio-economic challenges. In Montreal and Laval, they perceived barriers to employment based on French language ability. Some women reported that access to employment services, the difficulty in finding employment, vocational skills, lack of information, lack of resources, and poor perception of immigrants contributed to difficulty in securing employment. We return to the issue of employment in the next section on integration.

Integration

A large number of articles attended to integration related issues. This section is divided into a number of sub-themes, including: Integration through education (for children, as well as young adults); economic integration; socio-cultural integration; and civic and political integration.

Integration through Education: Children

Education is viewed as a crucial site and method for integration (Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2010). This is true for children as schools are the main venue through which they meet other children, many of whom are immigrants like themselves. Schools are also a major setting for parents to integrate through encounters with other parents, teachers and school administrators.

In studies conducted in both FMCs and ESCQs, immigrant parents and school representatives identify cultural discrepancies or lack of awareness of cultural practices as a source of strain between family and school (Benimmas, 2014). In addition to not receiving much information on their host country's education system prior to relocating, immigrant parents report feelings of unfamiliarity with the Canadian school system and may refrain from participation (Benimmas, 2010). Parents may be unfamiliar with teaching styles, quality of education, amounts and type of homework, and expectations of parents' participation (Carlson Berg, 2010; Riches & Curdt-

Christiansen, 2010). Furthermore, some of the parents feel that the diversity of student needs and backgrounds may not be sufficiently addressed (Carlson Berg, 2010).

As education is a site where integration and identity management occur, it is considered necessary that teachers and schools recognize cultural difference and address different values and identities in their teaching (Prasad, 2012). Teachers and administrators need to be better prepared to deal with an increasingly diverse school climate (Robineau, 2010). While important not to overburden teachers, improved training for this profession regarding cultural diversity is required. Some examples could include: adapting their teaching styles, attending workshops, attending to the values/interests of immigrant students, and rethinking how various cultures are presented in the curriculum (Benimmas, 2010). Schools and immigrant parents may also create a space of mutual understanding through open and genuine dialogue regarding cultural diversity. Educating students from the host community as well as immigrant students regarding citizenship in a pluralist society may also help correct stereotypes and decrease discrimination (Benimmas, 2010).

While the literature, mainly from research on FMCs, suggests that immigrant parents do their best to help their children complete their homework and improve their learning, they believe there is a lack of systematic evaluation of their children's achievements prior to entering the school system (Benimmas, 2010). They further criticize the strategy of automatically placing a child in a class based on their age, and believe this further places their child at risk of falling behind in school or of being bullied.

These findings, though based on research addressing ESCQs and FMCs, are most likely the concerns and challenges that recent immigrants face whether or not they settle in OLMCs. What differentiates OLMIs is the choice (or no choice, in the case of ESCQs) of schools based on official language. As language development represents broader social and cultural practices, beliefs about language development often influence parents' decisions about their children's education.

FMCs

The experiences of parents navigating the school system have received some attention in this literature. Interestingly, French immigrant parents in FMCs often choose to send their children to English schools in order to enhance their competitiveness for finding work post-graduation. At times, this decision is not well-received by OLMCs as they believe this may dilute the strength of the French language, which they vehemently fight to preserve (Violette, 2015). Consequently, this issue feeds into the broader ideological tensions between language and identity (i.e., "native speaker" vs. "language loyalty").

The need to recognize cultural diversity in schools is also noted in the recent research. Francophone schools serve as a strong mechanism for immigrant students to socialize, particularly with other immigrants (Benimmas, 2010), but oftentimes these students face stigma, rejection,

isolation, culture shock, and learning difficulties (particularly in math and French). Discrimination is considered a more common occurrence among immigrant students who are also visible minorities (i.e., labeled a ‘double minority’). A greater understanding of why students who are part of the visible majority are reluctant to integrate immigrant students into their social networks (fear of the unknown, skin colour, etc.) is needed (Carlson Berg, 2011a).

ESCQs

The experiences of parents navigating the school system have also been studied in Quebec. The Charter of the French Language (or Bill 101) ensures that immigrants learn French by requiring immigrant children to attend French-language schools. The Quebec law is highlighted in the literature for the potential impacts it has on immigrants and on ESCQs in general. In an ethnographic study in Montreal, Riches, and Curdt-Christiansen (2010) find that parents are greatly supportive of their children’s French education as they recognize that knowledge of French, or multilingualism in general, is necessary for inclusion and success in Quebec society. Although the study’s respondents are few (parents in 13 Anglophone families and 10 Chinese immigrant families), their findings may well be representative of many immigrant parents in Anglophone settings who feel that French education is necessary for social mobility.

While the belief that enrolment in English-language schools might otherwise undermine potential integration into the broader Quebec society, Gallant (2015) suggests that these enrolment restrictions may also have significant impact on ESCQ vitality. She argues that there may be conflict between having little agency in sending children to French-language schools and the desire to integrate into ESCQs, leading to difficulties in the latter. The Charter may also lead to declines in enrolment in English schools, especially when Anglophone-minority communities are spaced too far apart for English- language schools to be easily accessible to the remaining Anglophone students (Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2011).

Integration through Education: Young Adults

FMCs

The literature emphasizes the role of post-secondary institutions in FMCs. From a survey of Francophone colleges and universities, Forest (2014) finds that postsecondary institutions have implemented various initiatives to assist with the attraction and scholarly integration of immigrants and international students, which include: promotion and recruitment campaigns, referral and guidance services, language training, implementation of various assessment approaches, and recognition of prior learning and relationships with employers. However, given the different realities and priorities of post-secondary institutions, these initiatives have been largely developed in a fragmented manner, preventing schools from meeting the majority of needs of different immigrant profiles. The report provides recommendation on how Francophone post-secondary institutions could improve the economic integration of immigrants and foreign students.

ESCQs

Research on ESCQs more frequently addresses the choice of post-secondary institution. The young immigrants' choice of post-secondary institution is influenced by several factors including parental socio-economic status, the individual's past school performance, and cultural and linguistic characteristics of their country of origin (Magnan & Darchinian, 2014). Of interest is whether the language of instruction has an impact on their choice of post-secondary institution. This is particularly salient in Quebec as immigrants who would have undergone their primary and secondary education as mandated by Bill 101 get to have a choice in the language of instruction in their post-secondary education. In an exploratory qualitative study of 30 young immigrants in Montreal, Magnan and Darchinian (2014) find that young immigrants view their language of instruction in school to be more of a means of communication and success, rather than something they use as an identifiable marker. Thus, English-speaking immigrants with particularly strong professional ambition often choose CEGEP or university that offer instruction in English.

That students' decisions to attend a French or English university as linked to their desire to be seen as competitive in today's job market is also manifest among young immigrants in a study by Liboy (2012) in the Eastern Townships. The author suggests that as Anglophone professional schools do not have as much variety of courses as Francophone schools, young English-speaking immigrants could choose to either enroll in French schools or to leave the Township to pursue their studies elsewhere.

Economic Integration

One of the biggest barriers faced by immigrants to Canada is securing employment. The ability to find steady employment enables individuals and their families to secure safe and appropriate lodging, to assist with planting roots and integrating into their new communities, and further contributes to the development of their new identities as newcomers to Canada.

The ESCQ and FMC literature abounds with studies of barriers to economic integration and possible courses of action that could be taken to overcome the barriers. Racial discrimination, lack of recognition of international credentials and training, and lack of Canadian experience are the most often mentioned. These barriers are common to recent, especially visible minority, immigrants in general. For OLMIs, language may be a compounding barrier. OLMCs and the institutions within them are seen to be instrumental to overcoming the barriers.

The existing body of literature identifies some similar themes between FMCs and ESCQs relating to employment. On average, for example, immigrants are described as having high levels of education but a large polarization between high and low education-levels of immigrants still exists,

and many face labour market integration issues (Corbeil, 2014). Of greater interest here is whether among recent immigrants, economic outcomes differ for OLMIs versus non-OLMIs.

FMCs

The Annual Report of the Office of the Commissioner on Official Languages (2015), on the basis of Statistics Canada's *Statistical Portrait of the French-speaking Immigrant Population Outside Quebec (1991 to 2006)*, mentions the low employment level of French-speaking immigrants outside of Quebec. As the report notes, a large proportion of French-speaking immigrants came from Africa and are particularly disadvantaged at finding employment (OCOL, 2015). A study that analyzed data from the 2006 Census by First Official Language Spoken finds that the levels of employment and income of recent immigrants with French FOLS are lower than for recent immigrants with English FOLS (Ravanera, Esses and Lapshina, 2014). However, a separate analysis by regions shows that the disadvantaged economic integration of recent immigrants with French FOLS holds mainly for Ontario and the Prairies. (The small number of recent immigrants to the Atlantic region did not allow analysis by period of immigration.) In British Columbia, recent immigrants with French FOLS have higher levels of employment and income. Interestingly, in a study for British Columbia that uses data from the more recent 2011 NHS, Brennan (2014) finds that Francophones are more likely to have higher employment income than the general population, noting that the majority of the French immigrants to British Columbia are from France.

ESCQs

In the profile of Quebec using the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), Environics Analytics (2015) shows that the total labour force participation rate of Anglophone immigrants was slightly lower than the rate for the Quebec population. However, the study uses mother tongue to distinguish the language groups, which underestimates the number of OLMIs (see section above on Definitions of OLMIs). Jantzen and Mata (2012), using the same 2011 NHS but distinguishing language groups by First Official Language Spoken (FOLS), also find that among immigrants between the ages of 35-64 years, those who were assigned to the English FOLS category display slightly lower levels of labour force participation than their counterparts in the French FOLS and English and French FOLS immigrant categories. They did mention, however, the need for a more rigorous statistical analysis that control for other factors such as differences by FOLS in the country of origin and education levels. When such factors are controlled, using data from the 2006 Census, Ravanera, Esses, and Lapshina (2014) show that the difference between English FOLS and French FOLS in recent immigrants' level of employment is non-significant, a finding that also holds true for individual income and proportion in the low income cut-off (LICO), an indicator of poverty level.

While the differences in economic integration by language groups may be small or statistically non-significant at the provincial level, this may not be the case for ESCQs in specific locations. In a study of the Eastern Townships, for example, Liboy (2012) argues that the higher unemployment

rate among young Anglophone immigrants in the area than in the rest of Quebec may be due to linguistic discrimination when searching for employment.

Socio-cultural Integration

The important contribution of immigration to OLMCs at a socio-cultural level is documented in the literature. Robineau, Urtnowski, O'Donnell, Forgues, Shragge and Noël (2011) argue that immigration can help maintain a significant rate of people who can speak the minority language and who are able to participate in the various community social structures. They feel that for FMCs in particular, immigration can contribute to the maintenance of ethno-linguistic vitality, strengthen institutional completeness, and support a relative cultural autonomy. Despite these potential positive contributions of immigration to OLMCs, in their report on the integration of immigrants of differing official language ability and use in Canada that was discussed above (Ravanera, Esses, & Lapshina, 2014), economic outcomes were not always reflected in one's life satisfaction and sense of belonging to the local community. In addition, the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages (2014) noted that immigrants to OLMCs identified the need to be bilingual as part of their broader integration and required greater access to training and cultural knowledge as a result.

The literature review published by Universalia (2011) recognizes immigration as playing a key role in (re)establishing the vitality of OLMCs in Canada, and cites 'identity' as a central theme. Citing Belkhodja and Traisnel as well as work by Violette and Traisnel (2011), and Madibbo (2006, 2010), the review outlines how, on the one hand, identity is important to the communities, who in their quest for vitality, seek to construct a strong but inclusive ethnocultural identity within OLMCs while, on the other hand, immigrants also negotiate their identities according to their lived experiences. The findings in this section note how governmental institutions and communities alike are interested in how immigrants will develop a sense of belonging to OLMCs and in what ways they will access services in the minority language. The exclusion of immigrants from host communities is cited as an important aspect of this, both in urban centres with high numbers of immigrants (Madibbo, 2006) and elsewhere in the country where community reception varies (Violette & Traisnel, 2011). More recent work by Madibbo, (2010) has signaled that concepts of belonging and identity in the literature tend to focus on three form of belonging: to the ethnic community, to the Francophonie, and to Canadian society. These multiple and/or intersecting forms of belonging can present varied barriers and forms of exclusion.

FMCs

While integration is often addressed at an 'individual' level, there are certainly publications that have examined the role of the host community, such as Belkhodja and Traisnel (2011) who argued that host communities could be doing more to assist not only with economic integration, but also the social integration of immigrants. Fourot (2013) specifically discussed the varied ways that municipalities can support integration, including sport and leisure activities and access to social and cultural services, among others. In a study specifically examining the situation in Moncton

(Weerashinghe et al., in press), the city was identified by participants as a site of shared values, culture and language. The authors emphasized a form of global or fluid citizenship and articulated that the formation of social relationships was based on shared universal values rather than cultural ones. Focusing on British Columbia, Laghzaoui (2011) suggested that FMCs in the province are flourishing despite their distance from Canada's French epicentre and addressed how the emergence of a civil society in French has enabled the development of social and political institutions within the province.

With respect to the particular promising practices that can support immigrant integration, the following were identified in a publication by Burstein, Clement, Petty and Dubois (2014): access to volunteer mentors; partnership with Francophone institutions that can offer professional networks, assistance and credibility to agencies; use of technology; staff who build relationships with newcomers and employers, staff who seek out partnerships with diverse institutions; relationships with the local community and with local organizations that facilitate economic and socio-cultural settlement and inclusion; and the need for government support in realizing the potential of immigration to bolster well-being of the entire province. The importance of community centres and services for supporting Francophone newcomers was also emphasized by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2010). Similarly, da Silva (2012) found that if Francophone newcomers and host communities were better equipped to meet their mutual needs, the feeling of belonging to the Franco-Canadian community would be strengthened.

Beyond addressing the particular roles that host communities can play, several publications also engage in comparative work of different cities. For example, a literature review compiled by Belkhodja, Traisnel and Wade (2012) includes findings about Moncton, Ottawa, Halifax, Whitehorse and Winnipeg. Gallant (2010) also considers characteristics of different provinces and regions (e.g., diverse, inclusive, etc.). More recently, Traisnel, Violette and Gallant (2013) have published a comparative study of New Brunswick, Ontario and British Columbia. One of the key differences they found with respect to how people in those regions identified included those in New Brunswick and Ontario feeling that their communities were more rooted in history than those in British Columbia. FMCs in British Columbia were found to value diversity and polyglots. They also characterized Ontario as having a fragmented identity with differences identified between FMCs in Ottawa and Sudbury. Nevertheless, they shared two aspects that appeared as central representations to the Francophone identity in Canada. The first is that activists in the three provinces noted ethnic and civic differences but sought a more coherent Francophone identity that was open to diversity. The second was that cultural diversity was mentioned sooner and more spontaneously by activists from places where there was a stronger immigrant presence.

Fourot's (in press) recent work addresses similarities and difference in FMCs and related identities (e.g. Acadians, Franco-Ontarians), suggesting that FMCs are located somewhere between 'nation' and 'ethnicity', which can prevent immigrants from identifying with the Francophone community. Violette and Traisnel have specifically studied the Acadian context (Traisnel & Violette, 2010; Violette, 2010, 2014; Violette & Traisnel, 2010). Their publications address a range of issues,

including tensions between different regions of Acadia (e.g. linguistic variations), host community perceptions of immigration, and immigrants' integration into Acadian communities without adopting Acadian identities. The unique context of the Ottawa FMC, on the border with the province of Quebec, has also received attention. Veronis (2015) found that the fluid nature of the interprovincial border between Ottawa and Gatineau shaped immigrants' narratives of belonging and inclusion. The participants in her study noted that the two cities are characterized by distinct cultures and policies that shaped their lives and attitudes toward interacting in either city. This broader theme related to identity, belonging and processes of inclusion and exclusion has been addressed at length in the literature and will be discussed next.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2010) pointed to an important dichotomy that exists in the discourse on immigration and OLMCs. One argument is based on demographic logic, whereby immigration serves to support the low demographic weight of communities and help to revitalize them. The other argument is more identity-based, recognizing that immigrants may be different from the collective identity based on language and cultural boundaries. As a result, forms of discrimination based on markers including race and language can impede immigrants' sense of belonging to the FMC, requiring a need to attend to diversity within the community. Somewhat paradoxically, da Silva (2012) suggested that the Canadian model of integration is not working for FMCs as it often contributes to social and institutional integration into the Anglophone majority rather than the Francophone community.

Such critical perspectives are adopted by a few authors examining the concept of capital as related to immigration and FMCs. For instance, Clark, Haque and Lamoureux (2012) argued that viewing language mainly as a skill or commodity can render newcomers who are not easily categorized by narrow definitions as having a deficit. This further serves to discount other aspects of their identities and linguistic skills. They go on to explain that viewing language acquisition as an individual task to facilitate labour market integration, rather than as a social process, undermines their social and cultural capital and obfuscates deficiencies and hierarchies that are embedded within the labour market. Huot, Laliberte Rudman, Dodson and Magalhães (2013) similarly examined how an emphasis upon economic integration and capital acquisition shifts responsibility for successful integration primarily to individual newcomers. They suggest that detracting attention from structural barriers that impede participation in and contributions to the host communities contributes to a less nuanced understanding of the experiences of and struggles faced by newcomers.

Iacovino and Léger (2013) focus specifically upon the influence of discourse for limiting possibilities. They suggested that existing strategies to attract and integrate immigrants to FMCs is a 'false promise' that prevents successful integration by obscuring linguistic realities in Canada, whereby these communities are constrained by a federal language regime. While acknowledging the importance of sustaining FMC vitality, they stated that "directing immigrants to be integrated into these minority communities is akin to asking immigrants to slot themselves into a particular culture in the Canadian multicultural mosaic" (p.110), arguing that such attempts to reproduce and

maintain a linguistic minority population restricts the choice of individuals and limits their social integration. Huot, Dodson and Laliberte Rudman (2014) also identified a disconnect between study participants' expectations of Canada and their actual experiences of integration, particularly with respect to its bilingual nature.

The argument that OLMIs may become situated 'between' population groups due to intersecting aspects of identity is also addressed by different researchers. For example, Madibbo's (2010) work highlights ways in which people with nuanced and varied identities may take on different identity types in relation to the context and experiences of tensions existing within the African diasporic community as well as within the broader Francophone community. She points to ways that experiences of marginalization and exclusion from a dominant Francophone identity may reinforce African Francophone identities. A study by Veronis (2015) identified similar issues where Francophone Africans may feel an affinity based on shared language in Gatineau, but still experience exclusion because of linguistic variations in accent and style. Participants also noted more explicit exclusion and discrimination in Quebec than in Ontario. As a result, Ottawa was viewed as more optimal for settlement in part due to its more open and fluid language politics, and its employment opportunities.

ESCQs

The role of the host community was also a focus of attention within literature on ESCQs. Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey and Barrette (2010) reported that immigrants were influenced by the acculturation orientations of the host society, feeling that the Anglophone community in Montreal was more welcoming. Likewise, Gosselin and Pichette (2014) found that while participants in their study situated their identity within a Francophone and Anglophone context, they used the ESCQ as a resource for their integration (e.g., frequenting English institutions).

Zhang (2012) outlines some of the challenges that may be faced by service providers in ESCQs, including difficulty in accessing information about provincial funding, which is typically geared toward French-speakers; lack of long-term funding to support cultural programs; and the need to strengthen policies that protect the rights of cultural workers in the creative economy. The Conseil des relations interculturelles (2010) does, however, note that Anglophone communities have available cultural services, such as media, library, cinema, and clubs. Gosselin and Pichette (2014) mentioned how the institutional base and community organizations of ESCQs fosters a welcoming space that recognizes diversity, is inclusive of immigrants, and fosters their sense of belonging. Indeed, the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages (2011) recognized that accessing services in English is crucial to a sense of belonging and that community learning centers in ESCQs can improve access to services across multiple sectors. This is echoed by Vatz Laaroussi et al. (2015) who articulated that English services help provide confidence to immigrants, help decrease isolation, and help establish a network of contacts.

In a study of the FMC of Edmonton and ESCQ of Sherbrooke by Vatz Laaroussi, Mulatris, Lemay, Sarenac and Urta-Rugama (2014), findings specific to social and cultural integration were more notable for immigrants in Sherbrooke. The authors found that these immigrants participated in and enjoyed the various activities organized by their communities (e.g., festivals, outings), and that they often referred community organizations and services to family, friends, and other members of their communities, as well as to organizations in their Francophone networks because they found them to be relevant and effective. Yet, findings are unique to the context, as Zhang's (2012) study identified that arts, culture and heritage sectors in ESCQs do not engage newcomers. Regional similarities and variations with respect to linguistic and socio-economic challenges were identified in comparative work by Chouakri (2015) conducted in Montreal and Laval, Quebec City, and Gatineau. Vatz Laaroussi (n.d.) and the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages (2011) both argued that immigrants particularly need support in areas outside of Montreal.

Beyond the services that are available to OLMIs in ESCQs, several publications explore notions related to identity, belonging, and processes of inclusion and exclusion (Dere, Ryder & Kirmayer, 2010; Gosselin & Pichette, 2014; Jedwab, 2010; Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2011). For instance, Dere et al. (2010) discussed the possibility for immigrants to retain their ethnic identity as part of a Canadian identity, arguing that heritage and mainstream orientations are largely independent, enabling immigrants to develop and integrate different cultural identities.

A few researchers have addressed ways in which ESCQs serve as 'gateways' for immigrants and refugees, who may not be identified as 'Anglophone', but who would not be categorized as Francophone (Gosselin & Pichette, 2014; O'Donnell, 2014; Vatz-Laaroussi, n.d.). O'Donnell's (2014) work in particular describes a 'heritage of immigration and of poverty' (p. 7, translated from French) and of shared social exclusion within Quebec as a form of historical capital facilitating the inclusion of immigrants into ESCQs. Gosselin and Pichette (2014) also addressed how a shared sense of marginalization helps immigrants to ESCQs identify with Anglophones. In his introduction to a special issue of *Canadian Diversity* focused on 'The Deep Diversity of English Speaking Quebec', Jedwab (2010) problematized some of these ideas, however. Citing Bourhis, he suggested that the definition of 'Anglophone' can be problematic for those who do not share Anglo origins in Britain, and that challenges persist for Anglophones and allophones in reconciling their multiple identities. . The Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages (2011) noted that ESCQs do not feel responded to or supported as a community with specific needs by the provincial government. Despite the work of Canadian Heritage, they are also relatively ignored at federal levels (e.g., funding under the OLMC roadmap). Relatedly, O'Donnell (2014) argued that there is lack of recognition for ESCQs and consultation of these communities in relation to immigration.

One of the notable similarities across research conducted in FMCs and ESCQs is the stated importance of OLMIs to become competent in the majority language. Belkhodja and Traisnel (2014) noted that despite living in a bilingual area, many Francophones have to live their day-to-

day lives in English. This is also reflected in study findings of Huot, Dodson and Laliberte Rudman (2014) who discuss the implications of the lack of social recognition of French within FMCs as posing challenges to the integration of OLMIs, such as feelings of displacement and a weaker sense of belonging.

For ESCQs, beyond simply learning French, the Conseil des relations interculturelles (2010) pointed to the importance of ‘Francisation’ for retaining Anglophone immigrants in Quebec. The Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages (2011) also noted that ESCQs want newcomers to help sustain their communities, but nonetheless emphasize the need to learn French. Finally, Vatz Laaroussi et al. (2015) cited learning both the minority and majority language and participation in political and citizen focused activities, among others, as key indicators of integration, which leads to our next section examining civic and political integration in particular.

Civic and Political Integration

The civic and political integration of immigrants into OLMCs has not received the same amount of attention within the literature as other forms of integration described in the sections above. Nonetheless, some differences between the focus of research on this topic within FMCs and ESCQs were identified.

FMCs

Gallant (2010, 2011, 2015) has published articles addressing how the shifting demographic nature of FMCs has led to changes in how processes of identification with and participation in the communities occur. In her earlier work pointing to the challenges Francophone immigrants faced to integrating into FMCs (Gallant, 2010), she noted the lack of immigrant representation in the administrative offices of most organizations, despite being over-represented among their employees. Notions of civic and political integration were specifically further attended to in subsequent work (Gallant, 2011). Using the specific examples of Acadian and Fransaskois communities, she explains that FMCs do not have to feel like they are a unique ‘state’, which influences their ‘political space’. Her findings suggest that the Fransaskois political space is more open to immigrant participation, whereas Acadia was welcoming to newcomers but seemed to have a more restricted definition of inclusiveness. She explains that the study participants had mixed views on whether immigrants could truly become members of Acadian and Fransaskois communities, and that each community had specific “civic” criteria for community membership.

More recently, Gallant (2015) has argued that a reconceptualization of Francophone minorities centred on civic rather than ethnic conceptions of belonging has arisen from the immigration of French-speakers. This shift is viewed as being more diverse and inclusive, but still facing resistance from those who feel immigration may ‘dilute’ Francophone identity. Some issues potentially contributing to this include newcomers who may view the French language instrumentally rather than as a cultural concept; the lack of French services, which contributes to

integration into the Anglophone majority; and protectionist policies that fail to protect Francophone minorities outside Quebec who are not tied to a specific territory (Gallant, 2015). Fourot (2013) argued that that while integration is often conceptualized as an individual endeavour, it should be understood as requiring public action. Bennimas et al. (2014) also speak to fluid forms of identification, suggesting that self-image differs depending on the lived experience of integration, but that the strong identity expressed by almost all respondents in their study did not prevent them from displaying a moderate sense of national pride in relation to the host country.

ESCQs

While not addressing the civic and political integration of immigrants to ESCQs in particular, Gosselin (2015) does examine the impacts of policy and legislation in Quebec upon ESCQs. Specifically, Bill 14, which prioritizes French, is described as creating an exclusionary majority space for Francophones at the expense of English-speakers' linguistic rights. While ESCQ organizations acknowledged the necessity of bilingualism for integrating into Quebec, they were described as nonetheless rejecting the identity boundaries reinforced through the Bill. She explains how it was also criticized in the media as being divisive, suppressing linguistic minorities, and removing the Anglophone community from the Quebec identity. Gosselin (2015) further outlines the rejection of Bill 60 by ESCQ organizations for reinforcing identity divisions and for undermining the welcoming nature and social tolerance of the province. Similarly, Jedwab (2010) cited Legault's contribution to the special issue of *Canadian Diversity* that expresses concerns over ways the condition of the French language have created a political climate that can make English-speaking immigrants uncomfortable and contribute toward stigma.

Ravensbergen and Sjollemma (2013) also stress the need to avoid politics of division by advocating for the acknowledgement by the Government of Quebec of the "distinctiveness of English-speaking, bilingual and ethno-cultural community groups" as well as of their diverse needs and their desire to belong to the broader Quebec society (p. 53). The authors explain identified challenges to receiving funding in part due to the diversity of issues the minority communities face, which can make it difficult to align their needs to a specific Ministry. Additional potential obstacles identified include minimal contact with provincial government officials largely due to language barriers and lack of familiarity with bureaucratic terminology in particular; the lack of participation and recognition from Quebec-wide networks that make participating in decision-making and policy levels difficult; further communication barriers linked to a lack of organization websites; and the lack of core funding received by organizations, particularly those for ethno-cultural and immigrant groups (Ravensbergen & Sjollemma, 2013).

Retention

Immigration is seen as a way of revitalizing OLMCs, but after the attraction and settlement of immigrants, do they stay or move out of the communities? With data from the 2006 *Survey of the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities*, Gilbert, Gallant and Cao (2014) find that, in comparison

to official-language minority non-immigrants, immigrants are more likely to move out of their communities, with family, employment, and education being the most likely reasons for the move. They also mention that as immigrants are less likely to identify with institutions in their new communities, they may be more open to participating in activities of the majority community.

FMCs

The aging of the population and inter-generational non- or incomplete transmission of the French language are two of the reasons for the decline in the French-speaking population outside Quebec (Corbeil, 2014). Immigration is thus seen as a possible source of revitalizing FMCs, though Corbeil notes that at its current level, immigration does not compensate for the two reasons of population decline in FMCs. In a reflection on immigrant integration, da Silva (2012) mentions that the FMCs are not benefitting from the Canadian model of integration as it leads to French-speaking immigrants integrating with the majority Anglophone community rather than with the FMCs.

On a more positive point for FMCs, the study of Haan et al. (2015) finds that FMCs retain more French-speaking immigrants within the province than non-OMLCs. Community characteristics seem to influence the retention of immigrants; in particular, communities with high level of home ownership and high average level of education are more likely to retain immigrants.

ESCQs

One of the major challenges of ESCQs is that too many English-speaking Quebecers, including immigrants, are leaving Quebec every year, many of whom are younger and more educated than average Quebecers (Office of the Commissioner of Official Language, 2015, citing a publication by Canadian Heritage and Statistics Canada using the 2006 census). Likewise, an analysis of the 2011 NHS shows that, compared to Francophone and Allophone immigrants, a higher percentage of Anglophone immigrants move out of Quebec (Environics Analytics, 2015). A similar conclusion is reached by a study that defines OLMCs as “census subdivisions in which at least 10% of the population or a minimum of 1000 individuals speak the minority official language” (Haan et al., 2015, p. 2). In a study that uses the Longitudinal Immigrant Database from 1990-2011 and Harmonized Census Data files from 1991-2006, Haan and colleagues find that five years after landing, Anglophone immigrants who started living in an ESCQ were more likely to move out of Quebec than those who did not live in such a community. Note however that in a study based also on the 2011 NHS, Jantzen and Mata (2012) finds that English FOLS immigrants are more likely to have lived in the same Economic Region five years ago than French FOLS and English-French FOLS immigrants.

The range of issues addressed in the literature raise a number of considerations that inform policy and practice with respect to immigration and OLMCs. Our analysis of this literature also points to research gaps and possible directions for future research.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

Considerable research on immigration to OLMCs has been conducted since 2010 and, as described in the previous section, a number of recurring themes emerge in this research literature. These themes and the research that supports them, in turn, have implications for immigration policy and practice. Here we identify several major policy and practice implications.

Definitional Issues

To begin, the issue of definitions is key. Although this will be covered further in the section on future research directions, the issue of how OLMIs and OLMCs are defined is of major importance for policy and practice because of the implications for identifying the population size and characteristics of each of these, as well as their needs and assets (Jedwab, 2008, 2012; OCOL & OFLSC, 2014). Decisions about settlement and integration services are affected by definitions of who is and is not an OLM. When definitions of OLMIs are not used consistently or most appropriately, this leads to lack of consistency in defining populations for purposes of allocating appropriate services to OLMIs, for delivering services in a consistent manner, and for purposes of comparison and record keeping (Fourot, Marriott, & Williams, 2014; OCOL, 2015). In addition, the increased diversity of immigrants coming to Canada means that outdated definitions that are overly narrow may not reflect the diversity of contemporary OLMIs and OLMCs. This can lead to a lack of recognition of the needs of a diverse population and affect both their attraction and retention in OLMCs.

Impact of New Policies for Selection and Integration

Canada's immigration policies for both selection and integration are undergoing rapid changes. The implications of these changes for OLMIs also requires specific attention. To be proactive, it would be useful to consider the implications before these changes are implemented and respond accordingly in order that negative outcomes for OLMIs are avoided and positive outcomes are optimized. Such a proactive approach, and its wide dissemination, would also allay the concerns of OLMCs that their needs are not being considered.

For example, there has been some concern expressed by FMCs that Express Entry may reduce the number of Francophone immigrants selected to come to Canada (Fourot, Marriott, & Williams, 2014; Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2014), but others suggest that the impact may be positive if appropriate steps are taken (OCOL, 2015). Such steps might include allocating extra points to Francophone immigrants destined for communities outside of Quebec and working with employers to incentivize the hiring of FMIs.

In addition, the move to an increased emphasis on pre-arrival services for immigrants to Canada, if provided in both official languages, may have benefits for OLMIs. There has recently been an increased focus on pre-arrival services so that newcomers "hit the ground running." The intent is

that newcomers to Canada are provided with sufficient information and, where possible, settlement services prior to arrival in Canada so that they are equipped to meet the challenges they may face upon arrival in Canada. For OLMIs, there are many benefits to this strategy. First, it may be possible to provide OLMIs with pre-arrival services in their preferred official language, which may not be available upon arrival in Canada, particularly in smaller OLMCs. In addition, French-speaking immigrants often report that they find it difficult to locate FMCs and find information on them, as well as finding it difficult to locate settlement programs and services available to them in French (OCOL, 2015). Providing this information pre-arrival would remedy this situation. Such a strategy would require providing pre-arrival information on the location and types of FMCs across the country, and on the specific settlement programs and services available in French in these locations. Similarly, some English-speaking immigrants in Quebec report that they were unaware of the existence of settlement services in English for some time after their arrival (Vatz Laaroussi et al., 2015). Providing information on these services pre-arrival would remove this barrier to obtaining services in their preferred official language and promote early uptake of services.

Welcoming Communities

A central issue in the attraction, integration, and retention of immigrants to OLMCs is the role of host communities, and particularly the welcome that they extend to newcomers. In this context, the literature suggests that communities are not always welcoming to FMIs, impacting their outcomes. In the broader community, FMIs report experiencing prejudice and discrimination from employers and teachers, which is exacerbated based on visible minority status (e.g., Benimmas, 2010; Laghzaoui, 2011). To counteract these effects, strategies must be developed to reduce discrimination, whether overt or more subtle, and, in the employment context, to promote the benefits of diversity among employers. If they are to be successful, it is essential that FMIs gain entry into the job market and feel welcomed by the community as a whole. Another area in which FMIs report experiencing discrimination is in obtaining housing, particularly when they are also from visible minority groups. Landlords use excuses such as large families, noisy children, and low income as a basis not to rent to some FMIs, despite the fact that these practices are not legal (Lemoine, 2010). Thus, strategies for informing FMIs of their rights and for reiterating the requirement to avoid discrimination among landlords should be implemented. In addition, it would be beneficial to provide incentives to landlords in French districts to reserve units for newcomers with larger families and children (Alper, Ba, Ka, & Sacko, 2012).

In addition to demonstrations of discrimination from the broader community, FMIs at times also experience an unwelcoming reception and discrimination within FMCs in a variety of contexts (e.g., Carlson Berg, 2011b; Huot et al., 2014). This runs completely counter to one of the major goals of the Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages 2013-2018 (Canadian Heritage, 2013), which is to support the attraction and integration of Francophone minority immigrants within FMCs. Within these communities, however, there are at times distinctions expressed between "true" native French speakers and "other" ethnocultural French immigrants that prevent these immigrants from identifying with the Francophone community (Fouret, in press; Madibbo, 2010;

Traisnel & Violette, 2010). The result may be poor social integration and an inability to retain French immigrants in the community. African FMIs in particular, report feeling excluded from FMCs and experiencing isolation. Thus, strategies are required to promote more welcoming communities within FMCs, perhaps through the work of the Réseaux en immigration francophone. If FMIs are to be successfully integrated into FMCs, it is important to work with host FMCs to be more accepting of cultural diversity and more welcoming of FMIs. Indeed, FMCs have the potential to actively support the integration of FMIs in Canada, rather than adding a further layer of discrimination and exclusion. If FMCs do not serve this role, Francophone immigrants outside of Quebec may look to the broader Anglophone community as a source of integration (see Laghzaoui, 2011).

While the literature on ESCQs is rather sparse in this domain, there is some suggestion that these communities can act as a gateway for new immigrants to Quebec and provide a welcoming community that supports their settlement and integration (Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010; Vatz Laaroussi, nd). Thus, recognition of the potential role of ESCQs in the settlement process may be a viable strategy for increasing the ability to integrate newcomers to Quebec, with ESCQs acting as a social entry point and bridge to the larger Francophone society in Quebec.

The Provision of Information

The provision of information is a key component of supporting the settlement and integration of newcomers to Canada (Esses & Medianu, 2012). This may be particularly the case for OLMIs, and begin before they arrive in Canada and throughout the settlement process. One key piece of information that does not always get conveyed to immigrants before they arrive in Canada is that the whole country is not bilingual (Huot, Dodson, & Laliberte Rudman, 2014; OCOL, 2015). As a result, FMIs may expect to find it easy to obtain a job, attend school, and obtain services in French outside of Quebec, and English speaking minority immigrants (EMIs) may expect to find it easy to do the same in English in Quebec (including outside of Montreal). Managing expectations has been discussed repeatedly as an important goal of pre-arrival information, and expectations about language practices where OLMIs are planning to live should be one component of this goal.

Francophone minority immigrants face additional hurdles in obtaining the information they need for successful settlement and integration in their preferred language both pre- and post-arrival. It has been suggested that resources in French should be made more visible and accessible to reach as many FMIs as possible before and after their arrival in Canada. A lack of information on the availability of French settlement programs and services may delay the settlement process for FMIs or result in FMIs receiving services from English organizations instead (Gauvin, Pierce, & Gagné, 2010; OCOL, 2015). Thus, a strategy is required that ensures that FMIs receive information from the government about the French services, resources, and organizations available to them in their intended destination in Canada pre-arrival and is reinforced post-arrival.

Two particular areas in which the provision of additional information by the government in French is required relate to health information and information about the Canadian school system. FMIs report that information on health and health services provided in French is lacking (Gauvin, Pierce, & Gagné, 2010). They also report that there is a lack of information in French on the school system in Canada – how it operates, expectations of parents and for homework, and how to navigate the system (Benimmas, 2010, Carlson Berg, 2010). These are seen by FMIs as particular gaps that can be remedied relatively easily.

Similarly, EMIs in Quebec find it difficult to obtain information about the settlement services available to them in English in Quebec (Vatz Laaroussi, nd). They report that it is difficult to find this information on the internet, and that they often did not obtain information about services in English until some time after arriving in Quebec (Vatz Laaroussi et al., 2015). Once again, these gaps could be remedied quite easily by disseminating information widely in both official languages and being cognizant of the information needs of both English- and French-speaking immigrants arriving in Quebec.

Settlement Services

A recurring issue throughout the literature is the need to provide settlement services to immigrants in their official language of choice. This is proposed to promote uptake and effectiveness. Such provision is a challenge, however, for OLMCs that are located in smaller, rural, and remote communities that may not have the “customer base” required to support regular settlement services in both official languages (see Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2010). The use of pre-arrival services, itinerant services that are provided on an “as needed” basis, and services provided “at a distance” through new social media may help to support the goal of services in one’s official language of choice.

A second recurring issue is the need for a system to share promising practices for OLMCs (Standing Senate Committee for Official Languages, 2014). The goal would be to share promising practices that are empirically supported and to coordinate across service providers for optimal effectiveness (Forest, 2014). Researchers would have a major role to play in this endeavour, with the need for a systematic, unbiased, and consistent method for assessing the impact of a plethora of practices (see Burstein & Esses, 2012, for a method of assessing and sharing promising settlement practices; see also Burstein, Clement, Petty, & Dubois, 2014). We will return to this issue in the section on Research Gaps and Research Suggestions.

There is a claim that in order to support the settlement of FMIs, French agencies are required, rather than merely French-speaking service providers or translated documents within English organizations (e.g., da Silva, 2012; Huot, 2013). This claim requires further empirical support before its implications for policy should be considered.

In addition to the need for French settlement services (see Farmer & da Silva, 2012), FMIs report a particular need for provincial and municipal services in French (Belkhodja & Traisnel, 2014; Fourot, 2013; Fourot, Marriott, & Williams, 2014). They report that being an immigrant and Francophone limits their access to specific services, such as health services, which affects the quality of their care and impacts their well-being (Fontaine, 2011; Hien & Lafontant, 2013; Liboy, 2012). Though these services may be considered outside the purview of IRCC, to the extent that they impact FMIs, they may be legitimate targets for the activities of the Réseaux en immigration francophone, who are tasked with enlisting the support of mainstream institutions in adapting their programs and services to better fit the needs of Francophone newcomers.

A particular need for French settlement services identified in the literature is services specifically for French-speaking refugees (Bisson & Ahouansou, 2013). Refugees have particular needs for which French services are not always available and it is recommended that the Réseaux en immigration francophone could take the lead in addressing this issue and in developing a series of practices that could be shared among service providers.

One final issue that arises regarding French settlement services outside of Quebec is the lack of performance measurement and evaluation tools and supports. As a result, it has been recommended that French settlement agencies outside of Quebec be provided with tools and training to allow them to better monitor and evaluate the success of their programs (e.g., FCFA, 2013; Fourot, in press). In the context of the Réseaux en immigration francophone, formal recommendations for these tools and supports are provided in a report by the Pathways to Prosperity completed in 2014 (Esses et al., 2014).

In terms of ESCQs, the literature highlights the need to consider the role of the ESCQ immigrant settlement sector in contributing to the success of EMIs. Accessing English services may promote not only settlement directly attributable to the services provided, but also broader outcomes including a sense of belonging to the community (Gosselin & Pichette, 2014; O'Donnell, 2014). The ESCQ immigrant settlement sector may also offer different forms of capital to newcomers and decrease the strain on settlement services (Robineau et al., 2011; Urtnowski, O'Donnell, Shragge, Robineau, & Forgues, 2012). Thus, it is proposed that ESCQ settlement activities should be supported and that communication and links with the majority Francophone settlement structure should be improved.

Supporting Economic Integration

As discussed earlier, the reality facing OLMIs is that Canada is not bilingual in its day-to-day operations across the country. One implication is that those who are bilingual have many more job opportunities than French-speaking immigrants outside of Quebec and English-speaking immigrants in Quebec. A recommendation is thus that irrespective of one's first official language, language training in both official languages should be available to newcomers to Canada to

support their access to the labour market (see also Conseil des relations interculturelles, 2010; Huot, Dodson, & Laliberte Rudman, 2014; Universalia, 2011).

In addition, because of this impediment to ready employment and the fact that FMIs may experience double minority status as immigrants and Francophones, the literature also suggests that more programs are needed to support the economic integration of French-speaking immigrants outside of Quebec (da Silva, 2012; FCFA, 2010). For example, mentorship programs for FMIs for a variety of professional fields would be beneficial (Bourgeois, 2011; Burstein et al., 2014; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). With the advent of Express Entry, employers now play a larger role in the selection of economic immigrants. Thus, specific incentives to employers to hire and give some priority to French-speaking immigrants may be needed (OCOL, 2015), as well as ensuring that a variety of Francophone countries are included in recruitment networks.

RESEARCH GAPS AND RESEARCH SUGGESTIONS

Our synthesis and analysis of the literature on immigration and OLMCs enables us to identify existing gaps in available research and to make suggestions that will help to address these. Reflecting the thematic findings presented above, our discussion here begins with a consideration of the definitions of OLMCs and OLMIs. We then move on to discuss the research gaps identified with respect to service needs and service provision in OLMCs; the integration of OLMIs and Welcome-ability of OLMCs; and the impact of policies. Our suggestions highlight needed research at the community and individual levels. For each section, we provide research suggestions, including possible data sets and methodologies to address the identified gaps, as well as providing potential research questions that may be used to guide future research directions.

Definitions of OLMCs and OLMIs

The Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QESCR, 2014) has identified the need for statistical portraits of ESCQs including their geographic distributions, and ethno-religious compositions. This is a challenging task as there are many variations in the criteria used to define ESCQs (Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Official Language, 2014). Bourhis (2012), for example, remarks that regardless of linguistic background, immigrants are not included as English-speaking Quebecers. When immigrants come from a non-European country, such as China, it is difficult to count them as an Anglophone (Zanazanian & O'Donnell, 2012). Similar concerns are noted for French-speaking communities outside Quebec. Fourot, Marriott and Williams (2014) mention that provinces differ in their definitions, with no agreement in terms of identifying who is a Francophone immigrant.

Defining any community is difficult, and is even more complicated when defining a community based on language. As Jebwab (2008) notes, the use of mother tongue to define size of ESCQs is limiting as it obviously excludes allophone immigrants. This limitation is overcome by use of First Official Language Spoken (FOLS), a statistical variable derived from Census questions on knowledge of official languages, mother tongue, and language spoken most often at home (Corbeil, Chavez & Pereira, 2010; Houle, Pereira & Corbeil, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2006). But, assuming that FOLS could be a good indicator of who among the immigrants could be counted as an official language minority, other questions about OLMCs remain. For example, what geographic configuration constitutes a community? Could census dissemination area, census sub-division, census division, town or a combination of these configuration be used to define the boundaries of communities? And, within these geographic areas, what number or percentage of OLM speakers would be sufficient to designate the area an OLMC? Once again, existing definitions vary across the country.

In addition to consideration of geographic boundaries and statistical cut-offs for an OLM population, defining a community needs to take into account the historical and cultural contexts of communities. FMCs and ESCQs have been formed by their unique histories and cultures that, with the arrival of immigrants, are being opened to influences that are significantly different from those of the communities. Thus, for immigrants to be integrated into these communities, there needs to be some understanding of identities and boundaries of belonging to the communities. Gallant (2011) suggests research on the perceived boundaries of belonging to “Acadian” or “Fransaskois” communities. She implies that this may lead to the realization of the need to broaden the definition of communities (from, say, “Acadian” or “Fransaskois” to “Francophonie”) thus leading to an openness to immigrants and for immigrants to truly become community members. O’Donnell (2013) makes a similar argument for learning more about the heritage of ESCQs and viewing immigrants and their diversity in the light of the historical context.

Related to the definitions of OLMCs and OLMIs is the question of bilingualism, specifically fluency in both English and French. The use of FOLS as a criterion increases the number of identified OLMIs in a community, but even so, there are individuals who are truly bilingual, defying assignment to either one of the languages. Further, bilingualism may be seen as a key to regeneration and vibrancy of OLMCs. Iacovino and Léger (2013), for example, suggest extending the opportunities for bilingualism to everyone as doing so would allow individuals to choose culture and linguistic community. Many Francophone immigrants outside Quebec see English as a means to foster integration or to improve the chances for economic integration, and thus choose to send their children to English-speaking schools (Laghzaoui, 2011; Violette, 2015). In Quebec, bilingualism could have the advantage of getting immigrants incorporated into its ESCQs while broadening integration into French society (Gosselin and Pichette, 2014).

Research Suggestions

Arriving at definitions of OLMC and OLMIs that could serve varied purposes requires a combination of research methodologies, including analysis of existing data sets, qualitative research on attitudes, and focused discussion by stakeholders.

1. *Determining the geographic configurations and counts of official language minorities*
A good starting point for identification of official language minorities is the use of the latest census counts. The FOLS, a census-derived variable originating from the application of the Official Languages Act, can be used to determine the population counts and percentages by each category of FOLS for various geographic units. Researcher(s) could then propose certain percentage or count cut-offs that would designate a certain place an OLMC. This may have already been done using the 2011 National Household Survey, in which case, this process could be re-visited using the 2016 Census once the data become available for analysis.
2. *Understanding the sense of community among members of OLMCs*
Geographic boundaries, and counts and percentages of official language minorities are necessary but are not sufficient for identifying communities. There needs to be an

understanding of the traits of individuals and what makes them a community, for which quantitative and qualitative research would be useful. We discuss in a subsequent section on integration the possible data and methods that could be used for these types of studies.

3. *Using definitions for specific purposes*

Definitions of OLMCs and OLMIs would be useful only if such definitions receive wide acceptance by various groups including researchers, policy-makers at the national, provincial and local levels, and organizations and agencies providing services. We thus suggest that definitions proposed through research be tested with focused group discussions; and, if the definitions are applied, evaluation of such applications would be useful to modify or update them.

Research Questions

Some questions that could profitably be addressed include:

1. What geographic unit should be used to determine the boundaries of OLMCs? Should the unit differ for urban and for rural areas?
2. Is there a minimum number or percentage of minority language speakers that would make a geographic unit an OLMC? Should the benchmark differ for urban and for rural areas?
3. The FOLS is usually determined by a series of questions on language, usually asked in the census. When only one or two questions on language can be used, what should that question (or questions) be? Would there be differences in related results depending on the questions asked?

Service Needs and Service Provision in OLMCs

As with OLM definitions, service provision and needs could be examined from the points of view of communities and individuals. QESCRN (2014) lists as a research priority the initiatives for immigrant settlement in ESCQs; and Burstein et al. (2014) mention research on best practices in providing services. Fourot (in press) suggests research on strategies for dissemination of information and on conducting evaluation of service provision.

From an individual-level perspective, a number of studies have identified research priorities. Chouakri (2015) points to the need to know how English-speaking women get access to services provided in French; Urtnowski et al. (2012) to the need to address experiences of English-speaking immigrants in using settlement services in Quebec; and Fourot (in press) to the need to know how Franco-immigrants in English-speaking communities benefit from settlement services. Labrèche and Piquemal (2011) mention research that would lead to a better understanding of the unique needs of various minority groups within FMCs in Manitoba.

Research Suggestions

1. *Conducting a national survey of OLMIs*

There could be commonalities in the needs and in the uses of services by OLMIs in ESCQs and FMCs. Commonalities could be uncovered by a survey that asks similar questions from respondents across communities. Such a survey was pilot-tested by Esses, Hamilton, Ravanera, Lavoie, and Lacassagne (2015) in Quebec and in the rest of Canada, which included questions on background information; language use; economic, social and cultural integration; well-being; and services, institutions, and activities. An advantage of a nationally administered survey is comparability by sub-groups (such as gender, age, ethnic groups) and across OLMCs.

2. *Using the iCARE database*

The iCARE database could be useful in quantitative analysis of services provided to immigrants in OLMCs, assuming that the geographic boundaries of such communities have been determined. Trends in the numbers and proportion of immigrants who used particular services could be tracked over time and across communities.

3. *Qualitative research on service needs and service provision*

Varied characteristics of immigrants and of communities also require a more nuanced understanding of needs and services. A strategy for research that aims at a deeper understanding of specific groups is qualitative research using varied methodologies and methods to achieve a depth of understanding. Identifying groups that may be vulnerable and require specific services could be facilitated by using the results of research using existing datasets (as outlined in section B above).

Research Questions

Some questions that could profitably be addressed include:

1. What strategies are best for providing information to OLMIs pre- and post-arrival?
2. Do OLMIs coming in through different streams have different service needs and how do we best address these needs?
3. How is service access and use differentially experienced when obtained in a French community organization as compared to English organizations providing translated services?
4. What is the experience of service use and access for people with different legal statuses (e.g., work and study permits, permanent residents, asylum seekers, undocumented migrants)?
5. What strategies do service providing organizations identify as being helpful in building and sustaining collaborations with other French and English organizations?
6. How would the implementation of 'active offer' policies within government institutions and by other service providers facilitate service access for OLMIs?

Integration of OLMIs and Welcome-ability of OLMCs

Integration is a multi-dimensional concept characterized by the participation of immigrants in the economic, social and civic/political life of the receiving community. It is thus a two-way process between receiving communities and immigrants, and yet, much of the research on integration is focused on the individual-level analysis of immigrants, with little research on the ability of communities to welcome and to integrate these individuals. Ravanera, Esses and Lapshina (2014) did an analysis of communities including indicators of community abilities in the economic and social domains; however, their geographic units of analysis were Census Metropolitan Areas. To be of greater utility, research must have smaller geographic areas, including identified OLMCs, as units of analysis.

Economic Integration. Apart from examining communities in their entirety, there are suggestions for research on specific components of economic features of communities. Bourgeois (2011), for example, points to the need to know how employers are able to recruit, assess, and retain immigrants; Robineau et al. (2011) ask how the English language minority sees its role with regards to immigrants; and, Carlson Berg (2011b) mentions research on how to foster inclusion and how school personnel feel about newcomers. Conversely, research on the impact of immigrants on communities is important. QESCRN (2014) suggests measuring the contribution of immigrants to the vitality and economy of ESCQs. Likewise, Robineau et al. (2011) point to research on how geographic mobility, or what they refer to as permanence or transiency, of immigrants influence ESCQs' vitality.

The literature abounds with research priorities on the economic, as well as social, outcomes of immigrants in OLMCs. O'Donnell (2014) lists as research priorities the need to examine the factors affecting poverty and outmigration from Quebec, and issues related to school requirements and employment training in French. QESCRN (2014) includes as a research priority the social and economic outcomes of immigrants. Similarly, Fourot (in press) finds little published research on the economic performance of Francophones outside of Quebec.

Social Integration. As with the economic dimension, the social dimension of integration requires understanding of the readiness, willingness, and ability of communities to integrate immigrants. Questions of identity and belonging could be examined both from the community's and immigrants' points of view. The openness to immigrants of say, an Acadian community, depends on the members' perceived boundaries of belonging (Gallant, 2011). The study further notes that immigrants have greater chances of becoming members and truly feeling a sense of belonging if the community perceives itself as a Francophonie rather than as Acadian only. Similarly, Gosselin (2015) points to the need to understand the effects of Quebec identity politics on ESCQs and how Anglophones negotiate their identity as these can promote or undermine the integration of immigrants. Huot et al. (2014) mention the need to examine receptiveness of communities to foster a sense of belonging. A suggestion to examine how "place" contributes to

sense of belonging (Veronis, 2015) stems from an acknowledgment that community characteristics influence immigrant integration.

Suggestions for further research on the social integration from immigrants' perspective are myriad. da Silva (2012) mentions the need to study the impact of racial and linguistic backgrounds on feelings of inclusion, equality and employability; Dere, Ryder, and Kirmayer (2010) suggest research on differences in acculturation of ethnic groups; and Benimmas et al. (2014) mention the need to delve deeper into the findings on sense of belonging. Zhang (2012) recommends further research to understand the socio-economic factors that impede participation of English-speaking cultural workers; and ethnographic studies aimed at facilitating integration of visible minorities into provincial creative economies.

There is also a recognition that integration, whether economic or social, is a dynamic process that evolves over time or over duration of stay in the community. Jebwab (2010) observes the lack of research on the process of adaptation of English-speaking immigrants who reside outside of Montreal, which requires research that follows immigrants from the period of arrival to subsequent integration into the community. Likewise, Huot (forthcoming) points to the need to understand the lived experiences of immigrants, and QESCRN (2014) further suggests as a research priority the lived experiences across generation and sub-groups (such as women and ethnic groups), which also implies the need for longitudinal analyses.

Civic/Political Integration. Researchers have not given as much attention to the political dimension of integration as they have to the economic and social dimensions, though Gallant (2010) did recommend examining the political participation of immigrants in the community. Fully integrated individuals would be involved in local organizations and in the process of running the communities through their elected leaders. Research would provide an understanding of the levels of immigrant participation or the lack thereof, as well the factors that promote or hinder their involvement.

One other area of research that needs to be looked at is the contribution of immigrants to the economic and socio-cultural vitality of minority and larger communities. Prasad (2012), for example, points to the need to understand the contribution of allophone immigrants to Francophone culture.

Research Suggestions

Research on immigrant integration requires multi-level analysis; that is, research on both levels – community and individual – and their inter-relations need to be examined in order to more extensively understand the two-way process of integration. Furthermore, it would be useful to conduct quantitative and qualitative research that would allow comparison across communities and over time.

1. *Understanding the abilities of OLMCs to welcome and integrate immigrants*

It is possible to get a glimpse of these abilities through the analysis of existing data sets, specifically large data sets that allow analysis for small geographic areas such as OLMCs. The 2011 National Household Survey could be analyzed as to the abilities of communities for economic and, to a certain extent, social integration of immigrants, by using information on employment, income, housing, population diversity, etc. For comparison over time, a similar type of community analysis could be done using the 2016 Census.

It would be worthwhile to explore as well the Canadian Community Health Surveys as sample sizes of these surveys are large and they gathered information on social belonging and life satisfaction, in addition to health-related variables.

2. *Examining the levels and processes of immigrant integration*

The 2011 NHS (and subsequently, the 2016 Census) could be analyzed at the individual level to understand economic integration of immigrants in OLMCs, both for ESCQs and FMCs. The IMDB could be utilized for a similar purpose, with an additional advantage of allowing analysis over several time points. The limitation of both the Census and IMDB is that they focus mainly on the economic dimension and provide little or no information on the social and political dimensions of integration.

The 2013 General Social Survey on Social Identity merged with landing data provides a means of analyzing the social and political integration of immigrants as it gathered information including social networks and belonging, social identity, voting, and participation in organizations. But, while immigrants have been over-sampled by the 2013 GSS, the sample size is still not large enough to separately examine OLMIs residing in OLMCs. Thus, for quantitative analysis of social and political integration of immigrants comparable across OLMCs, it may be necessary to conduct surveys specific to these communities.

A national survey solely of OLMIs in OLMCs could be conducted, but another possibility is to “back-ride” on existing national surveys such as what was done in the 2013 GSS with the over-sampling of immigrants. One such survey could be the planned 2018 GSS on Giving, Volunteering, and Participating, for which English-speaking immigrants in Quebec and French-speaking immigrants in the rest of Canada could be oversampled. The earlier National Survey on Giving, Volunteering and Participating (NSGVP conducted in 1998) gathered information that allowed analysis of social, political, and economic integration. In addition to possibly lower survey cost, “back-riding” on the 2018 GSS would have the advantage of allowing comparative analysis of outcomes of OLMIs with outcomes of other groups (for example, non-OLMIs).

If a survey (or surveys) solely for official language minorities is the preferred way of gathering information on the social and political integration outcomes of immigrants (see for example, the recommendation of Senate Committee, 2014), such a survey (or surveys) could be expanded to aim at understanding service needs and utilization, as well as language-related challenges faced by immigrants in OLMCs (see recommendation of the Service section above).

While quantitative analysis is useful for understanding immigrant integration, the method is limited in capturing nuances brought about by historical and cultural features unique to each community. Qualitative research is better suited to say, understanding the attitudes in the community towards immigrants, and the challenges that immigrants face in specific OLMCs, for example, in the Acadian communities in New Brunswick, Fransaskois in Saskatchewan, or Anglophone communities in Montreal or elsewhere in Quebec. Qualitative research, such as ethnographic studies, may also be the appropriate research strategy for understanding challenges in integration of specific sub-groups, for example, the young or the elderly of particular ethnic groups, women, or school-aged children.

3. Exploring the relations between community characteristics, integration and immigrant contributions

Understanding the inter-relations between OLMCs and immigrants is possible through the analysis of existing data. A multi-level analysis of data from the 2011 NHS, would contribute to understanding the influence of community characteristics (derived in #1 above) on the integration outcomes of individuals (variables used in #2). This may also be possible using data from the Canadian Community Health Surveys. Another possibility is to examine the influence of community characteristics in an earlier period on outcomes of immigrants in a later period, for example, by using community characteristics derived from the 2011 NHS to explain individual outcomes obtained from the 2016 Census data.

Examining the converse, that is, the impact of immigrants on the communities using existing data such as the NHS and Census, may be possible but would require research strategies different from those proposed for #1 and #2 above. A common way is to examine “before and after” scenarios. Assuming, for example, that the arrival of immigrants from non-traditional sending countries in certain communities is fairly recent, the characteristics of those communities could be examined from censuses before and after the period of their arrival. This would provide only rough indicators of immigrants’ contributions as there would be several factors other than the arrival of immigrants that would have influenced the changes between the two time points.

Another possible way to examine these issues is the use of micro-simulation techniques that could paint possible scenarios in the communities with or without the recent immigrants (See research suggestions on Policies section below).

Research Questions

Some questions that could profitably be addressed include:

1. Do OLMCs and non-OLMCs differ in their ability and willingness to welcome and integrate immigrants?
2. How do we balance the needs of OLMCs versus those of OLMIs? Where are they compatible, where do they conflict, and how do they interact?
3. What strategies are available and what are effective to attract OLMIs to smaller

communities outside of MTV?

4. Are there differences in economic inclusion, social participation, and political and civic involvement of OLMIs in OLMCs and in non-OLMCs?
5. Are there differences in OLMC reception to OLMIs arriving in different immigration classes?
6. How do FMIs view the French language and use of the French language in Canada? Do they see it as instrumental or a central part of their identity or both?
7. What percentage of international students who transition to permanent residents are OLMIs and what can we do to facilitate these transitions? How can OLM postsecondary institutes be used to retain more OLMIs?
8. What type of transnational activities are OLMIs involved in?
9. What determines the destination choices of OLMIs?
10. What determines the retention of OLMIs in OLMCs?
11. How can we best implement cultural competency training in OLMCs to reduce discrimination and improve the integration of OLMIs?
12. What role do religious institutions and ethno-cultural groups play in contributing to the settlement and integration of OLMIs?
13. What are the outcomes of the second generation of OLMIs? How do they fare economically and socially? Do they maintain minority official language? Do they remain in OLMCs?
14. What strategies do established or self-identified ‘successfully integrated’ OLMIs identify as having been useful?
15. How do OLM families negotiate their integration process at a household level? How do they determine which activities they will prioritize (e.g., who will learn English, who will work, etc)?

Impact of Policies

Laws and policies at the national and provincial levels have consequences for the attraction, integration, and retention of immigrants that may be different or unforeseen for OLMCs. Fourot (2013) points to the need for a better understanding of how public policies affect integration of immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities in OLMCs. In particular, researchers suggest that the impact of Express Entry on FMCs be examined (Bison and Brennan, 2013; Huot, forthcoming). In addition, Huot et al. (2014) recommend that the policy impact on FMCs (of say, Bill C-11, C-31, and C-24) be analyzed, and that tension between official policies and how these are manifested in different contexts be examined.

Research Suggestions

1. *Using existing data to measure change brought about by policies*
There could be anecdotal accounts from keen observers on the impact of policies, but measuring quantitatively such impact at the national and provincial levels are

challenging, and much more so at the community level. It is possible to use existing data in painting scenarios of community situations before and after the adoption of particular policies. For example, landing data could be used to track the change in the counts and percentages of immigrants with specific individual characteristics in OLMCs before and after the implementation of Express Entry. But as we noted above, there could be several factors affecting the change and, thus, attributing outcomes to the policy may not be convincing.

2. *Qualitative analysis to examine impacts of policies on individuals*

Numerical measures of the impact of policies are limited in generating insights into how policies influence individuals and communities. Qualitative studies offer greater possibilities of understanding the consequences of policies on the lives of immigrants in OLMCs.

3. *Micro-simulation as a tool for measuring effects of policies*

Another type of research that may be worth exploring for the impact of policies on OLMCs is the use of micro-simulation methods. Micro-simulation software that analyzes the impact of changes in policies have been developed and used in certain policy domains, such as a micro-simulation program that traces the impact of policy changes on retirement income. It may well be that there are already existing micro-simulation programs that are used at the national level to track the impact of immigration policies.

For example, Statistics Canada's DEMOSIM, a program that makes projections of immigrant population by broad ethnic groups, may be worth exploring as to whether it can be extended by developing modules that would allow examining scenarios in OLMCs resulting from adoption of certain policies.

Research Questions

Some questions that could profitably be addressed include:

1. How effective are recruitment practices such as Destination Canada and the Recruitment and Integration of French-Speaking Immigrants to Francophone Minority Communities Initiative?
2. What is the impact of changing immigration policies, such as Express Entry on the selection of FMIs and then on their outcomes?
3. What percentage of OLMIs each year come in through the different immigration streams, and are they destined for different regions of the country depending on stream?

Concluding Remarks

In light of the declining fertility in Canada and declining language transmission of the French-speaking population throughout Canada (Corbeil, 2014), as well the minority context of English-speakers in Quebec, the attraction, retention and integration of immigrants is seen as one key to the vitality of OLMCs. Studies included in this report point to a number of perspectives that

could inform, and research findings that can contribute to, attaining the objectives of successfully attracting, settling, integrating and retaining OLMIs. To address various research gaps, we have made research suggestions including quantitative analysis of existing data, gathering information through national surveys and qualitative research, use of advanced techniques of analysis such as multi-level analysis and micro-simulation, in comparative and longitudinal perspectives. We have included as well some research questions that can be profitably addressed moving forward. To be comprehensive, this research should encompass community and individual levels of analysis, and the inter-relations between the two levels.

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